

**RESUMPTIVE AND NON-RESUMPTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES  
IN THE IBERO-ROMANCE LANGUAGES**

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# ELISABETH ABMANN: RESUMPTIVE AND NON-RESUMPTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN THE IBERO-ROMANCE LANGUAGES

## ABSTRACT

This work is about resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses (RCs) in the three big Ibero-Romance languages: Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan. It takes a stance in the latest topics on generative analyses for relative clauses and, using not only theoretical considerations but conclusions drawn from empirical data on three languages, it offers a new perspective on pending questions and proposes to take a fresh look on supposedly outdated analyses.

The examined structures can be exemplified for Spanish as follows: a) *No conozco el hombre que viste \_ ayer.* b) *Es este el hombre que **le** enviaron el libro.* c) *Es este el hombre a quien **le** enviaron el libro.* Example a) displays a non-resumptive, or canonical, RC, which is characterized by a relativizing operator and a gap in the subordinate's object position, while b) and c) show instances of simple and complex resumptive RCs, combining a simple or complex q-relativizer with a resumptive element, *le*.

Regarding a derivational analysis of canonical and resumptive relative clauses, this work follows a variant of the Head External Analysis proposed for Portuguese by Rinke & Abmann (2017), which adheres to standard assumptions about Romance syntax, and avoids the empirical problems that other, head-internal proposals such as a Head Raising Analysis (Kayne 1994, a.o.) and a Matching Analysis (Sauerland 1998, a.o.) have to face. Furthermore, this work argues that the relativizing element *que* is always a D-element, and never of category C, i.e. there is no such thing as a relativizing complementizer (Kayne 2010, Poletto & Sanfelici 2018, a.o.).

While the descriptive literature suggests that, at least for Spanish and Catalan, there are two types of resumptive RCs available, as in b) and c), the work's corpus study reveals that speakers of the three languages behave alike insofar as the only resumptive RC used in spontaneous speech is a simple-resumption structure. A multivariate analysis shows that in all three languages, grammatical case is the most important factor when it comes to the possibility of a simple resumptive structure: with a dative argument, simple resumption is obligatory, while for accusative and nominative arguments, it is optional. The discussion concludes that simple and complex resumption constitute different phenomena also on a structural level: the latter one is argued to be a subcase of clitic doubling, and therefore, receives an analysis along the lines of Pineda (2016), who argues against a dative alternation in Romance languages and locates the (non-)realisation of the dative clitic in a transitive clitic-doubling structure outside of syntax, it being a case of silent variation (Sigurðsson 2004, Kayne 2005). From this perspective, it follows naturally that in Portuguese, complex resumption structures are ungrammatical. Simple resumption, on the other hand, which is a possible structure in all three languages, is argued to represent the phonological counterpart of "scattered deletion", i.e. the preferred interpretation for an A'-chain (Chomsky 2003): in the operator position SpecCP, every feature except for the operator feature is deleted, resulting in the semantically neutral phonological outcome *que*, while in the variable position, everything but the operator is interpreted, resulting in a pronominal element according to the argument's phi-features.

# RESUMPTIVE AND NON-RESUMPTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN THE IBERO-ROMANCE LANGUAGES

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## KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSES

1.	first person
2.	second person
3.	third person
A	differential object marking <i>a</i>
ABS	abstraction site
acc	accusative case
cl	clitic
CLD	clitic doubling
CLLD	clitic left dislocation
dat	dative case
DAT	dative marker <i>a</i>
DatO	dative object
DO	direct object
EP	European Portuguese
fem	feminine
gen	genitive case
GEN	genitive argument
HEA	head external analysis
hum	human
imp	impersonal
IO	indirect object
MA	matching analysis
masc	masculine
nom	nominative case
NRRC	non-restrictive relative clause
obl	oblique case
OBL	oblique argument
pl	plural
pr	pronoun
RA	raising analysis
RC	relative clause
refl	reflexive
resRC	resumptive relative clause
RRC	restrictive relative clause
rel	relativizer
RH	relative head
sg	singular
SU	subject

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This work is about resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses (RCs) in the Ibero-Romance languages. A headed relative clause is a “syntactically complex modifier involving abstraction over an internal position of the clause (the relativization site)”, and is “connected to some constituent it modifies (the relative “head”)” (Bianchi 2002a: 197). This is exemplified in (1) for Spanish:

- (1) *No conozco*[*el [hombre]<sub>RH</sub> [que viste ayer \_ABS]<sub>RC</sub>*].  
not I.know the man rel you.saw yesterday  
“I don’t know the man that you saw yesterday.”

In (1), the RC *que viste ayer* modifies the relative head (RH) *hombre*. Given that this RC is of a restrictive type, i.e. it restricts the meaning of the antecedent, antecedent and RC together form the object argument of the matrix verb *conozco*. The semantic types of relative clauses, most prominently the dichotomy of restrictive and non-restrictive RCs, will play a role in the proposals regarding a structural analysis, as well as in the discussion around the varying forms of the relativizer.

Inside this complex modifier, we can see that the object position of the verb *viste* seems to be not filled, while at the same time, we understand that the relative head is the patient of the action of seeing, i.e. the antecedent plays a role in the subordinate clause as well. This double role is explained such that an element inside the RC, i.e. an operator similar to a *wh*-item in interrogative clauses, connects the antecedent and the empty object position: the operator abstracts over the relativization site. Traditionally, this operator has been termed relative pronoun, and in the Romance languages, it is often a morpheme of the *qu*-paradigm such as e.g. *cual*, *quien*, etc. in Spanish. Whether *que* as in (1) is to be sorted into this category is an issue of discussion, just like the exact categorial status of relativizing elements. For this reason, I will gloss all of these kind of elements as *rel*, “relativizer”, a supposedly theory-neutral term. However, in chapter 4.3., I will argue for a DP-status of all relativizers in the Romance languages, including relative *que*.

Apart from headed RCs, there are also relative structures that lack an antecedent, so-called free relatives. This is illustrated in (2):

- (2) [*Lo que tú dices*\_ABS]<sub>RC</sub> *no me gusta*.  
the rel you say not cl.1.sg.dat pleases  
“I don’t like what you are saying.”

The internal structure of a free RC is similar to that of a headed RC insofar as a relativizer, *lo que*, abstracts over a gap. However, given that there is no nominal antecedent to the RC, a free relative clause represents the argument of the matrix clause by itself: in (3), *lo que tú dices* is the nominative argument of the matrix verb *gusta*. Free relative clauses will play a role e.g. in the discussion of variation in the form of the relativizer, but in general, this work is



more concerned with headed relative clauses, mostly because these are the types of RCs that are famous for showing resumption.

The second term that needs to be defined is resumption. According to Rouveret (2011: 2), a resumptive pronoun is “the overt pronominal [element] found in some languages in the variable position of ... A'-dependency constructions”. This is exemplified in (3) for Portuguese, where the resumptive pronoun is marked in bold.

- (3) *Este é [o homem]<sub>i</sub> que **lhe** <sub>j</sub> enviam o livro.*  
 this is the man rel cl.3.sg.dat they.sent the book  
 “This is the man to whom they sent the book.”

Example (3), employing mere *que* as a relativizer, is a variant of a relative clause that is typical for colloquial, oral speech, as will be argued in chapter 3. A resumptive RC like this differs from a non-resumptive RC like in (1) mainly in containing a pronominal element instead of a gap, which is coreferent with the antecedent and therefore also with the relative operator. Given that in (3), the indirect object of the verb *enviam* is being relativized, the resumptive pronoun occurs as a dative clitic.

Salzmann (2017: 227) observes that cross-linguistically, resumption is a frequent phenomenon in relative clauses and dislocated constructions, while it is rarer in other A'-contexts such as interrogative *wh*-structures. Indeed, the Romance languages productively use what looks like resumptive clitic pronouns in clitic dislocations; cf. the examples for clitic left dislocation structures, CLLD, in (4a.) for Portuguese, (4b.) for Spanish, (4c.) for Catalan:

- (4) a. *Ao corvo, a raposa roubou-**lhe** o queijo.*  
 DAT.the raven the fox stole-cl.3.sg.dat the cheese  
 “From the raven, the fox stole the cheese.”  
 b. *Todo esto, **lo** dijo un profesional.*  
 all this cl.3.st.acc.masc said a professional  
 “All this, a professional said it.”  
 c. *El llibre, **el** vam comprar a Barcelona.*  
 the book cl.3.sg.acc.masc we.go to.buy in Barcelona  
 “The book, we bought it in Barcelona.”

(Villalba 2000: 44)

Also in certain interrogative contexts, one can find a resumptive pronoun at the end of an A'-chain, as illustrated in (5) for Spanish:

- (5) *¿A quién **le** diste qué regalo?*  
 DAT who cl.3.sg.dat you.gave which gift  
 “Whom did you give which gift?”

(Arregi 2003: 32)

While both clitic left dislocations and wh-questions have been analyzed as involving A'-movement, similar to the proposals for (non-resumptive) relative clauses, there seems to be evidence for the assumption that the respective phenomena do not represent the same structure and therefore should not be analyzed in the same way.

First, wh-questions differ from relative clauses and CLLD structures regarding the information-structural status of the dislocated element. While the latter encode an old-information topic, the interrogative pronoun of a question rather represents, or asks for, a new-information focus. Escobar (1997) relates this interpretative difference to a structural one: in Spanish, the subject may stay in its preverbal position in relative clauses, but must be inverted in wh-questions, as illustrated in the following example:

- (6) a. *La comunicación que Luisa envió a Tarragona por fin llegó.*  
 the abstract rel Luisa sent to Tarragona finally arrived  
 “The abstract that Luisa sent to Tarragona finally arrived.”
- b. \*¿*Qué Luisa envió a Tarragona?*  
 what Luisa sent to Tarragona  
 intended: “What did Luisa send to Tarragona?”  
 (Escobar 1997: 253)

In Escobar’s analysis, focal elements like interrogative pronouns move up to SpecTP, where they check their feature [+F] or [+WH] against T, turning this head strong enough to trigger obligatory verb movement. Relative pronouns, on the other hand, only pass through SpecTP and end up in a higher specifier position, SpecCP, as do clitic-left-dislocated arguments (cf. also Rizzi 1997). In this way, there is no specifier-head agreement with T, and therefore T is not strong enough to trigger verb raising.

Further evidence against treating relative clauses and CLLD as the same phenomenon comes from the distribution of resumptive pronouns in the respective context. First, all kinds of arguments can undergo CLLD, like e.g. direct and indirect objects, as illustrated in (4) above. If a language has the appropriate clitic form, also other arguments can be left-dislocated, like for example PPs and locative adverbs, as illustrated in (7) for Catalan and Italian, respectively:

- (7) a. *De la Maria, en vam parlar ahir.*  
 of the Maria cl.obl we.go to.talk yesterday  
 “About Maria, we talked yesterday.”
- b. *Al mare, ci siamo già stati.*  
 to.thesea cl.loc we.have already been  
 “At the seaside, we have already been.”  
 (Villalba 2000: 44)

Furthermore, it is assumed that even if a Romance language does not have subject clitics, subjects can occur in CLLD structures. In this case, a null pronominal is inserted and does the work of a clitic<sup>1</sup>:

- (8) - ¿Y Juan?  
 and Juan  
 “What about Juan?”  
 - Juan, pro/ \*él está de vacaciones.  
 Juan he is of holidays  
 “Juan, he is on holidays.”  
 (Escobar 1997: 240)

Resumption in relative clauses, on the other hand, is not so freely available as resumption in CLLD. As will be discussed in the chapters 2 and 3, the “simple” form of resumption, as illustrated in example (4) above, is said to be possible with all kinds of arguments. However, the empirical study shows that in Portuguese, Spanish, as well as Catalan, it is preferred for dative arguments and dispreferred for non-dative arguments.

These considerations lead to the assumption that resumption in relative clauses, on the one hand, and CLLD and resumption in questions, on the other hand, constitute different phenomena. For this reason, the latter constructions will not be the focus of the argumentation. However, whenever it seems reasonable and necessary, I will come back to these structures and their analyses.

In this work, I compare the three Ibero-Romance languages Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan (Portuguese and Spanish mainly in their European versions, if not indicated otherwise), which show many parallels on the structural and morphological levels as well as other linguistic domains, which is not surprising given their close genetic relationship. At the same time, they show significant differences on all linguistic levels.

One example of similarities and differences in the three languages, regarding the nominal domain, is related to clitic pronouns. Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan have developed a paradigm of clitic personal pronouns, i.e. elements that represent a syntactic function but are not word-like in phonology, given that they need a host to lean on. This host is usually the verb, to which the clitic pronouns can cliticize in pre- and postposition. Clitic pronouns are able to substitute arguments in EP, Spanish and Catalan, like for example a dative clitic in the context of a ditransitive predicate, as in (9):

- (9) a. Dou o livro ao João. ≈ Dou-lhe o livro.  
 I.give the book A.the João I.give-cl.3.sg.dat the book  
 b. Doy el libro a Juan. ≈ Le doy el libro.  
 I.give the book A Juan cl.3.sg.dat I.give the book

---

<sup>1</sup> As for the question in which structural position a preverbal subject should be assumed in the Romance languages, and which role subject clitics play, cf. Poletto (2000), Costa & Duarte (2002), Cardinaletti (2004), Feldhausen (2014), among others.

c. *Dono el llibre al Jaume. ≈ Li dono el llibre.*  
 I.give the book A.the Jaume cl.3.sg.dat I.give the book  
 all: “I give J. the book. ≈ I give him the book.”

Now, in Spanish and Catalan, the dative clitic in this context is not necessarily in complementary distribution with the lexical argument, but the two elements can co-occur (10b., c.). This is not the case for Portuguese (10a.):

(10) a. *Dou(\*-lhe) o livro ao João.*  
 I.give(-cl.3.sg.dat) the book A.the João  
 b. *(Le) doy el libro a Juan.*  
 (cl.3.sg.dat) I.give the book A Juan  
 c. *(Li) dono el llibre al Jaume.*  
 (cl.3.sg.dat) I.give the book A.the Jaume  
 all: “I give J. the book.”

The contrast exemplified in (10) will be of importance in the argumentation about resumptive relative clauses in chapter 5.

The choice of these genetically closely related languages enables this work to address the phenomenon under consideration, viz. resumptive (and non-resumptive) relative clauses, from a microcomparative perspective, which is “the closest we can come, at the present time, to a controlled experiment in comparative syntax” (Kayne 2005: 281-282). In comparing languages this similar rather than languages that stem from different families, like e.g. an Indo-European and an Afroasiatic language, I aim to get to the bottom of the respective phenomena and their structural analyses regarding parallels and deviances in between the languages, without being diverted by macroparametric differences.

Chapter 2 and 3 are devoted to this enterprise. In chapter 2, I compare non-resumptive and resumptive relative clauses in EP, Spanish and Catalan, as they are described in the literature. Important factors will be the respective paradigms of relativizers and the factors determining the choice of one relativizer over the other, as well as variation in resumptive structures: they can be divided into “complex resumption”, i.e. a structure including a complex relativizer, and “simple resumption”, where a neutral, non-inflected relativizer occurs. In this chapter, my first research question is raised, viz. what is the reason for Spanish and Catalan to allow for three relativization structures, while Portuguese lacks complex resumption and thus allows only two relativization structures?

In chapter 3, on the other hand, I report the findings of three corpus studies that I conducted in order to examine the variation in relativizing structures and the respective determining factors in spontaneous, oral speech. For this purpose, I chose three corpora that offer language data of similar quality and style, viz. transcribed records of interview situations: the Annotated corpus of the DFG project *Synchronic and diachronic analysis of the syntax of Italian and Portuguese relative clauses*, ASCRP (Rinke 2016-), which consists of data from the *Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe*, CORDIAL-SIN (Martins 2000-), and from the *Perfil Sociolinguístico da Fala Bracarense*, BRAGA, (Barbosa 2011-2014) for

Portuguese; the *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Oral*, COSER, (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-) for Spanish; and three subcorpora of the *Corpus de Català Contemporani de la Universitat de Barcelona*, viz. *Textos orals dialectals del català sincronitzats. Una selecció* (Viaplana & Perea 2003), *Corpus oral dialectal (COD). Textos orals del balear* (Pons & Viaplana 2009), and *Corpus oral dialectal (COD). Selecció de textos* (Perea & Viaplana ed.) for Catalan. The corpora will be described in greater detail in chapter 3, which closes with my second research questions: how can the Case asymmetry found in Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan resumptive relative clauses, i.e. dative > accusative, be explained?

Having established a data basis, I turn my attention to a possible structural analysis for resumptive and non-resumptive RCs in the three languages in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4, I look at resumptive and non-resumptive RCs mainly from the structural perspective of A'-movement. As we have seen above, resumptive RCs differ from non-resumptive RCs in having an overt pronoun where a gap is expected. This seemingly little difference has had a huge consequence with respect to derivational analyses that have been proposed: for non-resumptive RCs, there is a unanimous agreement on the assumption that the relative operator – however complex, and be it overt or covert – moves to a non-argumental position, e.g. SpecCP, thus forming an A'-movement dependency between relativizer and relativization site, i.e. the gap. For resumptive RCs, on the other hand, the overtness of the pronominal element has led to the wide-spread assumption that there is no A'-movement of a relative operator, and that the overt material in argument position represents this un-moved constituent. Instead of a dependency established by movement, the RC's left periphery and the relativization site are connected via some binding operation, e.g. A'-binding. This dichotomy in structure of relative clauses has to face several problems, one of which is the fact that resumptive constructions have basically the same semantics of movement dependencies, as also Salzmann (2017: 180) notes. During the development of the analysis, I will address this bipartition of analyses for relativizing structures in terms of a third research question, and will argue that it is not tenable. I aim to promote the view that resumptive and non-resumptive relative construction can generally be analysed in a uniform way, without the need to assume specifics for individual constructions. Furthermore, I will show that different types of resumptive constructions need to be examined in different ways, as this is the only possibility to explain the differences between these closely related languages. Another point I will discuss consists of several proposals regarding the exact nature of the dislocated element in the RC and the structural relation between antecedent and subordinated clause, i.e. the latter's attachment site. The chapter closes with a proposal for simple resumption as scattered deletion on PF, i.e. the overt realization of the preferred interpretation of a wh-dependency, according to a proposal by Chomsky (1993). This proposal answers research questions 2 and 3.

In chapter 5, finally, I compare the two versions of resumptive RCs, i.e. simple and complex resumption. Given that the distribution of both phenomena and of the resumptive pronouns within the structures is not identical, I argue that we are dealing with two different phenomena that happen to share a similar surface: scattered deletion in the case of simple resumption, but clitic doubling in the case of complex resumption. In the course of the discussion, I follow recent proposals for clitic doubling in the Romance languages that argue

against an English-like dative alternation, i.e. against the existence of an indirect object of the category PP. I argue that all dative arguments are KPs, i.e. DP arguments that come with an additional Case layer, which has to be overtly expressed. In a relative clause, this constraint on overt realization of dative Case can be achieved either by means of a complex relativizer which is marked for Case, including a doubling clitic pronoun or not, or in the form of simple resumption. This explanation finally answers my first research question, and explains why Portuguese lacks complex resumption in relative clauses.

Chapter 6 closes with a summary and a discussion of open questions that need to be postponed for further research.

## 2. RELATIVIZING STRUCTURES IN PORTUGUESE, SPANISH, AND CATALAN

In this chapter, I will describe and compare European Portuguese (EP), Spanish, and Catalan with respect to their possibilities to form relative clauses. As we will see, the three languages under comparison behave basically in the same way, which is not surprising, given the close genetical proximity of the three languages.

First, Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan behave in the same way regarding what kinds of arguments can be relativized. The Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan & Comrie (1977) illustrates how accessible a certain syntactic function is for relativization, cross-linguistically:

(1) SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

In (1), “>” means “more accessible to relativization than”. The three languages under consideration here all allow relativization of the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, the oblique object, and the genitive. The last constituent, object of comparison, cannot be relativized in neither of the languages.

Second, relative clauses occur postnominally and are introduced by a morpheme of the *qu*-paradigm, which itself does not have any meaning (Peres & Mória 1995: 269), but which executes a grammatical function in the construction (Velooso 2013: 2070). Furthermore, the distribution of possible relativizers depends on the same factors in the three languages. This constituent, usually beginning with [k], therefore often dubbed as “morfema-Q”, is known as relative pronoun, relative adverb, or relative adjective (Peres & Mória 1995: 269, Brito & Duarte 2003: 661, Velooso 2013: 2070). Since these terms might be problematic as they involve theoretical implications, as will be discussed in chapter 4, I will use the supposedly theory-neutral term *relativizer* instead, marked as *rel* in the examples’ glosses.

The relativizers in the Romance languages are of a multifunctional character, combining the three basic operations of relative-clause formation according to Lehmann (1984): subordination, attribution, and identification of the syntactic gap. With this heavy functional load, the relativizers can be seen as extremely efficient when it comes to the distribution of grammatical functions. However, this structural efficiency does not necessarily correlate with functional efficiency, as far as language production and processing is concerned, as Pusch (2006) notes. For this reason, it is not uncommon for languages, especially for their spoken vernaculars, to resort to alternative ways of handling the basic operations of relative clause formation. From this perspective, resumptive relatives, which will be discussed later on in this chapter, could be understood as a more easily processed and derived alternative to more complex standard relatives.

Third, most of the relativizers are (at least, superficially) identical to the elements we find in interrogative and exclamative clauses, as is exemplified in (2) for Portuguese:

(2) a. *Uma pessoa que tu conheces.*  
a person rel you know  
“A person that you know.”

- b. *Que pessoa conheces?*  
what person you.know  
“Which person do you know?”
- c. *Que coisa!*  
what thing  
“Gee!”

This empirical fact has some impact on theoretical analyses on relativizing structures, as will be discussed in chapter 4.3.

Fourth, several descriptive works have proposed for the three languages that there are (at least) three parameters according to which the form of the RC, especially the form of the relativizer, is determined: first, the realization of a head noun plays a role, i.e. whether we are dealing with a free or with a headed RC. Within the headed RC paradigm, the type of the RC is decisive, i.e. whether it is a restrictive or a non-restrictive one (RRC vs. NRRC). Finally, the syntactic function of the relativized element has an impact, i.e. whether a subject, a direct object or any other constituent is relativized. Less important factors for the outcome of a RC and the relativizer seem to be the morphosemantic properties of the relativized element as well as the animacy of the antecedent/referent.

One important result of the following discussion will be that the languages do differ, however, in one important aspect: in one context, viz. dative-RCs, Spanish and Catalan allow three possibilities to form the clause, while Portuguese only offers two. My first research question, which follows from this peculiarity, is therefore why this should be the case, given the aforementioned proximity of the languages.

## 2.1. Canonical relative clauses

I use the term canonical relative clause to denote those relativizing structures that are default-like, show an expected structure and often belong to the accepted linguistic standard. In most cases, these canonical structures have an operator-like element in their left periphery and a gap in the argument position of the relativized element. This chapter is not meant to give an exhaustive description of all possible relativization structures in the languages under consideration, but to offer an overview of the standard or expectable versions of those RCs which will become important later on in the discussion about resumptive structures.

### 2.1.1. Portuguese

Regarding the factors mentioned above with respect to the outcome of the RC and the relativizer, the following picture emerges for European Portuguese RCs. Table 1 gives an overview of the possible combinations, cf. the next page.

The most obvious characteristic is that *que*, in principle, is possible everywhere, even though it might not be absolutely identical in meaning. In restrictive relatives, *que* is said to have a rather consecutive semantics (3a.), while in non-restrictive relatives, it expresses more of an adverbial expression (3b.):



- (3) a. *Tenho uma casa que abriga muita gente.*  
 I.have a house rel takes.in many people  
 “I have a house that takes in many people.”  
 ≈ *Tenho uma casa tal que abriga muita gente.*  
 I.have a house such that takes.in many people  
 “I have a house such that it takes in many people.”
- b. *Os homens, que são seres sociais, necessitam de viver em comunidade.*  
 the men rel are beings social they.need of to.live in  
 community  
 “Humans, who are social beings, need to live in community.”  
 (Brito & Duarte 2003: 662; 673)

**Table 1.** Relativizers in canonical EP headed relative clauses<sup>2</sup>

RC		relativizer	<i>que</i>	<i>o que</i>	<i>o qual</i>	<i>quem</i>	<i>cujo</i>	<i>onde</i>
	<b>free</b>	+hum	-	-	-	+	-	-
		-hum	-	+	-	-	-	+
<b>SU/DO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	-	-	(+)	-	-
		-hum	+	-	-	-	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	-	-	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	-	-
<b>DatO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	-	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	-	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	-	-
<b>OBL</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	-	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	-	+
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	-	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	-	+
<b>GEN</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	+	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	+	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	+	-
		-hum	+	-	+	-	+	-

Key: + = form possible in this context; - = form impossible in this context; (+) = form possible in this context with restrictions

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion, cf. Aßmann & Rinke (2017).

In free relative clauses, the relativizer *que* is necessarily accompanied by the definite article *o*:

- (4) *Todos sabemos o que temos de fazer.*  
 all we.know the rel we.have of to.do  
 “We all know what we have to do.”

The particularity that in restrictive subject and object relative clauses *que* is virtually the only possible relativizer has lead several authors to argue that in this case, *que* is indeed no relative element whatsoever, but rather a complementizer parallel to the one we find in complement clauses. I will come back to the discussion around the status of the relativizer *que* in detail in chapter 4.3. Note that in some very restricted contexts, *que* in restrictive and non-restrictive DO-RCs can be replaced by *a quem*, viz. if the relativized constituent is the prepositional argument of a verb like *amar*, ‘to love’, *louvar*, ‘to praise’, or *odiar*, ‘to hate’:

- (5) a. *Ele é o homem a quem amo mais que tudo na vida.*  
 he is the man A rel I.love more than all in.the life  
 “He is the man that I love more than anything else in the world.”  
 b. *Esse homem, a quem odeio profundamente, não me larga.*  
 that man A rel I.hate profoundly not cl.1.sg.acc release  
 “That man, whom I hate profoundly, does not let go of me.”  
 (Veloso 2013: 2090)

However, also in these contexts that involve verbs like *amar*, “to love”, *odiar*, “to hate”, and *louvar*, “to praise”, animacy of the referent is decisive for *quem* to occur. This is generally the case with this kind of relativizers, also in free RCs as well as in headed relative clauses introduced by a preposition. However, as shown in (6), other relativizers like *o qual* and *que* are also possible in the latter context.

- (6) *Ligou o homem [com que] / [com o qual] / [com quem]*  
 called the man with rel / with the rel/ with rel  
*falaste na festa.*  
 you.spoke in.the party  
 “The man with whom you talked at the party called.”

In non-restrictive subject and object relative clauses and in restrictive and non-restrictive indirect object, genitive, possessive, and prepositional relative clauses, *que* alternates with *o qual*. Consider (7) as an illustration for an indirect object RC.

- (7) *O idiota [a que]/ [ao qual]/[a quem] emprestei*  
 the idiot DAT rel/ DAT.the rel/ DAT rel I.lent  
*esse livro nunca mais mo devolveu.*

that book never more cl.1.sg.dat-cl.3.sg.acc.masc returned  
 “The idiot to whom I lent that book never gave it back.”

Which factors determine the choice between *que* and *o qual* in these contexts is not yet well understood. It seems to be clear that *que* is the more frequent form in colloquial speech whereas *o qual* may be preferred in formal registers. One of the results of the corpus study conducted by Aßmann & Rinke (2017) is that apparently, *o qual* does not form part of the active colloquial oral use of modern European Portuguese.

There are various possibilities to form a genitive relative clause in EP. As a variant to the prototypical relativizer *cujo*, combinations with *que/o qual/quem* are possible, as illustrated in (8). Interestingly, however, the distribution of the relativizers is not the same. While the more complex relativizers are exchangeable by *que* in contexts where the nominal complement is stranded (8b.), *que* is excluded in a variant that fronts the whole genitive constituent (8a.).

- (8) a. *Encontrei um rapaz [cujas primas]/[\*as primas de que]/*  
 I.met a boy whose cousins the cousins of rel  
*[as primas do qual] / [as primas de quem] conheço do*  
 the cousins of.the rel / the cousins of rel I.know of.the  
*instituto.*  
 school  
 “I met a boy whose cousins I know from school.”
- b. *Encontrei um rapaz [de que] / [do qual] / [de quem] conheço*  
 I.met a boy of rel / of.the rel / of rel I.know  
*as primas.*  
 the cousins  
 “I met a boy whose cousins I know.”

In example (8a.), the relative clause is introduced by a complex consisting of the genitive attribute and the relativizer: *[cujas primas]/ [as primas do qual]/ [as primas de quem]*. It seems that *que* cannot be part of a complex relativizer whereas *o qual* and *quem* can be and *cujo* always is. *Que* is only admitted in genitive relative clauses if the genitive attribute is stranded, as in (b.) (see also Veloso 2013: 2083, fn. 33)<sup>3</sup>.

Finally, the relativizer *onde* is only possible for locative relativizations. It is exchangeable by preposition+*que*.

- (9) *Não conheço a cidade onde / em que moras.*  
 not I.know the city where in rel you.live  
 “I don’t know the city where you live.”

---

<sup>3</sup> It seems to be the case that the acceptability of these complex relativizers in restrictive relatives is subject to individual variation: while Veloso (2013) considers them grammatical, Peres & Mória (1995) find them odd.

The aforementioned relativizers find their counterparts in the interrogative paradigm:

- (10) a. *(O) que estas a fazer?*  
the what you.are to to.do  
“What are you doing?”
- b. *Qual dos casacos vais comprar?*  
which of.the jackets you.go to.buy  
“Which jacket are you going to buy?”
- c. *Quem é que encontraste ontem?*  
who is that you.met yesterday  
“Who did you meet yesterday?”
- d. *Onde é que moras?*  
where is that you.live  
“Where do you live?”

The only exception to this seems to be *cujo*, which is used only for genitive relativizations and does not have any interrogative semantics whatsoever, at least not in the contemporary language. According to Veloso (2013: 2076, fn. 23), however, in Latin and earlier stages of Portuguese, *cujo* and its predecessors were indeed used in interrogative contexts. Unfortunately, though, she does not provide an example for this affirmation.

### 2.1.2. Spanish

Consider Table 2 for an overview of the possible relativizers in Spanish. The most obvious observation that can be made about Table 2 is that forms of *el que* are possible basically everywhere. The only exception is found in the realm of restrictive subject and object RCs. As a generalization, it seems to be the case that only *que* is possible for these contexts, as in (11a., b.).

**Table 2.** Relativizers in canonical Spanish relative clauses

RC			relativizer		<i>que</i>	<i>el que</i>	<i>el cual</i>	<i>quien</i>	<i>cuyo</i>	<i>donde</i>
	<b>free</b>	+hum	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
		-hum	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>SU/DO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	(+)	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
		-hum	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
		-hum	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>DatO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
		-hum	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
		-hum	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
<b>OBL</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
		-hum	(+)	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
		-hum	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
<b>GEN</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-

Key: + = form possible in this context; - = form impossible in this context; (+) = form possible in this context with restrictions

(11) a. *El hombre **que** vino te dejó esta carta.*  
the man rel he.came cl.2.sg.dat he.left this letter  
“The man who came left you this letter.”

b. *El escritor **que** premiaron anoche vendrá a nuestra tertulia próximamente.*  
the writer rel they.rewarded last.night will.come  
to our gathering soon

“The writer whom they awarded a prize yesterday will soon come to our meetings.”

(Brucart 1999: 491)

However, there is evidence that in certain contexts, also other relativizers can be employed. First, Lope Blanch (1986) reports that in colloquial Mexican Spanish as well as other Spanish varieties, *quien* is also used in restrictive SU RCs:

- (12) *En la gráfica aparecen los investigadores*  
 in the graphic they.appear the investigators  
**quienes se encargan de conocer la realidad...**  
 rel refl they.take.care of to.know the truth  
 “In the picture, the investigators who take care of learning the truth appear.”  
 (Lope Blanch 1986: 119)

Second, in a restrictive direct object RC whose antecedent is [+human], the relativizer can also be a more complex form like *el que* or *quien*, preceded by the morpheme for differential object marking, *a*, cf. (13):

- (13) *El escritor al que/ a quien premiaron anoche...*  
 the writer A.the rel A rel they.rewarded last.night  
 “The writer whom they awarded a prize yesterday night...”  
 (Brucart 1999: 491)

*Que* alone is much more restricted than its counterpart preceded by the definite determiner. Apart from restrictive subject and object RCs, it can only occur in the context of a restrictive, oblique RC modifying a non-animate antecedent – a context in which *el que* is also possible. There are further restrictions for this: the antecedent has to be definite, the relative must not be negated, and only monosyllabic prepositions are able to select for *que*. There is only one context that favours *que* over *el que*: a restrictive oblique RC whose relativizer expresses mood or manner. Thus, the following structures are possible:

- (14) a. *Le regalé la pluma con (la) que había escrito*  
 cl.3.sg.dat I.gifted the feather with the rel I.had written  
*algunas de mis novelas.*  
 some of my novels  
 “I gave him the pen with which I had written some of my novels.”  
 b. *Le dio todo el dinero de(l) que disponía.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat he.gave all the money of.the rel provided  
 “He gave him all the money that he had.”  
 c. *El modo con (??el) que fuimos tratados fue humillante.*  
 the way with the rel we.were.treated was humiliating  
 “The way we were treated was humiliating.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 494-495)

In oblique RCs, including indirect object RCs, *el que* can be substituted by the more formal *el cual* as well as by *quien*, provided that the antecedent is [+human]. Consider (15) for these variants:

- (15) a. *El profesor a quien no (le) concedieron la venia docente.*  
 the professor DAT rel not cl.3.sg.dat they.granted the permission  
 teaching  
 “The professor to whom they did not grant the teaching permission.”
- b. *Un estudiante al que sólo le faltaban dos asignaturas...*  
 a student DAT.the rel only cl.3.sg.dat they.missed two subjects  
 “A student who needed only two more subjects.”
- c. *Un policía de la brigada criminal al cual (le) entregaron el arma homicida.*  
 a policeman of the squad criminal  
 DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat they.handed.in the weapon homicidal  
 “A police officer of the criminal police department to whom they gave the murder weapon.”
- (Brucart 1999: 404)

Note that in all three instances of the dative RCs in (15), the relativizer is accompanied by a coreferential clitic pronoun, *le*. According to the definition made by Rouveret (2011), cf. the explanations in chapter 1, these relative clauses are cases of resumptive structures, given that an overt pronominal occurs in the variable position of this A'-dependency construction. In (15a.) and (15c.), it is also possible to have a gap instead of a clitic. I will come back to this kind of resumptive structure in chapter 2.2.

Finally, Spanish has two relativizers which are specialized for only one syntactic function: *donde* for a local oblique object in free and headed RCs, and *cuyo* for a genitive RC. In headed RCs, both can, however, also be replaced by a combination of prepositions and other relativizers. Consider (16):

- (16) a. *La casa donde/ en (la) que vivía está en Chamberí.*  
 the house where in the rel he.lived is in Chamberí  
 “The house where he lived is in Chamberí.”
- b. *Esta es la novela cuya traducción al francés/*  
 this is the novel whose translation to.the French  
*la traducción al francés de la cual /*  
 the translation to.the French of the rel  
 \**la traducción al francés de la que /*  
 the translation to.the French of the rel  
 \**la traducción al francés de que acaba de aparecer.*  
 the translation to.theFrench of rel stops of to.appear  
 “This is the novel whose French translation just came out.”
- (Brucart 1999: 504; 508)

Similar to what we have seen in the Portuguese system above, *(el) que* is not able to pied-pipe with it the whole possessee argument. With a stranded complement, however, Brucart

(1999) notices that the structure becomes acceptable, at least with the slightly more complex relativizer: *la novela de (?la) que acaba de aparecer la traducción al francés*.

It is true also for Spanish that the relativizers find their counterparts in the interrogative paradigm. Again, the genitive relativizer *cuyo* does not have any interrogative semantics in the contemporary language.

- (17) a. *¿Qué estás haciendo?*  
what you.are doing  
“What are you doing?”
- b. *¿Cuál de los libros te interesa más?*  
which of the books cl.2.sg.dat interests more  
“Which of the books interests you more?”
- c. *¿Quién eres tú?*  
who you.are you  
“Who are you?”
- d. *¿Dónde viven tus padres?*  
where they.live your parents  
“Where do your parents live?”

### 2.1.3. Catalan

Consider Table 3 on the next page for an overview of the possible relativizers in canonical RCs in Catalan. An important characteristic of the Catalan relativizer paradigm as depicted in Table 3 is the fact that the form *el que* and its variants is not part of the genuine linguistic system, but rather judged as a Spanish influence.



**Table 3.** Relativizers in Catalan canonical relative clauses

RC			relativizer		<i>que</i>	<i>el que</i>	<i>el qual</i>	<i>qui</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>què</i>
	<b>free</b>	+hum	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
		-hum	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
<b>SU/DO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	+	-	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	-	-
		-hum	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-
<b>DatO</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	+
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	+
<b>OBL</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	+
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	+	+
<b>GEN</b>	<b>RRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	+
	<b>NRRC</b>	+hum	-	(+)	+	+	+	+	-	-
		-hum	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	-	+

Key: + = form possible in this context; - = form impossible in this context; (+) = form possible in this context with restrictions

Therefore, prescriptive grammarians reject the usage of this element (e.g. Fabra 1956), while other, less prescriptive authors have acknowledged the fact that *el que* is a pervasive relativizer in the everyday language and as such, forms de facto part of the language (cf. Badia i Margarit 1994). Most of all, it is used in oblique contexts, for which also other, genuine Catalan forms are available: *què* for inanimate referents<sup>4</sup>, *qui* for human referents, and forms of *el qual* for any referent:

- (18) a. *Ja hem vist la pel·lícula de la qual/ de què ens parlem.*  
 already we.have seen the movie of the rel of rel cl.1.pl.dat  
*parlem.*  
 you.talked  
 “We have already seen the movie that you told us about.”

<sup>4</sup> In Eastern Catalan variants, *què* [kɛ] differs from mere *que* [kə] regarding the vowel's quality. Etymologically speaking, however, *què* and *que* seem to have developed from the same Latin relative pronouns QUID and QUEM (cf. DCVB, *que*).

- b. *La noia amb qui/ amb la qual anava és la Carme.*  
 the girl with rel with the rel I.walked is the Carme  
 “The girl with which I went is Carme.”  
 (Solà 2003: 2468)

In the oblique relativizer paradigm, *on* is specialized for only a locative argument. It can also be replaced by a preposition in combination with other relativizers. However, not all of them display the same distribution:

- (19) a. *El calaix on/ en el qual/ en què ho*  
 the drawer where/ in the rel/ in rel cl.3.sg.acc.neutr  
*he trobat.*  
 I.have found  
 “The drawer in which I found it.”
- b. *El poble on/ al qual/ \*a què anem.*  
 the village where/ to.the rel/ to rel we.go  
 “The village where we are going.”
- c. *Lleida, des d'on/ \*des de què/ \*des de la qual ara*  
 Lleida from of'where/ from of rel/ from of the rel now  
*et truco, és...*  
 cl.2.sg.acc I.call is  
 “Lleida, from where I am calling you now, is...”  
 (Solà 2003: 2477)

The possibility to substitute *on* with another relativizer seems to depend on the type of the referent, the kind of RC and also on the kind of locality/directionality.

There is another point of interest with these locative relative clauses in Catalan. Apart from the usual gap structure, as depicted in (19), there also exists a variant like the following, which includes a coreferent clitic pronoun instead of a gap:

- (20) *Vam visitar l'escola on hi estudien els nostres nebots.*  
 we.go to.visit the'school where cl.loc they.study the our nephews  
 “We visited the school where our nephews study.”  
 (Albareda 2013: 276)

Albareda (2013) argues that this locative clitic *hi* can occur in restrictive as well as non-restrictive RCs. In the first case, the clitic represents the referent's specificity and therefore occurs primarily in contexts that favour a specific reading, such as indicative mood or definiteness of the antecedent. In a non-restrictive case, on the other hand, the clitic is a representation of the rhematic character of the relativized argument. Since appositive RCs are always rhematic, the occurrence of this doubling locative clitic is much more frequent than in restrictive RCs, and does not underlie the same restrictions (Albareda 2013: 278).

Albareda (2013), following Pusch (2006), calls this *on+hi* kind of locative RC “relativa pleonàstica”, in contrast to a further possibility to form a locative relative clause: the combination of only *que* and the clitic *hi*, known as “relativa decumulativa”.

There is another type of RC that shows this kind of variation: the dative RCs. First, they can be formed as a gap structure, including any relativizer but *que*, which has to be preceded by the dative marker *a* (21a.). In some cases, instead of a gap, we find a clitic pronoun inside the RC, cf. (21b.), similar to what was discussed in the subchapter on Spanish relative clauses above. Again, these structure fall under the definition of resumptive relative clauses:

- (21) a. *És un home a qui no lluïx la faena.*  
 is a man DAT rel not shines the work  
 “He is a man who is struggling with his work.”  
 (AVL 2006: 189)
- b. *Otegi és un bon líder a qui li falta missatge.*  
 Otegi is a good leader DAT rel cl.3.sg.dat lacks message  
 “Otegi is a good leader who is lacking a message.”  
 (Solà 2003: 2514)

A final observation can be made with respect to the paradigm of genitive RCs. As in the other two languages, the genitive argument can be relativized in Catalan, but this language has not developed a specialized morpheme, in contrast to Spanish *cuyo* and Portuguese *cujo* (Thielemann 1998). Therefore, the linguistic system falls back to alternatives such as *N+del qual* and the like:

- (22) *L’home el nom del qual no recordo.*  
 the’man the name of.the rel not I.remember  
 “The man whose name I don’t remember.”

In the colloquial language, however, other forms are used for e.g. marking a possessive relationship, among them bare *qual* and *quin*:

- (23) a. *L’home qual ciència admirem.*  
 the’man rel science we.admire  
 “The man whose science we admire.”
- b. *La casa quin propietari acaba de morir.*  
 the house rel owner ends of to.die  
 “The house whose owner just died.”  
 (Huber 1929; cited after Thielemann 1998: 142)

Thielemann (1998: 142) comments as follows on this phenomenon: “Die Ausweichvarianten offenbaren erneut die enge Verwandtschaft von Relativa und Interrogativa”, i.e. these substitute forms reveal again the close kinship of relative and interrogative morphemes, since the speakers obviously simply go for other items of the same paradigm if they feel the

need for it. As was the case for Portuguese and Spanish above, also in Catalan, the relative items have an interrogative counterpart:

- (24) a. *De què parlàveu?*  
of what you.spoke  
“What did you speak about?”  
b. *Qui has vist?*  
who you.have seen  
“Whom did you see?”  
c. *A on vas?*  
to where you.go  
“Where are you going?”

There are, however, two exceptions to the overlap of the interrogative and the relative systems: *qual* is only used as a relative, while *quin* is only used as an interrogative, in the function of “which X”, i.e. the function that in Spanish and Portuguese is carried out by the morpheme *cual/qual*. At least, this is the situation in the standard language. As argued above, there is at least one context in which *quin* is also used as a relativizer, viz. in a genitive RC. It seems to be the case, hence, that historic developments have led to the respective specializations of the morphemes, while they belong to the same category (cf. chapter 4.3.).

## 2.2. Resumptive relative clauses

As defined in chapter 1, resumptive relative clauses (resRCs) are a kind of relativizing structure in which an overt element occurs in the position where a gap would be expected: i.e., in a DO relative clause, a morpheme representing the direct object occurs apart from a relativizer, and so on. Consider example (25) for Portuguese, where the resumptive element, *a*, is marked in bold and the relative clause in which it is embedded is underlined:

- (25) *Que é uma pronúncia cantada que eu própria que sou de  
what is a pronunciation sung rel I myself rel I.am of  
cá não **a** sei muito bem dizer.  
here not cl3.sg.acc.femI.know very well to.say  
“Which is a singing pronunciation that I myself, being from here, don’t know how to say it very well.” (i.e. don’t know how to imitate it)  
(Brito & Duarte 2003: 667)*

The relevant RC in (25) is an object relative on the complement of *dizer*, “to say”. As we can see, the subordinate clause is introduced by a relativizer, *que*, but at the same time, the clitic *a* occurs in argument position, representing the same element that the relativizer is supposed to encode.

Resumption is not an uncommon phenomenon in the languages of the world, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.2. on the theoretical background of the resumptive structures. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that also in Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan, these structures are found. A comparison will show that the three languages show quite similar patterns in this respect.

The resumptive element in (25), *a*, represents the direct object of the subordinated verb *dizer*, and, as such, comes in the shape of a clitic pronoun. This is not a peculiarity of the resumptive relative structures, but the normal way for Romance languages to express a non-stressed object. Clitic pronouns are, in comparison to strong pronouns, deficient on several levels, e.g., they cannot be stressed, they cannot be coordinated, and they always depend on a host, mostly the verb, so they always occur verb adjacent. This particular behaviour has led to the conclusion that they are also structurally deficient, or less complex, than strong (and weak) pronouns (cf. Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

Note that in the chapter before, I already treated a relativization structure that includes a clitic pronoun, viz. the structure that includes a complex relativizer and a coreferential clitic pronoun, as e.g. in (15), repeated from above:

- (15) *El professor a **quien** no (le) concedieron la venia*  
 the professor DAT rel not cl.3.sg.dat they.granted the permission  
*docente.*  
 teaching  
 “The professor to whom they did not grant the teaching permission.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 404)

In the discussion, it will become clear that the resumptive structure in (15) and its counterpart including only *que* and a resumptive pronoun do not represent the same phenomenon, although some authors treat them as one and the same.

### 2.2.1. Portuguese

Although they do not form part of the standard language, resumptive relative clauses are considered to occur frequently in colloquial speech in modern European Portuguese, irrespective of the speaker’s education or social status (cf. Brito 1995, Brito & Duarte 2003, Veloso 2013), and can even occur in journalistic and literary texts (Peres & Mória 1995)<sup>5</sup>. Apart from EP, these structures are reported to be particularly frequent in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as well as in African Portuguese (AP) varieties (cf. Brito 1995, Silva & Lopes 2007, Alexandre & Hagemeyer 2013).

Alexandre (2000) reports that resumption is possible in subject (26a.), direct (26b.) and indirect object (26c.), oblique (26d.), and genitive relative clauses (26e.). The respective resumptive elements are marked bold in the following examples.

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<sup>5</sup> However, some authors see a link between education and the chosen relativization strategy, as the quantity of canonical structures increases over time (cf. Valente 2008, Duarte 2011, Alexandre & Hagemeyer 2013). Duarte (2011) therefore considers canonical RCs to be a structure of late acquisition.

- (26) a. *Temos lá, no meu ano, rapazes que eles*  
 we.have there in.the my year boys rel pron.3.pl.nom  
*parecem atrasados mentais.*  
 they.seem deficient mentally  
 “In my year, there are some boys that seem mentally deficient.”
- b. *Há certas coisas que não as compreendo*  
 there.is certain things rel not cl.3.pl.acc.femI.understand  
*e as acho bem.*  
 and cl.3.pl.acc.femI.think well  
 “There are certain things that I do not understand and that I approve of.”
- c. *Existem aqueles morros aqueles que eles lhes chamam morros.*  
 they.exist some hills those rel they cl.3.pl.dat they.call hills  
 “There are those hills, those that they call hills.”
- d. *Há freguesas boas que a gente já está*  
 there.is clients good rel the people already is  
*habituada a trabalhar com elas.*  
 used to to.work with pron.3.pl.nom  
 “There are good clients that we are already used to work with.”
- e. *Esta irmã também que lhe morreu o marido*  
 that sister also rel cl.3.sg.dat died the husband  
*fez a mesma coisa.*  
 did the same thing  
 “Also that sister whose husband died did the same thing.”
- (Alexandre 2000: 63)

One important aspect in the research on resumption in relative clauses is in what contexts this structure preferably occurs. Most authors agree that the more complex the construction, the easier it is to find a resumptive element inside the RC (Brito 1995, Peres & Móia 1995, Brito & Duarte 2003, Veloso 2013). In particular, complexity in form of an island environment favours resumption, as has been argued for EP as well as several other languages (McCloskey 1990, Prince 1990, Suñer 1998, Bianchi 2004, Veloso 2007, among others). Example (27) illustrates such an island context:

- (27) *Há coisas fantásticas que eu nem sei como é que*  
 there.are things fantastic rel I not.even know how is that  
*elas me acontecem.*  
 they cl.1.sg.dat happen  
 “There are fantastic things that I don’t even know how they happen to me.”
- (Veloso 2013: 2130)

In (27), the relative clause contains a subordinate interrogative clause introduced by *como*, “how”. Within this wh-island, the resumptive element *elas* occurs, which is coreferent with the

antecedent *coisas fantásticas*. The assumption that island contexts favour resumption has been justified by assuming that in resumptive RCs, movement of the relativizer to its clause-initial position is somehow not possible<sup>6</sup> and a complementizer-like element, *que*, is therefore introduced into the relative clause CP.

Apart from structural complexity, Veloso (2013: 2130ff) gives four more conditions which are said to favour resumption: the indefiniteness of the antecedent (28a.), a presentational verb introducing the head noun (e.g. *haver* “to exist”, *ser* “to be” and *ter* “to have”) (28b.), the complexity of the relativizing constituent and its syntactic function, especially if the relativized argument is a genitive (28c.), and finally an assertive value, i.e. indicative mood, of the RC, as is the case in all of Veloso’s examples.

- (28) a. *Na carta temos uma pequena nota que a*  
 in.the.letter we.have a little note rel cl.3.sg.acc.fem  
*gostaríamos de fazer.*  
 we.would.like of to.do  
 “There is a little note in the letter that we would like to do.”
- b. *Porque isso são ordens que eu tenho e*  
 because.that are orders rel I have and  
*que não posso fugir a elas.*  
 rel not I.can to.flee to pron.3.pl.fem  
 “Because these are orders that I have and that I cannot flee from.”
- c. *Porque há genes... que a componente ambiental,*  
 because.there.is genes rel the component environmental  
*tem um peso enorme na sua manifestação.*  
 has a weight enormous in.the.their manifestation  
 “Because there are genes for whose manifestation the environment is enormously important.”
- (Veloso 2013: 2130-2133)

These generalizations are based on a small corpus study, which the author conducted and discussed in earlier work (cf. Veloso 2007). In the other part of that work, however, where Veloso investigates RCs in a spontaneous speech corpus, the second generalization, i.e. the antecedent being a complement of a presentational verb, does not hold, as the majority of RCs that show one of these verbs is formed in a canonical way.

With respect to the choice of the relativizer, Veloso (2013) states that *que* is not the only possible element in resumptive relatives, but that also more complex relativizers, like *onde* “where”, can co-occur with a resumptive element, like *lá* “there”:

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<sup>6</sup> Cf., for example, Alexandre (2000) for EP, Suñer (1998) for Spanish. There is, however, an ongoing debate regarding (non-)movement in resumptive relative structures, see e.g. Boeckx (2003) for an overview. I will come back to this issue in chapter 4.

- (29) *Vimos água no fundo do poço,*  
 we.saw water.in.the.bottom of.the.shaft  
*onde lá há instalação eléctrica também.*  
 where cl.loc there.is installation electric also  
 “We saw water at the bottom of the shaft, where there is also electrical installation.”  
 (Veloso 2013: 2131)

### 2.2.2. Spanish

Also in colloquial Spanish, the resumptive strategy for relative clauses is frequently found. According to Lope Blanch (1986), it has been attested for various Spanish varieties, such as Mexican, European, Puerto Rican, Colombian, Venezuelan, Honduran, Chilean, and Argentinian Spanish. The author reports that resumption is possible in all syntactic functions, but primarily occurs in direct and indirect object position. Less frequently, it can also be found in oblique and subject contexts. The most accessible relativizing context for resumption, however, is in a genitive RC, which would include the relativizer *cuyo*, “whose”, if formed in a canonical way. Given that this genitive relativizing element is particularly “difficult”, it is “el que más ... favorece el desdoblamiento” (Lope Blanch 1986: 123), i.e. the one that favours most splitting into *que* and a possessive pronoun as in (30):

- (30) a. *El niño cuyos padres lo abandonaron.*  
 the child whose parents cl.3.sg.acc.masc abandoned  
 b. *El niño que sus padres lo abandonaron.*  
 the child rel his parents cl.3.sg.acc.masc abandoned  
 both: “The child whose parents abandoned him.”  
 (Contreras 1999: 1958)

Brucart (1999) adopts Lope Blanch’s affirmations and adds some more contexts which are supposed to favour resumption: the first and most important context is that of distance between the relativizer and the relativized position, in particular if there are clausal frontiers. Compare (31a.) and (31b.):

- (31) a. *El atracador, a quien algunos testigos aseguran haberlo visto...*  
 the raider A rel some witnesses they.assure  
*haberlo visto...*  
 to.have-cl.3.sg.acc.masc seen  
 “The raider, whom some witnesses assure having seen him.”  
 b. *??El atracador, a quien lo vieron por la zona...*  
 the raider A rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc they.saw around the zone  
 “The raider, whom they saw around the area.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 405)



In (31a.), the relativizer *a quien* and the resumptive pronoun *lo* are separated by a clausal frontier, viz. the sentence *algunos testigos aseguran*. For this reason, the insertion of a resumptive is acceptable, while (31b.), where there is nothing in between *a quien* and *lo*, is much worse, even though both structures do not form part of the normative language.

Another important instance of “distance” between relativizer and relativized position is the intervention of interrogative or exclamative operators, i.e. an interrogative island like in (32); compare also the Portuguese example in (25) above:

- (32) *El hombre que no sabes cuándo lo viste.*  
 the man rel not you.know when cl.3.sg.acc you.saw  
 “The man that you don’t know when you saw him.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 406)

In example (32), the interrogative word *cuándo* intervenes between the relativizer *que* and the resumptive pronoun *lo*, which, according to Brucart, makes this structure acceptable. Further aspects favouring resumption are the non-restrictiveness of the RC (33), and an indefinite antecedent in the case of a restrictive relative clause (34)<sup>7</sup>.

- (33) *Hace lo que le dice su hermano mayor,*  
 does cl.3.sg.neut rel cl.3.sg.dat says his brother older  
*que lo respeta como un padre.*  
 rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc respects like a father  
 “He does whatever his older brother tells him, whom he respects like a father.”  
 (Lope Blanch 1986: 122)

- (34) *Es un libro que me lo recomendó el profesor.*  
 is a book rel 1.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc recommended the teacher  
 “It’s a book that the teacher recommended me.”  
 (Trujillo 1990: 30)

An important aspect with regard to these criteria is made implicitly in Brucart (1999), but explicitly in Trujillo (1990): only DO resumptive relatives underlie these restrictions, while dative resumptive relatives can be found no matter what their semantic type or the nature of their antecedent. I.e., while dative resumption occurs in restrictive and non-restrictive RCs as well as with definite and indefinite antecedents (cf. 35), DO resumption does not have this kind of freedom: it either occurs with a definite antecedent in a non-restrictive RC, or with an indefinite antecedent in a restrictive RC (cf. 36):

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<sup>7</sup> The listed factors correspond to the criteria mentioned in other studies, although not every author itemizes each and every one of the factors, or in the same order. Cf., among others, Herrera (1990) on Spanish of the Canary islands, Silva-Corvalán (1996) on Chilean Spanish, Bentivoglio (2003) on Venezuelan Spanish, Cerrón-Palomino (2006, 2015, 2018) on Limeño Spanish.

- (35) a. *Hay gente que le gusta vivir así.*  
 there.is people rel cl.3.sg.dat pleases to.live so  
 “There are people who like to live this way.”
- b. *Te presento a mi hermano, que ya le concedieron la jubilación.*  
 cl.2.sg.dat I.present A my brother rel already  
 cl.3.sg.dat they.granted the retirement  
 “I present to you my brother, to whom they have already granted the retirement.”
- c. *Ese es el escritor que le dieron el premio.*  
 that is the writer rel cl.3.sg.dat they.gave the prize  
 “That one is the writer to whom they gave the prize.”
- (Trujillo 1990: 37)

- (36) a. *Es el libro, que me lo recomendó el profesor.*  
 is the book rel cl.1.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc recommended  
 the teacher  
 “It is the book, which the teacher recommended to me.”
- b. *Es un libro que me lo recomendó el profesor.*  
 is a book rel cl.2.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc recommended  
 the teacher  
 “It is a book that the teacher recommended to me.”
- c. \**Es el libro que me lo recomendó el profesor.*  
 is the book rel cl.1.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc recommended the teacher
- (Trujillo 1990: 32)

A further important distinction is made by Brucart (1999: 404) with respect to dative RCs. He differentiates between RCs that combine mere *que* with a dative clitic, which he calls “pronombre reasuntivo”, resumptive pronoun, and RCs that are introduced by a complex relativizer marked with *a*, which are doubled by a dative clitic, which he labels “pronombre pleonástico”, pleonastic pronoun. Compare (37a.) and (37b., c.):

- (37) a. *Iba con un muchacho que le dicen el Gordo.*  
 he.went with a boy rel cl.3.sg.dat they.say the Fat  
 “He always went with a boy whom they call the Fat One.”  
 (Lope Blanch 1986: 123)
- b. *El profesor a quien no le concedieron la venia docente.*  
 the professor DAT rel not cl.3.sg.dat they.granted  
 the permission teaching  
 “The professor to whom they did not grant the teaching permission.”

c. *Un estudiante al que sólo le faltaban*  
 a student DAT.the rel only cl.3.sg.dat they.missed  
*dos asignaturas...*  
 two subjects  
 “A student who needed only two more subjects.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 404)

For Brucart, only (37a.) is a real case of resumption. The occurrence of a clitic in (37b.) and (37c.), on the other hand, is due to “condiciones más generales de la sintaxis del español” (Brucart 1999: 404), i.e. more general conditions of Spanish syntax. With this, he hints to the general possibility of Spanish dative arguments to be doubled by a clitic pronoun, also in matrix clauses, as in (38):

(38) *No le concedieron la venia docente al profesor.*  
 not cl.3.sg.dat they.granted the permission teaching DAT.the professor  
 “They did not grant the teaching permission to the professor.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 404)

Brucart (1999: 404) states that even those speakers that tend to not use a doubling clitic in contexts such as (38) freely insert one in a relative clause construction such as (37a.).

These two distinctions, made by Trujillo (1990) and Brucart (1999) respectively, will be very important for the ongoing discussion. Trujillo’s affirmation about the Case asymmetry regarding the possibility of inserting a resumptive element makes predictions about the corpus data, and will therefore be dealt with in chapter 3. Brucart’s differentiation of “real” dative resumption and those occurrences of a dative clitic that have to do with more general tendencies of the Spanish language is an important hint for the direction of the analysis.

### 2.2.3. Catalan

It seems to be the case that resumption in relative clauses is a common phenomenon in all Catalan varieties: it is mentioned in most grammars, descriptive as well as prescriptive ones, for the various varieties. Furthermore, also previous empirical studies prove that resumption is a productive structure in the oral language.

The corpus study conducted by Pusch (2006) shows that the string *que*+pronoun is possible for subject and direct object RCs (in his terms, “pleonastic relative clauses”) as well as for indirect object and PP (partitive, locative) RCs (in his terms, “decumulative relative clauses”). Solà’s (2003) discussion of the phenomenon confirms this; he furthermore gives some generalizations with respect to contexts that favour these “relatives amb duplicació pronominal”, relatives with pronominal doubling.

The first criterion that according to Solà forms part of the class of duplication/resumption relatives involves dative RCs, which easily accept the occurrence of a clitic pronoun, despite of rejection by normative grammarians (Solà 2003: 2515). He further subdivides this class: first, dative clitics are likely to be found in spoken language in relatives with a typical indirect

object, cf. (39a., b.). Note that Solà does not differentiate between *que*+clitic and complex relativizer+clitic, contrary to Brucart (1999), as exemplified above.

- (39) a. *M'hauria agradat ser pianista ...*,  
 cl.3.sg.dat'would.have pleased to.be pianist  
*que els donen propina*  
 rel cl.3.pl.dat they.give tip  
 "I would have liked to be a pianist, to whom they give a tip."  
 b. *Va venir l'advocat al qual (li) havíem*  
 goes to.come the'lawyer DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat they.had  
 {dit/ comunicat/ explicat} l'afer.  
 said/ told/ explained the'affair  
 "The lawyer came to whom they had explained the affair."  
 (Solà 2003: 2515)

Second, the class of psychological verbs, which select a dative DP as experiencer argument, "exigeixen un clíctic datiu a la seva vora" (ib.), i.e. demand a dative clitic near them (40).

- (40) *Per a aquelles persones {que/ a qui/ a les quals}*  
 for to those persons rel/ DAT rel/ DAT the rel  
*no {\*(els)/ \*(ens)} agrada/ interessa el futbol...*  
 not cl.3.pl.dat/ cl.1.pl.dat pleases/interests the soccer  
 "For those persons who do not like/who are not interested in soccer..."  
 (Solà 2003: 2516)

Two other cases that obligatorily include the insertion of a clitic are inalienable possession (41a.) and certain idioms, cf. (41b.).

- (41) a. *Una dent ... d'una criatura que se li havien begut la sang.*  
 a tooth of'a infant rel cl.imp cl.3.sg.dat they.had drunkthe blood  
 "A tooth of an infant whose blood they had drunk."  
 b. *Rosa Trènor, que ... li feia fàstic el caviar.*  
 Rosa Trènor rel cl.3.sg.dat made disgust the caviar  
 "Rosa Trènor, ...who was disgusted by caviar."  
 (Solà 2003: 2517)

The next construction that Solà (2003) counts as belonging to the class of relatives with duplication is what he calls "relatives predicatives", predicative relatives, or pseudorelatives. This class consists of three subgroups: "relatives no definitòries", i.e. non-defining RCs; relatives whose proposition is logically posterior to the matrix clause's; and consecutive clauses.

In the case of non-defining RCs, Solà (2003) affirms that they do not specify which entity we are dealing with, like a restrictive RC would, but rather state what the speaker affirms

about the mentioned entity, how it is, or what happens to it. In this sense, they resemble appositive relative clauses, but are somewhat “a mig camí entre les dues funcions”, in between both functions (Solà 2003: 2521). Consider (42):

- (42) *És un pis que el vaig trobar*  
 is a flat rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc I.go to.find  
*a través del diari.*  
 through of.the newspaper  
 “It is a flat that I found through the newspaper.”  
 (Solà 2013: 2512)

Solà affirms that in this construction, the speaker’s intention is not to specify which flat exactly he is talking about, but rather to give further, non-defining information, “detalls accidentals” (ib.), accidental details about a certain flat. For this kind of construction, Solà (2003: 2523) amplifies a list of factors that are said to favour the occurrence of a doubling clitic in relative clauses, first set up by Silva-Corvalán’s (1996, 1999) studies. The list reads the following factors, some of them being redundant, such as the relative clause being appositive and the antecedent being a proper noun, which Solà (ib.) also admits:

**Table 4.** Factors favouring the occurrence of a doubling clitic in RCs, according to Solà (2003)

<b>antecedent</b>	is a proper noun
	is indefinite
	is animate
	is introduced by an existential verb
<b>relativizer</b>	is the direct object
	is <i>que</i>
<b>relative clause</b>	is appositive
	forms part of the predicate
<b>other</b>	intervening material between the antecedent and the relative clause

The second subgroup of the pseudorelatives Solà mentions are those which provide temporal distance between the RC’s and the matrix clause’s propositions, i.e. whose RC-internal action is posterior to the matrix clause. Consider (43):

(43) *Aquest matí hi ha hagut un incendi*  
 this morning there has been a fire  
*que {l'han/ ?han} apagat els veïns.*  
 rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc'they.have/ they.have extinguished the neighbours  
 "This morning there was a fire that the neighbours put out."  
 (Solà 2003: 2525)

In (43), a relative clause without the occurrence of the clitic pronoun *l'* would even be odd, at least in Solà's judgement. The relative here, also dubbed as "relative of posteriority" (cf. Pruñonosa 1990), constitutes a consequence of the matrix clause's action, i.e. the logical connection resembles more of a successive coordination of events.

Finally, Solà assumes that also some instances of so-called consecutive clauses could be grouped in this class of pseudorelatives, which favour pronominal doubling:

(44) *És una noia que tothom se l'estima molt.*  
 is a girl rel everybody cl.refl cl.3.sg.acc.fem'loves much  
 "She is a girl that everybody loves very much."  
 (Solà 2003: 2525)

Apart from these three groups, Solà also mentions some perceptive and structural factors that can favour pronominal doubling in RCs:

- the distance between the relative and the relativized position (although also for him, it is unclear what "distance" means)
- intervening interrogative or dubitative operators
- more than one clausal or nominal frontier between the relativizer and the relativized position
- the predicative function of the relative
- slow pronunciation of the sequence.

(Solà 2003: 2527)

Furthermore, there are three contexts that Solà discusses but dismisses right away as actual cases of "relatives with pronominal doubling": the first one involves verbs that carry with them a grammaticalized clitic, such as the following examples:

(45) a. *Una pensió on hi havia dotze rellogats.*  
 a guest house where cl.loc there.was twelve subtenants  
 "A guest house where there where twelve subtenants."  
 b. *Va ensopegar amb unes dificultats*  
 goes to.stumble with some difficulties  
*de les quals no se'n va poder sortir.*  
 of the rel not cl.refl'cl.part goes to.be.able to.leave  
 "He stumbled across some difficulties from which he was not able to get out."  
 (Solà 2003: 2513)

The verbs in (45a., b.), *haver-hi* and *sortir-se'n*, respectively, always occur with their clitic complements in relative and interrogative constructions, and there is no possibility to substitute them with a gap. For this reason, Solà (2003) does not judge relative clauses like (45) with this particular kind of verbs as a case of “duplication” or resumption.

The second context of this kind involves partitive constructions such as (46):

- (46) *S'hi van presentar cinc aspirants,*  
 cl.refl'cl.loc they.go to.present five applicants  
*dels quals només en vam aprovar dos.*  
 of.there! only cl.part we.go to.approve two  
 “Five applicants turned up, of which we approved only two.”  
 (Solà 2003: 2518)

According to Solà, the relativizer and the clitic pronoun *en* in (46) represent different parts of the argument: the underlying structure of the relative clause is as in (47):

- (47) *Vam aprovar* [<sub>α</sub> *dos aspirants* [<sub>β</sub> *dels (esmentats) aspirants*]]  
 we.go to.approve two applicants of.the.mentioned applicants  
 “We approved two of the mentioned applicants.”

While the relativizer *dels quals* in (46) substitutes fragment  $\beta$  in (47), the partitive clitic *en* in (46) substitutes fragment  $\alpha$  in (47). For this reason, the structure cannot be seen as involving any kind of duplication or resumption. However, as we have seen in chapter 2.1.3., there are two more possibilities to form a partitive RC, apart from the combination of a complex relativizer like *dels quals* and the partitive clitic *en*, as in (46): the canonical combination of a complex relativizer like *dels quals* and a gap, as well as the combination of mere *que* and the partitive clitic *en*. Ramos (2014) calls these three forms synthetic, pleonastic, and analytic relatives, respectively. In his study of how Catalan analytic partitive RCs whose antecedent is a quantifier are perceived and used, Ramos (2014) proposes that both the relativized argument and the clitic realize the partitive information, which he formally expresses by the same index for the two elements. It could be the case, hence, that this kind of structure also applies to the other partitive relativization structures. In this case, both *dels quals* and *en* in (46) would substitute fragment  $\beta$  in (47), while fragment  $\alpha$  is represented in (46) by only the numeral *dos*.

The final context that Solà (2003) does not count as resumptive/doubling relative, is the case of locative RCs, although they do resemble the phenomenon. Consider (48):

- (48) *A mi em va sonar com un timbal que sona però*  
 to me cl.1.sg.dat goes to.sound like a drum rel sounds but  
*que al darrere no hi ha res.*  
 rel to.the.behind not cl.loc there.is nothing  
 “To me it sounded like a drum that sounds but after which there is nothing.”  
 (Solà 2003: 2520)

In (48), a possible complex relativized constituent *al darrere del qual* is split into the neutral relativizer *que*, while the locative, prepositional argument *al darrere* is not being pied-piped until the most left periphery.<sup>8</sup> Solà affirms that this splitting up of the expression of a locative is not uncommon in Catalan. It can also be found in matrix clauses, as in (49), where the clitic *hi* marks the notion of locative, and the prepositional phrase *a sobre* gives further information of directionality:

- (49) *Hi va pujar a sobre.*  
cl.loc goes to.rise to above  
“He went on top.”  
(Solà 2003: 2520)

Given this, Solà concludes that also in relative clauses, the splitting of relativizer on the one hand and locative notion on the other hand, should not be counted as belonging to duplication contexts.

### 2.3. Comparison of the relativizing structures. Summary

In the chapters above, I have given a detailed description of the relativizing systems in the three languages under comparison, with respect to canonical relative clause formation on the one hand, and with respect to resumptive relative clause formation on the other hand. Given that Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan are genetically closely connected language, an overall similarity of their relativization systems was expected. However, there are several important aspects in which the languages differ. These will be discussed here.

The discussion regarding canonical relativization structure, i.e. relative structures including a canonical relativizer and (mostly) a gap, has resulted in the observation that the three languages have a lot in common, as is expected given their genetical closeness, but that there are also some deviations. First, *que* is the default relativizer for headed RCs, either bare, as in EP, or accompanied by a definite determiner, as in Spanish and Catalan. Generally, it seems to be the only possible form for a restrictive subject RC and the default for a restrictive direct object RC. However, we have seen that in some restricted contexts, also more complex forms are possible. Second, in the non-restrictive paradigm and in prepositional contexts, more complex relativizers are freely available. The most important ones here are of the “which” type, i.e. *o qual*, *el cual*, *el qual*, and of the “who” type, i.e. *quem*, *quien*, *qui*.

As we have also seen, apart from the relativization of the core arguments, the three languages also allow for relativization of locative and genitive arguments. With respect to the latter, Catalan lacks a specialized morpheme of the “whose” type, which is present in Spanish and Portuguese, *cuyo* and *cujo*. Nevertheless, the Catalan speakers create alternative ways using other forms of the *qu*-paradigm.

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<sup>8</sup> The locative clitic *hi* in example (48) is not part of the relativized argument, but one half of the grammaticalized expression *hi ha*, which corresponds to *y* in French *il y a*, and probably also *there* in English *there is*.



Regarding the locative RCs, we have seen in the presentation that Catalan allows for two slightly different structures: *on+gap* and *on+hi*, i.e. the relativizer *on* “where” is or is not doubled by the locative clitic *hi*. This does not seem to be an option for Portuguese and Spanish.

Furthermore, also in the dative relative clauses, a deviance between the languages can be attested: in all three languages, a gap construction is possible which includes a complex relativizer form marked with dative *a*, i.e. *a quem/ao qual* for EP, *a quien/al cual/al que* in Spanish, and *a qui/al qual/al que* in Catalan. In the latter two languages, however, a second structure has been attested: both Spanish and Catalan allow for a complex relativizer in combination with a dative clitic, i.e. *a quien/al cual/al que+le* and *a qui/al qual//al que+li*, respectively. Strictly speaking, this structure falls under the definition for resumptive relative clauses, as it was given at the beginning of chapter 1: an overt element occurs in the position where a gap would be expected. Given that a complex relativizer is involved in this structure, I call it “complex resumption”. Of course, there is also “simple resumption”, which includes mere *que* as relativizer plus a resumptive pronominal element. The distinction between the two types of resumption, which for the moment is stated only on the superficial difference “complex relativizer vs. *que*”, was discussed above for Spanish, given that Brucart (1999) explicitly makes this distinction. For him, only the second case is true resumption, while the first case is caused by general conditions of Spanish syntax. The Catalan examples taken from Solà (2003) show that the distinction also exists for this language. Interestingly, however, this is not the case for EP relative clauses: here, only “simple resumption” exists. Consider Table 5 for a comparison, exemplified by a typical indirect object relativization structure:

**Table 5.** Dative relativization strategies in Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan

	Portuguese	Spanish	Catalan
“gap”	<i>O homem a quem deram _ o livro.</i>	<i>El hombre a quien regalaron _ el libro.</i>	<i>L’home a qui van regalar _ el llibre.</i>
“simple resumption”	<i>O homem que <b>lhe</b> deram o livro.</i>	<i>El hombre que <b>le</b> regalaron el libro.</i>	<i>L’home que <b>li</b> van regalar el llibre.</i>
“complex resumption”	<i>*O homem a quem <b>lhe</b> deram o livro.</i>	<i>El hombre a quien <b>le</b> regalaron el libro.</i>	<i>L’home a qui <b>li</b> van regalar el llibre.</i>

For EP, “complex resumption” is not a possible structure in order to derive a relative clause. Why should this be the case, given that EP has all the necessary ingredients, i.e. relative pronouns and resumptive (clitic) pronouns, and given that this language allows for resumption in general, as we have seen above?

From Table 5, my first research question for this work follows: Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan have the same devices when it comes to relativization – relativizers of the *qu*-paradigm, the possibility to leave behind a gap, and the possibility to fill the gap with a clitic pronoun. However, Portuguese differs from Spanish and Catalan in not allowing the cooccurrence of a complex *qu*-relativizer and a clitic pronoun.

(1) RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

Why does Portuguese only have two relative structures, viz. gap and “simple resumption”, while Spanish and Catalan have three: gap, “complex resumption”, and “simple resumption”?

This question implies the following points: what is the specialty about dative arguments, and why do they allow for so many relativization structures, in contrast to other arguments? What is, therefore, the structural difference between dative and, say, accusative resumption, if there is any? Is it the same in all languages under consideration? The study on resumptive RCs above has shown that while for Spanish and Catalan, there is a consciousness of difference between dative and non-dative, this is not the case for Portuguese. The analysis that is going to be developed in this work in the chapters 4 and 5 will have to find answers to all of these questions.

With respect to the resumptive RC formation, we have seen that the descriptive literature is mostly concerned with detecting the contexts in which resumption is preferred. Although the authors’ perspectives that were discussed in the chapters above differ slightly when it comes to the weighting of the individual aspects, it is possible to make out five factors that seem to be important for the occurrence of resumption in the three languages. Consider Table 6, which is based on the discussions made by Veloso (2013) for EP, Brucart (1999) and Trujillo (1990) for Spanish, and Solà (2003) for Catalan:

**Table 6.** Favouring contexts for resumption in relative clauses

<b>antecedent</b>	is the argument of an existential/ presentational verb
	is indefinite
<b>syntactic function/Case of the relativizer</b>	genitive (Portuguese/Spanish)
	dative (Spanish, Catalan)
<b>relative clause</b>	is non-restrictive
<b>other</b>	distance between clause periphery and the relativized site, i.e. clausal complexity, e.g. in terms of interrogative islands

In chapter 3, I will carry out a multivariate analysis of the data I collected from oral corpora applying these factors in order to identify the relevant characteristics for resumption to occur in relative clauses in the three languages under consideration.

### 3. CORPUS STUDY

The aim of this chapter is to check if the favouring factors for resumption discussed in section 2.2 can be verified on the basis of corpus data. As we will see, while some of the generalizations made in previous research seem to have some impact on the occurrence of resumption, others cannot be confirmed. Most importantly, the three languages show different behaviours with respect to one or the other criterion, but pattern in the same way when it comes to dative arguments. This observation will lead to my third, and final, research question.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I will present the corpora that were used for extracting the data. For all three languages, the data were taken from oral corpora that consist of interview transcripts, from which I manually extracted relative clauses and coded them for morphological and syntactic criteria. All corpora are available online. Second, a short description of the methodology will be represented. Then, I will present the results for each language. On the one hand, I will show the distribution of resumptive contexts in percentages, according to the criteria that were proposed for each language individually. On the other hand, I will discuss the results of a multivariate analysis that I conducted for the three languages with respect to those five factors I discussed at the end of chapter 2, which are judged to favour resumption cross-linguistically. Finally, the results of the corpus study will be compared and discussed. The most important result is that the three languages behave in the same way when it comes to resumption, contrary to the expectations developed in chapter 2: there, we saw that Portuguese differs from Spanish and Catalan in allowing only one form of resumption, the simple version, while the latter languages allow for simple as well as complex resumption.

#### 3.1. Presentation of the corpora

The collection and editing of the Portuguese data was part of the project “Synchronic and diachronic analysis of the syntax of Italian and Portuguese relative clauses”, funded by the German Research Association DFG, which was carried out from October 2012 until September 2014 at the Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany, under the direction of Prof. Cecilia Poletto and Prof. Esther Rinke. In a collaboration with the *Atlante Sintattico d'Italia*, ASIt project (cf. Benincà & Poletto 2007), our coded Portuguese data were uploaded to a searchable online databank, which forms part of the project website ASCRP, “Annotated corpus of the DFG project *Synchronic and diachronic analysis of the syntax of Italian and Portuguese relative clauses*” (cf. Rinke 2016-). Two corpora were used in order to collect the relevant relative structures: on the one hand, the *Corpus Dialectal para o Estudo da Sintaxe*, CORDIAL-SIN, provided by the Universidade de Lisboa (Martins 2000-), on the other hand, the *Perfil Sociolinguístico da Fala Bracarense*, BRAGA, provided by the Universidade do Minho (Barbosa 2011-2014). The CORDIAL-SIN corpus offers a 600,000 word corpus, including interviews from more than 200 localities in the Portuguese territory, including the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. In this way, it aims at offering an empirical basis for the study of dialectal variation in contemporary European Portuguese. The transcriptions are

downloadable in four different annotations: normalized orthographic transcripts; verbatim transcripts; morphological annotations, including parts of speech as well as inflectional terms; and syntactic annotations (cf. Martins 2000-). The CORDIAL-SIN is searchable by the Edisyn search engine due to being a former part of this project. The BRAGA corpus concentrates on the variety of contemporary Portuguese spoken in and around the city of Braga, in the north of Portugal. The collected data, 80 interviews with a length of 60 minutes each, are controlled for three sociolinguistic variables: gender, age and education. The transcripts follow semiorthographic rules (cf. Barbosa 2011-2014).

For Spanish, I extracted the data from the *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Oral*, COSER, provided by the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-). The project collected interviews from 44 provinces of the Spanish territory, including the Balearic and the Canary Islands, adding up to 1124 interviews. Of these, 147 transcripts are downloadable as pdfs, which follow the general rules of orthography, including some phonetic and morphological variants. Apart from the downloadable transcripts, the corpus is also searchable via a search engine.

Finally, for the Catalan data, I used the *Corpus de Català Contemporani de la Universitat de Barcelona*, which consists of several sub-corpora that aim to represent different variants of Modern Catalan varieties, such as dialectal and social variants as well as different registers. Of these, I chose three of the dialectal corpora, viz. *Textos orals dialectals del català sincronitzats. Una selecció* (cf. Viaplana & Perea 2003), *Corpus oral dialectal (COD). Textos orals del balear* (cf. Pons & Viaplana 2009), and *Corpus oral dialectal (COD). Selecció de textos* (cf. Perea & Viaplana ed.). While Viaplana & Perea (2003) as well as Perea & Viaplana (ed.) give an overview of the whole Catalan speaking territory, Pons & Viaplana (2009) focuses on the varieties spoken on the Balearic islands. The three subcorpora add up to 40 interviews, which can be downloaded in a phonetic and a phonorthographic transcript.

See the appendix for an overview of the data points in Spain, Portugal, and the Catalan speaking territories.

### **3.2. Methodology**

As mentioned before, the relevant relative constructions were extracted manually from the transcripts, and coded for morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. These were mostly chosen from the ASIt corpus (cf. Benincà & Poletto 2007), which cover a wide range of characteristics. However, also new criteria were created. A selection of the tags is as follows:

- properties of the relative clause such as restrictive/appositive/free;
- properties of the relativizer, e.g. its syntactic function;
- properties of the antecedent such as definiteness, gender, number, animacy;
- properties of clitics within the RC such as Case, doubling, position with respect to the verb;
- properties of the verb in the RC as well as in the matrix clause, e.g. mood, inflection, negation.

For a complete listing of the tags, cf. the ASIt corpus (Benincà & Poletto 2007) and Rinke (2016-).

### 3.3. Results

#### 3.3.1. The Portuguese data

The results reported here form part of a bigger empirical research on relative clauses in Modern European Portuguese, cf. Aßmann & Rinke (2017), whose perspective is not focused on resumption, but gives a general picture of relative clauses in spoken Portuguese. The collected data add up to 1913 coded relative clauses. They divide into 353 free RCs and 1560 headed relative structures, of which we find 1279 restrictive and 281 non-restrictive relative clauses. As for the resumptive structures, the total amounts to 48.

In chapter 2, the generalizations concerning resumption in Portuguese were discussed in length. In short, these were the following: resumption is possible for all syntactic functions and the resumptive element can be of different types (Alexandre 2000); furthermore, structural complexity such as island contexts, indefiniteness of the antecedent, a presentational verb introducing the head noun, indicative mood in the RC and the complexity of the relativizing constituent favour resumption (Velooso 2013). Consider Table 6 on the next page for an overview of the properties of resumptive relative clauses in the corpus.

The numbers show that resumption in general is an infrequent phenomenon: it constitutes 2.5% of all RCs. Another important observation is that there are no island contexts at all in resumptive constructions. The usual context is like the one exemplified in (1), i.e. a simple structure without any island:

- (1) *Fui a um senhor que chamam-lhe o Arlindo.*  
I.went to a gentleman rel they.call-3.sg.dat the Arlindo  
“I went there to a gentleman whom they call Arlindo.”  
(Rinke 2016-, Outeiro)

With respect to the type of resumptive element, there are only strong and clitic pronouns in my data. Their distribution follows the usual distribution of the two pronominal paradigms in Portuguese: clitic pronouns represent the accusative and dative arguments, while strong pronouns represent the nominative and oblique arguments.

**Table 6.** Properties of resRCs in the Portuguese data, according to the literature’s criteria

<b>Σ</b>		<b>48</b>
<b>Case/syntactic function of resumptive element</b>	<b>SU</b>	7 (14.6%)
	<b>DO</b>	5 (10.4%)
	<b>DAT</b>	31 (64.6%)
	<b>OBL</b>	4 (8.3%)
	<b>GEN</b>	1 (2.1%)
<b>type of resumptive element</b>	<b>strong pronoun</b>	11 (22.9%)
	<b>clitic</b>	37 (77.1%)
	<b>demonstrative</b>	0
	<b>adverb</b>	0
	<b>whole antecedent</b>	0
<b>island contexts</b>		<b>0</b>
<b>antecedent [-definite]</b>		<b>33 (68.8%)</b>
<b>antecedent object of a presentational verb</b>		<b>0</b>
<b>RC is in indicative mood</b>		<b>47 (97.9%)</b>
<b>form of relativizer</b>	<b>que</b>	47 (97.9%)
	<b>o que</b>	1 (2.1%)

As for the other criteria that were discussed in chapter 2, consider Table 7 on the next page, which shows the results of a variable rule analysis (Sankoff 1988), for which I used GoldVarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte & Smith 2005). The table lists the linguistic independent variables according to their relative strength on the occurrence of resumption as measured by the range between the highest and the lowest factor weight. Only two of the listed factors had significant impact on the occurrence of resumption: Case/syntactic function of the relativizer and the semantic type of the RC. Indefiniteness of the antecedent and the matrix verb being of the existential/presentational type were not significantly relevant. Neither was the factor “distance”, given that there is no instance of resumption occurring in an island context in my data.

The first factor group, “Case/syntactic function of the relativizer” is the most important one with a range of 64. Two of these factors turn out to be favouring resumption: dative and oblique case, while accusative has only a slight favouring influence, and nominative is a clearly disfavoured condition. These data confirm the affirmation by Alexandre (2000) that resumption is possible for all kinds of arguments in EP.

**Table 7.** Results of the multivariate analysis for the Portuguese data

Input: 0.03				
	Factor weight	%	<i>n</i>	Total
<b>Semantic type of the RC</b>				
appositive	0.75	6.4 %	18	281
restrictive	0.44	2.3 %	29	1279
free	excl.		1	353
<i>Range</i>	31			
<b>Case/syntactic function of the relativizer</b>				
dative	1.00	96.8 %	30	31
oblique	0.77	3.0 %	5	166
accusative	0.57	1.4 %	5	368
nominative	0.36	0.7 %	7	975
predicational/presentational	excl.		0	20
<i>Range</i>	64			

As we can see, there is a clear preference for resumption with a dative argument. In fact, given the distribution of 30 instances of resumption vs. 1 instance of non-resumption, or 96.8% vs. 3.2%, the factor weight of “dative” comes to (rounded) 1. This means that in this data set of EP relative clauses, dative Case does not only favour resumption, but categorically demands it. The only example of a dative RC without resumption is the example in (2).

- (2) *Às vezes, havia pessoas que a gente tinha que dar o leite.*  
to.the times there.was persons rel the people had to to.give the milk  
“Sometimes, there were persons that we had to give the milk to.”  
(Rinke 2016-, Larinho)

Example (2) is odd insofar as a dative object is relativized, but neither a canonical gap structure, which would include a complex relativizer of the kind *a quem* or *as quais*, nor a resumptive structure is used. Instead, only the relativizer *que* occurs – neither marked for dative, which would be expected here, nor marked for animacy, which would at least be possible and for many speakers preferred (the expected outcome, hence, would be ... *pessoas a quem a gente tinha que dar...*). It could be the case that (2) is an instance of preposition chopping, i.e. the deletion of the preposition of a PP-argument, which seems to be the more natural or economic strategy than a pied-piping variant (cf. Kenedy 2007a; Selas 2014). However, preposition chopping alone is usually the chosen strategy for really oblique objects, introduced by *em*, “in” or *de*, “of”, while dative objects are mostly found with

resumption (which includes, so to speak, a kind of preposition chopping as well) (cf. Kenedy 2007a; Selas 2014; Aßmann & Rinke 2017). Maybe (2) is an instance of an error like for example a slip of the tongue. Note that this is the only example of this kind in the whole Portuguese corpus, and that no comparable structure was found in the Spanish and Catalan corpora.

In the second statistically relevant factor group, semantic type of the relative clause, the free RCs had to be excluded due to a too small number of instances. In fact, only one free relative clause showed resumption, cf. (3):

- (3) *O que lhe chamamos aqui cardelas é só uma qualidade.*  
 the rel 3.sg.dat we.call here *cardelas* is just a quality  
 “What we here call *cardelas*, is just one type.” (context: talking about types of mushrooms)  
 (Rinke 2016-, Outeiro)

Interestingly, also this example is an instance of dative resumption. Note furthermore that (3) is the only occurrence of resumption with a complex relativizer, i.e. more complex than simple *que*, which is the only existing form in headed resumptive RCs. Given that on the other hand, *o que* is the most neutral, i.e. simple form for a free RC, it can be recorded that resumption in EP only occurs with non-complex relativizers. This confirms the generalization made in chapter 2: EP only allows for “simple resumption”, i.e. the occurrence of a resumptive element in combination with (*o*) *que*, but not in combination with a complex relativizer like e.g. *a quem*.

From these discussed data, the following generalizations can be drawn: first, the relativization of a dative argument is the most favouring context for resumption to occur, followed by a non-restrictive RC. Second, complex resumption including a complex relativizer does not occur, as was expected. The only possible form of resumption is the simple one, employing (*o*) *que*. Third, the antecedent’s properties, i.e. indefiniteness and it being the argument of a presentational verb, do not have a statistically significant influence on the occurrence of resumption in EP.

### 3.3.2. The Spanish data

The Spanish data were collected and treated in the same way as the Portuguese data, however, they were not part of the aforementioned project’s research. They add up to 504 RCs in total, of which 146 are free, 296 restrictive, and 61 appositive. There is a total of 39 relative structures that include resumption, i.e. 7.7%.

In chapter 2.2., Brucart (1999)’s generalizations regarding the favoured occurrence of resumption, partially based on Lope Blanch (1986), were discussed. In short, these were: clausal frontiers between the antecedent and the relativizer, especially if the intervening clauses are introduced by certain operators, such as modal ones; genitive RCs, appositive RCs, and indefinite antecedents for restrictive RCs. I added the observations made by Trujillo (1990), who further refines the last two criteria with respect to the syntactic function of the



resumptive: while indirect object resumptive clitics can occur in all kinds of RCs and with all kinds of antecedents, this is not the case for direct object resumptive clitics. These are said to be subject to the restriction that either, a restrictive resumptive RC combines with an indefinite antecedent, or a non-restrictive resumptive RC combines with a definite antecedent. Furthermore, remember the difference that Brucart makes when it comes to dative RCs: real resumption in the case of mere *que* plus a clitic pronoun, while the combination of a complex dative-marked relativizer and a coreferential pronoun is due to general tendencies of the Spanish language.

Table 8 shows the distribution of the resumptive RCs according to these criteria. It suggests that some of the criteria taken from the aforementioned sources can already be disregarded: first, there is no instance of a resumptive or a non-resumptive structure that includes a clausal frontier and/or a special operator of the type that Brucart (1990) mentions. As discussed before for the Portuguese data, the Spanish RCs with resumption are all structurally simple, such as ex. (4):

- (4) *Un detalle muy curioso que no lo ha comentao,*  
 a detail very curious rel not cl.3.sg.acc.masc has commented  
*es que...*  
 is that  
 “A very curious detail that he has not mentioned is that...”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Villalba de Lampreana)

**Table 8.** Properties of resRCs in the Spanish data, according to the literature’s criteria

$\Sigma$		38
<b>clausal frontiers/special operators</b>		0
<b>dative resumption</b>	restrictive RC, antecedent -def	14 (36.84%)
	restrictive RC, antecedent +def	7 (18.42%)
	appositive RC, antecedent -def	0
	appositive RC, antecedent +def	3 (7.89%)
<b>DO resumption</b>	restrictive RC, antecedent -def	5 (13.16%)
	restrictive RC, antecedent +def	1 (2.63%)
	appositive RC, antecedent -def	4 (10.53%)
	appositive RC, antecedent +def	3 (7.89%)
<b>SU resumption</b>		1 (2.63%)
<b>oblique resumption</b>		0
<b>genitive resumption</b>		0

Second, there is no occurrence of resumption with an oblique nor with a genitive RC, i.e. the substitution of the relativizer *cuyo* by *que* plus a possessive pronoun<sup>9</sup>. There is only one instance of a subject resumption, cf. (5):

- (5) *Aquí hay un vecino que él ha matao algún cerdo.*  
 here there.is a neighbour rel pron.3.sg.masc has killed some pig  
 “There is a neighbour here who has killed some pig.”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Humanes de Madrid)

As for the Case distinction mentioned by Trujillo (1990), the following picture emerges: there are cases of resumption, i.e. the combination of *que* and a pronoun referring to the antecedent, with both dative and accusative arguments. With respect to the connection of semantic type of RC and definiteness of the antecedent in DO resumptive relatives, we see that there are examples for every possible combination, cf. (6a.) for indefinite antecedent and restrictive RC, (6b.) for definite antecedent and restrictive RC, (6c.) for indefinite antecedent and non-restrictive RC, (6d.) for definite antecedent and non-restrictive RC:

- (6) a. *Un detalle muy curioso que no lo ha comentado es que...*  
 a detail very curious rel not cl.3.sg.acc has commented is that  
 “A detail that he has not mentioned is that...”
- b. *Ese colchón hecho que lo llevé a una fábrica, me lo hicieron.*  
 this mattress made rel cl.3.sg.acc I.brought to a factory  
 cl.1.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc they.made  
 “This mattress that I took to the factory, they made it for me.”
- c. *En el río había un molino de piedras, con dos piedras, que las movía el agua.*  
 in the river there.was a mill of stones with two stones  
 rel cl.3.pl.acc moved the water  
 “In the river, there was a stone mill, with two stones, which the water moved.”
- d. *Normalmente es la hierba, esta hierba, que la siegan.*  
 normally is the herb this herb rel cl.3.sg.acc they.mow  
 “Normally, it’s the herb, this herb, that they mow.”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Villalba de Lampreana, Menagarai, Alea, Menagarai, respectively)

With respect to (6b.), the following has to be considered: Trujillo (1990) states that the occurrence of a resumptive pronoun in a RC modifying a definite antecedent “turns” the interpretation of this relative necessarily into a non-restrictive reading. However, context, transcription and the lack of a pause between antecedent and the RC in the corresponding audio file (cf. the COSER website) suggest that this is indeed a restrictive relative clause. It

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, there is no instance of a genitive relative clause in the whole data set, with or without resumption.

does not seem to be the case, hence, that the unexpected combinations, i.e. restrictive RC plus definite antecedent and non-restrictive RC plus indefinite antecedent are impossible to occur with a resumptive element, contrary to what Trujillo (1990) claims. At the same time, the data are so few that it is hard to tell whether there is a tendency for his expected combinations.

Table 9 on the next page represents the results of the multivariate analysis for the Spanish data, including those factors that were discussed in chapter 2 as being relevant for all the three languages. As was the case for the Portuguese data above, not all factors turned out to be significant: “distance”, indefiniteness of the antecedent and the matrix verb being of the existential/presentational type are not included in the table below because they were not-significant factors or even non-existing in my data (as is the case for “distance” in the sense of island contexts). In fact, the same factor groups have significant impact on the occurrence of resumption in the Spanish data as in the Portuguese data, as discussed above: Case/syntactic function of the relativizer and the semantic type of the RC.

In the first factor group, free RCs have to be excluded since there are too few occurrences of resumption in order to be statistically considered. In fact, there is only one example, cf. (7):

- (7) *Hay a quien le gusta las migas blancas.*  
there.is to who 3.sg.dat pleases the crumbs white  
“Some like the white *migas* (= a dish of fried bread crumbs).”  
(Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, La Garrovilla)

In (7), the string *a quien le gusta las migas blancas* counts as a free relative clause since it does not modify an overt head noun, and at the same time constitutes the only argument of the matrix verb *hay*, ‘there is’. The relativizer *a quien* encodes the relative operator as well as the feature [+human] and thus, being preceded by the dative marker *a*, represents the experiencer argument of the RC-internal verb *gusta* (which here lacks number agreement with *las migas blancas*). Insofar, it is more complex than the usual relativizer *que* we find in headed resumptive RCs and therefore constitutes an instance of “complex resumption”. As for the other two factors, an appositive RC represents a resumption-favouring context, while restrictive RCs are disfavouring resumption.

**Table 9.** Results of the multivariate analysis for the Spanish data

Input: 0.1				
	Factor weight	%	<i>n</i>	Total
<b>Semantic type of the RC</b>				
appositive	0.89	16.1%	10	62
restrictive	0.39	9.1%	27	297
free	excl.		1	144
<i>Range</i>	50			
<b>Case/syntactic function of the relativizer</b>				
dative	1.00	96 %	24	25
oblique	excl.		0	19
accusative	0.89	8.7%	13	149
nominative	excl.		1	260
predicational/presentational	excl.			
<i>Range</i>	11			

With respect to the second statistically significant factor group, oblique and predicational/presentational arguments have to be excluded since there is no instance of resumption for neither of the factors. Also nominative arguments were excluded because there is only one instance of resumption, cf. (5) above.

Accusative and dative, on the other hand, favour resumption, however to different extents: while accusative has a factor weight of 0.89, dative categorically favours resumption with a factor weight of 1. The sole example of a relativized dative argument without resumption is the following:

- (8) *La pianola era una cosa que se daba con los pies.*  
 the pianola was a thing rel imp. gave with the feet  
 “The pianola was a thing that was operated with the feet.”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Urriés)

In (8), the subordinate verb *dar*, “to give”, is used in a metaphorical way for expressing the operation of an instrument. The involved argument in such a construction is usually coded as a dative, as in (9):

- (9) *Tienes que darle (con los pies) a la pianola.*  
 you.have to to.give.cl.3.sg.dat with the feet A the pianola  
 “You have to operate/play the pianola with the feet.”

The relative clause in (8), however, does not include any dative marking on the relativizer nor a dative resumptive clitic, and instead of a complex relativizer, only *que* is used. Probably, this RC constitutes a case of preposition chopping, parallel to the Portuguese example in (2) above.

One important observation in the Spanish data is that simple resumption, i.e. the cooccurrence of a resumptive element and the neutral relativizer *que*, is the default for resumption in headed RCs, contrary to the expectations drawn from chapter 2: Spanish allows equally for simple and for complex resumption in RCs. On the other hand, these findings correspond to the results of Butler's (1992) corpus study, who reports that in his data of Madrid Spanish, the only relativizer that cooccurs with a clitic is *que*. In headed RCs, hence, the only type of resumption found in this corpus study on Spanish is the "simple resumption", just like in the Portuguese data above.

The following generalizations can be drawn from these data, which are the same as for the Portuguese data: first, resumption preferably occurs in dative relative clauses, followed by non-restrictive RCs. Second, resumption in headed RCs only occurs in its simple form, i.e. with the relativizer *que*. Third, properties of the antecedent like indefiniteness and being the argument of a presentational verb does not play a significant role in the favouring contexts for resumption in Spanish.

### **3.3.3. The Catalan data**

To collect and code the Catalan data, the same strategy was used as before for the Portuguese and Catalan data. Again, however, they were not part of the aforementioned project's research. The collected RCs add up to 506 in total, of which 94 are free, 308 restrictive, and 102 appositive. 18 relative structures, i.e. 3.6%, include resumption. Also in Catalan, hence, resumption is an infrequent phenomenon.

The generalizations with respect to criteria favouring resumption in Catalan RCs as discussed by Solà (2003) were represented in detail in chapter 2.2. In short, they were the following: the relativizer represents the dative argument; so-called predicative relatives, i.e. appositive-like constructions, which typically occur with a DO relativizer, a proper name antecedent, an indefinite antecedent, and some more criteria; the RC's proposition is posterior to the matrix clause; consecutive relatives. Table 10 represents the distribution of the resumptive structures according to these criteria.

**Table 10.** Properties of resRCs in the Catalan data, according to the literature’s criteria

<b>Σ</b>		18
<b>Dative relativizer</b>		6 (33.3%)
<b>“predicative” relatives</b>	DO relativizer	11 (61.1%)
	antecedent proper name	0
	antecedent [-definite]	15 (83.3%)
	material between antecedent and relativizer	4 (22.2%)
	non-restrictive RC	8 (44.4%)
	animate antecedent	2 (11.1%)
	form of the relativizer is <i>que</i>	17 (94.4%)
	antecedent is argument of an existential verb	5 (27.8%)
<b>RC posterior to matrix clause</b>		0
<b>consecutive RC</b>		0

Three criteria mentioned by Solà (2003) can be disregarded right away: the antecedent being a proper name, the RC’s proposition being posterior to the matrix clause and a consecutive nature of the RC do not play a role in this data set. With respect to the Case of the relativizer, I would like to record the fact that not all of the 11 instances of a DO relativizer clearly leads to a non-restrictive reading. Instead, 5 cases only make sense in a restrictive reading such as (10):

- (10) *Hi ha, per exemple, camins oberts*  
 there.is for example roads open  
*que no els han arribat a asfaltar.*  
 rel no cl.3.pl.acc they.have arrived to asphalt  
 “There are, for example, open roads which they haven’t gotten around to asphalt.”  
 (Viaplana & Perea 2003, Eivissa)

Consider Table 11 for the results of the multivariate analysis of the Catalan data.

**Table 11.** Results of the multivariate analysis of the Catalan data

Input: 0.04					
	Factor weight	%	<i>n</i>	Total	
<b>Indefiniteness of the antecedent</b>					
indefinite	0.7	6.4%	15	236	
definite	0.24	1.7%	3	174	
<i>Range</i>	46				
<b>Semantic type of the RC</b>					
appositive	0.76	7.9%	8	101	
restrictive	0.41	3.2%	10	309	
free	excl.		0		
<i>Range</i>	35				
<b>Case/syntactic function of the relativizer</b>					
accusative	0.65	12.6%	11	87	
dative	excl.		6	6	
oblique	excl.		1	39	
nominative	excl.		0	261	
predicational/presentational	excl.		0	17	
<i>Range</i>	0				

The same factors were tested as for the other two languages, and just like before, there was no instance of resumption occurring within a complex, i.e. island-like context. For this reason, this factor was disregarded right away.

Just like in the case of EP and Spanish, the antecedent being the argument of a presentational verb was not statistically relevant for the multivariate analysis, while Case/syntactic function of the relativizer and the semantic type of the RC were. Interestingly, a third factor group turned out to be statistically significant for resumption in Catalan: the indefiniteness of the antecedent, which indeed is a favouring factor for resumption with a factor weight of 0.7.

As for the second factor group, the semantic type of the relative clause, the same tendency can be confirmed as for the other two languages: non-restrictiveness is a favouring factor while restrictiveness is not, cf. the factor weights of 0.76 vs. 0.41 respectively. Free RCs are excluded because there is no instance of resumption in this context.

The third and last factor group, Case/syntactic function of the relativizer, has an unfortunate result: four out of five factors had to be excluded. Therefore, there is no range and this context setting seems to be irrelevant. However, the individual factors were excluded

for different reasons: there is no instance of resumption with a predicational/presentational or a nominative argument, so these naturally do not contribute to the statistics. For resumption in the context of an oblique argument, there is only one instance, cf. example (11). It was therefore excluded in the statistics.

- (11) *Tenien com una casa que en deien cal Jepet.*  
 they.hadlike a house rel cl.obl they.said homeJepet  
 “They had something like a house that they called Jepet’s home.”  
 (Perea & Viaplana ed., La Seu d’Urgell)

In (11), the verb inside the RC is *dir-ne*, ‘to call/name something X’. *Ne*, or its allomorph *en*, is the clitic pronoun which substitutes an oblique argument introduced by the preposition *de*, ‘of’, as can be seen in (12), where the complete PP-argument is left-dislocated and doubled by the clitic inside the matrix clause:

- (12) *De la pastanaga, a Alacant en diem carrota.*  
 of the carrot in Alacant clit.obl we.say carrota  
 “The carrot, here in Alacant we call it *carrota*.”

Interestingly, though, a canonical PP-relativizing structure seems to be impossible with this kind of verb. Compare (13a.) and (13b.):

- (13) a. *La casa que en diem Blanca és en realitat grisa.*  
 the house rel cl.obl we.say white is in reality grey  
 b. *\*/??La casa de què /de la que /de la qual (en)*  
 the house of rel /of the rel /of the which cl.obl  
*diem Blanca és en realitat grisa.*  
 we.say white is in reality grey  
 both: “The house that we call White is grey in reality.”

(13b.) would be the structure in which a PP-argument canonically moves to the left periphery, pied-piping the preposition and leaving behind a gap – or a doubling clitic. Given that this structure is impossible with *dir-ne*, it seems to be the case that the oblique argument is different from other prepositional contexts, which can perfectly be relativized in the fashion of (13b.). The question arises whether this structure should be counted as a case of resumption at all, given that there seems to be no counterpart that could be seen as a canonical structure. I decided to do so, given the resemblance to other resumptive contexts of DO or dative arguments.

Finally, dative arguments also had to be excluded but the reason here is that there is no occurrence of a non-resumptive structure. Although dative arguments therefore do not form part of the statistical analysis, the tendency is the same as in the other two languages: dative categorically demands resumption in this data set for Catalan RCs. Solà’s (2003) expectation



regarding the relativization of dative arguments is therefore met: whenever there is a dative RC, it includes a resumptive clitic pronoun<sup>10</sup>, as in (14):

- (14) *T'acostes allí a un mirador que li diuen el...*  
refl'you.approach there to a viewpoint rel cl.3.sg.dat they.say the  
“There you come close to a viewpoint which they call the...”  
(Viaplana & Perea 2003, Alacant)

The only factor that could be included in the statistics for this factor group is thus accusative case, which turns out to be a favouring factor with a factor weight of 0.65.

An important result is the fact that the only kind of resumption found in the Catalan data is the simple resumption: 17 out of 18 resumptive structures show only *que*. This is parallel to the Portuguese and Spanish data discussed above, where the only instances of (more) complex resumption was found in free RCs, while the headed ones also only showed resumption with *que*. The only exception in the Catalan resumptive RCs needs some further commenting. Consider (15):

- (15) a. *Jo tenc un llibret qui el vaig comprar fa anys.*  
I have a little.book rel cl.3.sg.acc I.go to.buy makes years  
“I have a little book that I bought years ago.”  
(Pons & Viaplana 2009, Maó)
- b. *L'home amb qui has parlat és el professor.*  
the'man with rel you.have talked is the teacher  
“The man with whom you talked is the teacher.”
- c. *Qui ets?*  
who you.are  
“Who are you?”

In (15a.), the relativizer of the resumptive RC is *qui*, which usually is considered to be the relative and interrogative pronoun to refer to a human antecedent/referent, as in (15b., c.). In (15a.), however, the antecedent *llibret* is non-human. Albeit (15a.) is the only example of resumption with *qui*, it is not the only instance of non-standard usage of this relativizer. In the Catalan corpus, the non-expected usage of *qui* comes to a total of 37, all uttered by speakers of the Balearic islands. For their varieties of Catalan, it is well known that there is a certain confusion of the forms *que* and *qui* when used as relativizers and, interestingly, also as complementizers, i.e. in complement clauses (cf. the entry for “qui” in DCVB). I conclude, hence, that (15a.) represents a case of simple resumption as well, however not including *que*, but its Balearic allomorph *qui*.

For the Catalan data, hence, the following generalizations can be recorded: first, resumption categorically occurs in dative relative clauses, although these had to be excluded

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10 Of course, the data set for dative arguments is really small with only 6 instances, so it is hard to formulate relying generalizations. However, given that the production of dative RCs is infrequent in all three corpora, as well as in the other studies discussed in chapter 2, I still want to maintain the affirmations made here.

from the statistics given that there is no instance of non-resumption. Out of the factor group semantic type of the RC, non-restrictiveness has been shown to be statistically significant for resumption to occur. Second, there is only simple resumption, be it with *que* as expected, or with its morphological variant *qui* in certain dialects. Third, indefiniteness of the antecedent plays a role in the occurrence of resumption, while being the argument of a presentational verb or not does not. These results are very similar to what has been concluded for the Portuguese and Spanish data above.

### 3.4. Findings and conclusions

In chapter 2, we have seen that Portuguese differs from Spanish and Catalan in allowing only simple resumption, while the latter languages have simple as well as complex resumption. Furthermore, the discussion of the literature has shown that for Catalan and Spanish, resumption with dative arguments is always possible and in some cases expected (Solà 2003, Brucart 1999), while this is not the case for Portuguese. However, keeping the statistical outcomes of this chapter in mind, it seems to be the case that contrary to expectation, the three languages behave alike.

The first criterion that many authors agree to be a crucial indication for a resumptive relative structure, structural complexity, usually means or includes islandhood, i.e. the existence of a *wh*-island or a similar structure between the antecedent and the relativizing site. As has been discussed above, there were no examples of such kind in neither of the corpora. The typical example, as illustrated before, is a structurally very simple one, with no intervening complexity. There are few instances of resumption occurring as object of an embedded infinitive, such as (16):

- (16) *Hicieron cosas que no debieron de hacerlas.*  
 they.did things rel not they.had.to of to.do-cl.3.sg.acc.fem  
 “They did things which they should not have done.”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Barrax)

Of course, it is true that a structure like (16) is somewhat more complex than a typical example like e.g. (15) above, and maybe it is for this reason that the speaker feels the need to insert a clitic pronoun in order to ensure identification of the reference. However, a RC including an embedded infinitive also allows for a gap construction:

- (17) *Hicieron cosas que no debieron de hacer \_.*  
 they.did things rel not they.had.to of to.do.them  
 “They did things which they should not have done.”

This is not possible with a real island-level complexity, see the following example:

- (18) *¿Qué libro me dijiste tú que no recuerdas dónde*  
 whichbook to.me you.saidyou rel not you.remember where  
*\*(lo) pusiste?*  
 3.sg.acc.masc you.put  
 “Which book did you say to me that you don’t remember where you put it?”  
 (Suñer 1998: 335)

It seems to be, hence, that while there are structural reasons in (18) for the resumptive pronoun *lo* to occur, this is not the case for *las* in (16). From this, it follows that structural complexity in the sense of islandhood does not play a role for resumption, at least not in my data set.

The second criterion is about the (in)definiteness of the RC’s head noun. For all three languages, it has been proposed that the antecedent’s indefiniteness is an important factor for resumption – Veloso (2013) affirms this for restrictive as well as non-restrictive RCs in Portuguese, while Brucart (1999) only applies this to restrictive RCs in Spanish and Solà (2003) only to non-restrictive RCs in Catalan. As we have seen above, however, the (in)definiteness only plays a role in the Catalan data set, where it is statistically significant with a favouring factor of 0.7. In the EP and Spanish data, this factor group was not statistically significant and, therefore, disregarded. Still, indefinite antecedents outnumber definite ones when it comes to plain numbers in the three corpora – in resumptive as well as non-resumptive contexts. I believe that this reflects a general tendency for RCs to modify an indefinite antecedent, which might have to do with their preferred information structure: while the antecedent introduces a new-information object into discourse, the relative clause turns it into an old-information one, and gives further statements about it. Constituents that encode new information are preferentially coded as indefinites (cf. Aßmann & Rinke 2017 for EP relative clauses).

The second characteristic of the antecedent that was discussed as a factor potentially favouring resumption is its status as the argument of a presentational or an existential verb (Veloso 2013 for Portuguese and Solà 2003 for Catalan, respectively). The multivariate analysis has shown that for neither of the data set, this was a statistically significant factor.

The next criterion is about the semantic type of the RC. For both Catalan and Spanish, it was proposed that appositive RCs favour resumption (cf. Solà 2003, Brucart 1999, Trujillo 1990), and indeed, the multivariate analysis has shown that non-restrictivity is a significant factor. Interestingly, this is also the case for the EP data.

The final factor discussed here refers to the Case/syntactic function of the relativizer, i.e., of the relativized argument. From the discussion in chapter 2, it was expected that Spanish and Catalan are prone to resumption with dative arguments, while Spanish and Portuguese are likely to express a genitive argument via a resumptive structure. The results from the multivariate analysis have shown that the factor group Case does indeed have a significant influence, however to different extends with respect to the individual factor. First, there is no genitive relativization in neither of the corpora, with or without resumption. Second, dative is categorically expressed by a resumptive structure in Spanish and Catalan, as expected, but also in EP. For all three languages, accusative Case is a favouring factor for resumption,

while nominative is a disfavouring factor and predicational/presentational had to be excluded due to non or too few data points. For EP, the factor oblique Case also has a favouring influence.

Table 12 represents a summary of the results of the multivariate analyses and shows that the three languages behave alike with respect to resumptive structures in actual language use, contrary to the expectations drawn from the discussion in chapter 2:

**Table 12.** Summary of the multivariate analyses

	Portuguese	Spanish	Catalan
<b>complexity: island contexts</b>	/	/	/
<b>indefinite antecedent</b>	n	n	s
<b>antecedent argument of presentational/existential verb</b>	n	n	n
<b>appositive RC</b>	s	s	s
<b>Case</b>	s	s	s
dative	c	c	c
accusative	f	f	f
nominative	d	d	d
oblique	f	x	x

Key: / = inexistent, n = non-significant, s = significant, c = categorical, f = favouring, d = disfavouring, x = excluded

One important comment has to be made about the nature of dative-relativization in the corpora. A look in the data reveals that by far not all predicates that can select a dative argument are represented in the data: mainly, constructions in the sense of “to name something X/to give something the name X” were found – Portuguese *chamar a algo/a alguém X*, Spanish *decir a algo/a alguien X*, Catalan *dir a alguna cosa/a algú X*. Of course, this has to do with the type of text the sentences come from: mostly, the interviewees were asked about their life, now and in the past, changes and typical things. Therefore, a lot of sentences revolve around the explanation of how things were called then and how they are called now: “there is this thing that we name X”. For Spanish and Portuguese, however, also other verbs selecting a dative argument occur in the corpora such as psychological verbs (cf. 19) and more typical, ditransitive verbs (cf. 20):

- (19) *Había señores que les gustaba y los mataban.*  
 there.was gentlemen rel cl.3.pl.dat pleased and them killed  
 “There were men who liked it and they killed them.” (context: talking about slaughtering pigs)  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Humanes de Madrid)

- (20) a. *Y el hijo mayor que le suelen dar de crianza,*  
 and the son oldest rel cl.3.sg.dat they.used.to to.give of *crianza*  
*allá las tiene en el merendero.*  
 there them he.has in the picnic area  
 “And the oldest son, to whom they usually give from the vintage wine, he has them there in the *merendero*.” (context: people not appreciating bottles of wine)  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Leza)
- b. *Eu este ano ajeitei uma garrafa dele a uma pessoa*  
 I this year arranged a bottle of.it A a person  
*que lhe o médico receitou essa...*  
 rel cl.3.sg.dat the doctor prescribed this  
 “I arranged this year a bottle of it to be given to a person to whom the doctor had prescribed this.”  
 (Rinke 2016-, Monsanto)

In the Catalan corpus, on the other hand, *dir a alguna cosa/a algú X* is the only construction found with a dative object, given its small set of 6 instances of dative resumption. However, other sources report instances of other types of verbs being realized in a resumptive structure, such as a psychological verb in (21); see also the example cited from Solà (2003), cf. (12b.) above.

- (21) *És gent que no li importa gastar-se*  
 is people rel not cl.3.sg.dat matters to.spend-refl  
*cinc mil peles en una nit.*  
 five thousand pesetas in one night  
 “They are people who don’t care spending five thousand pesetas in one night.”  
 (Pusch 2006: 97, example from the COC, cf. Oller et al. 2000)

Therefore, I feel confident to expand my statement about resumption in dative RCs in the Ibero-Romance languages to all kinds of dative arguments, although not all of them occur in my data.

As we have seen, there are only few instances of resumption for the other syntactic functions. In the corpora of all three languages, resumption with the direct object was found, while Portuguese and Spanish also show resumption with the subject, and Portuguese and Catalan also show resumption with an oblique object<sup>11</sup>. Hence, the occurrence of resumptive structures can be formulated in a kind of scale:

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11 The fact that Portuguese does indeed have resumption with all syntactic functions, as proposed by Alexandre (2000), while Spanish and Catalan do not, might have to do with the data imbalance. The Portuguese corpus is much bigger than the Spanish and Catalan ones, and therefore offers more possibilities to find certain phenomena. I believe that with a bigger data base also for the other two languages, resumptive structures for subject and oblique RCs would have been found as well, while the general tendency regarding the distribution of resumptive and gap structures would stay the same.

- (22) Resumption in Ibero-Romance relative clauses  
DAT > DO > SU(/OBL)

While resumption seems to be categorical for dative objects, it is possible for direct objects and less so for subjects and oblique objects. It seems to be the case, hence, that resumption follows a Case hierarchy, which immediately makes one think of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy:

- (23) SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP  
(Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66)

This hierarchy is said to describe the accessibility of certain positions to undergo relativization, which is easiest for a subject, but hardest for an object of comparison. Notice that my empirically based hierarchy in (22) is not just (23) read backwards: instead, it puts the dative object first. From this, my second research question follows: what is it about a dative object that makes resumption the default strategy for relativization? Or, put differently:

- (24) RESEARCH QUESTION 2:  
How can we account for the Case asymmetry regarding resumption, attested for Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan?

Chapter 4 will give an answer to this question in the lines of there being a structural demand for dative arguments in the Romance languages, which does not exist for direct objects or subjects. This triggers the occurrence of a dative clitic. In the case of resumption with a subject pronoun or an accusative clitic, other, non-structural reasons come into play.

Two more important observations have to be mentioned here related to the parallel behaviour of the three languages: first, almost all instances of resumption in the data of the three languages include mere *que* as a relativizer, i.e. simple resumption is the default. The only two exceptions, as discussed above, are free relatives, which show a more complex relativizer. This is fairly surprising, given that Spanish and Catalan also allow for complex resumption in headed RCs. I will come back to simple and complex resumption in chapter 5, where I will argue that the similarity of simple and complex resumption is indeed only superficial, and that structurally, they do not represent the same phenomenon.

Second, I would like to draw some attention to the fact that the presented corpus study includes data from all over the European Portuguese, European Spanish, and Catalan speaking territories (cf. the maps in the appendix, where the locations of transcribed interviews are marked). However, no difference was found between any of the varieties with respect to the phenomenon under consideration here. This is particularly interesting because there are some differences in Catalan and Spanish varieties with respect to another realm of clitic pronoun use, clitic doubling, as will be discussed in chapter 5. It seems to be the case, hence, that the generalizations made above do not only hold inter-linguistically for the three languages Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan, but also intra-linguistically for their respective varieties. I conclude that we are dealing with a phenomenon that is really structural in nature.

#### 4. ANALYSIS I. MOVEMENT AND ATTACHMENT

In what follows, two important issues in the theoretical research on headed relative clauses will be tackled. The first addresses the issue of whether there is A'-movement inside the relative clause and, if so, how complex the moving constituent is: is it only a relative determiner or a determiner and its nominal complement? This question belongs to what Bianchi (2002a) calls the “connectivity problem”: on the one hand, the nominal head noun is a constituent of the matrix clause, which becomes obvious in languages with overt Case marking, like e.g. German:

- (1) *Ich kenne den Typen, der dich gestern angerufen hat.*  
I know the.acc guy.acc rel.nom you.acc yesterday called has  
“I know the guy that called you yesterday.”

In (1), the head noun *den Typen* is obligatorily marked for accusative Case, being the direct object of the matrix verb *kenne*. Under no circumstances can it receive another Case marking, e.g. nominative by the RC-internal predicate *angerufen hat*. Clearly, therefore, the nominal head noun is a RC-external constituent (cf. also Borsley 1997, 2001). On the other hand, there seem to be cases in which the antecedent also has to satisfy the RC-internal verb's semantic selectional requirements, i.e. in which there are reconstruction effects. Hence, there has to be some representative of the head noun also inside the relative clause.

The second issue deals with how the nominal head and the relative clause are structurally related, i.e. how the modificational nature of the RC should be structurally represented with respect to the nominal head. This is what Bianchi (2002a) calls the “modification problem”, and it affects especially the well-known dichotomy of restrictive vs. non-restrictive RCs. One open question that belongs in this field is which position should be assumed as the RC's attachment site.

As we will see, the two questions are interrelated. Interestingly, however, non-resumptive and resumptive RCs have not received the same attention for all relevant aspects. While for non-resumptive RCs, the most important issue has been to find a correct modulation of the RC-internal representative of the antecedent's semantics, most approaches for resumptive RCs have dealt with the question of there being A'-movement or not. This leads to my third research question:

- (2) RESEARCH QUESTION 3:  
What is the correct syntactic analysis for resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses, particularly with regard to A'-movement?

In order to pursue this research question, I will present and discuss the relevant proposals for canonical, i.e. non-resumptive RCs, and resumptive RCs, respectively. At the end of this chapter, I will propose a derivation for simple resumption in Ibero-Romance relative clauses, which accounts for the empirical generalizations made in the previous chapters, and aims to present a unified view on relative clauses in the languages under consideration.

#### 4.1. Existing analyses for canonical relative clauses: A'-movement

In most of the generative literature on canonical, i.e. non-resumptive relative clauses, it is assumed that a) RCs belong to the category CP (cf. e.g. Bianchi 1999 for an analysis implementing a split complementizer system), and that b) they are derived via a mechanism parallel to wh-movement in terms of Chomsky (1977):

- (3) Characteristics of wh-movement (Chomsky 1977: 86)
  - a. It leaves a gap.
  - b. Under certain circumstances, it is subject to subjacency, the Propositional Island Constraint and the Specified Subject Condition.
  - c. It obeys the Complex NP Constraint.
  - d. It obeys wh-islands constraints.

More precisely, relative clause derivation belongs to the class of non-canonical wh-movement, given the absence of interrogative semantics (Alexiadou et al. 2000: 2). This means that the wh-item, the relative pronoun, also is in a non-canonical wh-dependency with respect to the antecedent: it serves to link a position inside the subordinate clause to an item outside that clause. This dependency on the RC-external item, the (usually nominal) head of the RC, is reflected by morphological phi-agreement, at least in some languages. Consider again example (1): there, the antecedent *den Typen* and the relative pronoun *der* are both 3rd person, singular, masculine. In terms of interpretation, this dependency ensures the modificational character of the relative clause with respect to the antecedent.

Furthermore, relative clauses have the property of being non-canonical complements, i.e. they are not arguments of a lexical predicate but rather (non-)restrictive modifiers of a noun. As such, it has been assumed that their structural properties should be different from complement clauses, which are arguments of a noun, and whose relation to the nominal antecedent is usually encoded as sisterhood, cf. (4):

- (4) [DP *the* [NP *claim* [CP *that John left* ]]]  
(Alexiadou et al. 2000: 3)

Hence, a derivational analysis for relative clauses has to ensure the proper modification relation between subordinate clause and nominal antecedent. This is especially relevant when it comes to the dichotomy restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses, whose semantic difference has been understood as structural difference, more precisely, a difference with respect to the attachment site: restrictive RCs have been argued to be c-commanded by the antecedent's determiner (cf. Partee 1975), while appositive RCs are not.

As we will see in the discussion, the three most prominent analyses for headed relative clauses, the Head External Analysis (HEA), the Raising Analysis (RA) and the Matching Analysis (MA), offer different answers to the respective questions deemed crucial for the correct derivation.



#### 4.1.1. Head External Analysis (HEA)

The classical analysis of headed relative clauses was once named “matching analysis” (Chomsky 1965, 1977) because the main idea is that initially, the RC contains a noun phrase which is coreferential to the antecedent – i.e. at the beginning of the derivation, there are two matching nouns, one outside the RC, one inside in its argumental base position. The internal one is then replaced by an appropriate relative pronoun, leaving only the external one. The final step consists in the movement of the relative pronoun to the sentence periphery. In order not to create confusion with the more recent Matching Analysis, which will be discussed in section 4.1.3., I will continue to call the model described here Head External Analysis, HEA. (5) illustrates this derivation, using a Minimalist notion of syntactic categories and sentence layers:

- (5) a. ...DP<sub>i</sub>... [CP<sub>rel</sub> ... C ... T ... DP<sub>i</sub> ...  
b. ...DP<sub>i</sub>... [CP<sub>rel</sub> ... C ... T ... *relative pronoun*<sub>i</sub> ...  
c. ...DP<sub>i</sub>... [CP<sub>rel</sub> *relative pronoun*<sub>i</sub> ... C ... T ... t<sub>i</sub> ...

With respect to Bianchi’s “connectivity problem”, the HEA captures the “double role” of the antecedent by allocating the same index to two instances of the nominal before movement, i.e. in Chomsky (1965)’s framework, in Deep Structure. The RC-internal one then turns into a relative pronoun while maintaining the index.

According to Jackendoff (1977: 194-197), this relative pronoun then receives different interpretations, depending on the type of RC: in restrictive relative clauses, it is interpreted as a variable bound by the external determiner, and not as an independent referential element. In non-restrictive relative clauses, on the other hand, the relative pronoun is anaphoric to the whole nominal head. As Bianchi (2002b: 2) notes, this analysis of appositive RCs, involving coreference of the relative pronoun and the antecedent, captures the fact that non-restrictive relatives are able to modify not only nominal categories, but also other categories, such as entire propositions (6a.), or adjectival predicates (6b):

- (6) a. [John arrived late], which was unfortunate.  
b. Mary is [courageous], which I will never be.  
(Bianchi 2002b: 2)

With respect to the “modification problem”, Demirdache (1991), continuing a proposal by Stockwell, Schachter & Partee (1973) and building on the DP hypothesis by Abney (1987), argues that a restrictive RC is adjoined at the NP level of the antecedent, while an appositive RC is attached to the whole DP. In this way, it is ensured that the restrictive RC falls within the scope of the antecedent’s determiner, while the appositive RC does not. (7) illustrates this contrast:

- (7) a. [DP D° [NP [NP N°] [CP *restrictive relative clause*]]]  
b. [DP [DP D° [NP N°]] [CP *appositive relative clause*]]

(7a.) and (7b.) capture the contrast in interpretation with respect to the external D° that is illustrated in the following pair:

- (8) a. *All the boys who left early missed the fun.*  
 b. *All the boys, who left early, missed the fun.*

In (8), the respective head nouns are introduced by a quantificational determiner. For (8a.), which includes a restrictive RC, a structure like (7a.) predicts correctly that the RC is not interpreted within the scope of the determiner. Instead, the RC restricts the nominal part of the antecedent, before quantification of the D-layer comes into play. In this way, not *all the boys* missed the fun, but *all the boys who left early*, i.e. there are also boys that stayed longer. Contrary to this, consider (8b.): here, it is indeed *all the boys* who missed the fun, there are no exceptions. Additional information about these boys is given in the form of a non-restrictive RC: they left early. The structure in (7b.) accounts for this interpretation: quantification takes place before the RC attaches.

For the languages under consideration in this work, Brito (1995) assumes a HEA for European Portuguese, as Suñer (1998) does for Spanish. More recent proposals for the HEA have been proposed in Webelhuth, Bargmann & Götze (2019) from a HPSG perspective, and in Boef (2012a, b), who proposes an altered version of a head external analysis in order to account for spell-out variation for the various instances of relative pronouns in dialectal Dutch long-distance RCs, as in (9):

- (9) *Dat is de man [die/ wie/ wat ik denk*  
 that is the man rel who what I think  
 [*dat/ die ze geroepen hebben*]]  
 that rel they called have  
 “That is the man who I think they called.”  
 (cf. Boef 2012a: 126-127)

In this proposal, the nominal head is base generated in the highest specifier of the relative clause, while the relative pronoun moves to a lower C-layer. The RC itself is the complement of the external determiner:

- (10) D° [CPrel1 *RC head* [Crel1° Crel1° [CPrel2 *relative pronoun*<sub>i</sub> [CPrel2° Crel2° [IP ...t<sub>i</sub>...

In this way, it is only the relative pronoun that moves and can be spelt out in its various positions in different ways, while the nominal head does not move with it, i.e. does not interfere with the spell out, which is what a head internal analysis, cf. the two following subchapters, would predict. At the same time, the antecedent is available inside the RC domain in order to account for reconstruction effects, which have been the strongest argument in favour of a head internal, or Head Raising Analysis. Of course, the fact that the base position of the RC’s head is in SpecCPrel, i.e. crucially *inside* the relative clause, gives

reason to doubt the designation of Boef's analysis as a Head *External* Analysis. However, the author argues that the antecedent does not take part in the movement operations in the RC, and should therefore be considered as being somehow "outside" of the actual relativization scene.

#### 4.1.2. Head Raising Analysis (RA)

The Head Raising Analysis is directly connected to Chomsky's (1993) development of a new perspective on syntactic movement. Moved elements such as interrogative pronouns reconstruct into their original site, i.e. they are interpreted in a position below the one in which they surface on PF. In G&B-terms, this was analyzed as a chain effect, i.e. a lowering of the moved constituent on LF (cf. e.g. Barss 1986). Chomsky's (1993) paper on Minimalism proposes a movement analysis in terms of the copy theory of movement: instead of traces, movement leaves full copies of the moved element, which are deleted at PF but remain fully interpretable at LF. In this way, reconstruction follows naturally from movement and does not need a further operation.

The fact that relative clauses show reconstruction effects of the nominal antecedent inside the subordinate clause, as in (11), led to a revival of the raising analysis by Kayne (1994), who bases his work on early proposals by Brame (1968), Schachter (1973), Carlson (1977), and Vergnaud (1974, 1985).

(11) *John<sub>i</sub> bought the picture of himself<sub>i/j</sub> [RC that Bill<sub>j</sub> saw \_.]*

The anaphor *himself* in (11) is said to be ambiguous: it can be bound by either John or Bill, as illustrated by the indices. If it is bound by Bill, this means that it reconstructs into the complement position of the RC-internal verb *saw*. Other well-discussed reconstruction effects are the licensing of idioms, as in (12a.), and scope reconstruction (12b.):

(12) a. *The headway that we made was satisfactory.*

(Schachter 1973: 31)

b. *Ho telefonato ai due pazienti*

I.have called to.thetwo patients

*che ogni medico visiterà domani.*

rel every doctor will.visit tomorrow

"I have called the two patients that every doctor will visit tomorrow."

$2 > \forall ; \forall > 2$

(Bianchi 1999: 123)

Kayne's (1994) antisymmetry theory makes it necessary to get rid of right-adjunction, which was the usual analysis for RCs before. Kayne therefore takes up the new view on how to handle reconstruction data and proposes a derivation in which the antecedent originates in the relative clause and moves to a specifier of the relative CP. The relativization chain then consists of identical copies of the relative head in every step of the wh-movement, which

accounts for reconstruction effects. What superficially looks like a RC-external head noun, hence, is actually just a head determiner that selects the relative CP as its complement. The RC-internal noun, which is always selected by a relative determiner, overt or not, as argued by Bianchi (1999) and de Vries (2002), moves to the specifier of this determiner and enters agreement with the external determiner. The structure is illustrated in (13). Crossed out items indicate deleted copies at PF:

(13) [DP [D *the*<sub>i</sub>] [CP<sub>rel</sub> [DP<sub>rel</sub> *man*<sub>i</sub> [D<sub>rel</sub> *which* [NP *man* ]]] [TP *I saw* [DP<sub>rel</sub> ~~*which man*~~]]]]

Due to its natural ability to account for reconstruction facts, the RA has found many followers and has been the topic and/or the basis for many papers on the syntax of relative clauses, cf. Bianchi (1999, 2000), Bhatt (2000, 2002), de Vries (2002), Poletto & Sanfelici (2015), Sanfelici, Caloi & Poletto (2014), among others; furthermore Alexandre (2000) and Cardoso (2010) for European Portuguese, Kato & Nunes (2009) and Kenedy (2007a, b) for Brazilian Portuguese, Arregi (1998) and Gallego (2006) for Spanish; among others.

However, it also leads to several problems that have been pointed out in the literature. Borsley (1997) observes that the RA makes problematic predictions about the Case and selectional requirements of the matrix clause. Recall that in languages with overt morphological agreement, the head noun has to fulfil the matrix verb's requirements, as in example (1) above, where it must be marked for accusative Case. Given that in a RA derivation, the head stays inside the RC in a peripheral position, one has to assume that the left periphery of relatives is transparent for agreement relations with the external structure. The RA hence addresses the "modification problem" in a radically different way than the HEA: the question how and where antecedent and RC are connected, i.e. where modification takes place, turns out to be superfluous, given that the antecedent actually forms part of the RC, which is selected by the external determiner. This last selection relation is problematic by itself, as Borsley (1997) argues: usually, if a determiner selects a finite clause, the result is a nominalized verbal complement, and the determiner shows default agreement features, e.g. in Polish:

(14) *To, kogo Maria widziała jest tajemnica.*  
 that.NOM who.ACC Maria saw is secret  
 "Who Maria saw is a secret."  
 (Borsley 1997: 635)

In (14), there is non-agreement between the external D and the phrase in SpecCP. In a RA, however, the external D and the noun in SpecCP obligatorily have to agree in Case. Bianchi (2002b: 4) admits that the selectional relation between the determiner and the relative CP remains "quite stipulative".

There are other empirical facts that the RA cannot account for, such as a structure with split antecedents:

(15) *John saw a man<sub>i</sub> and Mary saw a woman<sub>j</sub> that <sub>i+j</sub> were wanted by the police.*

As Alexiadou et al. (2000: 14) note, “it seems rather far-fetched to suppose that the antecedents could have originated inside the relative clause (say, as a conjoined DP) to then be split and distributed across two clausal conjuncts after raising.” For an extensive list regarding empirical problems for a raising analysis in general, but also especially for German and English, see Webelhuth et al. (2019), Borsley (1997, 2001), Heck (2005).

In addition, it is unclear what the trigger of the movement of the NP to its DP’s specifier should be. Kayne (1994), Bianchi (1999) and de Vries (2002) assume that this movement is due to the noun’s need for establishing an agreement relationship with the external D, i.e. the external determiner establishes an “almost selectional relation” (Bianchi 2002a: 201) with the RC-internal head noun. These two problems are directly connected to the nature of a Raising Analysis for relatives, and thus do not arise in a Head External Analysis (cf. Borsley 1997, 2001).

Furthermore, the RA is not easily extended to non-restrictive RCs, as noted by Borsley (1997), given that these necessarily have to be interpreted outside the scope of the external determiner, as explained above. Kayne (1994), assuming that appositive relatives show reconstruction effects as well, proposes a raising derivation that is followed by covert movement of the relative IP to the external SpecDP, i.e. out of the scope of the external D. (16a.) illustrates the corresponding LF representation for the non-restrictive RC construction in (16b.):

(16) a. [DP [IP I saw [DP<sub>PreI</sub> which man ]<sub>j</sub> [D this<sub>S</sub> ] [CP<sub>PreI</sub> [DP<sub>PreI</sub> man<sub>i</sub> [D<sub>rel</sub> which [NP man ] t<sub>j</sub> ]]]]]  
 b. *this man, which I saw*

Another possibility is explored by Bianchi (1999), who doubts the existence of reconstruction effects in non-restrictive RCs, and therefore proposes different structural derivations for restrictive and appositive relatives, the first ones being derived via a raising derivation, while the latter ones are not.

Finally, the RA cannot easily account for a variant of relative clauses that include resumptive pronouns in the relativization site: the realization of a pronominal element in the base position is unexpected, given the assumption that the DP which moves to the left periphery of the RC consists of the relative determiner and its nominal complement, for example, [which man] in (16). According to the RA, the fact that the antecedent is realized in a pre-RC position, i.e. as complement of the external determiner, is proof that there has been A’-movement, i.e. that the base position is empty (on PF). What, then, is the status of the resumptive element? Why is only a pronominal expressed, and not a reflex of the whole DP, including *man*? Resumptive relative clauses and the various proposals for their derivation, some of which departing from a RA, will be further discussed in chapter 4.2.

For further thorough discussion on the problems involved in a RA, see Platzack 2000, Schmitt 2000, Alexiadou et al. (2000), Citko (2001), among others. As Salzmann (2017: 55) puts it: “for the analysis to work, very unorthodox assumptions must be made with regard to constituency, Case assignment, locality, and the trigger for movement, all of which imply a

complication of the grammar and many of which are at odds with well-established principles of grammar”.

#### 4.1.3. Matching Analysis (MA)

The RA made the analysis of relative clauses more parallel to that of interrogative clauses, thus unifying the derivations for A'-dependencies. The motivation for this was the fact that both relative and interrogative clauses show reconstruction effects, as depicted above. However, as noted by Munn (1994), Sauerland (1998), Safir (1999), Bianchi (1999), Citko (2001), Bhatt (2002), Cecchetto (2005), and Salzmänn (2006a), among others, reconstruction effects are in fact not completely equivalent in interrogative and relative wh-chains: while the former display Condition C effects, these are said to be absent in the latter, compare (17a.) and (17b.):

- (17) a. \*Which picture of John<sub>i</sub> did he<sub>i</sub> see in the paper?  
b. The picture of John<sub>i</sub> which he<sub>i</sub> saw in the paper is very flattering.

In (17a.), coreference of *John* and *he* is ungrammatical, which is naturally explained by the assumption that *which picture of John* is base generated in the complement position of *see*, where the R-expression *John* would be bound by *he*, hence violating Condition C of the Binding Theory. In (17b.), on the other hand, no such ungrammaticality arises. The absence of Condition-C effects has been described as anti-reconstruction, i.e. as a context in which the nominal head must not be interpreted in the RC-internal thematic position. Idioms represent a similar case. While there are cases in which parts of idiomatic expressions are reconstructed in the RC, as discussed above, in other cases the opposite occurs, cf. (18):

- (18) *Parky pulled the strings*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>RC</sub> *that* <sub>i</sub> *got me the job*]  
(Webelhuth et al. 2019, taken from McCawley 1981)

In (18), all of the idiom's parts are outside of the relative clause. If we were to assume that *strings* actually belongs to the relative clause's domain, the idiomatic interpretation would be impossible.

Anti-reconstruction, as illustrated in (17b.) and (18), is expected from the perspective of a Head External Analysis, but constitutes a problem for the Raising Analysis, given that the internal head would be base-generated together with the relative determiner, overtly or covertly. In order to account for this contrast, Sauerland (1998) proposes a Matching Analysis for relative clauses, which includes both an external and an internal head, the internal one being the complement of the relative operator. The MA thus shows similarities to both the RA and the HEA: on the one hand, there is a RC-internal representation of the external head which is able to account for reconstruction effects, and which moves together with the relative determiner to SpecCP; on the other hand, there is no movement relation between the external and the internal representation of the head noun, which avoids many of the

problems faced by the RA, as discussed above. The internal NP head then is deleted on PF under identity with the external head.

In order to account for the absence of Condition C effects, however, the internal head has to be modified. Two types of solutions have been proposed. Munn (1994) and Citko (2001) argue for a deletion under identity: the RC-internal NP head can be deleted on LF since the external head ensures recoverability. This is illustrated in (19):

(19) *The [picture of John<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>CP</sub> which [~~picture of John<sub>i</sub>]~~ he<sub>i</sub> saw [~~x picture of John<sub>i</sub>]~~ in the paper is very flattering.*

Sauerland (1998, 2003) and Salzmann (2006a, 2017), on the other hand, assume a vehicle change in the sense of Fiengo & May (1994): in the context of ellipsis, a pronoun can count as identical to an R-expression. The absence of Condition C effects is thus explained by the assumption that the head NP inside the RC only contains a personal pronoun instead of a full R-expression. See (20) for an illustration:

(20) *The [picture of John<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>CP</sub> which [picture of **him<sub>i</sub>]] he<sub>i</sub> saw [~~x picture of him<sub>i</sub>]~~ in the paper is very flattering.***

Citko (2001), Cecchetto (2005), Salzmann (2006a, 2017) and Henderson (2007) argue that at least for restrictive and amount RCs, only a Matching Analysis is needed. The MA does indeed eliminate many of the problems faced by the RA, as Salzmann (2017: 146) notes, such as the right constituency for coordination and extraposition. In addition, it does not assume locality violations since there is no raising of the NP head to the relative DP's specifier, which also avoids the search for a trigger of this problematic movement. Note, however, that these problems were only brought up as a consequence of the RA, and never arise in the perspective of a HEA. Furthermore, some of the empirical problems faced by the RA also remain problematic for a MA, such as anti-reconstruction with respect to idioms, as in (18). A solution to this would have to be similar to the ones employed in (17) and (20): the internal head has to be deleted somehow, not only on PF but also on LF, or replaced by some neutral placeholder.

The MA, therefore, constitutes a compromise between the HEA and the RA in terms of solving the connectivity problem: on the one hand, the RC is attached to a head noun, on the other hand, it also contains another identical representative of this head noun. However, since relative clauses allow for a Case clash with respect to the external head and the relative operator, "identical" cannot mean morphological identity. Furthermore, under a vehicle change perspective, as in (20), R-expressions and personal pronouns are counted as "identical", which raises again the question what this concept of "identity" really means. Salzmann (2017: 174) "tends to favor a semantic identity criterion", but it is not clear to me how this could involve R-expressions and pronouns, given that these are indeed non-identical with respect to their semantic interpretation, e.g. when it comes to Binding Conditions. These different characteristics are precisely the aim of the MA: R-expressions

and pronouns are non-identical regarding their Binding behaviour, therefore a vehicle change analysis of RCs as in (20) accounts for the absence of Condition C effects.

Furthermore, the existence of two structurally independent but somehow identical head nouns might lead to problems of interpretation. Bhatt (2002: 52) notes that generally, the MA is equivalent to the RA in its ability to account for reconstruction effects, like the binding of a pronoun in the antecedent by a RC-internal quantifier, as in (21a.). It is possible to interpret (21a.) such that *every* has scope over the possessive in the matrix clause, i.e. under reconstruction of the internal antecedent inside the relative clause, which is represented in contours in (21b.):

- (21) a. *John generally has an opinion of his<sub>i</sub> book that every novelist<sub>t</sub> respects \_.*  
 b. *John generally has an opinion of his<sub>i</sub> book that every novelist<sub>t</sub> respects an opinion of his<sub>i</sub> book.*

(Bhatt 2002: 52)

However, under a MA perspective, also the external head has to be interpreted. In a case like (21), this external head includes a possessive pronoun as well, whose interpretation as being bound by *every* is not straightforward, given that it crucially does not stem from a position below the quantifier. Bhatt (2002: 52) doubts that “binding the counterpart of this pronoun in the relative clause internal representation of the external head counts as binding the pronoun in the external head”, in other words: even under the assumption that the internal and the external head of the RC are identical, they remain distinct items, such that an automatic transmission of an index is not easily explainable.

Apart from this, a head-internal analysis, be it in a RA or in a MA fashion, is not able to account for the fact that the relative items pattern like a demonstrative pronoun rather than a demonstrative determiner in some languages, as in German (cf. Heck 2005: 4):

- (22) a. *Ich vertraue [\*denen/den] Freunden.*  
 I trust the friends  
 “I trust the friends.”  
 b. *Ich vertraue [denen/\*den].*  
 I trust those  
 “I trust those.”  
 c. *die Freunde, [denen/\*den] ich vertraue*  
 the friends rel I trust  
 “The friends whom I trust.”

Finally, the MA has to face the same difficulty as the RA: due to the fact that both assume an internal NP-head that has to raise to SpecCP, they cannot easily account for resumptive RCs, in which only a pronominal element fills the relativization site, and no reflex of a



nominal complement ever shows up<sup>12</sup>. Some approaches have tried to reconcile a head-internal analysis with the phenomenon of resumption, such as Boeckx (2003) and Bianchi (2004). They will be discussed in chapter 4.2. below.

#### 4.2. Arguments in favour of a HEA for canonical RCs

The discussion above has shown that both head-internal analyses, RA and MA, lead to several empirical problems, which have to be overcome by adopting several additional assumptions. The most important issue for the RA remains the necessary trigger for movement that raises the internal N to the Spec of its DP, which remains quite stipulative, apart from the fact that the assumption of a D selecting a relative CP makes predictions about the structure of a determiner phrase that do not have an equivalent anywhere else. For the MA, while it solves some of the problems of the RA, some issues remain, such as the form of the relativizers, which resemble pronouns rather than demonstratives, and some interpretative facts, as discussed above. Furthermore, a Matching Analysis that aims at including all possible interpretation data in one syntactic structure, such as Salzmann (2017), involves a massively complex derivation which is then followed by exceptional deletion actions and the like.

For this reason, here I pursue a Head External Analysis, following Rinke & Aßmann (2017), who propose the following structure for European Portuguese. I assume that this derivation also holds for Spanish and Catalan:

(23) a. [DP [D *o*] [NumP [Num *livro*<sub>i</sub>] [nP [CPrel *que*<sub>i</sub> C [TP *li que*<sub>i</sub>...]] [n *livro* ] [NP *livro* ]]]]]

b. *O livro que li.*

the book rel I.read

“The book that I read.”

(Rinke & Aßmann 2017: 38-39)

The restrictive relative clause is base generated in the specifier of nP, a position that is usually supposed to be taken by other restrictive modifiers such as demonstratives and post-nominal possessives (cf. Giusti 1997, 2002; Brugè 2000, 2002; among others). This explains the restriction on the co-occurrence of relative clauses and demonstratives: only one of them can be interpreted restrictively. Either the demonstrative is the restrictor, which enables the relative to be interpreted only in a non-restrictive way, or the relative is needed for restriction, which turns the demonstrative in a kind of non-restricting determiner. The nominal head, being external to the RC at all steps of the derivation, is base generated in N and then moves up to Num, as is usual for Romance languages (cf. Cinque 1995). In this way, the superficial order D-N-RC is achieved.

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<sup>12</sup> At least, not in my data, and as far as I am aware, there has been no such claim for the languages under consideration here. Other authors may have found other data, such as Radford (2019: 113), who gives examples like *That was a game that we should have put the game out of reach*. However, Radford analyzes examples like these as including a such-that-kind relativizer, i.e. the interpretation being “a game of such a kind that we should have put the game out of reach”. Whatever the exact derivation for such data, the interpretation is at odds with usual resumptive data like those from my corpus study.

Inside the relative clause, only a D-element, *que* in (23), represents the relativized constituent and moves from its theta position up to SpecCP, where it receives the same index as the nominal head. I will come back to this element, especially to the relativizer *que*, in section 4.3. below.

The HEA has received only marginal attention in the last decades due to the fact that the copy theory of movement has offered a new view on reconstruction effects, which have become the focus of research on relative clauses. These phenomena have been analyzed in terms of syntactic reconstruction, i.e. as a necessity for the assumption of a RC-internal head. However, two points have to be made here.

The first refers to the real acceptability of reconstruction effects. It seems that not all famous examples claimed to represent evidence for an internal head turn out to be equally acceptable in all languages. Consider the following example, in which the anaphor's binding is considered as reconstruction of the antecedent:

- (24) *The picture of himself<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> saw.*  
 (modified after Kayne 1994: 87)

If *himself* is bound by *Bill*, the conclusion is that under Condition A of the Binding Theory, the anaphor has to be c-commanded by its referent during the structural derivation. Now, consider the following Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan equivalents:

- (25) a. \**Na sala de estar está pendurada*  
 in.the room of being is hung  
*a foto de si mesma<sub>i</sub> que a Sara<sub>i</sub> odeia.*  
 the photo of herself rel the Sara hates
- b. \**En el salón está colgada*  
 in the living room is hung  
*la foto de si misma<sub>i</sub> que Sara<sub>i</sub> odia.*  
 the photo of herself rel Sara hates
- c. \**A la sala d'estar està penjada*  
 in the room of'being is hung  
*la foto de si mateixa<sub>i</sub> que la Sara<sub>i</sub> odia.*  
 the photo of herself rel the Sara hates
- all: "In the living room hangs the photo of herself that Sara hates."

According to Ana Maria Martins (p.c.), Ana Maria Brito (p.c.), Jorge Vega Vilanova (p.c.) and Anna Pineda (p.c.), the sentences in (25) are ungrammatical and the anaphor is only understood as somehow coreferent to *Sara* because there is no other referent available. Similarly, anaphor binding under reconstruction in all chain positions, as Bianchi (2004) proposes for specific restrictive relatives in Italian (26a.), is not so clearly available in these languages (26b.-d.):

- (26) a. Pro *mi* hanno riferito i pettegolezzi su  
 pro to.me they.have reported the rumours about  
*se stesso/ se stessa<sub>k</sub> che Maria<sub>k</sub> dice*  
 himself herself rel Maria says  
 [t *che Gianni<sub>i</sub> ha sentito t alla festa*].  
 that Gianni has heard at.the party  
 “They have told me the rumours about himself/herself that Maria says that Gianni has heard at the party.”

(Bianchi 2004: 82)

- b. \**Conheço os boatos sobre si mesmo<sub>i</sub>*  
 I.know the rumours about himself  
*que a Maria<sub>k</sub> diz que o João<sub>i</sub> ouviu na festa.*  
 rel the Maria says that the João heard at.the party
- c. \**Conec els rumors sobre si mateix<sub>i</sub>*  
 I.know the rumours about himself  
*que la Maria<sub>k</sub> diu que en Jordi<sub>i</sub> va sentir a la festa.*  
 rel the Maria says that the Jordi goes to.hear at the party
- d. \**Conozco los rumores sobre si mismo<sub>i</sub>*  
 I.know the rumours about himself  
*que María<sub>k</sub> dice que Juan<sub>i</sub> oyó en la fiesta.*  
 rel Maria says that Juan heard at the party

intended reading b., c., d.: “I know the rumours about himself that Maria says that J. heard at the party.”

Again, the consulted native speakers judged the sentences (26b., c., d.) as ungrammatical, and the binding of the anaphor by the second subordinate subject as only somehow possible because of the masculine form of *mesmo/mateix/mismo*. Given that no other male referent is available in this context, some last resort search relates the anaphor to *o João/en Jordi/Juan*.

Hence, I believe that reconstruction effects should be considered with more caution in the research on relative clauses, and that, secondly, alternative views should be taken into account as well. In fact, there have been other perspectives on the phenomenon. Weibelhuth et al. (2019), for instance, take a detailed look on reconstruction of idioms in relative clauses, e.g. as in (27):

- (27) *The headway that we made was satisfactory.*

(Schachter 1973: 31)

Given that an idiom is only licensed if all of its parts form a constituent at the point of merge, (27) has been seen as evidence that *headway* has to actually stem from a position inside of the RC. However, as the authors show, reconstruction of one part of the idiom inside of the relative clause is only possible with so-called semantically linked idioms like *to make headway*, which also allow other surface configurations such as passivization and pronominalization of the nominal part. In contrast, syntactically linked idioms like *to spill the*

*beans* are less flexible, while syntactically frozen idioms like *to kick the bucket* do not permit any of the configurations mentioned. Hence, from a Construction Grammar perspective, Webelhuth et al. (2019) analyze the respective idioms as belonging to different classes of entries in the phrasal lexicon. Semantically linked idioms consist of two separate components which must be linked, but a semantic linking is enough for the idiomatic reading. Hence, a relative clause as in (27) does actually not represent evidence of reconstruction of the nominal head inside the RC, but only mirrors the loose connection of the idiom's components.

While many linguistic approaches to relative clauses have taken the empirical evidence on reconstruction effects as a strong argument in favour of a head-internal analysis, be it a RA or a MA, it seems to be worth mentioning that there does not seem to be a unanimous agreement on this. Recently, there have been proposals to reconcile a head external analysis with reconstruction effects, e.g. for Binding Theory (Krifka 2019) and pronominal binding (Barker 2019, Jacobson 2019, Sternefeld 2019). As for anaphor binding and scope reconstruction effects, there have been proposals to tackle them from a semantic perspective. Cecchetto (2001), for instance, argues that Binding reconstruction in pseudoclefts and clitic left dislocations should be accounted for by a semantic mechanism, and Sternefeld (2001) proposes semantic reconstruction in terms of the interpretation of scope inversion by semantic methods, based on the mechanism of lambda abstraction and lambda conversion also in pseudoclefts.

In a HEA, reconstruction effects cannot be modelled in terms of the copy theory of movement, i.e. by simply interpreting the lower copy of a movement operation, given that there is no lower copy of the nominal head inside the RC. Reconstruction instead has to be mediated via the relative operator, an operation that has been left mostly implicit in the literature, except for the indication on predication, since operator movement turns the RC into a predicate, as Salzmann (2006a: 51) notes. I believe, therefore, that the predicational relationship between the head noun and the relative operator is able to pass on the information about the semantic composition in order to achieve the correct interpretation. Probably, the left periphery of a relative clause has to be more permeable for binding and scope relations than what is usually thought of subordinate clauses. Note that this idea of a “porous” relative CP also occurs in other analyses on RCs: for instance, Bianchi (1999) proposes an incorporation of the external and the internal D and/or the raising of the N out of the CP into an external AgrP; furthermore, Georgi & Salzmann (2017) argue that the internal and the external DP match their morphological Case.

#### **4.3. Existing analyses for resumptive relative clauses: is there A'-movement?**

As described in chapter 2, resumptive relatives are defined as relative structures in which an overt element occurs in the position where a gap would be expected. This phenomenon does not only occur in the (Ibero-)Romance languages, but is also attested and has been discussed for English (Ross 1967, Chao & Sells 1983, among others), Semitic languages (Borer 1984, Shlonsky 1992, etc.), Celtic languages (McCloskey 1979, etc.), and many more. Consider (28) as an illustration of the phenomenon in Portuguese:

- (28) *Temos lá, no meu ano, rapazes que eles parecem*  
 we.have there in.the my year boys rel pron.3.pl.nom they.seem  
*atrasados mentais.*  
 deficient mentally  
 “In my year, there are some boys that seem mentally deficient.”  
 (Alexandre 2000: 63)

In the case of pronominal resumption, as is the case in (28), Rouveret (2011: 8) states a kind of consensus in the sense that resumptive pronouns are operator-bound pronouns, i.e. variables bound by an element in A'-position: “resumptive pronouns and traces syntactically behave in the same way in that both are linked to their antecedent via the establishment of a chain obeying strict locality constraints”, more precisely: “an Agree chain and a movement chain respectively” (Rouveret 2011: 20). This understanding corresponds roughly to Cinque’s (1990: 110ff.) proposal for variables, according to which there are two types: first, there are so-called “pure variables”, that is wh-gaps, which are defined as [-anaphoric, -pronominal] and A'-bound by an operator that was wh-moved to SpecCP. Second, there are “pronominal variables”, i.e. empty categories that are [-anaphoric, +pronominal], which equals *pro*, merged in base position and A'-bound by an abstract operator base merged in SpecCP.

It was indeed the standard view for some time that resumption does not include wh-movement, in contrast to the derivation of “pure variables”. The main argument for this reasoning is the fact that resumption also occurs in island contexts (Chomsky 1977, Borer 1984, Safir 1986), i.e. in subordinate contexts from which A'-movement is said to be impossible, such as an interrogative clause embedded in the RC, as in (29):

- (29) *Há coisas fantásticas que eu nem sei como é que*  
 there.are things fantastic rel I not.even know how is that  
*elas me acontecem.*  
 they cl.1.sg.dat happen  
 “There are fantastic things that I don’t even know how they happen to me.”  
 (Veloso 2013: 2130)

A more detailed classification, however, draws resumption inside and outside of islands apart: Chao & Sells (1983) and Sells (1984) distinguish proper resumptive pronouns, like *eles* in (28), and intrusive pronouns that are inserted as a repair mechanism in island

violations, such as *elas* in (29)<sup>13</sup>. If we consider proper resumptive and intrusive pronouns as instantiations of different phenomena, the first argument against a movement analysis loses its impact.

The affirmation made by Borer (1984), Sells (1984), McCloskey (1990) and Demirdache (1991), stating that resumptive relative clauses do not show Weak Crossover effects, has been judged as further evidence for a non-movement approach, given that this is unexpected from a movement perspective. Weak Crossover effects arise when a variable is coreferent with a pronoun that it does not c-command, as shown in the contrast in (30a.) and (30b.):

- (30) a. *Which man<sub>i</sub> did you say \_ dislikes his<sub>i</sub> boss?*  
 b. *?Which man<sub>i</sub> did you say his<sub>i</sub> boss dislikes \_?*

In contrast, (31) shows that in Hebrew, a resumptive relative clause does not give rise to Weak Crossover effects:

- (31) *ha-?iš<sub>i</sub>      še    ?im-o<sub>i</sub>            ?ohevet oto<sub>i</sub>    \_*  
 the-man    that    mother-him    loves    him  
 “The man<sub>i</sub> that his<sub>i</sub> mother loves.”  
 (Demirdache 1991: 51)

However, the picture is not that clear. It seems that also resumptive RCs show movement characteristics such as Strong Crossover effects (McCloskey 1990, Alexandre 2000), a point to which I will return later in chapter 4.2.2.

For this reason, the recent debate has tried to come up with movement approaches also for resumptive relatives. The debate on whether resumptive RCs are derived via movement or not reflects the double nature of resumptive pronouns. On the one hand, they are pronouns, i.e. anaphoric elements, which can be seen by the fact that the position these elements occupy typically corresponds to the one where usual pronouns occur. An example for this is the behaviour of clitic pronouns in Romance languages with regard to their positioning: in finite clauses, clitics usually occur preverbally, while with infinite verbs, they can also occur postverbally. Consider (32) as an example for Spanish:

- (32) a. **Lo**            *hago.*  
 cl.3.sg.acc I.do  
 “I do it.”

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13 Apart from proper and intrusive resumptive pronouns, there seems to be a third type, so-called processing resumptives (Salzmann 2017: 180, cf. also Erteschick-Shir 1992), which occur in contexts from which movement is possible in principle, and which become more acceptable the further away they are from the antecedent, i.e. the more complex the structure is in terms of distance between head noun and relativization site:

- (i) a. This is the girl that John likes *\_/\*her*.  
 b. This is the girl that Peter said that John likes *\_/?her*.  
 c. This is the girl that Peter said that John thinks that Bob likes *\_/?her*.  
 d. This is the girl that Peter said that John thinks that yesterday his mother had given some cakes to *?\_her*.  
 (Erteschick-Shir 1992: 89)

- b. *Voy a hacerlo.*  
 I.go to to.do.cl.3.sg.acc  
 “I am going to do it.”

In this respect, EP clitic placement shows a peculiarity insofar as the distribution with respect to the verb is not induced only by the verb’s morphology, but is primarily determined by syntactic factors. The postverbal position of the clitic can be seen as the default one, being the only possibility in positive declarative clauses, cf. (Luís & Kaiser 2016):

- (33) a. \**Ontem me chamou.*  
 yesterday cl.1.sg.acc he.called  
 b. *Ontem chamou-me.*  
 yesterday he.called-cl.1.sg.acc  
 “He called me yesterday.”  
 (Luís & Kaiser 2016: 215)

Preverbal placement is only possible in the following contexts: with negation, with some preverbal adverbs, with some preverbal quantified subjects, and with *qu*-morphemes. For a more detailed discussion, cf. Martins (2013) and Duarte & Matos (2000). Consider (34) as examples for negation and a context with a *qu*-interrogative:

- (34) a. *Ouvi-lhe os passos, mas não me voltei.*  
 I.heard-cl.3.sg.dat the steps but not cl.1.sg.refl I.turned  
 “I heard his steps, but I did not turn around.”  
 b. *Quem te contou?*  
 who cl.2.sg.dat told  
 “Who told you?”  
 (Martins 2013: 2242)

What is important for the topic here is that the restriction on *qu*-items introducing the clause, as illustrated in (34b.), does not only hold for interrogative clauses but also for subordinate clauses, among them relative clauses. This is illustrated in (35):

- (35) *Era o mesmo homem que, pouco antes,*  
 was the same man rel little before  
*lhe tinham mostrado...*  
 cl.3.sg.dat they.had shown  
 “It was the same man that they had shown him shortly before.”  
 (Martins 2013: 2275)

At the same time, there seems to be some variation with respect to the positioning of the clitics. First, with certain verbs, enclisis is possible in subordinate contexts, contrary to what is expected from the generalizations above, cf. (36a.). Furthermore, dialectal variation shows

the other way around, i.e. proclisis in a context that would actually demand enclisis, cf. (36b.):

- (36) a. *O meu primo diz que lá elas lavam-se*  
the my cousin says that cl.loc they they.wash-cl.3.refl  
*antes e depois.*  
before and after  
“My cousin says that they wash themselves before and after.”  
(Martins 2013: 2277)
- b. **Me** enganaste?!  
cl.1.sg.acc you.deceived  
“You cheated on me?!”  
(Martins 2016: 410)

The last example, (36b.), displays a preverbal clitic in a yes/no-question, i.e. a context without a *qu*-item or any other of the elements that triggers proclisis. Still, the speaker puts the clitic first. This is particularly interesting, given that European Portuguese has been considered the only Romance language to respect the Tobler-Mussafia Law, which states briefly that unstressed items must not introduce a sentence (Brito, Duarte & Matos 2003: 849). Also for subordinate clauses, it is known that there is some variation in Portuguese dialectal data, as the contrast between (37) and (38) shows:

- (37) *Era o mesmo homem que, pouco antes,*  
was the same man rel little before  
**lhe** tinham mostrado...  
cl.3.sg.dat they.had shown  
“It was the same man that they had shown him shortly before.”  
(Martins 2013: 2275)

- (38) *O meu primo diz que lá elas lavam-se* antes e depois.  
the my cousin says that cl.loc they they.wash-cl.3.refl before and after  
“My cousin says that they wash themselves before and after.”  
(Martins 2013: 2277)

Resumptive pronouns in relative clauses behave in the same way. While the default position in the empirical data from chapter 3 is indeed the preverbal one, as in (39a.), there is a certain amount of variation, i.e. clitics occurring postverbally, as in (39b.):

- (39) a. *Havia outra que a gente lhe chamava a boca-do-lobo.*  
there.was other rel the people cl.3.sg.dat called the mouth-of.the-wolf  
“There was another one that we called ‘the mouth of the wolf’.”



- b. *Têm vindo aqui alguns que eu tiro-lhe uma talhada.*  
 have.been coming here some rel I took-cl.3.sg.dat a chop  
 “Some have been coming here whom I cut.”  
 (Rinke 2016-, Évora; Graciosa)

Also the Catalan data show evidence for the assumption that resumptive pronouns behave like regular pronouns. In Catalan, the standard form for the third person plural dative clitic is *els* (40a.), which is identical to the third person plural accusative masculine form (40b.). However, in the oral language of Occidental Catalan, i.e. the varieties spoken in the eastern part of Catalonia and on the Balearic islands, dative *els* is replaced by a form [əɫzi], written as *els hi* (41):

- (40) a. *Als nens, els dono el llibre.*  
 they boys.dat cl.3.pl.dat I.give the book  
 “To the boys, I give them the book.”  
 b. *Els nens, els vaig veure ahir.*  
 the boys cl.3.pl.acc.masc I.go to.see yesterday  
 “The boys, I saw them yesterday.”

- (41) *Als nens els hi dono pomes.*  
 the boys.dat *els hi* I.give apples  
 “To the boys, I give them apples.”  
 (Boeckx & Martín 2013: 17)

According to Martín (2012) and Boeckx & Martín (2013), this form results from the speakers’ need to differentiate between the accusative and the dative clitic: by analogy, the vowel of the singular plural form, *li*, is attached also to the plural. They further argue that the dative clitic is not a primitive, but hybrid in nature. In Catalan, it is the combination of an accusative-like and a locative-like notion, which is reflected in the orthography: *hi* is, among other functions, the locative clitic:

- (42) *Hi aniré demà, a Barcelona.*  
 cl.loc I.will.go tomorrow to Barcelona  
 “I will go there tomorrow, to Barcelona.”

In the data on resumption in relative clauses, this behaviour of the dative plural clitic is reflected, as the following example from Maó, i.e. from a variety of Occitan Catalan, shows:

- (43) *Fan uns molls que els hi diven pantalans.*  
 they.make some piers rel *elshi* they.say *pantalans*  
 “They construct some piers which they call *pantalans*.”  
 (Pons & Viaplana ed., Maó)

Hence, the fact that resumptive pronouns do behave like regular pronouns could be interpreted as evidence in favour of a base-generation analysis for resumptive relative clauses.

Resumptive pronouns, however, also show characteristics that distinguishes them from usual pronouns. One example is that they are obligatorily bound by the RC's antecedent:

- (44) a. *This is the student<sub>i</sub> that I was wondering why he<sub>i</sub> wanted to leave.*  
b. *He/every student<sub>i</sub> said he<sub>i</sub> would leave.*  
(Salzmann 2017:182)

In (44b.), *he* in the subordinate clause can refer to the structural antecedent or to any other referent in discourse, while in (44a.), *he* is obligatorily bound by the antecedent *the student*. In this respect, resumptive pronouns resemble gaps left by *wh*-movement of the relative pronoun. In the following sections, I will give an overview of the proposals against and in favour of an *A'*-movement analysis for resumptive relative clauses.

#### 4.3.1. No *A'*-movement/last resort

Classical analyses of resumptive relative clauses that argue against *A'*-movement are the proposals by McCloskey (1990) and Shlonsky (1992). They investigate relative clauses in Irish as well as Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic, respectively, with respect to the contexts in which resumption occurs: while resumptive pronouns are banned from the highest subject position, they optionally occur in DO as well as embedded subject positions. Furthermore, resumption is obligatory in possessive and PP object positions.

The relation between the periphery of the RC and the relativization site is thus modeled as binding in semantics, rather than movement in syntax. A silent *wh*-operator, *wh*-XP in (45), is merged into SpecCP and binds the pronoun in argument position:

- (45) [<sub>CP</sub> *wh*-XP<sub>i</sub> C ... pron<sub>i</sub>]  
(cf. Salzmann 2017: 189)

In Shlonsky's analysis, furthermore, resumption only occurs in contexts from which movement is impossible, i.e. as a last resort mechanism: movement out of possessives and PP objects is disallowed altogether, while resumption in DO and embedded subject positions is due to the instalment of a complementizer that does not trigger movement. Given that there is never any movement involved, resumption is able to overcome island boundaries, which are impenetrable for movement derivations. In minimalist versions of this hypothesis, the difference between movement and base-generation has been reformulated as a characteristic of the C head: according to McCloskey (2002: 203), the C head that triggers movement has an *uOp* feature as well as an EPP feature, while the C head that involves resumption only has an EPP feature, which can be satisfied by a base-generated operator in SpecCP. This assumption is supported by the fact that in Irish, the relativizers or

“complementizers”, in McCloskey’s terms, in gap and in resumption structures differ morphologically:

- (46) a. *an fear a bhuaill tú* \_  
 the man rel struck you  
 “The man that you struck.”  
 b. *an fear ar bhuaill tú é*  
 the man rel struck you him  
 “The man that you struck him.”  
 (McCloskey 2011: 72)

However, this assumption is less attractive for languages where there is no morphological differentiation between gap and resumption relatives, such as the Romance languages: the usual relativizer for resumptive structures is *que*, as we have seen, but this element also frequently occurs in gap relatives. One would have to assume, hence, that there are two homophonous relativizers/complementizers that differ with respect to their feature configuration.

For Spanish, Suñer (1998) argues for a similar analysis; however, she differentiates between resumption inside and outside islands. Inside islands, as in example (47), which depicts resumption in an interrogative clause, she adopts the last resort analysis, while she analyzes resumption outside of islands, as in (48a.) as a kind of PF phenomenon.

- (47) *¿Qué [libro]<sub>2</sub> me dijiste (tú)*  
 which book me you.said you  
*que no recuerdas [dónde]<sub>3</sub> \*(lo)<sub>2</sub> pusiste ec<sub>2</sub> ec<sub>3</sub>?*  
 that not you.remember where cl.3.sg.acc.masc you.put  
 “Which book did you tell me that you don’t remember where you put (it)?”  
 (Suñer 1998: 335)

- (48) a. *Una mujer que Luís la llamó.*  
 a woman rel Luís cl.3.sg.acc.fem called  
 “A woman that Luís called.”  
 b. [CP Op<sub>i</sub> [CP *que*<sub>-pronominal</sub>] [TP *Luís llamó a quien<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]  
 (cf. Suñer 1998: 346-347)

- (49) a. *La mujer a quien Luís llamó.*  
 the woman A rel Luís called  
 “The woman that Luís called.”  
 b. [CP *a quien<sub>i</sub>* [CP C<sub>+</sub>pronominal] [TP *Luís llamó a quien<sub>i</sub>* ]]]]  
 (cf. Suñer 1998: 346-347)

In sentences like (48a.) and (49a.), a relative pronoun is base generated in the RC-internal argument position. Since in (49), the C head is endowed with a [+pronominal] feature, it

attracts the relative pronoun, which moves to SpecCP, resulting the gap structure as in (49b.). In (48), on the other hand, the C head is missing the correspondent feature, that is, it is [-pronominal]. Therefore, the relative pronoun cannot undergo movement and stays in situ. Since the phonological form is not able to pronounce in-situ relative pronouns as such, they are transformed to a pronominal element: *la*. The C head is pronounced as *que*, and a silent operator in SpecCP ensures the correct binding of the resumptive pronoun.

Although Suñer (1998) explicitly adopts a last resort approach only for resumptive elements inside islands, the logic of her PF perspective goes back to the assumption that also McCloskey (1990) and Shlonsky (1992) share: resumptive and non-resumptive structures differ with respect to their C head: only in the latter, C is endowed with a feature that enables it to trigger movement of the relativized argument. In this sense, resumption outside of islands is a syntactic phenomenon in her terms, too. However, Suñer differentiates the two types of resumption in that only in the “PF type”, a relative pronoun is introduced in the structure. In island structures on the other hand, no relative pronoun comes into play<sup>14</sup>.

For European Portuguese, similar analyses have been proposed. Brito (1995) assumes that resumption in RCs constitutes a last resort phenomenon due to a “too deep embedding” of the relativization site, as in (50):

- (50) *Comprei flores para aquela rapariga que eu te disse ontem*  
 I.bought flowers for that girl rel I cl.2.sg.dat said yesterday  
*que o meu irmão \*(a) conheceu em Paris.*  
 that the my brother cl.3.sg.acc.fem knew in Paris  
 “I bought flowers for that girl that I told you yesterday that my brother met her in Paris.”  
 (Brito 1995: 78)

Hence, Brito only considers resumption in island contexts. Alexandre (2000), on the other hand, assumes that resumption in every context constitutes a last resort phenomenon, because the speakers do not select the appropriate C head in order to trigger movement of a relative pronoun and therefore, they do not select a relative pronoun to derive a relative clause. Instead, a C° with the feature [-wh] is selected, which is, again, unable to trigger movement, and realized as *que*. Consider (51) for illustration:

- (51) *uma reportagem<sub>k</sub> [CP Op<sub>k</sub> [C<sub>[-wh]</sub> que ] eu não fiquei muito contente*  
 a report rel I not stayed very content  
*com ela<sub>k</sub>*  
 with pron.3.sg.fem  
 “A report that I was not very happy with.”  
 (adapted from Alexandre 2000: 151)

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14 Note that *dónde* in (47) is a wh-item, but crucially not the relative pronoun *donde*. This difference is marked orthographically by the existence/absence of a diacritical accent.

The difference between resumptive and non-resumptive RCs in her analysis therefore boils down to two different C°s, in a similar fashion of McCloskey (1990), Shlonsky (1992) and Suñer (1998). In Alexandre (2012), she adopts a similar analysis for resumption in Cape Verdean creole.

More recent proposals have sought to implement the facts on resumptive RCs in Minimalist terms, even though at first sight, resumptive constructions seem to challenge the claim that a derivation proceeds by phases: if vP is understood as a first phase, as many minimalist analyses propose, it is unclear how the element in the relativization site can hold a connection to the operator in SpecCP: once C and its specifier are projected, the complement of v has already undergone Transfer.

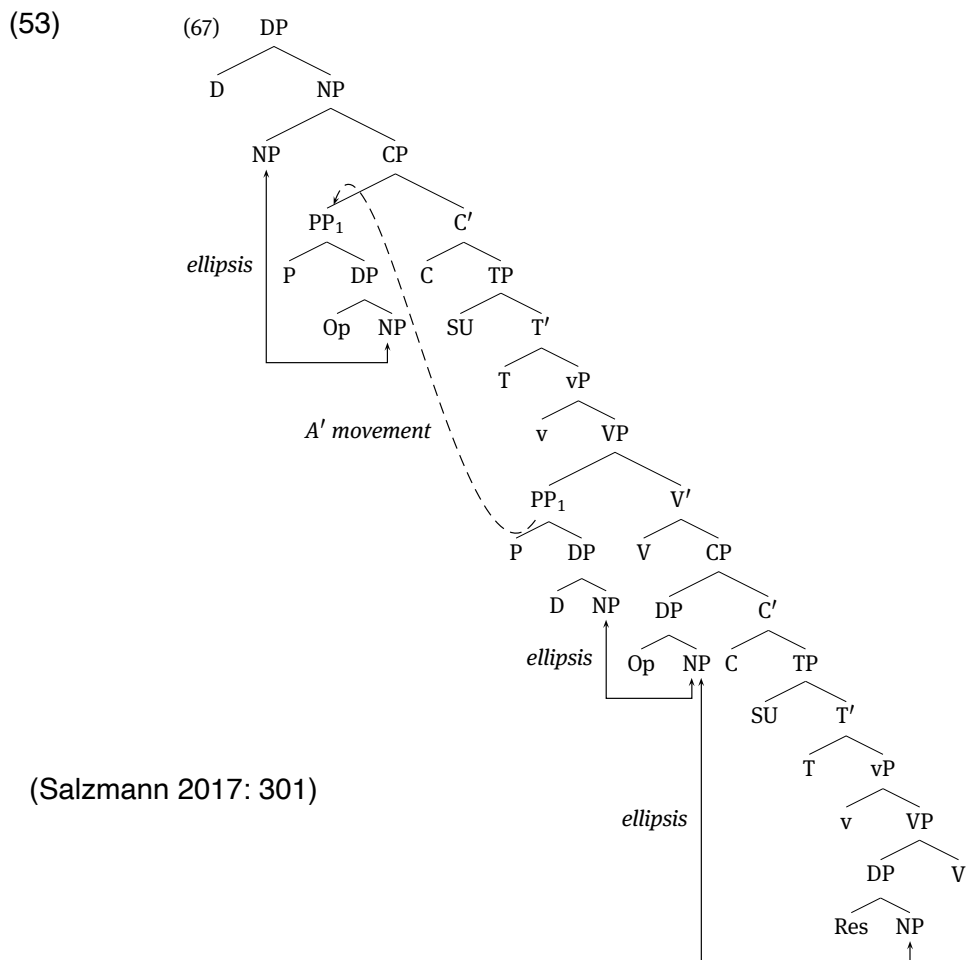
There are two possible ways out of this difficulty: either v is not considered a phasal head, as in Adger & Ramchand (2005), or it must be assumed that v checks the features of both the resumptive pronoun and the C-domain, as Rouveret (2002, 2008) assumes. In these works, resumption in RCs is analyzed as an instantiation of Phasal Agree: the relation between the resumptive pronoun and its binder, which is usually taken to be the C head, is established by Agree. This step is parallel to non-resumptive structures: the C domain is endowed with a probe feature looking for a goal in its domain down the tree. Once found, probe and goal agree. In non-resumptive structures, however, C also carries an [EPP] feature, so that Agree is followed by Move of the relative pronoun. The C in resumptive relatives lacks this [EPP] feature, so that no movement occurs.

While the technical site may be satisfactory, Rouveret (2011: 21) notes that the Phasal Agree account does not help to determine the conditions for gap and resumptive constructions, i.e. when Agree can or cannot be followed by Move: given that Agree is characterized as cyclic, and that Agree is said to be a precondition on Move, the prediction would be that the contexts where movement is possible constitute a subset of the contexts where agreement is available. However, this is not always the case. Furthermore, given that Agree and Move usually work in tandem, they are not always distinguishable under the current assumptions (Rouveret 2011: 23). He concludes that for this reason, their respective properties have to be further understood before the Phasal Agree analysis is able to have superior explanatory strength than other accounts.

Finally, given the advent of the Matching Analysis for relative clauses, some proposals have also attempted to reconcile the idea of both an external and an internal head, the two of which are related by ellipsis, with the phenomenon of resumption. Salzmann (2006a, 2017) argues that resumption constructions in (Swiss) German are best captured via a base-generation derivation, which he argues to also account for so-called resumptive prolepsis structures in German. The resumptive pronoun is marked in bold:

- (52) *ein Maler, von dem ich glaube, dass Maria **ihn** mag*  
a painter of rel.dat I believe that Maria pron.3.sg.acc.masc likes  
“A painter of whom I think that Maria likes him.”  
(Salzmann 2017: 258; 449)

The proleptic object is a dislocated constituent, *dem*, which is preceded by the preposition *von*. At the same time, it is semantically related to a coreferential pronoun in the complement clause, *ihn*. For these kind of sentences, Salzmann assumes the structure in (53):



In (53), the highest CP corresponds to the proleptic part *von dem ich glaube*, while the lower CP represents the actual relative clause. In the RC, two instantiations of the head noun are merged: one in its theta position as complement of V, the other in the specifier position of CP. Both nominals are direct complements of D-elements: the higher one of a silent relative operator, the lower one of what will turn out to become the resumptive pronoun. The two nouns are then PF-deleted via ellipsis under identity. In the higher clause, which contains the proleptic part, a PP including another instantiation of the head noun is base-merged in SpecVP and A'-moves to SpecCP. In the lower copy of this PP, the internal NP again is PF-deleted via ellipsis under identity with the NP in SpecCP of the relative clause. The higher copy of the PP on the other hand, is elided under identity with the external NP, the actual antecedent, which eventually is realized. In a resumptive structure without prolepsis, the derivation would include the external DP and the relative CP, but of course not the proleptic CP in which A'-movement occurs.

Hence, in Salzmann's account, there is no movement relation either between the operator and the relativization site, nor between the internal and the external head. Instead, the structure contains several representations of the head noun; in (53), it adds up to five, while in a non-proleptic resumptive structure, there would be three instantiations. Of these, all are

PF-deleted under ellipsis, except for the external one. If there are reconstruction effects of the antecedent inside the RC, one of the internal copies is interpreted, as is typical for a MA. On the other hand, if there are non-reconstruction effects, the nominal is replaced by a pronoun in a vehicle change operation, as illustrated above.

The resumptive pronoun here is the spell-out of the D of the lowest copy, which is crucially different from the D of the higher copy: down below, it is a typical determiner in terms of phi-features, similar to an article. On the higher DP, on the other hand, the D corresponds to a relative operator. Hence, “identity”, which is crucial for ellipsis, here refers to the nominal subparts of the argument, but not to the D layer. Given that the resumptive element is actually a transitive determiner, one could wonder why it is always spelt out as a pronoun, and never as, say, an article, which would seem a more natural alternative, given that articles are also transitive, while pronouns are not.

#### 4.3.2. Different types of A'-movement

Given that resumptive RCs do show some of the characteristics expected from movement derivations, such as island sensitivity (in Welsh, cf. Tallerman 1983, and Hausa, cf. Tuller 1986), Weak Crossover effects (in Jordanian Arabic, cf. Demirdache & Percus 2010), Strong Crossover effects and Condition C effects (in Irish, cf. McCloskey 1990), as well as reconstruction in terms of distributive readings (in Brazilian Portuguese, Hebrew, Irish, and Spanish, cf. Bianchi 2004, Suñer 1998), alternative approaches to the base-generation analysis have emerged that crucially include A'-movement. Three different approaches can be distinguished (cf. Salzmann 2017: 207ff): movement at LF, movement as subextraction, i.e. stranding of a part of the relativized argument, and movement and spell out of the trace.

The first proposal, movement at LF, goes back to Demirdache (1991), who investigates resumptive RCs in Hebrew. In this language, it is possible to position the resumptive pronoun not only in the original relativization site (54a.), but also in the left periphery if the complementizer *Se* is dropped (54b.):

- (54) a. *kol gever*<sub>[CP *Se* [IP **ʔoto** [IP *rina ʔohevet t*]]]</sub>  
           everyman   that   him    Rina loves  
       b. *kol gever*<sub>[CP **ʔoto** [IP *t* [IP *rina ʔohevet t*]]]</sub>  
           everyman   him            Rina loves  
       both: “Every man that Rita loves.”

Crucially, the fact that the resumptive pronoun seems to be able to substitute the complementizer is evidence for Demirdache’s proposal that the resumptive pronoun is employed as the operator, i.e. the resumptive pronoun is actually the relative pronoun, similar to the analysis of Suñer (1998), see above. The resumptive pronoun in (54a.) moves at LF to the left periphery and cliticizes to C°. In this way, Demirdache relates resumptive relative clauses to wh-in-situ constructions: the level at which A'-movement applies is LF, and not syntax. This perspective allows her to unify the treatment of resumption inside and outside of

islands: covert movement is able to occur in contexts which are impossible for overt movement, such as island contexts.

Salzmann (2017: 209) notes that while the approach is in principle able to account for the movement characteristics of resumptive relatives, it is not entirely clear whether covert movement should trigger exactly the same effects as overt movement does: for French, e.g., this parallel does not hold (cf. Cheng & Rooryck 2000). Furthermore, this proposal leads to the expectation that resumption should be a frequent phenomenon in languages that systematically employ *wh*-in-situ also in e.g. interrogative contexts. However, this is not the case: many languages with *wh*-ex-situ questions have relative clauses with resumptive pronouns.

Analyses that take a head-raising perspective are not able to account easily for resumptive pronouns, which are supposed to fill the position of the relativized argument, as Bianchi (2002a: 202) notes. If one assumes that the relativized element includes the head noun of the RC, and that both necessarily move to the left periphery of the relative, the fact that something is still sitting in the original position is not expected. However, analyses trying to connect resumption and the RA have been proposed, from a stranding perspective as well as from a spell-out perspective.

Boeckx (2001, 2003) draws a parallel between resumption and the big DP analysis Uriagereka (1995) proposes for clitic doubling structures: there, a doubled argument and a doubling pronoun originate as one DP-constituent, the doubling pronoun being the head and taking the doubled argument as its complement. While the doubling pronoun cliticizes to V and to T, the doubled argument is able to undergo independent movement. In Boeckx's version, the relativized argument and the resumptive pronoun are inserted into the derivation in this constellation, illustrated in (55) as the lowest DP: the doubled argument is base-generated in the specifier of the doubling D. The relativized argument then moves up to SpecCP, leaving a trace in SpecDP and stranding the D head, which then surfaces as a pronoun, cf. (56). (56) illustrates the complete derivation of a resumptive RC, assuming a Kayne (1994) RA:

(55) [CP *Wh*<sub>i</sub> [... [VP ... [DP *t*<sub>i</sub> [ D *t* ]]]]]  
 (Boeckx 2003: 85)

(56) [DP *the* [*book*]<sub>i</sub> [CP *t*'<sub>i</sub> [*that* [I T° [VP *read* [DP *t*<sub>i</sub> [ D *t* ]]]]]]]  
 (Boeckx 2003: 86)

(56) is the structural representation of a resumptive structure like *the book that I read it*. The argument that ends up as the antecedent, *book* and a silent determiner, was once inserted in the specifier of the lowest DP. After movement to SpecCP and further to a position adjacent to the external D, the stranded D inside VP is then pronounced as a resumptive pronoun, i.e. *it*. Depending on the language, this resumptive element then cliticizes to V and/or T.

Bianchi (2011) notes the following problem in Boeck's approach: while the usual assumption for clitic doubling is that a pronoun doubles an argumental DP, as in the Porteño Spanish example in (57), Boeckx's raising approach for relative clauses argues for the



doubling of a subconstituent of a DP, i.e., a NP, as illustrated in the discussion about the raising analysis above.

- (57) *El profesor los invitó a algunos de los estudiantes.*  
 the professor cl.3.pl.acc.masc invited A some of the students  
 “The professor invited some of the students.”  
 (Suñer 2006: 142)

Another fact should be added: Boeckx (2003) builds his analysis on examples from Scottish Gaelic, in which the resumptive pronoun must not agree with the antecedent in gender:

- (58) a. *dè a'mhàileid a chuir thu am peann ann*  
 which the'bag.fem C put you the pen in.3sg.masc  
 “Which bag did you put the pen in?”  
 b. \**dè a'mhàileid a chuir thu am peann innte*  
 which the'bag.fem C put you the pen in.3sg.fem  
 (Boeckx 2003: 90)

In fact, he assumes that non-agreement is what enables the stranding of the D head, and a “pervasive character” of the phenomenon. The usual case of resumption, however, shows agreement between head and resumptive pronoun, and so does clitic doubling, as in (57). Furthermore, not all languages that display resumption also have clitic doubling structures in non-A'-contexts, i.e. Boeckx's (2003) approach would postulate clitic doubling only for relative clauses. Finally, Salzmann (2017: 216) notes that the approach takes a “danger of too many variables”: apart from the variable left behind by the movement of the operator, also the resumptive pronoun can in principle be characterized as a variable. The modelling of the semantic interpretation, hence, could be problematic.

Spell-out approaches of resumption, on the other hand, take a different stance on the nature of the resumptive pronoun: it is not an independent lexical item but the lexicalization of a trace or a lower copy of the moved constituent, respectively. Bianchi (2004) argues that resumptive pronouns are the spell out of the referential index of the moved constituent, which in her raising analysis of RCs consists of the relative operator and its nominal complement. This nominal subpart finally ends up as the RC's head noun. She differentiates optional resumption in DP positions from obligatory resumption in PP positions, consider (59a.) vs. (59b.) for Brazilian Portuguese:

- (59) a. *O livro que eu deixei (ele) aqui na mesa desapareceu.*  
 the book rel I left pron.3.sg.masc here on.the table disappeared  
 “The book that I left here on the table disappeared.”

- b. *O sobrinho que a Maria vai deixar*  
 the nephew rel the Maria goes to.leave  
*todo o dinheiro pra \*(ele).*  
 all the money for pron.3.sg.masc  
 “The nephew for whom Maria left all the money.”  
 (Bianchi 2004: 76)

(59a.) illustrates the relativization of the direct object of *deixei*, which in Brazilian Portuguese can be realized by a strong pronoun. The resumptive pronoun *ele* is optional in the sense that there is no structural obligation to spell it out. In (59b.), on the other hand, a PP argument is relativized, viz. the recipient of the predicate *deixar todo o dinheiro*. The preposition *pra* in base position has to be obligatorily followed by the resumptive pronoun *ele*. Bianchi (2004) proposes that in the first case, definiteness plays a role: only a definite/specific referential index can be spelt out, while in the second case, the insertion of a pronoun is necessary because movement of the nominal occurs from a position to which inherent Case is assigned. Given her raising analysis background, Bianchi assumes that in both (59a.) and (59b.), it is the nominal head, *livro* and *sobrinho*, respectively, which moves as complement of a silent relative determiner up to the left periphery and there enters an agreement relation with the external determiner and is attracted to the external Case. In Brazilian Portuguese, however, movement out of a PP is not allowed, i.e. the preposition cannot be stranded because of its assignment properties: the inherent Case has to be spelled out somewhere, therefore a pronoun is obligatorily realized in the preposition’s complement position.

The approach accounts nicely for the movement facts of resumptive relatives such as crossover and reconstruction effects, as well as the interpretation differences that optional and obligatory resumptive pronouns display: as Bianchi (2004, following Suñer 1998) notes, an optional resumptive pronoun forces a specific interpretation (60a.), in contrast to the equivalent gap structure (60b.):

- (60) a. *los tres estudiantes que cada profesor debe entrevistarlos*  
 the three students rel every professor must interview.cl.3.pl.acc.masc  
 (3 >v; \*v > 3)
- b. *los tres estudiantes a los que cada profesor debe entrevistar*  
 the three students A the rel every professor must interview  
 (3 >v; v > 3)
- both: “The three students that every professor must interview.”  
 (Suñer 1998: 358)

According to Suñer (ib.), the gap relative in (60b.) is ambiguous in that it allows scope of the numeral over the scope and vice versa. The resumptive variant in (60a.), on the other hand, only allows scope of *tres* over *cada*. This particularity does not hold for obligatory resumptive pronouns:

- (61) *los tres estudiantes*  
 the three students  
*que cada profesor les debe dar tarea extra*  
 rel every professor cl.3.pl.dat must give work extra  
 (3 > ∀; ∀ > 3)  
 “The three students to whom every professor has to give extra work.”  
 (ib.)

Bianchi (2004) argues that the optional resumptive pronoun as in (60a.) is the spell out of the definite/specific referential index, whose effect is disambiguation: in contrast to the gap equivalent in (60b.), only a specific interpretation is possible. With obligatory resumption, on the other hand, no such interpretative effect emerges.

It is not entirely clear how this spell-out approach is compatible with the copy theory of movement (cf. Asudeh 2011, Salzmann 2017): given that Bianchi assumes a RA, i.e. the base generation of the antecedent inside the RC, why should it be the case that the lexicalization of a trace always results in a pronoun, and never in a full nominal, i.e. why are the two copies non-identical? Poletto (2008) raises a similar question and proposes for those Italian dialects that allow resumption in wh-dependencies a big-DP analysis in terms of Uriagereka (1995) and Belletti (2006). In this perspective, the two “copies” are actually parts of one and the same element: the clitic as head of a Case phrase takes a DP as its complement, as in (62a.). The DP is then free to move to higher positions, as in (62b.), while the remnant clitic is able to move independently.

- (62) a. [<sub>KP</sub> [<sub>K°</sub> clitic] [<sub>DP</sub>]]  
 b. [<sub>XP</sub> DP [<sub>X°</sub> [<sub>KP</sub> [<sub>K°</sub> clitic] [<sub>DP</sub>]]]]  
 (Poletto 2008: 47)

Such an account would indeed reconcile the head raising analysis for RCs with the phenomenon of resumption: the DP moves from its argument position as complement of K° up to SpecCP and then further to the external D, as in Bianchi’s (1999, 2000) proposal, discussed above. The clitic, on the other hand, either stays in situ or moves to its own, RC-internal position. This idea, however, amounts to saying that resumption in RCs is actually a case of clitic doubling, an assumption which is not unproblematic given that not all languages with resumption in RCs have clitic doubling in other contexts, such as Portuguese. Furthermore, in chapter 5, I will argue that simple resumption in relative clauses is precisely not the same as clitic doubling, not even in Spanish and Catalan, which show productive use of doubling structures.

Coming back to the spell-out approach, an interesting variant of this idea is pursued in Salzmann (2006b). In a head-raising perspective for resumption in Zurich German relative clauses, Salzmann argues that it is possible to spread operator and case information over two copies of the same chain. This means that a Case-unmarked DP appears in the topmost copy, i.e. the operator position, while Case, including prepositions, is realized in the chain tail.

Consider (63) as illustration. In (63a.), the neutral relativizer *wo*<sup>15</sup> occurs in the RC's left periphery, while a dative resumptive pronoun, *em*, obligatorily occurs in argument position.

- (63) a. *De Bueb, [wo mer \*(em) es Velo versproche händ], isch tumm.*  
 the boy rel we he.dat a bike promised have is stupid  
 "The boy who we promised a bike is stupid."  
 b. [D<sub>op</sub> + D<sub>nom</sub> [CP [DP ~~D<sub>op</sub>~~ **NP**] C [IP [VP [DP **D<sub>op/dat</sub>** **NP**] V ]]]]  
 (Salzmann 2006b: 40)

The derivation of (63a.) is illustrated in (63b.). There, the relativized DP, whose head is marked with *op/dat*, is base generated in VP, then moves up to SpecCP: *D+Bueb*. Its nominal complement raises further and finally constitutes the RC's antecedent. The D's Case feature can be optionally deleted after checking, which is why the moved phrase only has an operator feature on D, but no longer a Case feature. Therefore, it is able to incorporate into the external D, which in this example is marked for nominative, such that the external D receives the correct morphological form, *de*. However, both Case and operator information must be realized inside the RC. Given that they are not present in the same copy, only parts of the respective copies are spelled out (this is marked in bold, while strike-through means non-pronunciation). Salzmann argues that independent evidence for his analysis comes from the fact that this kind of Distributed Deletion, or A'-split, also occurs in interrogative clauses in this language, as in (64):

- (64) *Wer häsch gsäit, dass ich \*(em) das Buech cha verchaffe?*  
 who you.have said that I he.dat the book can to.sell  
 "Who did you say I can sell the book to?"  
 (Salzmann 2006b: 41)

Note that the interpretation of (64) is not "to whom did you say that I can sell the book", such that the interrogative phrase would be an argument of the matrix verb *gsäit*. It is rather "you said that I can sell the book to somebody and I want to know whom I can sell it to", or, more closely to the Swiss German sentence: "who did you say I can sell the book to him". In other words, the indirect object of the subordinate verb *verchaffe* is *wh*-moved, but its numerous parts are split up: in the most left periphery, a neutral interrogative pronoun *wer*, crucially not marked for dative, occurs, while the resumptive pronoun *em* has to express the dative of the object inside the subordinate clause.

An obvious difference, however, is the fact that while in the interrogative clause in (64) only an overt *wh*-operator moves and is split up, in the relative clause in (63a., b.) a covert D-operator including a nominal moves to SpecCP and then further up, incorporating into the external D. In other words, this proposal faces the same problem as Bianchi's (2004)

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15 This *wo* is identical to the German locative interrogative and relative pronoun, such as *Wo seid ihr?*, "Where are you?" and *Der Ort, wo wir uns trafen*, "The place where we met". In (63), however, *wo* does not have a locative interpretation. Recently, Brandner & Bräuning (2013) have argued that the homophony of interrogative and relative *wo* in Upper German dialects is only accidental, and that the relative element originates from the equative particle *so*, whose usage in relative clauses was widely spread in older stages of the German language.

analysis: why does the head noun never play a role when it comes to the realization of the clitic pronoun? In a RA perspective, the nominal, i.e. *Bueb* in (63) should also be present in the lower copy, however, it is never spelled out. The fact that only a D element realizes dative Case inside the RC, i.e. the pronoun *em*, and never a whole DP like for example  $D_{\text{dat}} + Bueb_{\text{dat}}$ , could be understood as evidence for the assumption that it is always only a pronominal form, i.e. only a relativizer, which A'-moves to SpecCP – in other words, as evidence for a HEA.

#### 4.3.3. Arguments in favour of A'-movement also in resumptive relative clauses

The discussion above and the representation of the various analyses has shown that in decades of research about resumptive relative clauses, no agreement has been achieved so far on the question of A'-movement. As Salzmann (2017: 206) notes, resumptive RCs generally seem to show fewer movement effects than their non-resumptive counterparts, but at the same time, they display more movement effects than would be expected from the perspective of a purely semantic connection between operator and base-generated resumptive pronoun.

Furthermore, there is a striking asymmetry in the treatment of non-resumptive and resumptive RCs with respect to A'-movement: while for the first ones, this is generally assumed without ever being tested in great detail, there is a general mistrust of the latter, which seems to be produced by the sole fact that the relativization site is not empty but occupied by an overt element, which interestingly still never has the form of a relative pronoun. According to Salzmann (2017: 223), the only reliable tests for A'-movement in resumptive RCs are constituted by crossover and reconstruction effects. However, as we have seen from the discussion in section 4.1.4., reconstruction does not necessarily go hand in hand with movement.

With respect to the three languages under consideration here, Alexandre (2000) is the only publication I am aware of that undertakes a series of tests for movement effects in both resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses in European Portuguese. She tests minimal pairs for the licensing of parasitic gaps (65), strong crossover effects (66) and several island constraints, such as a wh-island (67):

- (65) a. *Aqui tem uma carta*  
 here has a letter  
 [<sub>CP</sub> *que eu agradecia que fizesse o favor de ler t<sub>i</sub>*  
 rel I would.thank thank you.did.subj the favour of to.read  
 [*sem comentar e<sub>i</sub>*].  
 without to.comment

b. *Aqui tem uma carta*  
 here has a letter  
 [<sub>CP</sub> *que eu agradecia que fizesse o favor*  
 rel I would.thank thank you.did.subj the favour  
*de a ler [sem comentar e]*].  
 of cl.3.sg.acc.fem to.read without to.comment  
 both: “Here is a letter that I would thank you for the favour of reading it without commenting.”  
 (Alexandre 2000: 70)

(66) a. \**Aqui tem uma menina*  
 here has a girl  
 [<sub>CP</sub> *que a Maria agradecia o favor de tratar t*].  
 rel the Maria would.thank the favour of to.treat  
 b. \**Aqui tem uma menina*  
 here has a girl  
 [<sub>CP</sub> *que a Maria agradecia o favor de a tratar*].  
 rel the Maria would.thank the favour of cl.3.sg.acc.fem to.treat  
 both intended: “Here is a girl that Maria would be thankful for the favour of treating her.”  
 (intended reading: *girl, Maria* and *her* coreferent)  
 (Alexandre 2000: 68-69)

(67) a. \**Fechou a loja* [<sub>CP</sub> *onde o professor perguntou*  
 closed the shop where the professor asked  
*[quem comprou os livros raros t]*].  
 who bought the books rare  
 b. *Fechou a loja* [<sub>CP</sub> *que o professor perguntou*  
 closed the shop rel the professor asked  
*[quem comprou os livros raros lá]*].  
 who bought the books rare there  
 both: “The shop that the professor asked who bought the rare books there closed.”  
 (Alexandre 2000: 78)

(65) and (66) show that gaps and resumptive pronouns behave alike with respect to these tests for A'-movement. This could be understood as evidence in favour of movement in both kinds of relative clauses. However, Alexandre (2000) concludes that, given that only resumptive pronouns can occur in island contexts, as in (67b.), but not gaps (67a.), resumptive relative clauses do not include A'-movement, while non-resumptive RCs do. The author regards the parallel between (65) and (66) as evidence that gaps as well as resumptive pronouns are variables in syntax, and not only on LF.

I propose that these facts should be interpreted in a different way. With respect to the island constraints, I believe that they do in fact show the absence of wh-movement. However, the distribution of resumptive pronouns is not the same as in resumption without island

contexts. In chapter 3, I have shown for EP, Spanish and Catalan, that while dative resumption is categorical, accusative resumption is not. In other words, resumption for dative underlies a structural requirement, while resumption for accusative has an effect on the interpretation, i.e. follows a semantic requirement. Structurally, accusative resumption is optional. This, crucially, is not the case for resumption in island contexts: here, the realization of (any kind of) resumptive element is obligatory, and non-realization would turn the sentence ungrammatical. Cf. (68a., 51 from above) for EP and (68b., 48 from above) for Spanish:

- (68) a. *Comprei flores para aquela rapariga que eu te disse*  
 I.bought flowers for that girl rel I cl.2.sg.dat said  
*ontem que o meu irmão \*(a) conheceu em Paris.*  
 yesterday that the my brother cl.3.sg.acc.fem knew in Paris  
 “I bought flowers for that girl that I told you yesterday that my brother met her in Paris.”  
 (Brito 1995: 78)
- b. *¿Qué [libro]<sub>2</sub> me dijiste (tú) que no recuerdas*  
 which book me you.saidyou that not you.remember  
*[dónde]<sub>3</sub> \*(lo)<sub>2</sub> pusiste ec<sub>2</sub> ec<sub>3</sub>?*  
 where cl.3.sg.acc.masc you.put  
 “Which book did you tell me that you don’t remember where you put it?”  
 (Suñer 1998: 335)

With respect to resumption inside and outside islands, McCloskey (2006: 111) notes that “resumptive pronouns outside islands are formed by movement, but those inside islands are not. It follows in turn that both mechanisms (movement and base-generation) must be available within the same language, and the fact that the two outcomes are formally indistinguishable becomes very puzzling.” Indeed, if resumption in both contexts were completely indistinguishable, the assumption that actually we are dealing with two different derivations would be somehow questionable. However, as we have seen, the distribution of resumptive elements inside and outside islands in the languages under consideration here is not identical, such that McCloskey’s amazement seems to be unnecessary.

Therefore, I conclude that resumption inside and outside islands do indeed represent two different phenomena. This, of course, entails the acceptance of three different non-interrogative A’-dependencies: the gap version, the resumptive non-island version, and the resumptive inside-island version, the first two of which include A’-movement, while the latter two show a pronominal element in their base position that looks identical. On the other hand, this proposal unifies the derivation of those two RC variants that occur mostly in oral speech, i.e. gap and resumptive non-island. These structures are the ones I am mostly concerned with, given that in my data, no island context at all has been attested.

Let us take a further look at the other two supposed diagnostics for A’-movement, also with respect to Spanish and Catalan: licensing of parasitic gaps and strong crossover effects, which Alexandre (2000) states are parallel in resumptive and non-resumptive RCs, cf. (66) and (67) above.

(66) shows that both resumptive and non-resumptive RCs in PE license parasitic gaps. The occurrence of these gaps, which occur in positions from which extraction is normally forbidden, has been described as being dependent on a syntactic variable, i.e. usually a gap left behind from wh-movement. Hence, the licensing of parasitic gaps can be understood as evidence in favour of the existence of an operator in the structure, which binds both the wh-gap and the parasitic gap:

(69) [<sub>Op</sub> Which articles]<sub>i</sub> did you file t<sub>i</sub> without reading pg<sub>i</sub>?

Given the fact that according to Alexandre (2000), non-resumptive pronouns in PE are not able to license parasitic gaps, cf. (70), while resumptive ones are, the latter ones should be analyzed as syntactic variables, i.e. as being categorically parallel to wh-gaps.

(70) *Já leste a carta?*  
 already you.read the letter  
 \**Sim, li-a<sub>i</sub> sem comentar e<sub>i</sub>.*  
 yes I.read-cl.3.sg.acc.fem without to.comment  
 “Did you already read the letter? – Yes, I read it without commenting.”  
 (Alexandre 2000: 69)

Furthermore, Alexandre cites Spanish data to show that in this language, resumptive pronouns do not license parasitic gaps, in contrast to gap relatives:

(71) a. *El reloj de que me hablaste, [CP el cual han*  
 the watch of rel to.me you.spoke the rel they.have  
*conseguido arreglar t<sub>i</sub> [sin mover e<sub>i</sub>]],*  
 achieved to.fix without to.move  
*ha quedado muy bien.*  
 has stayed very good  
 b. \**El reloj de que me hablaste, [CP que lo<sub>i</sub>*  
 the watch of rel to.me you.spoke rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc  
*han conseguido arreglar [sin mover e<sub>i</sub>]],*  
 they.have achieved to.fix without to.move  
*ha quedado muy bien.*  
 has stayed very good  
 both: “The watch that you told me about, which they have been able to fix without moving, turned out very good.”  
 (Alexandre 2000: 70, adapted from Chomsky 1982: 58, *apud* Esther Torrego, p.c.)

Alexandre concludes that in Spanish, resumptive pronouns are only variables at LF, but not in syntax.

However, the argument is not so clear as it seems. First of all, it is known that parasitic gaps in the Romance languages underlie different restrictions than in e.g. English. For



instance, García Mayo (1995) argues that parasitic-gap constructions are clause-bounded in Romance, while they are not in English:

- (72) a. *Which articles did you put on reserve without convincing the students to read e?*  
b. \*¿*Qué artículos pusiste en reserva sin convencer*  
which articles you.put in reserve without to.convince  
*a los estudiantes de leer e?*  
to the students of to.read  
(García Mayo 1995: 126)

Furthermore, at least in Spanish, parasitic gaps are licensed also in contexts that do not include typical A'-movement. In this language, as discussed by Campos (1991), parasitic gaps can also be licensed by clitic pronouns, contrary to English:

- (73) a. *Lo archivaron [sin leer e].*  
cl.3.sg.acc.masc they.file without to.read  
b. \**They filed it without reading e.*  
(Campos 1991: 120)

With respect to the licensing of parasitic gaps in resumptive relatives, it seems an open question whether this is possible at all. While Engdahl (1985) argues that resumptive pronouns in Swedish do license parasitic gaps, Chomsky (1982) argues against this for English:

- (74) \**A man whom everyone meets him knows someone who likes pg.*  
(Chomsky 1982: 57)

For Spanish, Suñer (1998) provides the following minimal pair, which is counterevidence to the data given in (71) above:

- (75) a. *Una persona a quien juzgaron [sin haber visto e.]*  
a person to rel they.judged without to.have seen  
b. *Una persona que la juzgaron [sin haber visto e.]*  
a person rel cl.3.sg.acc.fem they.judged without to.have seen  
both: "A person whom they judge without having seen."  
(cf. Suñer 1998: 345)

Furthermore, Engdahl (1985) observes that native speakers' judgements vary with respect to parasitic gaps: on the one hand, regarding the precise configuration in which parasitic gaps are licensed, on the other hand, regarding the licensing at all. This would explain why seeming contradictory examples can be found in the literature: Suñer (1998) accepts parasitic gap licensing in Spanish gap relatives, as in (75a.), while Fernández Soriano (1995)

does not (cf. 76), similar to Solà (2003) and Villalba (p.c.) for Catalan, cf. (77a.) and (77b.), respectively:

(76) *El artículo que archivamos sin leer??(lo).*  
 the article rel we.filed without to.read(cl.3.sg.acc.masc)  
 “The article that we filed without reading.”  
 (Fernández Soriano 1995: 118)

(77) a. *\*Quins són els informes que has arxivat [sense llegir e]?*  
 which are the reports rel you.have filed without to.read  
 “Which are the reports that you filed without reading?”  
 (Solà 2002: 2530)

b. *\*Ahir vaig veure el noi*  
 yesterday I.go to.see the boy  
*a qui la Maria envia flors [sense saludar e].*  
 to rel the Maria sends flowers without to.greet  
 “Yesterday I saw the boy to whom Maria sends flowers without greeting.”  
 (Xavier Villalba, p.c.)

Another example of this variation in speaker’s judgements is the fact that Alexandre (2000) does not accept a parasitic gap bound by a clitic pronoun (cf. 70 above), while other speakers do:

(78) *Mandou-a [sem assinar e].*  
 sent-cl.3.sg.acc.fem without to.sign  
 “He sent it without signing.”  
 (Daniela Neves, p.c.)

I conclude, hence, that the occurrence or absence of parasitic gaps does not constitute a reliable diagnostic for the occurrence or absence of an operator in (resumptive) relative clauses. Therefore, they do not represent evidence in favour or against A'-movement in (resumptive) relative clauses, either.

Finally, let us have a closer look at the strong crossover effects, which Alexandre (2000) argues to be identical in resumptive and non-resumptive RCs, cf. (66) above. The term strong crossover describes a phenomenon of interrogative and relative clauses, in which a pronoun cannot bind a wh-chain it c-commands (cf. Postal 1971, Wasow 1979):

(79) a. *He<sub>i</sub> thinks he<sub>i/j</sub> won the game.*  
 b. *Who<sub>i</sub> thinks he<sub>i/j</sub> won the game?*  
 c. *Who<sub>i/j</sub> does he<sub>i</sub> think <sub>i/j</sub> won the game?*  
 d. *The man<sub>i/j</sub> who<sub>i/j</sub> he<sub>i</sub> thinks <sub>i/j</sub> won the game.*

(79a.) shows that in a non-extracted context, the pronominal subject of the subordinate clause can either be bound by the matrix subject, or by any other discourse referent. If the matrix subject is extracted, the same binding possibilities remain, cf. (79b.). However, (79c.) shows that interrogative extraction of the subordinate subject changes the binding possibilities: now, the extracted constituent and therefore, also its trace, must not be coindexed with the pronominal subject. The same happens in the relative clause in (79d.): the relative operator can only be interpreted as bearing a different index than the pronominal subject, and therefore, also the antecedent, which receives the same index as the relative pronoun. Strong crossover effects show, hence, that an A'-moved constituent has been moved across a coreferent pronoun.

Now, consider again Alexandre's (2000) minimal pair for strong crossover effects in resumptive and non-resumptive RCs:

- (80) a. *\*Aqui tem uma menina<sub>i</sub>*  
 here has a girl  
 [CP *que<sub>i</sub> a Maria<sub>i</sub> agradecia o favor de tratar t<sub>i</sub>.*]  
 rel the Maria would.thank the favour of to.treat
- b. *\*Aqui tem uma menina<sub>i</sub>*  
 here has a girl  
 [CP *que a Maria<sub>i</sub> agradecia o favor de a<sub>i</sub> tratar.*]  
 rel the Maria would.thank the favour of cl.3.sg.acc.fem to.treat
- both: "Here is a girl that Maria would be thankful for the favour of treating her."  
 (intended reading: *girl, Maria* and *her* coreferent)  
 (Alexandre 2000: 68-69)

In (80), the crossed-over element *a Maria* is not pronominal, but an R-expression. This has to do with the fact that European Portuguese, in contrast to English, is a null subject language, in which the insertion of an overt pronominal subject underlies certain pragmatic constraints, e.g. in order to focalize a new referent. If the subordinate subject were overt in a context like (81), a necessary disjoint reading would be the consequence, apart from the fact that the first pronominal subject would usually be encoded as silent *pro*. Hence, the sought-after coindexation of two overt elements here is made impossible by independent characteristics of the language:

- (81) *pro<sub>i</sub> pensa que ele<sub>i/j</sub> ganhou o partido*  
*pro* thinks that he won the game  
 "He<sub>i</sub> thinks that he<sub>i/j</sub> won the game."

Therefore, Alexandre (2000) chooses to replace the first pronominal subject with a proper name and the subordinate subject with a direct object in order to avoid these difficulties:

- (82) A *María<sub>i</sub> agradecía o favor de a<sub>i</sub><sub>j</sub> tratar.*  
 the María would.thank the favour of cl.3.sg.acc.fem to.treat  
 “María would be thankful for the favour of treating her.”

Given these necessary modifications, the minimal pair in (80) above shows that relativization of the subordinate object is not possible under coindexation with *a María*, neither with a gap structure nor with a resumptive structure – due to the crossover of a relative operator over a coreferent element. The same holds for Spanish and Catalan, (83) and (84), respectively:

- (83) a. *\*Aquí hay una chica<sub>i</sub>*  
 here there.is a girl  
*que María<sub>i</sub> agradecería el favor de tratar t<sub>i</sub>.*  
 rel María would.thank the favour of to.treat  
 b. *\*Aquí hay una chica<sub>i</sub>*  
 here there.is a girl  
*que María<sub>i</sub> agradecería el favor de tratarla<sub>i</sub>*  
 rel María would.thank the favour of to.treat.cl.3.sg.acc.fem  
 both: “Here is a girl that María would be thankful for the favour of treating her.”  
 (intended reading: *girl*, *María* and *her* coreferent)

- (84) a. *\*Aquí hi ha una noia<sub>i</sub>*  
 here there.is a girl  
*que la María<sub>i</sub> agrairia el favor de tractar t<sub>i</sub>.*  
 rel the María would.thank the favour of to.treat  
 b. *\*Aquí hi ha una noia<sub>i</sub>*  
 here there.is a girl  
*que la María<sub>i</sub> agrairia el favor de tractar-la<sub>i</sub>*  
 rel the María would.thank the favour of to.treat-cl.3.sg.acc.fem  
 both: “Here is a girl that María would be thankful for the favour of treating her.”  
 (intended reading: *girl*, *María* and *her* coreferent)

Hence, I argue that the strong crossover effects in (80), (83) and (84) should be interpreted as evidence in favour of A'-movement in both resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses.

One important issue that has to be addressed in this context is the element *que*, which so far has always been glossed as “rel”. Alexandre (2000) assumes for PE that only in non-resumptive relatives, *que* is actually a relative pronoun. For resumptive RCs, on the other hand, she analyzes this element as a complementizer. The difference can be seen in how she places indices in (80): only in (80a.), the relative pronoun *que* carries an index, while in (80b.), the supposed complementizer *que* does not. I disagree with this analysis, and will provide a number of counterarguments in the next section.

#### 4.4. Status of the relativizer *que*

In the traditional literature on relative clauses, a distinction was made with regard to the categorical status of relativizers. According to the distinction made by Klima (1964) for English, this class disintegrates into relative pronouns, i.e. D-elements in current notation, such as *which*, *who*, and relative complementizers, i.e. C-elements, such as *that*. The two categories are divided regarding the following properties (cf. also Kayne 1975, Radford 1981, 2004):

- (85) a. Pronouns inflect for number and/or Case, complementizers do not.  
b. Pronouns are sensitive to animacy, complementizers are not.  
c. Pronouns can be selected by prepositions, complementizers cannot.

In this spirit, Kayne (1975) proposes that relative *que* in the French example (86a.) is a mere “kind of clause introducer”, and thus the same element as in a complement clause (86b.):

- (86) a. *Les livres de J.-P., qu'elle lira tous, sont très bons.*  
the books of J.-P. rel'she will.read all are very good  
“J.-P.'s books, that she will read, are all very good.”  
b. *Je sais que Jean est là.*  
I know that Jean is there  
“I know that Jean is there.”  
(Kayne 1975: 6f, fn. 9)

This analysis was adapted for other languages, such as Cinque (1978, 1982) for Italian, Brito (1991) for EP, Rivero (1980, 1991) and Trujillo (1990) for Spanish<sup>16</sup>, and Solà (2003: 2460) for Catalan.

All of these proposals refer to the particularity that in EP, Spanish and Catalan, there seems to exist a restriction on the choice of relativizer for restrictive subject and direct object RCs: allegedly, only *que* is allowed, while complex relative pronouns are excluded. Consider (87) for EP, (88) for Spanish:

- (87) a. *O homem que/ \*o qual escreveu é meu amigo.*  
the man rel/ the rel wrote is my friend  
“The man who wrote is my friend.”  
b. *O homem que/ \*o qual eu vi ontem é meu amigo.*  
the man rel/ the rel I saw yesterday is my friend  
“The man that I saw yesterday is my friend.”  
(cf. Brito 1991: 162)

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16 But cf. Schrotten (1984) against the equation of relative and complement *que* in Spanish.

- (88) a. *El libro que/ \*el cual nos gusta es demasiado caro.*  
 the book rel the rel us pleases is too.much expensive  
 “The book that we like is too expensive.”
- b. *El libro que/ \*el cual tenemos es demasiado viejo.*  
 the book rel the rel we.have is too.much old  
 “The book that we have is too old.”
- (cf. Rivero 1982: 205)

Analyses that consider this invariant element *que* a complementizer usually assume a silent relative operator in SpecCP that links the antecedent with the relativization site.

While equating relative and complement *que* was the consensus for a long time in research on relative clauses, recently, the strict dichotomy of relative complementizer and relative pronouns has been questioned. A first observation in this respect is the fact that while the minimal pairs in (87-88) certainly show correct judgements, it is not entirely true that complex relativizers are excluded from restrictive subject and direct object RCs in all contexts. In chapter 2, I presented the distribution of relativizers in different types of relative clauses for the three languages according to the literature. I include here a conflated form of the three tables that were presented there, in order to show the distribution of relativizers in restrictive subject and DO RCs:

**Table 13.** Distribution of relativizers in restrictive SU and DO RCs

RC		relativizer	<i>que</i>	<i>o que/el que</i>	<i>o qual/el cual/el qual</i>	<i>quem/quien/qui</i>
Portuguese	+hum		+	-	-	(+)
	-hum		+	-	-	-
Spanish	+hum		+	(+)	-	(+)
	-hum		+	-	-	-
Catalan	+hum		+	(+)	(+)	(+)
	-hum		+	-	-	-

Key: + = form possible in this context; - = form impossible in this context; (+) = form possible in this context with restrictions

Table 13 shows that, indeed, *que* is the pervasive form for this context. However, other relativizers are also attested: *el que* and the specialized form for a human referent, *quem/quien/qui* (albeit in very restricted contexts, cf. chapter 2.1. for examples and references). The most restricted relativizer in this context sense is the most formal one, *o qual/el cual/el qual*, which does not seem to form part of oral speech either, as the corpus analyses in chapter 3 revealed. Only in Catalan, this form can be used for a restrictive DO RC if the relativizer is preceded by *a*, as in (89):

- (89) a. *La Gemma és la locutora a la qual escolta tothom.*  
 the Gemma is the commentator A the rel listens everybody  
 “Gemma is the commentator that everybody listens to.”
- b. *Són persones a les quals no hem defensat adequadament.*  
 are persons A the rel not we.have defended adequately  
 “They are persons that we did not defend adequately.”
- c. *Hi ha diferència segons l’element al qual afecti*  
 there.is difference depending.on the’element A.the rel affects.subj  
*el relatiu.*  
 the relative  
 “There is a difference depending on the element that the relativizer affects.”  
 (Solà 2003: 2468-2472)

According to Solà, *el qual* is only possible in restrictive DO relatives if it is preceded by *a* and if the antecedent is human, as in (89a., b.). In both examples, neutral *que* would be a possible alternative. However, inserting *que* would lead to ambiguity in the first case: *La Gemma és la locutora que tothom escolta* could either mean that Gemma is the commentator to whom everybody listens, or the opposite: Gemma is the commentator that listens to everybody. The third example, finally, belongs to a class of “certain verbs” (ib.) which allows the *a*-marking of an inanimate direct object.

Hence, the distribution of relative *que* on the one hand and complex relativizers on the other hand is not entirely captured by the generalization mentioned above. Furthermore, one could also turn the question around and, instead of investigating the special status of relative *que*, ask the question what makes this *o qual/el cual/el qual* element so special that it is not allowed to occur in every kind of relative clause, especially not in the most frequent ones in oral speech (cf. chapter 3). It seems to be the case that while there are undoubtedly tendencies for certain relativizers to occur in certain contexts, there is more to the story, all of which unfortunately cannot be answered here and has to be left for future research.

The reliability of the tests mentioned in (85) that were consulted for the distinction of relative complementizers and relative pronouns has been doubted in recent literature, given that a) pronouns do not always show overt number/Case agreement; b) pronouns do not always show animacy sensitivity; c) the preposition constraint does not hold for subjects and direct objects in the languages under consideration because subjects and DOs are never marked by a preposition. Furthermore, as Poletto & Sanfelici (2018) argue on the basis of Italian varieties, there also exist agreeing complementizers and non-agreeing pronouns in the same language. Also Kayne (2010) challenges his original proposal and argues that for English, the usually assumed differences between relative *that* and relative *who/which* are not as crucial: all can be put down to characteristics of *that* being a demonstrative/determiner (whose NP rises further up in the RC)<sup>17</sup>. Similar proposals that understand all relativizers as belonging to one and the same category, viz. D, exist for Italian (Manzini & Savoia 2002, Poletto & Sanfelici 2018), for Brazilian Portuguese (Kato & Nunes 2009) and for European

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17 Radford (2019), on the other hand, upholds the duality of *wh*-relative pronouns and *that*-relative complementizer.

Portuguese (Rinke & Aßmann 2017). Relativizers are consequently analyzed as belonging to the same class as interrogative determiners. This is supported by etymology<sup>18</sup>: Romance relative *que* arguably stems from the Latin masculine relative pronoun *QUEM*, which, being in proclitic position, lost its final -M and did not diphthongize its vowel (Corominas & Pascual 1981: 703 for Spanish; cf. also Cohen 1990 for Portuguese and Corominas 1986 for Catalan). In Catalan, this element *que* was at first more specialized than in the other two languages, being used only as an accusative relative, while the subject one was *qui*. This means that in older stages of Catalan, there was a similar *que/qui* alternation which we nowadays find in French. Of all the Catalan varieties, only in Menorcan and, to a lesser extent, in Majorcan Catalan has the relativizer *qui* prevailed, which extended its use even to object relatives (Corominas 1986: 907-910). In the corpus study conducted for this work as well, the relativizer *qui* occurs in this variety, cf. chapter 3.3.3. for the description. In the other Catalan varieties, the generalization of *que* for subject and object RCs and the specialization of *qui* for only human referents is a product of modern times (ib.).

The etymology of the declarative complementizer *que*, on the other hand, is less clear. Latin used the elements *UT* and *QUOD* as subordinate clause introducers, but neither of them can possibly be seen as the origin of the complementizer *que* as it is used today (Corominas & Pascual 1981: 703). Instead, once these morphemes had disappeared, other elements took their place: probably, complementizer *que* is the outcome of a conflation of the conjunctions *QUOD* and *QUIA*, possibly also of interrogatives such as *QUID/QUIS*. It seems to be, therefore, that relative and complementizer *que* do not stem from the same etymon, and it seems certain that relative *que* and its ancestors have always been a D-element<sup>19</sup>.

This so-called Determiner Hypothesis of Relativizers (DHR; cf. Rinke & Aßmann 2017) has the advantage of unifying the structures of relative clauses: under the relative-complementizer hypothesis, a covert operator has to be stipulated, which divides the realm of relative clauses into two kinds: restrictive subject and direct object RCs on the one hand, and all other restrictive RCs plus all the non-restrictive RCs on the other hand. Under the DHR, instead, an overt element moves to the left periphery and functions as the operator in all relative derivations, i.e. it links the antecedent to the variable in the theta position. The various elements in a given language's relativizer inventory differ with respect to their ability to spell out certain features (cf. Poletto & Sanfelici 2015): while a relativizer like Catalan *e/qual* spells out features such as [rel, number, definiteness, gender], its counterpart *qui* spells out [rel, animacy]. The French *que/qui* alternation, illustrated in (90), can be captured in the same way: apart from [rel], this relativizer also spells out Case (cf. also Thielemann 1998):

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18 Cf. also the discussion of nonstandard relativizers in Catalan, chapter 2.1.3.

19 As for the conjunction *que*, Herman (1963) proposes a divergent evolution: the introducing element of a declarative clause is actually the development of a relative element. This claim is in line with the view that there is no complementizer *que*, but only instances of relativizer-like elements, e.g. in Kayne (2010), who claims that there is no complementizer *this* due to the absence of a relativizer *this*; and since sentential complements are actually relative clause structures, they can only be introduced by *that*, a relative demonstrative. Whatever the correct etymology of complementizer *que*, it does not affect the fact that Romance relative *que* always has been a pronominal/determiner element. Accordingly, Cohen (1990: 99) sees no evidence that relative *que* has “lost its anaphoric character [and has been] reinterpreted or reanalyzed as a link word or a complementizer” in the course of language evolution.



- (90) a. *La chaise qui/ \*que est tombée.*  
 the chair rel.subj/ rel.obj is fallen  
 “The chair that fell over.”
- b. *La chaise \*qui/ que nous avons acheté.*  
 the chair rel.subj rel.obj we have bought  
 “The chair that we bought.”

*Que* in EP, Spanish and Catalan, on the other hand, is merely a representation of [rel], i.e. the embodiment of a pure “relative operator”.

I conclude, therefore, that the dichotomy of relative complementizer and relative pronoun in Romance languages is not tenable. I propose that in EP, Spanish and Catalan, relative *que* should be treated as the same category of relative operator as the other items of this class: a D element, representing the “operator” value, i.e. spelling out the feature [rel].

In Spanish and Catalan headed relative clauses, apart from mere *que* and the complex relativizers, a kind of hybrid relativizing element exists: *el que* and its gender and number variants, which predominantly occurs in PP-RCs. Its status has been controversial: while Rivero (1980, 1982) and Schroten (1984) analyze *el que* in the same way as e.g. *el cual*, i.e. as a full-fledged relative pronoun, Brucart (1992) and Arregi (1998) assume instead that *el que* as in (91a.) is a combination of the complementizer *que* and a PP in SpecCP whose nominal complement is silent, so that only the determiner surfaces. Specifically, they propose the structure in (91b.):

- (91) a. *el amigo con el que tengo más confianza*  
 the friend with the rel I.have more trust  
 “The friend whom I trust most.”
- b.  $[_{CP} [_{PP} P \textit{el Op}]_i [_{C'} \textit{que} \dots t_i \dots ]]$   
 (Arregi 1998: 7)

Brucart (1992) considers the insertion of *el que* as a last resort operation and analyzes it as follows: the C head of a relative clause is endowed with two features that must be satisfied: [Rel], which marks it as a relative clause, and [QU], which marks it as subordinate. The insertion of the relativizer [*el Op*], i.e. the determiner and its silent complement, satisfies only the feature [Rel], but not [QU], because [*el Op*] does not include an element of the qu-paradigm, which would mark the sentence as subordinate. For that reason, the complementizer *que* is inserted on Surface Structure in order to satisfy the C’s [QU] feature.

With this analysis, Brucart (1992) and Arregi (1998) maintain the hypothesis that relative *que* is the complementizer, i.e. an element in C° and not in SpecCP. However, they must acknowledge the existence of a further element *que* in relative clauses, viz. the one that is able to be directly preceded by a preposition. While in most contexts, this *que* is optionally preceded by the determiner (92a., b.), in certain RC constructions such as (92c.), only *que* is acceptable:

- (92) a. *el dinero de(l) que dispongo*  
 the money of(the) rel I.have.at my disposal  
 “The money which I have at my disposal.”
- b. *el bolígrafo con (el) que escribo todas mis cartas*  
 the pen with (the) rel I.write all my letters  
 “The pen with which I write all of my letters.”
- c. *el modo en (??el) que actuó*  
 the way in (the) rel he.acted  
 “The way he acted.”

In contexts like (92) without a determiner preceding *que*, an analysis including an empty operator is not possible because prepositions in Spanish cannot select for an empty complement. Hence, *que* here has to be the sole operator, which means that in Bruccart’s and Arregi’s perspective, there are three derivations for RCs including the element *que*:

- (93) a. *el hombre que vimos* = [CP Op<sub>i</sub> [C’ *que* ...t<sub>i</sub>... ]]  
 the man rel we.saw  
 “The man we saw.”
- b. *el hombre para el que cantamos* = [CP [P *el* Op]<sub>i</sub> [C’ *que* ...t<sub>i</sub>... ]]  
 the man for the rel we.sung  
 “The man for whom we sung.”
- c. *el bolígrafo con que escribo* = [CP [P *que*]<sub>i</sub> [C’ ...t<sub>i</sub>... ]]  
 the pen with rel I.write  
 “The pen with which I write.”
- (adapted after Arregi 1998: 16)

The summary in (93) raises several questions. First, given the etymological paths described above, it is mysterious how two different categories can end up in this particular distribution of relativizers. Why should it be the case that, if a relative pronoun *que* exists in Spanish, it only occurs in PP-RCs, and only in those that include a monosyllabic preposition? Second, the status of the silent operator seems unclear. In (93a.), it has to have argumental status, i.e. it has to be a DP. In (93b.), on the other hand, the silent operator occurs as complement of the determiner *el*, i.e. it should be a nominal phrase. Is it plausible to assume not only two different categories with respect to relative *que*, but also with respect to the relative operator, while all other relative pronouns are considered pronouns, i.e. D elements?

I propose an alternative view on these facts: the three relativizers in (93) all belong to category D<sup>20</sup>, but they differ in terms of their possibilities of spelling out certain features. As mentioned above, *que* alone is the mere representation of being a relative operator. I propose that the ability of *que* to occur in certain positions in a language has to do with Case: in EP, *que* is able to spell out all Cases, i.e. nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, and oblique, which is why it is possible to occur in all positions and can, crucially, be selected by all prepositions. In Spanish and Catalan, on the other hand, *que* primarily spells out nominative and accusative. For all other Cases, another relativizer has to be chosen, e.g. *el que*, which in turn is not able to spell out nominative and accusative in a restrictive RC. Interestingly, however, with some prepositions, mere *que* is also possible, viz. with monosyllabic ones such as *de* “of”, *a* “to”, *en* “in”. Furthermore, there are certain restrictions on the antecedent of this PP P+*que*: it has to be definite and inanimate, among others. It seems, therefore, that certain prepositional contexts impose fewer constraints on its complement than others. The dividing line regarding prepositions that can combine with *que* and those that cannot corresponds to the assumption that the class of prepositions is actually a heterogeneous one, including functional (such as *de* “of”, *a* “to”, *en* “in”) and lexical (such as *encima de* “above” or *detrás de* “behind”) ones. For example, Cadiot (1997) proposes two main categories of French prepositions: “colourless” and “colourful”, which represent the two extremes of a continuum: a preposition can be more or less “colourful”, i.e. contribute more or less to the meaning of the phrase. Those that are “colourless” are inserted due to syntactic requirements. In the generative literature, van Riemsdijk (1990) analyzes the functional prepositions as heads, while the “bigger” ones are lexical items and hence, structurally more complex. The results of empirical studies have shown that this division is psychologically real: experiments focussing on language acquisition (e.g. Littlefield 2003), show that lexical prepositions, i.e. those that add semantic content, and functional prepositions, i.e. those that serve a syntactic purpose, are acquired at different times and with different error rates. Furthermore, syntactic prepositions have been proposed to be (very close to) pure Case markers, such as e.g. English *to* and *of*, which cannot take prepositional modifiers such as *right*, in contrast to lexical prepositions such as *behind*:

- (94) a. *Karl slowly gave the book (?\*right) to Fred.*  
 b. *the destruction (\*right) of the house*  
 c. *He stood (right) behind the door.*  
 (Rooryck 1996: 226)

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20 Several approaches have proposed to analyze *el que* as a grammaticalized form of *que*, possibly in the same way as *cual* has undergone grammaticalization and is only able to form part of the relativizer paradigm if preceded by the definite determiner (cf. Marcos Marín 1980, Hernández 1986, Lope Blanch 1998, among others). Recently, however, Blas Arroyo & Vellón Lahoz (2018) have doubted this grammaticalization process: from a variationist corpus study, they argue that the relativizers *que* and *el que* have been struggling for the same functional space, i.e. prepositional RCs, for almost three centuries of the Spanish language, and that even in recent times, their respective employment seems to be conditioned by similar constraints. While quantitative facts show that *el que* seems to be favoured over *que*, there are no qualitative hints as to *que* being of another syntactic element as its counterpart with article.

Coming back to the combination of relative *que* with functional, but not with lexical prepositions, one could assume that there is a difference regarding the Case that the respective preposition encodes or assigns. Apparently, relative *que* is able to check the Case of the structural prepositions *de*, *con* and *en*, but not the Case of the lexical prepositions. The deep reason for this division in the realm of the category preposition remains to be discovered; however, the assumption fits the picture in the sense that prepositions only select for one category: a DP-argument, be it *que*, *el que* or *el cual*.

After having established the Determiner Hypothesis of Relativizers for relative *que*, let us have a look again at resumptive RCs. In the “simple resumption” construction (cf. chapter 2), which exists in the three discussed languages, the resumptive element always co-occurs with mere *que*. The discussion of resumptive relative clauses in section 4.2. has shown that this *que* in resumptive relatives has been analyzed as the complementizer, while a zero operator is base-generated in SpecCP (in non-movement approaches such as Alexandre 2000, Suñer 1998; furthermore cf. Cid Abasolo 1999). This proposal draws another dividing line within the class of relative clauses: on the one hand, there are RCs that include covert relative operators (resumptive RCs and non-resumptive restrictive SU and DO-RCs); on the other hand, there are RCs that involve movement (all non-SU, non-DO non-resumptive RCs). Crucially, the members of these two subclasses a) overlap and b) do not belong to a natural class, e.g. in the sense of a semantic subdivision.

In section 4.2.3., I argued against a distinction between movement and non-movement in relative clauses and in favour of a movement analysis for non-resumptive as well as resumptive RCs. Now, once we have established the possibility of an overt relative operator that surfaces as *que*, the second puzzling division of relative clauses can also be made to disappear: in resumptive and in non-resumptive relatives, the element in SpecCP<sub>rel</sub>, i.e. the relative operator, is an overt D-element that has moved there from its base position – and, crucially, it spells out only the minimum feature required in this position: [rel]. In other words, I propose the same derivational base for all headed RCs in EP, Spanish, and Catalan. The different outcomes of RCs depend on several conditions, mainly spell-out possibilities and spell-out requirements of different syntactic functions and characteristics of the antecedent. This proposal will be tackled in the next section.

#### **4.5. Analysis: simple resumption as scattered deletion**

Let us reconsider the argumental steps so far in order to approach my proposal for simple resumption in RCs, which will follow in this chapter.

First, I have argued in favour of A'-movement of an overt relativizer in resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses, the strongest evidence being that both kinds of RCs show strong-crossover effects. Second, I have argued that *que* in EP, Spanish and Catalan RCs is never a complementizer, but always a relativizer of category D. These assumptions amount to the RC-internal derivation in (95a.), which I propose is the fundamental derivation for all headed RCs in these languages. Furthermore, following Rinke & Aßmann (2017), I assume that restrictive RCs are base-generated in nP, while non-restrictive RCs are base-generated

outside of the external D. (95b.) shows the RC-external derivation, cf. the discussion around example (23) above:

- (95) a. [<sub>CPrel</sub> q-relative operator C [<sub>TP</sub> T...V... ~~q-relative operator~~ ...  
 b. [DP [D *o*] [<sub>NumP</sub> [<sub>Num</sub> *livro*<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>CPrel</sub> *que*<sub>i</sub> C [<sub>TP</sub> *li que*<sub>i</sub>...]] [<sub>n</sub> *livro*] [<sub>NP</sub> *livro* ]]]]]]

Of course, resumptive and non-resumptive RCs differ, most obviously with respect to the occurrence/absence of a resumptive pronoun. Hence, this difference has to be accounted for. I propose that the main difference between (non-island) resumptive and non-resumptive RCs lies in a choice of spell out: the relativizer as well as the resumptive pronoun are the spell out of parts of the higher and lower copy of the relativized argument, respectively. Let me elaborate this proposal on the basis of a dative RC, which in EP has two possible outcomes: a canonical, i.e. non-resumptive RC, as in (96a.), and a resumptive one, as in (96b.):

- (96) a. *O homem ao qual deram o livro.*  
 the man DAT.the rel they.gave the book  
 b. *O homem que lhe deram o livro.*  
 the man rel cl.3.sg.dat they.gave the book  
 both: "The man to whom they gave the book."

In both sentences, the indirect object of *deram* is relativized. Suppose now that this constituent consists of the following features: [+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +dat]. The derivation of (96a.) now would be as in (97):

- (97) *O homem* [<sub>CPrel</sub> [+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +dat] C [<sub>TP</sub> ~~*deram*~~ [+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +dat] *o livro*

Assuming the copy theory of movement, the relativized constituent, represented by its feature matrix, is base-generated in its theta position and then moves to SpecCP, leaving a full copy behind, which, however, is deleted on PF, marked by strike-through in (97). The spell out of [+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat] amounts to *o qual*.

In the resumptive variant of this sentence in (96b.), the same derivation is supposed. However, now the two copies are treated differently: while only the first feature [+rel] is interpreted and realized in the upper copy, all of the other features are realized in the lower position:

- (98) *O homem* [<sub>CPrel</sub> [+rel, ~~+3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]~~ C [<sub>TP</sub> *deram* [+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat] *o livro*

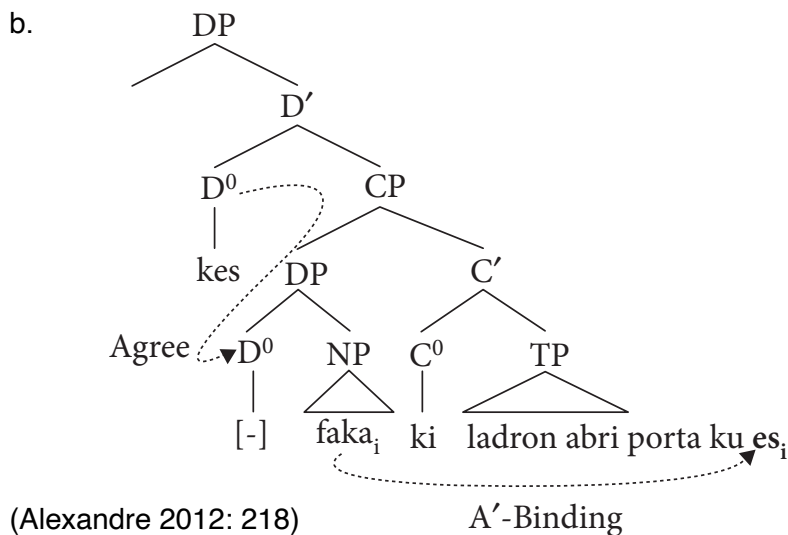
The spell-out of only [+rel], as argued above, is *que*. The feature matrix [+3, +sg, +masc, +Dat], on the other hand, amounts to a pronominal element – more precisely, a clitic

pronoun: *lhe*<sup>21</sup>. As is typical of Romance languages in general and for EP in particular, this clitic pronoun underlies special restrictions regarding its position: here, it has to occur in preverbal position. In (99), the two variants of spell-out forms are contrasted:

- (99) a. [CPrel *ao qual*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> C [TP *deram* \_\_\_<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> *o livro* ...  
 b. [CPrel *que*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> C [TP *lhe*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> *deram o livro* ...

This proposal is similar to Bianchi (2004)'s analysis for Italian varieties, Hebrew, Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese, among others, as well as Alexandre's (2012) proposal for Cape Verdean Creole regarding the character of the resumptive pronoun: it is not an independent element in the numeration, but surfaces as spell out of the lower copy of the relativized constituent. However, my proposal differs from Bianchi's and Alexandre's in several important aspects: first, Bianchi and Alexandre assume a head raising analysis and therefore, movement of an internal nominal head. However, the resumptive element never has the form of the antecedent but always occurs as a pronominal. Given that in my analysis, only a relativizer moves, without any overt nominal complement, the form of the resumptive as a pronominal element follows more naturally. Second, Alexandre differentiates between two derivations: resumptive structures on the one hand (100) and structures with a defective copy-movement on the other (101):

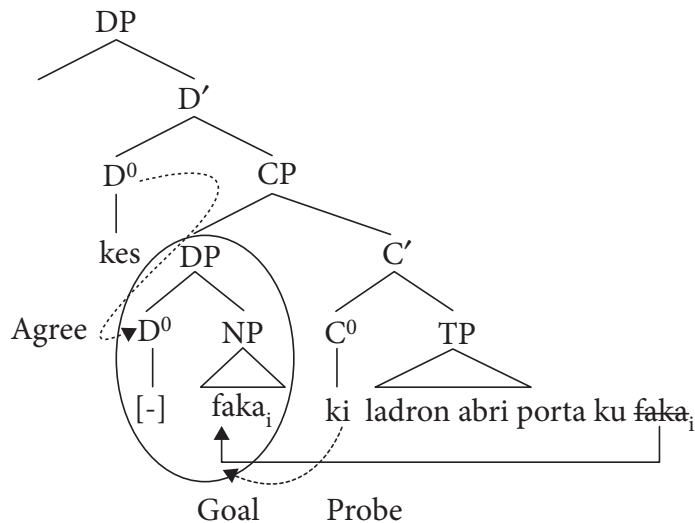
- (100) a. *Kes faka ki ladron abri porta ku es.*  
 the knives relthief opened door with pron.3.pl.  
 "The knives that the thief opened the door with (them)."



21 A similar proposal is made in Escobar (1997), where the author claims that resumptive clitics in clitic left dislocation structures and in appositive relative clauses represent the minimal copy of the dislocated element, i.e. the topicalized element in CLLD structures and the relative pronoun in RCs. However, this approach disregards the fact that resumption primarily occurs in restrictive RCs (cf. chapter 3); and furthermore, it cannot explain why resumption almost exclusively combines with simple *que* and not with a complex relativizer. Note also that in my proposal, the resumptive clitic is not a minimal or partial or defective copy, but rather the partial spell out of a complete copy of the moved relativizer.

- (101) a. *Kes faka ki ladron abri porta ku el.*  
 the knives rel thief opened door with pron.3.sg.  
 “The knives that the thief opened the door with (it).”

b.



(Alexandre 2012: 218)

In (100), the resumptive element *es* agrees in number with the head noun *faka*, while in (101), the resumptive element *el* does not. Alexandre argues that the agreeing version is a case of real resumption in the sense that there is no A'-movement: the head noun is base generated directly in SpecCP and functions there as operator, A'-binding the resumptive. Some evidence for the absence of A'-movement comes from the fact that in Cape Verdean Creole, this kind of resumption can also occur inside island contexts. (101), on the other hand, does not represent a case of real resumption: here, there is A'-movement of the head noun *faka* out of its argument position and into SpecCP. One piece of evidence for this is that the string *ki ... el* cannot occur in island contexts. The stranded preposition *ku* however has to assign its inherent Case, and therefore, the lower link has to be spelt out. The outcome is only a partial, or defective, copy of the original argument, which can be seen by non-agreement in number. The main difference between (100) and (101), therefore, is that while real resumption as in (100) is the result of Merge alone and the resumptive pronoun *es* is part of the initial Numeration, in (101), Merge is followed by Move/Remerge, and the defective copy *el* does not belong to the initial Numeration, but is inserted post-syntactically.

In chapter 4.2.3., I have argued against a base-generation analysis for resumptive relative clauses in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. Hence, I do not agree with Alexandre's (2012) proposal for cases of real resumption as in (100). Furthermore, I do not assume a head-raising analysis, contrary to Alexandre. Additionally, in the languages that are the focus of this work, there is no evidence to assume a defective copy-movement, given that the resumptive elements always agree with the RC's head noun. However, I believe that the author is on the right track regarding her proposal that the resumptive in (101) is not an independent element of the Numeration, but the spell out of a trace, which I will further elaborate below.

Alexandre's analysis has much in common with Bianchi (2004), to whom she explicitly refers. Bianchi differentiates obligatory resumption in PP-relativization from optional resumption in DP-relativization, as illustrated above in example (59). Unfortunately, she does

not explicitly include resumption with dative objects in her analysis. As discussed in chapter 2 and 3, however, dative resumption is an important aspect and belongs to the class of obligatory resumption, given that sentences with dative simple resumption, i.e. *que...lhe* like in (99b.), would turn ungrammatical if the resumptive were deleted. Crucially, though, Bianchi's reasoning for obligatory resumption in PPs cannot be applied to dative resumption. Consider the Brazilian Portuguese example (102), repeated from (59b.) above:

- (102) *O sobrinho que a Maria vai deixar*  
 the nephew rel the Maria goes to.leave  
*todo o dinheiro pra \*(ele).*  
 all the money for pron.3.sg.masc  
 "The nephew for whom Maria left all the money."  
 (Bianchi 2004: 76)

In cases like (102), Bianchi argues that movement out of a PP is excluded, given that a language like Brazilian Portuguese does not allow preposition stranding. However, since in her account, relative clauses are derived via a raising analysis, a DP consisting of a silent D and the head noun *sobrinho* moves to the RC's left periphery. There, the head is attracted to the Case of the external determiner, and as a result, the inherent Case originally assigned to the head by the preposition *pra* is not realized. Therefore, as a kind of last resort, a resumptive pronoun is inserted to rescue the preposition's Case assignment and therefore the whole derivation. Unfortunately, Bianchi (2004) does not illustrate this derivation on the basis of BP data, but uses an English sentence – a language that does allow preposition stranding:

- (103) [<sub>DP</sub> *the* [<sub>FP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> D° *trouble*] [*that he went* [<sub>PP</sub> *through* <[<sub>DP</sub> D° *trouble*]>]]]]

The constituent in angle brackets is the lower copy of the moved constituent. One has to imagine now that in a language like BP, the movement of [<sub>DP</sub> D° *trouble*] is not allowed, and therefore, the lower copy is spelled out as a resumptive pronoun in order to realize the Case assigned by *through*.

I see two problems with this analysis: first, given that a languages does generally not allow movement out of a PP crucially because it does not allow preposition stranding, why should this be different in relative clauses? The derivation in (103) is contradictory insofar as on the one hand, movement, i.e. head raising, is assumed, while on the other hand, it is assumed that this movement is an illegitimate operation. Does [<sub>DP</sub> D° *trouble*] move or does it not move? The same criticism holds for Alexandre's defective copy analysis, as illustrated in (101).

Second, this analysis does not make any predictions on the relation of resumptive and gap RCs. Consider (104), the non-resumptive variant of (102):



- (104) *O sobrinho pra quem a Maria vai deixar todo o dinheiro.*  
 the nephew for rel the Maria goes to.leave all the money  
 “The nephew for whom Maria will leave all the money.”

Here, the whole PP *pra quem*, “for whom” is moved to the left periphery, as is expected: relativization is supposed to affect the whole argument of a clause, and not only a part of it, e.g. not only the DP of a PP. However, even if we accept the assumption that movement of [<sub>DP</sub> D° *sobrinho*] is not possible but occurs anyways in (102), this operation appears even stranger in comparison with (104): both structures are possible in BP, and given that (102) is a case of obligatory resumption, there is no difference in interpretation. However, their respective derivations differ: from a raising perspective, in (102), movement of only a DP is triggered: [<sub>DP</sub> D° *sobrinho*], while in (104), movement of a whole prepositional phrase is triggered: [<sub>PP</sub> *pra* [<sub>DP</sub> *quem sobrinho*]]. This means that we have to assume two different features in C<sub>rel</sub> to trigger two different movements in order to achieve two different derivations whose interpretations do not differ.

Furthermore, returning to the issue of dative resumption, Bianchi’s reasoning is not tenable. Even though resumption with a dative argument is obligatory, there is no preposition involved, contrary to what Bianchi assumes: in her analysis, there is optional resumption with DPs, but obligatory resumption with PPs. Dative *a* in the Romance languages is not a proper preposition, as has been argued by many authors (cf. e.g. Meisel 1970; Kempchinsky 1992; Torres Morais & Salles 2010). One further piece of evidence is the fact that EP dative resumption never occurs in the form *a ele*, which would be expected if *a* were a preposition just like *pra* in (104), but always in form of a clitic, i.e. *lhe*.

I propose, instead, that a simple resumptive structure like that in (99b.), i.e. of the kind *que ... clitic*, is the overt realization of the preferred interpretation for an A’-chain, which Chomsky (1993) calls “scattered deletion” (cf. also Nunes 2004: 158; Bošković & Nunes 2007). In his discussion of reconstruction of moved elements, Chomsky proposes an economy preference for the interpretation of A’-chains, which includes minimizing operator restrictions in LF. Consider the interrogative structure *Guess in which house John lived* in (105). Chomsky (1993: 36) proposes that instead of interpreting all of the elements of the moved element in both positions, as would be the case in (105a.), everything but the operator phrase must delete in the operator position SpecCP, and, vice versa, the operator must delete in the non-operator position (105b.) – following the so-called Preference Principle (Chomsky 1995: 209). This then corresponds to the interpretation of (105c.):

- (105) a. *Guess [in which house] John lived [in which house].*  
 b. *Guess [~~in which house~~] John lived [in which house].*  
 c. [which x] [in [x house]]  
 (cf. Chomsky 1993: 35-36)

Consequently, a simple resumptive structure as in (99b.) is the transparent outcome of the scattered interpretation of the relativized argument: in SpecCP, only the operator is

interpreted, thus, only *que* is realized. In base position, on the other hand, everything but the operator is interpreted; consequently, *lhe* is realized.

The analysis of resumption as scattered deletion resembles Salzmann's (2006b) proposal for Zurich German resumption as Distributed Deletion, which was presented above in (63), repeated here as (106):

- (106) a. *De Bueb, [wo mer \*(em) es Velo versproche händ], isch tumm.*  
 the boy rel we he.dat a bike promised have is stupid  
 "The boy whom we promised a bike is stupid."  
 b. [D<sub>op</sub> + D<sub>nom</sub> [CP [DP D<sub>op</sub> NP ] C [IP [VP [DP D<sub>op/dat</sub> NP ] V ]]]]  
 (Salzmann 2006b: 40-41)

Salzmann also attributes resumption to Case marking: in his version of a raising analysis for RCs, the upper copy of the internal head, i.e. the representation of *Bueb* in SpecCP, is not marked for Case, which is why it can be declined according to the matrix sentence's requirements, i.e. occur in a nominative form while its base position is marked for dative, as in (106a.), and why the internal D can incorporate with the external D. However, the internal dative Case has to be realized somewhere, which is why a part of the lower copy is spelled out, i.e. in (106a.), the resumptive pronoun *em*. While I do not agree with the raising analysis, for the reasons stated in sections 4.1.2. and 4.1.4., I believe that Salzmann's proposal is on the right track with respect to the necessity of dative resumption: dative as inherent Case has to be realized, otherwise it is not recoverable from the structure, in contrast to e.g. nominative and accusative.

Many languages offer evidence for the assumption that there is a difference regarding inherent (i.e. dative, oblique, genitive) and structural (i.e. nominative, accusative) Case regarding morphological realization. Some examples of this are the following: resumptives expressing inherent Case are obligatory in Polish (107a.), while those expressing structural Case are impossible (107b.):

- (107) a. *On spotkal studenta co \*(mu) on dal- piatke.*  
 he met student rel him-dat he gave good.mark  
 "He met a student whom he gave a good mark."  
 b. *Ten samochod, co Janek (\*go) widzial- wczoraj, zniknal.*  
 the car-nom rel Janek it-acc saw yesterday disappeared  
 "The car that Janek saw yesterday disappeared."  
 (Pesetsky 1998: 377)

In many Swiss German varieties as well, dative resumptives are obligatory in relative clauses (cf. Salzmann 2017: 344). Furthermore, in Bavarian and colloquial Russian, relativizers can be deleted only if they bear structural Case, but not with inherent Case (cf. Bayer 1984 and Pesetsky 1998, respectively). Finally, in Latin and Ancient Greek, relativizers can be attracted to the external D's Case if they bear structural Case, but not if they bear inherent Case (cf. Harbert 1982, Bianchi 1999).

So far, there has been no unanimously accepted proposal as to the deep reason for this particular difference. Furthermore, the notion of “Case” has changed in linguistic theory, and with it the differentiation of structural and inherent Case. In the Government-and-Binding framework, Case was assigned by appropriate categories such as verbs and prepositions that govern the respective position which receives Case. According to Chomsky (1986: 193), the structural Cases are those assigned to the subject and the object; i.e. in the Romance languages, nominative and accusative count as structural Cases, which are assigned at S-structure (SS) for configurational reasons. Inherent Cases, on the other hand, are assigned at D-structure (DS), and as such are linked directly to theta-marking, i.e. the Case cannot be predicted from the syntactic position and context. From a Minimalist perspective, on the other hand, Case is not *assigned* but rather *checked* in a specifier-head configuration. Given the abandonment of the dichotomy of SS and DS, also the contrast of structural and inherent Case has become questionable. Indeed, Woolford (2006: 116) states that “all Case licensing is technically structural, in the sense that all Case licensing is done by heads in a local structural configuration”. However, the empirical evidence mentioned above speaks in favour of maintaining the dichotomy of inherent and structural Case. Several ideas have been proposed to account for the differences of the two types of Case that cover various linguistic levels: e.g., Daskalaki & Mavrigiorgos (2013) argue that inherent Case is semantically interpretable and therefore relevant for LF. Therefore, the realization of a resumptive genitive pronoun in an IO-RC in Greek ensures interpretability. Pesetsky (1998), Bayer, Bader & Meng (2001) and Bianchi (2004), on the other hand, propose that there is a general morphological constraint on inherent Case: it is subject to special morphological licensing requirements, making phonetic realization obligatory. Finally, van Riemsdijk (1989) and Bayer, Bader & Meng (2001) assume that arguments marked with inherent Case are structurally more complex than those marked with structural Case, i.e. inherent Case is introduced in the constituent’s structure as an additional layer, e.g. a Case phrase (KP) or a PP. They assume that this extra layer turns the argument into an island, such that movement of the P’s or K’s complement is not possible, thus causing a resumptive element to occur.

The contrast between inherent and structural Case probably affects all levels, syntax, morphology and interpretation alike. I will come back to this issue in chapter 5, where I will present a more detailed derivation of (simple and complex) resumptive RCs. For now, it suffices to note that also in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, dative Case, being inherent in nature, has to be phonetically realized, and that this is the reason why simple dative resumption is obligatory.

In the Romance languages, dative can be realized in two ways: either by means of the morpheme *a* in front of a lexical DP (108a.), or by means of a dative clitic pronoun (108b.):

- (108) a. *Deram o livro ao João.*  
they.gave the book DAT.the João  
“They gave the book to João.”
- b. *Deram-lhe o livro.*  
they.gave-cl.3.sg.dat the book  
“They gave him the book.”

Similarly, in relative clauses, dative can be realized either by *a* in front of a relativizer, or by spelling out a clitic pronoun – which corresponds to the realization of dative either in the upper or in the lower copy, and hence, to a gap vs. a resumptive structure:

- (109) a. *O rapaz a quem deram o livro.*  
           the boy   DAT rel    they.gave the book  
       b. *O rapaz que lhe deram o livro.*  
           the boy rel cl.3.sg.DAT they.gave the book  
       both: “The boy to whom they gave the book.”

An alternative to the form *que* plus dative clitic is therefore a canonical RC including a complex relativizer of the type *a quem* or *ao qual*: there, the requirement that inherent Case be realized is met by the dative marker *a*.

One final remark remains with respect to the analysis presented in (99), repeated here as (110):

- (110) a. [CPrel *ao qual*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> C [TP *deram* \_\_\_<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> *o livro* ...  
       b. [CPrel *que*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> C [TP *lhe*<sub>[+rel, +3, +sg, +masc, +Dat]</sub> *deram o livro* ...

Given that the derivation of non-resumptive RCs in (110a.) and the derivation of resumptive RCs in (110b.) are identical, the only difference being the spell-out form, this proposal predicts that the resumptive and the non-resumptive variants of a sentence do not differ with respect to their interpretation: and indeed, in a minimal pair such as (96), repeated here as (111), this is the case, such that *ao qual* can be understood as equivalent to *que lhe*<sup>22</sup>:

- (111) a. *O homem ao qual deram o livro.*  
           the man   DAT.the rel   they.gave the book  
       b. *O homem que lhe deram o livro.*  
           the man rel cl.3.sg.dat they.gave the book  
       both: “The man to whom they gave the book.”

However, as we have seen before, this is not the case for RCs with optional resumptive pronouns: if a resumptive pronoun of a relativized subject or direct object surfaces, it necessitates a specific interpretation (112a.), in contrast to the equivalent gap structure (112b.), as Suñer (1998) and also Bianchi (2004) note.

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22 However, not all speakers accept and/or produce resumptive structures like (111b.). This might be due to prescriptive pressure, or to individual preference. In any case, the results of chapter 3 have shown that the structure is a linguistic reality.

- (112) a. *los tres estudiantes que cada profesor debe entrevistarlos*  
 the three students rel every professor must interview.cl.3.pl.acc.masc  
 (3 >∀; \*∀ > 3)
- b. *los tres estudiantes a los que cada profesor debe entrevistar*  
 the three students a the rel every professor must interview  
 (3 >∀; ∀ > 3)
- both: “The three students that every professor must interview.”  
 (Suñer 1998: 358)

According to Suñer (ib.), the gap relative in (112b.) is ambiguous in that it allows scope of the numeral over the quantifier as well as the other way around. The resumptive variant in (112a.), on the other hand, only allows scope of *tres* over *cada*. This particularity does not hold for obligatory resumptive pronouns:

- (113) *los tres estudiantes que cada profesor les debe dar tarea extra*  
 the three students rel every professor cl.3.pl.dat must give work extra  
 (3 >∀; ∀ > 3)
- “The three students to whom every professor has to give extra work.”  
 (ib.)

Suñer (1998) argues that these scope facts are due to the bifurcation in the realm of clitic pronouns: direct object clitics are obligatorily specific, and therefore they compel a specific reading of the relative’s antecedent (cf. Suñer 1988, 1989; Uriagereka 1995)<sup>23</sup>.

On this basis, I agree with Bianchi (2004) on the reasons for the surfacing of a resumptive pronoun: optional resumption is a means for disambiguating a relative by indicating a specific interpretation (Bianchi 2004: 93). On the other hand, in the case of obligatory resumption, the reason is Case realization: inherent Case must be spelled out, a requirement whose deep reason remains to be accounted for, but which seems to be confirmed by other empirical evidence, as has been illustrated above.

I propose that simple resumption in RCs, which I analyze as the overt reflection of scattered deletion, represents the interpretation of operator and variable more transparently than a gap structure. Recall Chomsky’s (1993) illustration of the interpretation of a wh-dependency, repeated here as (114):

- (114) a. *Guess [in which house] John lived [in which house].*  
 b. *Guess [~~in~~ which ~~house~~] John lived [in ~~which~~ house].*  
 c. [which x] [in [x house]]  
 (cf. Chomsky 1993: 35-36)

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23 But see Leonetti (2007) against the claim that specificity is an inherent characteristic of the lexical entry of a clitic pronoun, and in favour of the analysis that the specific reading is a side effect of other features of the clitic, such as definiteness and discourse-dependency (cf. also Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000, 2002). For my point here, the result is the same.

Chomsky argues that everything but the *wh*-operator must delete on LF in the operator position, while the operator must delete on LF in the non-operator position in order to achieve the interpretation in (114c.). By assumption, the same holds for *wh*-dependencies in a relative clause. Now, a resumptive RC like (113) depicts this scattering of interpretation unambiguously also on PF: in the upper copy, everything but the operator is deleted, which leads to the realization of only *que*. In the lower copy, only the operator is deleted, which leaves a combination of person, number and Case, resulting in *les*.

I further propose that the choice of resumptive over gap structures for certain contexts in spontaneous, oral speech, as has been proven in chapter 3, has to do with processing: resumptive structures are not more economic than movement structures with respect to derivational expenses, but simply easier or more directly processable, possibly in the sense of Checa-Garcia (2019: 482), who analyzes resumption as a “processing ailment function”. This fits well with the observation that in many languages, resumption is an unmarked structure of relativization, while relative pronouns and thus also gap structures are relatively rare (cf. Georgopoulos 1985 for Palauan; the listing in Comrie & Kuteva 2005; furthermore Murelli 2011). In addition, a resumptive structure is often the first strategy for relativization acquired by children, even in languages that offer relative pronouns (Ferreiro et al. 1976 on French and Spanish; Labelle 1990 on Canadian French; Goodluck & Stojanovic 1996 on Serbo-Croatian, a.o.).

With this analysis, the research questions 3 (from the beginning of this chapter: what should be the correct syntactic analysis for resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses, particularly with regard to  $A^1$ -movement?) and 2 (from chapter 3: how can we account for the Case asymmetry found in the corpus studies?) can be answered: both resumptive and non-resumptive RCs are derived via  $A^1$ -movement, but they differ regarding spell out: scattered deletion in the former, realization of only the upper copy in the latter. The Case asymmetry can be explained by the assumption that dative as an inherent Case has to be realized, while this requirement does not hold for structural Cases. Non-dative resumptive pronouns are realized for interpretative reasons.

The first research question, which was raised in chapter 2, is still open, however: why does Portuguese only have two relative structures, viz. gap and “simple resumption”, while Spanish and Catalan have three: gap, “simple resumption”, and “complex resumption”? This question will be answered in the following chapter.

## 5. ANALYSIS II. SIMPLE VS. COMPLEX RESUMPTION: SCATTERED DELETION VS. CLITIC DOUBLING

In chapter 4, I proposed an analysis for the type of resumption which was called “simple resumption”, i.e. the kind which provides the most simple relativizer *que* and a resumptive pronoun. This type occurs in EP, Spanish, and Catalan, as discussed. However, one outcome of chapter 2 was the discussion of a structure termed “complex resumption”, i.e. a resumptive relative clause in which not *que*, but another, more complex relativizer occurs. Consider (1) for Spanish, Catalan, and EP, respectively:

- (1) a. *El hombre a quien (le) regalaron el libro.*  
the man DAT rel cl.3.sg.dat they.gave the book  
b. *L'home a qui (li) van regalar el llibre.*  
the'man DAT rel cl.3.sg.dat they.go to.give the book  
c. *O homem a quem (\*lhe) ofereceram o livro.*  
the man DAT rel cl.3.sg.dat they.gave the book  
all: “The man whom they gave the book to.”

In (1), the relativizer *a quien / a qui / a quem* is complex insofar as it realizes not only the [rel] feature, but also [+animate], [+dative]: *quien / qui / quem* is a specialized form for a human antecedent in the relative as well as the interrogative paradigm, and the *a* marks this constituent as the indirect object, i.e. the dative argument. In the context of a ditransitive verb like “to give”, the complex relativizer is optionally accompanied by a resumptive pronoun, also marked for dative: however, this is only possible in Spanish (1a.) and Catalan (1b.). As can be seen in (1c.), complex resumption is not a grammatical structure in Portuguese. This fact was formulated in chapter 2 as a research question: given the close genetic relation between the three languages, and given that resumption is possible in principle in all three languages, as can be seen by the fact that simple resumption is a phenomenon of EP, Spanish and Catalan, why does complex resumption only occur in Spanish and Catalan?

Eventually, the answer is that Portuguese lacks complex resumption because it lacks clitic doubling. A further result of this chapter will be that simple resumption provides evidence against the assumption of dative alternation in Spanish and Catalan: if the dative *a* in ditransitive constructions without clitic doubling were a real preposition, as is assumed under a dative alternation perspective, one would expect this *a* to behave like other prepositions, i.e. allow the resumptive form P+pronoun. However, resumption with a ditransitive predicate is only possible with a clitic dative pronoun, e.g. Spanish *le*.

### 5.1. Distinguishing simple resumption from complex resumption

Research on the structure of resumption has been primarily focused on cases of simple resumption, i.e. combinations of a resumptive element with a neutral, complementizer-lookalike, as we have seen in the discussion in chapter 4. From the traditional perspective

that resumptive relative clauses lack operator movement, the occurrence of a resumptive pronoun in combination with a complex relativizer as in (1a., b.) is unexpected and sometimes even ignored. For example, Salzmann (2017: 232) wonders why there should exist a “ban on resumption with overt operators in non-island contexts” in Spanish, and cites the following examples for illustration purposes:

- (2) a. *una cierta senadora a quien* *Luís llamó* \_  
 a certain senator A rel Luís called  
 b. *una cierta senadora que* *Luís la* *llamó*  
 a certain senator rel Luís cl.3.sg.acc.fem called  
 both: “A certain senator whom Luís called.”  
 (Suñer 1998: 337 *apud* Salzmann 2017: 232)

According to Salzmann (*ib.*), the minimal pair in (2) illustrates the distribution of resumptive and gap structures in relative clauses in Spanish: either a complex relative pronoun combines with a gap, as in (2a.), or a complementizer look-a-like combines with a resumptive pronoun, as in (2b.). He speculates that a contrast such as in (2) could be accounted for by the assumption that resumption as in (2b.) always involves base-generated silent operators, while overt operators as in (2a.) are always endowed with a Case-feature and therefore have to undergo movement. However, Salzmann admits that the complementary distribution appears rather accidental, given that movement and Case-marking are not directly related.

A further example of such a view is Merchant (2004), who argues that resumption is incompatible with relativizers overtly marked for Case. In Greek, for example, only two possible structures exist: the first includes a Case-marked operator that moves into SpecCP and leaves a gap, as is usually assumed for non-resumptive RCs, cf. (3a.). The second possibility includes an island interfering between the relativization site and the RC’s left periphery, therefore extraction is excluded. Then, an operator unmarked for Case is base-generated there, i.e. no movement occurs, cf. (3b.). This generalization correctly excludes structures including a Case-marked operator and a resumptive pronoun, such as (3c.):

- (3) a. *o andras ton opion idha*  
 the man the rel.ACC I.saw  
 “The man that I saw.”  
 b. *O Giannis ine o andras*  
 the Giannis is the man  
*pou i Maria efige apo to parti otan \*(ton) idhe.*  
 that the Maria left from the party when him.ACC she.saw  
 “Giannis is the man that Maria left the party when she saw him.”  
 c. *\*o andras ton opion ton idha*  
 the man the rel.ACC him.ACC I.saw  
 (Merchant 2004: 475)



To Salzmann, “it is not clear what rules out resumption [in a structure with a relative pronoun] given that some of these languages (Spanish, Greek) are clitic-doubled languages...” (Salzmann 2017: 232). It seems, therefore, that Salzmann’s view on the phenomenon of resumption does not include Spanish dative RCs, as in (1) above.

However, if we shift to a more typological view, a complex-resumption structure is not unknown: as the result of a broad typological study, Murelli (2011) reports that several European languages allow a so-called “double encoding” structure, i.e. a combination of a relative pronoun and a resumptive element, e.g. Albanian, Bulgarian, Catalan, English, French, Greek, Italian, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Spanish (Murelli 2011: 99). For Spanish and Catalan, Murelli (2011: 223-225) cites the following examples:

- (4) a. *Pues nada, pasamos al claustro, donde allí se dio un lunch...*  
 then nothing we.passed to.the.cloister where there refl gave a lunch  
 “Well, and then we went over to the cloister, where there was lunch.”  
 (Westedt 1997: 69, *apud* Murelli 2011: 107)
- b. *uns marrecs a qui la Maria els dóna galetes*  
 some.children DAT rel the Maria cl.3.pl.dat gives cookies  
 “Some children whom Maria gives cookies.”  
 (Hualde 1992: 58, *apud* Murelli 2011: 224)
- c. *la casa on els teus cosins hi viuen*  
 the house where the your cousins cl.loc they.live  
 “The house where your cousins live.”  
 (Hualde 1992: 59, *apud* Murelli 2011: 225)

(4a.) and (4c.) are examples of a locative argument, which is expressed by the relative pronoun *donde* / *on*, being doubled by the locative adverb *allí* in Spanish and by the locative clitic *hi* in Catalan. (4b.) is a further example of a doubled indirect object, parallel to the structures in (1) above.

As mentioned before, “complex resumption” is a possible structure in Spanish and Catalan, but not in European Portuguese. Now, the lack of complex resumption in EP could be considered as evidence for the hypothesis that the two types of resumption are different phenomena, which is the claim I will support here. A further hint in this direction is the fact that Suñer (1998) and Brucart (1999) tease apart the two structures. As already mentioned in chapter 3, in Brucart’s terms, *que* plus resumptive is a case of “relativa con pronombre reasuntivo”, i.e. a relative with resumptive pronoun, as in (5a.), while a complex relativizer plus resumptive belongs to the class of “relativa con pronombre pleonástico”, i.e. a relative clause with pleonastic pronoun, as in (5b.):

- (5) a. *Iba con un muchacho que le dicen el Gordo.*  
 he.went with a boy rel cl.3.sg.dat they.say the Fat  
 “He always went with a boy whom they call the Fat One.”

- b. *El profesor a quien no le concedieron*  
 the professor DAT rel not cl.3.sg.dat they.granted  
*la venia docente.*  
 the permission teaching  
 “The professor to whom they did not grant the teaching permission.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 404)

Empirical evidence for not treating simple and complex resumption as equivalents comes from their respective distribution. In chapter 3, I showed that simple resumption in the three languages primarily occurs in dative RCs, less in accusative and even less in nominative RCs. There were no occurrences of complex resumption in my corpus data, though. From the literature on Spanish and Catalan relative clauses (cf. the discussion in chapter 2), however, it follows that this structure does not seem possible for subject RCs, and only marginally for direct object RCs. The only example presented in the literature for complex resumption with a direct object is from Brucart (1999: 405), who uses it to demonstrate that distance between relativizer and relativization site plays a role in the acceptance of resumptive pronouns:

- (6) a. *El atracador, a quien algunos testigos aseguran*  
 the raider A rel some witnesses they.assure  
*haberlo visto*  
 to.have-cl.3.sg.acc.masc seen  
 “The raider, whom some witnesses assure having seen him.”  
 b. ??*El atracador, a quien lo vieron por la zona*  
 the raider A rel cl.3.sg.acc.masc they.saw around the zone  
 “The raider, whom they saw around the area.”  
 (Brucart 1999: 405)

(6a.) falls under the category of “processing resumptives”: these cases of resumption are rated more acceptable the bigger the distance is, even in languages that do not allow resumptive structures, such as English (cf. chapter 4, fn. 1). The counterpart without any distance between relativizer and resumptive pronoun, as in (6b.), on the other hand, is judged ungrammatical. I conclude, hence, that complex resumption in DO RCs in the strict sense is not possible.

The literature suggests that complex resumption is primarily a phenomenon of dative RCs: Solà (2003) affirms that Catalan dative RCs easily accept the occurrence of a clitic pronoun, e.g. in the context of a typical indirect object, and gives the following example:

- (7) *Va venir l'advocat al qual (li) havíem*  
 goes to.come the 'lawyer DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat we.had  
*{dit/ comunicat/ explicat} l'afer.*  
 said/ told/ explained the 'affair  
 "The lawyer came to whom we had explained the affair."  
 (Solà 2003: 2515)

Solà observes that while in (7), the occurrence of the clitic is optional, this is not the case in other contexts of dative arguments, e.g. in the case of a psychological verb:

- (8) *Per a aquelles persones {a qui/ a les quals}*  
 for to those persons DAT rel/ DAT the rel  
*no \*(els) agrada/ interessa el futbol...*  
 not cl.3.pl.dat/ pleases/interests the soccer  
 "For those persons who do not like/who are not interested in soccer..."  
 (adapted after Solà 2003: 2516)

Suñer (1998) affirms a similar situation for Spanish: while most speakers prefer a clitic with a complex relativizer in a dative RC, there are contexts in which its occurrence is not obligatory (cf. ex. 9; also Fernández Soriano 1995: 114):

- (9) a. *el museo {al que/ al cual} (le) dejó todo su dinero*  
 the museum DAT.the rel DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat he.left all his money  
 "The museum to which he left all of his money."  
 b. *las personas {a quienes/ a las que/ a las cuales}*  
 the persons DAT rel DAT the rel DAT the rel  
*(les) mandaron la carta bomba*  
 cl.3.pl.dat they.sent the letter bomb  
 "The persons to whom they sent the letter bomb."  
 (Suñer 1998: 338)

From these distributional facts I conclude the following: first, in simple as well as in complex resumption structures, there is optional and obligatory resumption. Second, the respective realms do not correspond to each other: in simple resumption, the dividing line runs between dative resumption on the one hand, which is obligatory, and accusative and nominative resumption on the other hand, which are optional. In complex resumption, however, there is optional as well as obligatory resumption within dative resumption, while complex resumption with other syntactic functions seems to be ungrammatical altogether.

With respect to the analysis of RCs with complex resumption, especially when it comes to movement and attachment, there is no reason to assume that their derivation differs from that of their gap and simple resumption counterparts. Therefore, I assume that relative clauses with complex resumption are also derived via movement of the relativizer out of its



optional in European as well as Brazilian Portuguese. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the co-occurrence of a clitic and a quantifier or a strong pronoun should be regarded as clitic doubling in the strict sense. Neuhaus (2016) e.g. analyzes the sequence of clitic and quantifier as a case of quantifier floating. Furthermore, the status of strong object pronouns regarding their position has been controversial: Rigau (1988) argues that in null subject languages like e.g. Catalan, strong pronouns in these seemingly clitic-doubling contexts actually occur in non-argument positions, in contrast to lexical object DPs. This explains why they differ from clitic pronouns and *pro* when it comes to being able to be a bound variable<sup>24</sup>. While clitic pronouns and *pro* are able to be bound in e.g. Left Dislocation structures, as illustrated in (11a.), strong pronouns are not, cf. (11b.):

- (11) a. *A en Pere, li van regalar un cavall.*  
 DAT the Pere cl.3.sg.dat they.go to.gift a horse  
 “To Pere, they gifted him a horse.”
- b. \**A en Pere, li van regalar un cavall a ell.*  
 DAT the Pere cl.3.sg.dat they.go to.gift a horse DAT him.STRONG  
 (Rigau 1988: 506)

Instead, Rigau argues that strong object pronouns behave like strong subject pronouns in French. For example, the realization of a strong subject pronoun in French like *moi* in (12a.) always implies some kind of intensity or emphasis, but not necessarily a contrast. Rigau argues that this is also true for strong object pronouns in Catalan (12b.), and hence analyzes them, adopting a label by Ronat (1979), as *distinctive pronouns*, which occupy a non-argument position, while the clitic pronoun is the element in argument position:

- (12) a. *Je parlerai moi.*  
 I.WEAK I.will.speak I.STRONG  
 “I will speak.”
- b. *La veig a ella.*  
 cl.3.sg.acc.fem I.see A her.STRONG  
 “I see HER.”  
 (Rigau 1988: 504; 508)

Further evidence for this analysis comes from the fact that while strong object pronouns in doubling constructions as in (12b.) provide this “distinctive” flavour, this is not a characteristic of the element itself: if the strong pronoun occurs as argument of a PP, e.g., there is no such “distinctive” interpretation:

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<sup>24</sup> I will come back to this point in chapter 5.3., when the discussion will turn to structural analyses for clitic doubling in Spanish and Catalan.

- (13) *En Pere parla amb ella.*  
 the Pere talks with her.STRONG  
 “Pere talks to her.”  
 (Rigau 1988: 509)

Given that European Portuguese shares with Catalan its pro-drop-language nature, one might assume that also in EP, strong object pronouns occur in non-argumental position, and therefore, the seemingly doubling structure in (10), *Vi-os a eles*, is actually not a case of clitic doubling in the strict sense. Thus, even if one wanted to stress the theoretical possibility of clitic doubling in Portuguese, the situation is crucially different from e.g. Spanish and Catalan, where doubling of lexical indirect and, depending on the variety, direct objects is widespread and in some contexts even obligatory.

If we assume that a) complex resumption is a case of clitic doubling, and b) Portuguese lacks clitic doubling, the following conclusion can be drawn: Portuguese lacks complex resumption because it lacks clitic doubling. Evidence for the equation of complex resumption and clitic doubling comes from the distribution of the latter in relative as well as in matrix clauses, which I will discuss in the next subchapter.

## 5.2. Clitic doubling in Spanish and Catalan: obligatoriness vs. optionality

Clitic doubling (CLD) is a construction in which a DP in argument position co-occurs with a coreferential clitic in the same syntactic and prosodic domain, thus forming a discontinuous constituent (cf. Gabriel & Rinke 2010). This phenomenon is found in many languages, the best known and best studied in the Indo-European family being Spanish, Romanian, and Greek (cf., among others, Jaeggli 1986; Borer 1984; Suñer 1988; Anagnostopoulou 1994, 2003). CLD can also be found in Catalan, though to a lesser extent (cf. Todolí 1996, 2002).

The acceptability of CLD depends on several factors such as the dialectal variety and, crucially, the morphosemantic characteristics of the object DP. For all varieties in both Spanish and Catalan, CLD is obligatory if the postverbal object is a strong personal pronoun, irrespective of whether it represents a direct or an indirect object<sup>25</sup>:

- (14) a. *Solo te he visto a ti.*  
 only cl.2.sg.acc I.have seen A you  
 “I saw only you.”
- b. *Solo le he dado el libro a él.*  
 only cl.3.sg.dat I.have given the book DAT him  
 “I gave the book only to him.”
- c. *Només t’he vist a tu.*  
 only cl.2.sg.acc I.have seen A you  
 “I saw only you.”

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<sup>25</sup> According to Solà (1994), doubling of the third person pronouns in Catalan varieties is only optional. However, Todolí (1998) contradicts this statement and affirms that for many speakers a non-doubled strong third person pronoun would lead to a forced sentence.

- d. *Només li he donat el llibre a ell.*  
 only cl.3.sg.dat I.have given the book DAT him  
 “I gave the book only to him.”

However, it is questionable if the co-occurrence of a strong and a clitic pronoun really represents the same phenomenon as the co-occurrence of a lexical DP and a clitic pronoun, as discussed above. In any case, if the postverbal object is non-pronominal, i.e. a lexical DP, the two languages and their varieties differ.

In Spanish, most of the dative arguments are obligatorily doubled, for example in the case of psych predicates (15a.), possessor datives (15b.) or a benefactive ditransitive predicate (15c.) (cf. Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Cuervo 2003a, b):

- (15) a. *A Laura \*(le) gustan las empanadas.*  
 DAT Laura cl.3.sg.dat like.3.pl the empanadas  
 “Laure likes empanadas.”
- b. *A Hugo \*(le) picaban las manos.*  
 DAT Hugo cl.3.sg.dat itched the hands  
 “Hugo’s hands were itching.”
- c. *Carlos \*(les) construyó una casa a los suegros.*  
 Carlos cl.3.pl.dat built a house DAT the parents-in-law  
 “Carlos built his parents-in-law a house.”
- (Cuervo 2003a: 120-121)

The only exception to the obligatoriness of clitic doubling with dative arguments seems to be in the context of a ditransitive predicate that involves a transfer of possession, and in which the dative argument has the semantic role *recipient/goal* or *source*. Predicates of this sort are, e.g., *dar* “to give”, *enviar/mandar* “to send”, *ofrecer* “to offer”, *robar* “to steal”, *extraer* “to extract”. Here, the insertion of a clitic is always possible and preferred by many speakers. However, the non-doubled version is also grammatical:

- (16) *Mafalda (le) dio un caramelo a Felipe.*  
 Mafalda cl.3.sg.dat gave a candy DAT Felipe  
 “Mafalda gave Felipe a candy.”
- (Cuervo 2003a: 120)

The triggering factors behind the occurrence vs. absence of the clitic in a context like (16) have been the focus of much research and will be discussed in more detail later on. One of the factors seems to be dialectal variation: for instance, Parodi (1998) judges doubling with the indirect object of a ditransitive predicate as obligatory in Argentinian Spanish, but as optional in Standard European Spanish.

With direct, i.e. accusative objects, on the other hand, CLD is more restricted. Most varieties of Spanish do not allow doubling of a lexical direct object at all. An exception can be found in Argentinian Spanish as well as in Basque *leísta* Spanish: both varieties allow

optional doubling of human, specific direct objects. While Argentinian Spanish employs a corresponding accusative clitic form (17a.), the Basque variety substitutes it with the dative form *le*, hence the name *leísta* Spanish (17b.):

- (17) a. *La oían a Paca.*  
 cl.3.sg.acc.fem they.heard A Paca  
 “They heard Paca.”  
 (Suñer 1988: 396)
- b. *Le/ \*la vi a María.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.fem I.saw A María  
 “I saw María.”  
 (Bleam 1999: 52)

As for Catalan, this language is generally more conservative with respect to CLD of lexical DP objects. Standard Catalan, e.g., does not allow any kind of CLD with non-pronominal objects (cf. Badia i Margarit 1994). However, there are several contexts in which doubling of a dative argument is possible or even obligatory. Todolí (2002) and Pineda (2016) confirm that dialectal variation plays a role: on the one hand, speakers of Western Catalan varieties (i.e. from the west of Catalonia, the Franja de Ponent, Andorra and the País Valencià), tend to double more than speakers of Eastern Catalan varieties (i.e. from the east of Catalonia, the Balearic islands and the French region Pyrénées-Orientales). On the other hand, speakers of metropolitan areas, especially from the younger generations, double more than older speakers of rural descent. Typologically speaking, therefore, one can distinguish varieties with *duplicació forta* and with *duplicació feble*, i.e. with strong and weak doubling. By comparison, speakers of the former dialect group allow and use doubling in more contexts than speakers of the latter dialect group.

The distribution of obligatory and optional doubling is similar to the situation in Spanish: with psych predicates (18a.) and possessor datives (18b.), CLD is obligatory in all Catalan varieties, while with ditransitive transfer predicates (18c.), the clitic can also be left out:

- (18) a. *Aquesta pel·lícula \*(li) va agradar més a Marta que a Pere.*  
 this movie cl.3.sg.dat goes to.please more DAT Marta than DAT Pere  
 “Marta liked the movie better than Pere.”
- b. *\*(Li) ha caigut una dent al nen.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat has fallen a tooth DAT.the child  
 “The child has lost a tooth.”
- c. *¿Per què no (li) expliques això a Lluís?*  
 why not cl.3.sg.dat you.explain that DAT Lluís  
 “Why don’t you explain this to Lluís?”  
 (Todolí 2002: 1401)

According to Todolí (2002), the non-doubling variant of (18c.) is especially common in Catalan varieties with a low tendency for doubling.



CLD with accusative lexical DP objects, finally, is impossible in Catalan. Unlike Spanish, there is no variety known which allows for doubling with a direct object, irrespective of the DP's feature configuration.

To summarize, CLD is a common phenomenon in both Spanish and Catalan, and while there are certain differences, it seems that both language systems use the structure in similar contexts. In Aßmann (2017), I argue that clitic doubling is the grammaticalization of a topicalization device, viz. right dislocation, which both Spanish and Catalan undergo. Until now, however, the respective languages have reached different stages of this grammaticalization process, which explains the synchronic differences with respect to the degrees of acceptability of CLD.

Having established an overview of the distribution of CLD in Spanish and Catalan matrix clauses, let us take a look back at the complex resumption patterns. Consider the following examples (19) - (21), which correspond to (7) - (9) above:

- (19) *Va venir l'advocat al qual (li) havíem*  
 goes to.come the'lawyer DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat we.had  
*{dit/ comunicat/ explicat} l'afer.*  
 said/ told/ explained the'affair  
 "The lawyer came to whom we had explained the affair."  
 (Solà 2003: 2515)

- (20) a. *el museo {al que/ al cual} (le) dejó*  
 the museum DAT.the rel DAT.the rel cl.3.sg.dat he.left  
*todo su dinero*  
 all his money  
 "The museum to which he left all of his money."  
 b. *las personas {a quienes/a las que/ a las cuales}*  
 the persons DAT rel DAT the rel DAT the rel  
*(les) mandaron la carta bomba*  
 cl.3.pl.dat they.sent the letter bomb  
 "The persons to whom they sent the letter bomb."  
 (Suñer 1998: 338)

- (21) *Per a aquelles persones {a qui/ a les quals}*  
 for to those persons DAT rel/ DAT the rel  
*no \*(els) agrada/ interessa el futbol...*  
 not cl.3.pl.dat/ pleases/interests the soccer  
 "For those persons who do not like/who are not interested in soccer..."  
 (adapted after Solà 2003: 2516)

(19) and (20) for Catalan and Spanish, respectively, illustrate contexts in which complex resumption is optional, i.e. the sentence would also be grammatical if the relativizer would occur without the coreferential clitic. (21), on the other hand, is said to be a case of obligatory

complex resumption in Catalan. The same holds for Spanish if we apply the same predicates:

- (22) *Para aquellas personas {a quienes/a las cuales}*  
 for those persons DAT rel DAT the rel  
*no \*(les) gusta/ interesa el fútbol...*  
 not cl.3.pl.dat pleases/intereststhe soccer  
 “For those persons who do not like/who are not interested in soccer...”

The examples for obligatory resumption, (21) and (22), represent psych predicates, whose dative argument is an experiencer argument, while the examples for optional resumption, (19) and (20), are ditransitive predicates, whose dative argument is an indirect object, i.e. has the theta role *recipient/goal*. This distribution corresponds exactly to the obligatory and optional cases of clitic doubling in matrix clauses, as illustrated in the examples (12), (13), and (15) above.

I conclude, therefore, that complex resumption is the same phenomenon as clitic doubling, however in relative and not in matrix clauses. The distributional facts discussed here provide clear evidence for this: obligatory occurrence of the clitic with psych predicates, but optional occurrence of the clitic with ditransitive predicates. Remember that in simple resumption structures, this division of optionality and obligatoriness does not hold: there, realization of the dative clitic is obligatory, irrespective of the argument’s nature.

As mentioned before, the conclusion that complex resumption is clitic doubling while simple resumption is scattered deletion amounts to the conclusion that the two structures cannot share a derivation with respect to the realization of the clitic. For simple resumption, I argued in chapter 4 that the clitic is the spell out of a part of the lower copy of the moved relative operator, viz. the realization of dative Case. For complex resumption, this cannot be the case. In order to approach a structural analysis for RCs with complex resumption, in the next section I will discuss two proposals for clitic doubling structures.

### 5.3. Clitic doubling: against a dative alternation in Romance languages

Since Bleam (1999), research on CLD in Spanish has adopted a fragmentation view on clitics: while accusative clitics are analyzed as determiners, as proposed by Torrego (1988) and Uriagereka (1988, 1995), dative clitics are analyzed as agreement markers, cf. also Sportiche (1996). Since in this work I am mostly concerned with European Spanish, where CLD with direct objects is generally not possible, I will focus here on the analyses that have been proposed for doubling with dative arguments.<sup>26</sup>

Bleam (1999) and Cuervo (2003a, b; 2020) analyze Spanish dative clitics as the heads of a phrase designated to introduce a dative argument in the derivation: the applicative phrase, ApplP, a notion originally from research on Bantu languages (cf. e.g. Marantz 1984). Appl is a verbal head that introduces those arguments of a verb that do not form part of the core

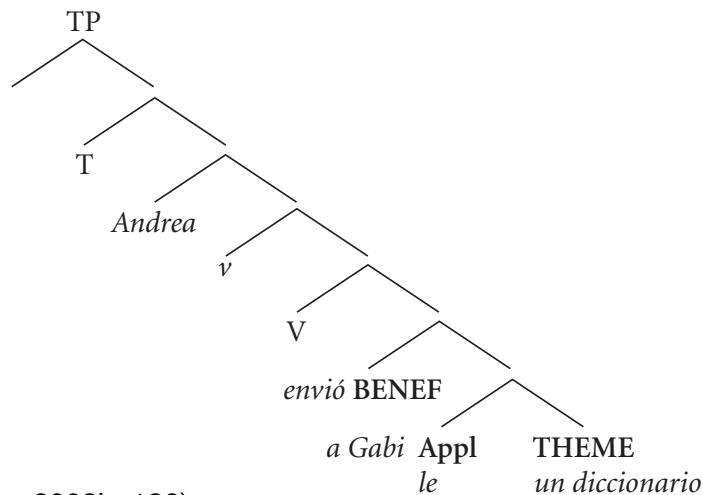
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<sup>26</sup> For proposals on DO CLD in Argentinian and Basque Spanish, cf. Suñer (1988, 1989), Zdrojewski & Sánchez (2014), Bleam (1999).

predicate, such as goal and benefactive arguments, into the derivation, and assigns them inherent Case, i.e. dative. This is in contrast to direct objects, which constitute core arguments of the verb and therefore are base generated inside the inner VP, where they receive structural Case.

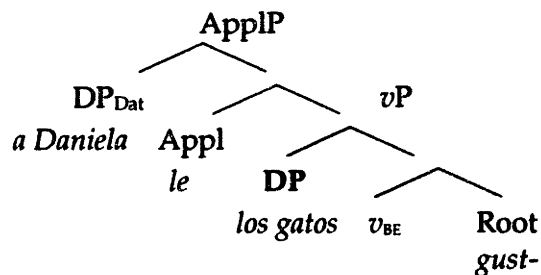
Cuervo (2003a, b) furthermore follows Pykkänen (2008), who proposes that actually, there are two kinds of applicative nodes: a low ApplP, below the lexical V level, and a high ApplP, above the lexical verb. The former exclusively introduces the indirect object of a ditransitive predicate, i.e. the recipient or goal of a possession, while the latter may also introduce other dative arguments such as a benefactive. According to Cuervo (2003a, b), Spanish has both of these: in a ditransitive construction, the indirect object is generated in the specifier of the low ApplP (23a.), i.e. below vP, while with a psych predicate, the high ApplP is outside of vP (23b.):

- (23) a. *Andrea le envió un diccionario a Gabi.*  
 Andrea cl.3.sg.dat sent a dictionary DAT Gabi  
 “Andrea sent Gabi a dictionary.”



(Cuervo 2003b: 126)

- b. *A Daniela le gustan los gatos.*  
 DAT Daniela cl.3.sg.dat they.please the cats  
 “Daniela likes cats.”



(Cuervo 2003a: 165)

In (23a.), the indirect object *a Gabi* is base generated in the specifier of Appl, where it receives dative Case and the corresponding theta role, *recipient* or *goal*. The direct object, *un*

*diccionario*, on the other hand, is the complement of Appl. In this configuration, the relationship between indirect and direct object, i.e. the transfer of possession, is established. The Appl head, agreeing with its specifier in number and Case, is realized as the dative clitic *le* and eventually fuses with the verbal head, thus rising with V up to v and to T. Furthermore, the direct object moves up to SpecvP in order to license its EPP feature (cf. Cuervo 2003: 128). Finally, the subject moves to SpecTP where it receives nominative Case. In this way, the correct, unmarked word order is achieved.

In (23b.), on the other hand, the dative object *a Daniela* is base generated outside of vP, in the specifier of the high ApplP. Again, the Appl head is realized as clitic *le* and fuses with the verb. The DP *los gatos* move up to SpecTP to license its EPP feature and to receive nominative Case.

Now, what happens in a ditransitive structure such as (23a.) if the clitic is not realized, i.e. without clitic doubling? Cuervo (2003a, b), following Demonte (1995) and Romero (1997), argues that the optionality of CLD with a ditransitive predicate is only apparent, and that the doubled and undoubled versions actually represent two different structures. This amounts to the idea that Spanish, like English, has two alternative constructions to express a relation between a theme and a goal, i.e. what is known from the literature as dative alternation. Consider the following illustrations for the alternation in English.

- (24) a. Prepositional construction (PC)  
*I sent the book to Mary / to Paris.*  
 b. Double object construction (DOC)  
*I sent Mary / \*Paris the book.*

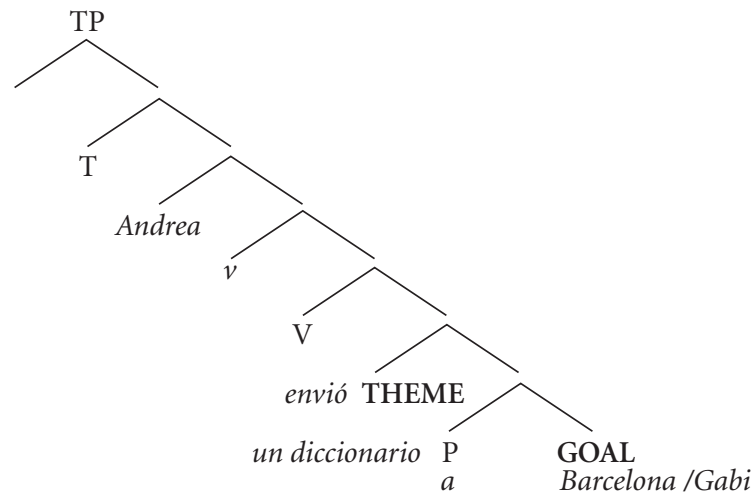
In (24a.), the indirect object *to Mary*, i.e. the goal or recipient, follows the direct object *the book*. It can be replaced by a locative goal like *to Paris*. In (24b.), on the other hand, the order of the two objects is reversed, and now, the goal cannot be a locative. This difference has led to a bipartite analysis: in cases like (24a.), the goal argument is expressed by a prepositional phrase, as indicated by *to*. In the structure in (24b.), on the other hand, both direct and indirect object are DP arguments, the latter inherently marked for dative Case. For this reason, a locative argument cannot replace the indirect object.

Cuervo (2003a, b) proposes that ditransitive structures with and without CLD in Spanish reproduce this contrast. Consider (25):

- (25) a. Prepositional construction (PC)  
*Andrea envió un diccionario a Gabi/a Barcelona.*  
 Andrea sent a dictionary to Gabi to Barcelona  
 “Andrea sent a dictionary to Gabi / to Barcelona.”  
 b. Double object construction (DOC)  
*Andrea le envió un diccionario a Gabi/ \*a Barcelona.*  
 Andrea cl.3.sg.dat sent a dictionary DAT Gabi DAT Barcelona  
 “Andrea sent Gabi/ \*Barcelona a dictionary.”  
 (Cuervo 2003b: 119)

While a non-doubled structure can include either a recipient or a locative goal as indirect object (25a.), this is not the case for the CLD version (25b.). Hence, the derivation of a ditransitive predicate with a DOC, i.e. (25b.), corresponds to a low applicative head, as illustrated in (23a.) above. The PC counterpart in (25a.), on the other hand, does not include any additional verbal node that introduces an indirect object. Rather, the goal argument is expressed by a PP in the verb's complement position:

(26) *Andrea envió un diccionario a Barcelona / a Gabi.*



(Cuervo 2003b: 125)

Hence, while in English the dative alternation is reflected by word order and the presence/absence of the preposition *to*, as in (24), the corresponding structures in Spanish are presumed to be distinguished only by the presence/absence of the dative clitic, whereas the superficial order of direct and indirect object is the same. Their derivations, however, reveal that actually, in a PC, the theme argument asymmetrically c-commands the goal, while in a DOC, it is the other way around, as can be seen in (23a.) and (26). These alleged asymmetrical c-command relations have been in the focus of the generative research on dative alternation, as we will see shortly.

Analyzing the apparent optional clitic doubling in a ditransitive predicate structure as actually representing two different structures has the welcome result that one gets rid of the optionality, which is always problematic for a generative approach: all dative arguments are obligatorily doubled in Spanish – and if there is no clitic, there is no dative argument, but rather a locative PP. This analysis predicts that given the respective asymmetrical c-command relations, there should be structural differences between the DOC and the PC, i.e. that doubled and non-doubled variants of ditransitive predicates should differ with respect to a range of tests regarding c-command. Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003a, b) argue that this is in fact the case, and that the Spanish ditransitive CLD structures show the same results as the English DOC, while the Spanish ditransitive non-doubling structures behave like the English PC. However, more recently, Pineda (2013a, b, c; 2016) has doubted the allegedly clear-cut structural asymmetries that have led the last-mentioned authors to adopt the hypothesis that there is a dative alternation in Spanish just like in English. Consequently,

Pineda rejects this hypothesis and claims instead that the presence or absence of the clitic in a ditransitive construction like (25) does not equal to different structural derivations. Instead, Spanish as well as Catalan ditransitive predicates of possession transfer should always be analyzed as a DOC, in which the ApplP's head, i.e. the dative clitic, is or is not pronounced, for reasons outside of syntax. According to Demonte and Cuervo, the Spanish ditransitive structure with clitic doubling behaves exactly as the English DOC, while the ditransitive structure without doubling reflects the English PC's behaviour. This means that despite their identical surface order, at the starting point of the derivation, the two structures in Spanish differ with respect to the c-commanding relationship of the two objects: in the DOC-like doubled construction, the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO, while in the PC-like non-doubled construction, the DO asymmetrically c-commands the IO. On the other hand, Pineda doubts this conclusion mostly on the basis that she (and other speakers of European Spanish that were consulted) does not share Demonte's and Cuervo's grammaticality judgements. Therefore, Pineda proposes that there is no evidence for the assumption of a dative alternation of the English type in Spanish (and Catalan), and that, in contrast, DO and IO symmetrically c-command each other.

The tests that are usually considered in this respect are binding asymmetries with anaphors, binding and distributive readings of possessive pronouns as well as frozen scope facts. In the following paragraphs, I will go through the respective phenomena from Demonte's/Cuervo's as well as from Pineda's perspective.

Consider first the contrast in (27) and (28), which shows binding asymmetries with anaphors in English (cf. Barss & Lasnik 1986, Larsson 1988):

(27) Anaphor binding in a PC

- a. *I showed John to himself in the mirror.*
- b. *\*I showed himself to John in the mirror.*

(28) Anaphor binding in a DOC

- a. *I showed John himself in the mirror.*
- b. *\*I showed himself John in the mirror.*

The minimal pair in (27) illustrates the (im)possibilities of binding anaphors in a PC. In (27a.), the theme argument, i.e. the DO *John* is able to bind the anaphor inside the goal argument, i.e. the IO *to himself*, while in (27b.), the goal argument/IO *to John* cannot bind the anaphor inside the theme argument/DO *himself*. This means that in a PC, only the theme/DO can bind the goal argument/IO. Now, (28) shows that in a DOC, the binding relations are reversed: in (28a.), it is the goal argument/IO *John* that binds the anaphor inside the theme/DO *himself*, while in (28b.), the theme/DO *John* is unable to bind the anaphor inside the goal/IO *himself*. Hence, in a DOC, only the goal can bind the theme argument.

According to Demonte (1995: 10), this contrast holds for Spanish ditransitive predicates with and without CLD, respectively. Consider (29) and (30):

- (29) a. *El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró a María a sí misma.*  
 the treatment psychoanalytic returned A María<sub>DO</sub> to herself<sub>IO</sub>  
 “The psychoanalytic treatment returned María to herself.”
- b. *\*El tratamiento psicoanalítico reintegró/devolvió (a) sí misma a María.*  
 the treatment psychoanalytical returned/gave.back A herself to María  
 (Demonte 1995: 10)
- (30) a. *\*El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió a María*  
 the treatment psychoanalytical cl.3.sg.dat gave.back A María<sub>DO</sub>  
*a la estima de sí misma.*  
 DAT the esteem of herself<sub>IO</sub>
- b. *El tratamiento psicoanalítico le devolvió la estima*  
 the treatment psychoanalytical cl.3.sg.dat gave.back [the esteem  
*de sí misma a María.*  
 of herself]<sub>DO</sub> DAT María<sub>IO</sub>  
 “The psychological treatment returned her self-esteem to María.”  
 (Demonte 1995: 10)

Demonte’s data suggest that in a clitic-doubled construction, the IO asymmetrically c-commands the DO, as can be seen by the possible binding of the anaphor in (30b.). On the other hand, in the non-doubled counterpart, it seems that the DO has to asymmetrically c-command the IO, as can be seen by the anaphor binding in (29a.). Thus, Demonte equates the non-doubled version with the PC in English (27), and the doubled version with the English DOC in (28).

However, Pineda (2013a) notes that in order to create the contrast in (29) vs. (30), Demonte has to alter the sentences: note that while in (29), *María* finds *herself* again, in (30), it is *her self-esteem*, literally: “the esteem of herself”. Pineda argues that this is a drastic change, given that a similar alteration would also reverse the other test sentences’ grammaticality. Consider (31):

- (31) a. *El tratamiento devolvió [DOa estima de sí misma] [IO a María].*  
 the treatment gave.back the esteem of herself to María  
 “The treatment gave María her self-esteem back.”
- b. *\*El tratamiento le devolvió [DOa sí misma] [IO a María].*  
 the treatment cl.3.sg.dat gave.back A herself DAT María  
 (Pineda 2013a: 196)

(31a.) corresponds to (29b.), however with the DO changed from *a sí misma* to *la estima de sí misma*, which makes the sentence grammatical. The same holds for (31b.), however the other way around: this sentence corresponds to (30b.), but now the change regarding the kind of DO makes the binding of the anaphor impossible. Pineda (2013a: 196) concludes, therefore, that the differences in grammaticality of the binding of anaphors seem to be related

to some difference in internal structure, possibly related to the embedding of the anaphor, but not, crucially, to the realization or absence of the dative clitic.

With respect to the second test, consider the following sentences as illustration for English:

(32) Binding of possessives in a PC

- a. *I gave/sent every<sub>i</sub> check to its owner<sub>i</sub>.*
  - b. *??I gave/sent his<sub>i</sub> paycheck to every worker<sub>i</sub>.*
- (Demonte 1995: 10)

(33) Binding of possessives in a DOC

- a. *I gave every worker<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> paycheck<sub>i</sub>.*
  - b. *\*I gave its<sub>i</sub> owner every paycheck<sub>i</sub>.*
- (Demonte 1995: 10)

The English data for the distributive reading of possessive pronouns again show c-command asymmetries with respect to the two objects: in a PC, as in (32), the DO c-commands the IO, hence the distributive reading over the possessive is possible in (32a.), but not vice versa (32b.). In a DOC, on the other hand, the IO c-commands the DO – therefore, the distributive reading of the possessive is possible in (33a.), but not in (33b.).

According to Demonte (1995), this contrast is mirrored in Spanish:

- (34) a. *\*La profesora entregó su<sub>i</sub> dibujo a cada niño<sub>i</sub>.*  
           the teacher gave his painting to each child
- b. *La profesora entregó cada<sub>i</sub> dibujo a su<sub>i</sub> autor.*  
           the teacher gave each drawing to its author  
           “The teacher gave each drawing to its author.”
- (Demonte 1995: 10)

- (35) a. *La profesora le pasó a limpio su<sub>i</sub> dibujo a cada niño<sub>i</sub>.*  
           the teacher cl.3.sg.dat gave to clean his drawing DAT each child  
           “The teacher gave each child back his cleared drawing.”
- b. *?La profesora le pasó a limpio cada dibujo<sub>i</sub> a su<sub>i</sub> autor.*  
           the teacher cl.3.sg.dat gave to clean each drawing DAT his author
- (Demonte 1995: 11)

In the non-doubled ditransitive construction in (34), the DO c-commands the IO, hence only (34b.) allows for the distributive reading. In the doubled version in (35), on the other hand, the IO has to c-command the DO in order to achieve the desired reading. According to these two tests, the c-commanding asymmetries thus seem to be stable: in a doubled construction, the IO c-commands the DO, as in the English DOC, while in the non-doubled construction, the DO c-commands the IO, as in the English PC.



Pineda (2013a: 198), however, does not share Demonte's judgements entirely. For her, a structure like (34a.) is grammatical in a distributive reading, in Spanish as well as in Catalan:

- (36) a. <sup>ok/?</sup>*La profesora (li) va donar*  
the teacher cl.3.sg.dat goes to.give  
[<sub>DO</sub> *el seu<sub>i</sub> dibuix*] [<sub>IO</sub> *a cada nen*]<sub>j</sub>.  
the his drawing DAT each child  
"The teacher gave his drawing to each child."
- b. <sup>ok</sup>*La profesora (li) va donar [DOcada dibuix]*  
the teacher cl.3.sg.dat goes to.give each drawing  
[<sub>IO</sub> *al seu autor*].  
DAT.the his author  
"The teacher gave each drawing to its author."  
(Pineda 2013a: 198)

Pineda therefore concludes that in (European) Spanish and Catalan, both DO and IO can c-command each other in a ditransitive structure regardless of the presence of the dative clitic.

The last test regards frozen scope facts, which are discussed by Bruening (2001) for English. As exemplified in the following sentences, in a DOC, the IO can scope over the DO, but not the other way around (37a.). Therefore, the use of *different* is infelicitous in this sentence. In a PC, on the other hand, both scope options are possible (37b.).

- (37) a. *The teacher gave a (#different) student every book.*  
(a > each; \*each > a)
- b. *The teacher gave a (different) book to every student.*  
(a > each; each > a)  
(Bruening 2001: 235)

Cuervo (2003a) states that in Spanish, the same frozen scope effect is found: the DO cannot have scope over the IO in a clitic-doubled construction, while it can in the non-doubled equivalent:

- (38) a. *Andrés le mandó cada cuadro a un museo (#distinto).*  
Andrés cl.3.sg.dat sent each painting to a museum distinct  
"Andrés sent a (different) museum each painting."  
(un > cada; \*cada > un)
- b. *Andrés mandó cada cuadro a un museo (distinto).*  
Andrés sent each painting to a museum distinct  
"Andrés sent each painting to a (different) museum."  
(un > cada; cada > un)  
(Cuervo 2003a: 134)

Again, Pineda (2013a, c) does not agree with these grammaticality judgements. According to her, a distributive reading where a quantifier in the DO takes scope over the indefinite in the IO is available in Spanish, irrespective of the presence or absence of the dative clitic:

- (39) a. *la rigidez de quienes desean asignar cada niño*  
 the inflexibility of who wish to.assign each child  
*a un centro [distinto]*  
 DAT a centre distinct  
 “The inflexibility of those who want to assign each child to a [different] centre.”  
 (cada > un)
- b. *El director del orfanato le mandó cada niño*  
 the principal of.the orphanage cl.3.sg.dat sent each child  
*a una familia distinta.*  
 DAT a family different  
 “The principal of the orphanage sent each child to a different family.”  
 (cada > un)
- (Pineda 2013c: 192)

To sum up, while Demonte (1995) and Cuervo (2003a, b) draw a clear parallel between English DOC and PC on the one hand and Spanish doubled and non-doubled ditransitive structures on the other hand, Pineda (2013a, b, c; 2016) doubts the grammaticality judgements that have led the first two authors to this conclusion. In her Spanish variety, there is evidence to assume symmetrical c-command of IO and DO, with the dative clitic being realized or not. She therefore proposes that there is no dative alternation of the English type in Spanish, but that, rather, Spanish as well as Catalan only have a double object construction, and, crucially, no preposition construction<sup>27</sup>. This matches with other Romance languages such as Italian and French (cf. Giorgi & Longobardi 1991, Harley 2002, respectively): in these non-doubling languages bidirectional c-command is known to exist between the DO and the IO. Hence, structures like (40) and (41) are analyzed as DOCs:

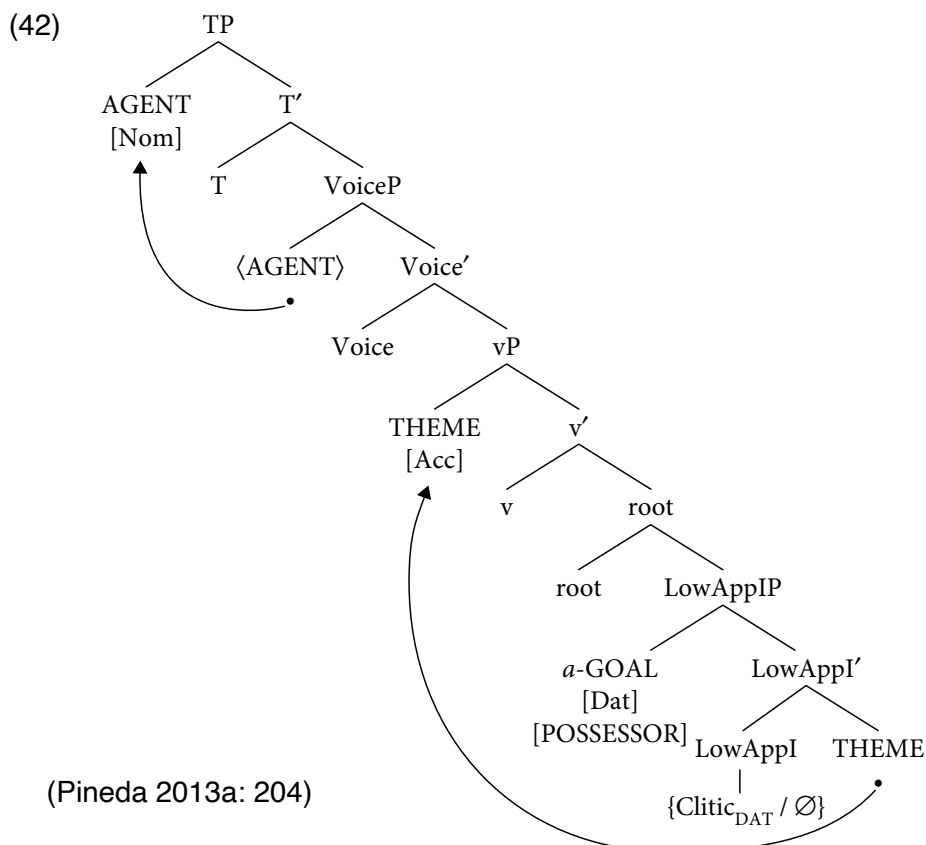
- (40) a. *Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito*  
 a long therapy psychoanalytic has restored  
 [DO *Maria*] [IO *a se stessa*].  
 Maria DAT herself  
 “A long psychoanalytic therapy restored Maria to herself.”
- b. *Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito*  
 a long therapy psychoanalytic has restored  
 [DO *se stessa*]<sub>i</sub> [IO *a Maria*]<sub>i</sub>.  
 herself DAT Maria  
 “A long psychoanalytic therapy restored herself to Maria.”
- (Giorgi & Longobardi 1991: 42)

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<sup>27</sup> But cf. C peda & Cyrino (2020), who, although sharing Pineda’s grammaticality judgements, conclude there to be no DOC in Spanish, EP, and BP.

- (41) a. *Maria a donné* [DO<sub>son</sub><sub>i</sub> crayon] [IO à *chaque garçon*]<sub>i</sub>.  
 Maria has given his pencil DAT each boy  
 “Maria gave his pencil to each boy.”
- b. *Jean a présenté* [DO*chaque institutrice*]<sub>i</sub> [IO à *ses élèves*].  
 Jean has presented each teacher DAT her students  
 “Jean introduced each teacher to her students.”
- (Harley 2002: 62)

In Pineda’s analysis, therefore, ditransitive structures with the semantics of a transfer of possession always have a structure as follows. Note that Pineda (2013a, b, c; 2016) proposes a verbal realm in the derivation that adopts notions of the Distributed Morphology concept (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997). According to this perspective, the lexicon is subdivided into three components: one containing roots and matrices of grammatical features, a second one containing the vocabulary, i.e. the phonological input for the terminal nodes, and a third one containing encyclopaedic knowledge about the roots. This contrasts with the Minimalist concept, which assumes that fully-fledged morphemes are taken from the lexicon and directly fed into syntax. Accordingly, Pineda assumes that in a derivation of e.g. the verb *dar*, “to give”, a root *da-* combines with a functional head, *v*, which acts as a verbalizing element, i.e. makes a predicate out of the root. Further functional heads provide the verb’s argument structure: an internal one, *LowAppI*, introduces indirect and direct object, while *Voice* introduces the subject. Hence, *VoiceP*, *vP*, root and *LowAppIP* correspond approximately to *vP* and *VP* in Minimalist notions.



(42) shows the derivation of a sentence like *Anna (le) mandó un libro a Juan*, “Anna sent Juan a book”. Being a double object construction, the structure involves a Low Applicative phrase, which describes an asymmetric possession relation between two items, i.e. a transfer of possession takes place. The DO *un libro* is base-generated as complement of LowAppIP, then moves to SpecvP to receive accusative Case. The IO *a Juan*, on the other hand, is base-generated in the specifier of the LowAppIP, where it receives dative Case and its theta role. The head LowAppI can be pronounced as the dative clitic *le* – or not at all. The reasons for the (non)realization of *le* are to be sought outside of syntax, as can be seen by the irrelevance of the (non)realization of the clitic for the syntactic tests, as described above. Pineda assumes that two of the factors relevant to the (non-)realization of the dative clitic are affectedness of the goal argument and dialectal variation. I will come back to these aspects at the end of this subchapter.

The discussion so far has presented two analyses for indirect objects in Spanish: in Demonte’s and Cuervo’s approach, they can be encoded either via a dative DP or via a locative PP. Only in the first case is a dative clitic realized. In Pineda’s approach, on the other hand, a dative goal object is always a dative DP, doubled or not, and never a PP. Since Pineda explicitly makes reference to European Spanish, which is also my object of study, while Demonte and Cuervo probably focus on American varieties of Spanish, it seems plausible to adopt Pineda’s analysis. Apart from this, there is also evidence from the data on relative clauses that speak against a PP analysis of goal arguments.

In chapter 3, I presented the results from the corpus studies for Portuguese, Catalan, and Spanish. One outcome of the study was that dative resumption always occurs in the form *que*+clitic, while oblique resumption has two possible forms: either *que*+strong pronoun as in (43a.), where the non-resumptive form would be something like *dos quals gосто*; or mere *que*, as in (43b., c.), which constitute cases of preposition chopping. Their non-chopped counterparts would be *con quienes* in (43b.) and *on* in (43c.):

- (43) a. *Há uns rojões bons, que eu gosto deles.*  
 there.is some *rojões* good rel I like of.them  
 “There is some good *rojões* (a dish of pork meat), which I like.”  
 (Rinke 2016-, Outeiro)
- b. *Siempre tenías amigas que tenías mucha intimidad.*  
 always you.had friends rel you.had much intimacy  
 “One always had friends with whom one was very close.”  
 (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-, Urriés)
- c. *Encara té platges que no he ha res.*  
 still has beachesrel not there.is nothing  
 “There are still beaches where there is nothing.”  
 (Pons & Viaplana ed., Felanitx)

Now, if we adopt the view that Spanish and Catalan have a dative alternation just like English does, there should be two possible forms of resumption with a dative goal argument: either

via a dative clitic, or via the preposition *a* and a strong pronoun<sup>28</sup>. However, the latter form is not possible. Consider (44):

- (44) a. \**Este es el profe que enviaste una queja a él.*  
 this is the teacher rel you.sent a complaint DAT him.STRONG  
 a'. *Este es el profe que le enviaste una queja.*  
 this is the teacher rel cl.3.sg.dat you.senta complaint  
 "This is the teacher to whom you sent a complaint."
- b. \**Aquest és el profe que vas enviar una queixa a ell.*  
 this is the teacher rel you.go to.send a complaint DAT him.STRONG
- b'. *Aquest és el profe que li vas enviar una queixa.*  
 this is the teacher rel cl.3.sg.dat you.go to.send a complaint  
 "This is the teacher to whom you sent a complaint."
- c. \**He hablado con un hombre que interesa a él nuestra oferta.*  
 I.have talked with a man rel interests DAT him.STRONG our offer
- c'. *He hablado con un hombre que le interesa nuestra oferta.*  
 I.have talked with a man rel cl.3.sg.dat interestsour offer  
 "I have talked to a man who is interested in our offer."
- d. \**He parlat amb un home que interessa a ell la nostra oferta.*  
 I.have talked with a man rel interests DAT him.STRONG the our offer
- d'. *He parlat amb un home que li interessa la nostra oferta.*  
 I.have talked with a man rel cl.3.sg.dat interests the our offer  
 "I have talked to a man who is interested in our offer."

(44a., b.) shows that a goal argument of a transfer-of-possession predicate can never be expressed by a resumptive form *a*+strong pronoun, which is what would be expected of a real prepositional argument. Instead, only resumption with a clitic is possible, as is expected from a dative DP argument, as can be seen in the contrast (44c./d.) and (44c./d'), which shows dative resumption with a psych verb. I take this as evidence against a prepositional construction for dative goal arguments, i.e. against dative alternation à la Demonte and Cuervo, and hence adopt Pineda's (2013a, b, c; 2016) analysis for ditransitive predicates to always constitute a case of double object construction. From a pragmatic point of view, the

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28 If we assume that dative Case always has to be expressed, as proposed in chapter 4, preposition chopping, i.e. only *que* should not be possible. Indeed, the corpus study has shown that there is no instance of preposition chopping with a dative argument in Spanish and Catalan.

impossibility of (44a., b., c., d.) is related to the fact that a strong pronoun in the Romance languages is used in a distinctive way, as Rigau (1988) proposes, cf. the discussion above around example (10) and following. A sentence like *Le envié una queja a él*, “I sent a letter to HIM”, is understood as if there was an addition e.g. “...and not to another person”. In a relative clause, the resumptive element always refers to the head noun, which is at odds with the disambiguative meaning of the strong pronoun. The behaviour of dative resumption in RCs fits well with Rigau’s (1988) argument that strong object pronouns are not in an argumental position, contrary to strong pronouns as complement of a PP. Another reason why these sentences with a strong pronoun *a él* as resumptive element are ungrammatical is of course that in Spanish and Catalan, a strong object pronoun cannot stand on its own, but always has to be doubled by a clitic. However, while a string like *\*?Este es el profe que le enviaste una queja a él*, i.e. with a doubling structure *le...a él*, seems a bit better than the examples in (44), it is still out. In chapter 4, I proposed an analysis for simple resumption as scattered deletion, i.e. the relativizer *que* and the resumptive pronoun, e.g. *le*, actually form part of the same constituent, which is partially realized in two copies, each of which spells out different features: *que* is the realization of [+rel], while *le* realizes phi features and, crucially, dative Case. Given that the resumptive pronoun is necessarily bound by the head noun via the relativizer, I conclude that the realization of a goal dative argument, realized as a strong pronoun, is not able to spell out the remaining features of the goal argument, because it necessarily opens a contrast, which is unreasonable for a relative clause. Furthermore, as proposed by Rigau (1988), strong object pronouns are actually base generated in non-argument positions. This would constitute another, structural argument for why forms like *a él* cannot realize the partial lower copy of the relativized argument: unlike a relativizer like e.g. *al cual*, which is base generated in SpecAppIP, *a él* never represents the actual argument, but is always positioned outside of the actual clause.

Three more, possibly problematic, aspects have to be mentioned with respect to this analysis, though. The first regards the notion of affectedness, which Demonte and Cuervo introduce as a further, lexical-semantic difference between doubled and non-doubled ditransitive structures in Spanish. Demonte (1995: 12) states that the dative argument in a DOC is “interpreted as *affected*, in the sense that it is taken to be either the possessor or an intrinsic part of the Theme argument”, in contrast to the prepositional argument in a PC. Therefore, a clitic, which is the expression of a dative argument in the structure, is impossible if the goal argument “cannot be classified as a possessor either for general knowledge reasons... or because the potential possessor either lacks reference or is abstract” (ib.).

- (45) a. *Le puse el mantel a la mesa.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat I.put the tablecloth DAT the table  
 “I put the tablecloth on the table.”
- b. *\*Le puse los platos a la mesa.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat I.put the dishes to the table
- c. *Le regalé un libro a cada uno de los asistentes.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat I.gifted a book DAT each one of the assistants  
 “I gifted a book to each of the assistants.”

d. (??Le) *regalé/doné un libro al auditorio/a la biblioteca.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat I.gifted/I.gave a book to.the audience/to the library  
 (Demonte 1995: 12)

Therefore, (45a.) is said to allow clitic doubling because the table is affected in the sense that the tablecloth forms an intrinsic part of it. This does not seem to be the case in (45b.), i.e. table and dishes have a different relationship than table and tablecloth. In (45d.), finally, the goal argument apparently cannot be classified as a possessor. Cuervo (2003a: 124) adds to this notion of affectedness the observation that the realization of a clitic forces a benefactive reading of the goal argument, which explains the contrast in (46): living soldiers can perfectly be interpreted as benefactives, while this is not possible for dead soldiers:

- (46) a. *El presidente (les) ofreció honores a los soldados.*  
 the president cl.3.pl.dat offered honours DAT the soldiers  
 “The president offered honours to the soldiers.”
- b. *El presidente (\*les) ofreció honores a los soldados muertos en el hundimiento.*  
 the president cl.3.pl.dat offered honours to the soldiers dead in the sinking  
 “The president offered honours to the soldiers killed in the sinking.”  
 (Cuervo 2003a: 122)

Again, Pineda (2013a, b, c; 2016) doubts the sharp contrast in grammaticality that Demonte and Cuervo provide. According to her, (45a.) is not grammatical in European (Catalonia) Spanish, while many speakers of European Spanish accept a structure like (45d.). Pineda, furthermore, provides several counterexamples from Google to Demonte’s and Cuervo’s claims:

- (47) a. *Le han concedido un premio al Skoda Octavia.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat they.have awarded a prize DAT.the Skoda Octavia  
 “They have awarded the Skoda Octavia a prize.”
- b. *Un foro para rendirles homenaje a las víctimas de la dictadura.*  
 a forum for pay.cl.3.pl.dat tribute DAT the victims of the dictatorship  
 “A forum to pay tribute to the victims of the dictatorship.”  
 (Pineda 2013a: 203)

(47a.) is unexpected from Demonte’s perspective given that the Skoda Octavia, an automobile model, definitively does not represent a suitable possessor in the strict sense, nor does the prize form an intrinsic part of it. (47b.), on the other hand, is a counterexample to Cuervo’s proposal that dead persons cannot be expressed as a dative goal. The realization

of the dative clitics in both sentences proves that we are dealing with a true double object construction.

Pineda argues that while it is true that affectedness plays a role in the acceptance of a clitic-doubled structure, the constraint has a quite narrow scope and applies relatively laxly in the sense that only “some sort of affectedness (some possibility of receiving/possessing) of the dative DP” is necessary, which also includes “the possibility of affectedness by metaphor or synecdoche” (Pineda 2013a: 210). Affectedness is thus understood here as a pragmatic/semantic issue, which admits a certain gradience, rather than a matter of grammaticality. This gradience could play a role in the different varieties of a language: for a speaker of European Spanish, hence, CLD is possible in structures like (47), while a speaker of an American variety, such as Demonte and Cuervo, rejects these. Only if the fairly lax semantic constraint on affectedness is not fulfilled, not even via metaphor, will the goal object introduced by *a* not be a dative DP but a locative PP, and then CLD is not possible. Evidence for this claim comes from Catalan, which preserves locative clitics:

- (48) a. (*Els*)        *has*        *enviat* *el* *missatge* *a* *l'empresa*?  
           cl.3.pl.dat you.have sent    the message    DAT    the'company  
           “Did you send the company the message?”
- a'. *Els*        *has*        *enviat* *el* *missatge*?  
           cl.3.pl.dat you.have sent    the message  
           “Did you send them the message?”
- b. (*\*Li/\*Els*)                    *envio* *un paquet* *a* *Barcelona*.  
           cl.3.sg.dat/cl.3.pl.dat I.send    a parcel    to Barcelona  
           “I send a parcel to Barcelona.”
- b'. *Hi*        *envio* *un paquet*.  
           cl.loc I.send    a parcel  
           “I send a parcel there.”
- (Pineda 2013a: 213)

In (48a.), the goal argument *a l'empresa* can be understood as affected by synecdoche, i.e. as the company being represented by all of its employees. Therefore, CLD is possible with the plural dative clitic *els*, which is also used if the goal argument is pronominalized, as in (48a'). On the other hand, with a goal argument like *a Barcelona*, as in (48b.), this synecdoche is not possible, i.e. it is not possible to interpret the city as affected. Therefore, CLD is not possible, neither with a singular nor with a dative clitic. Pronominalization of the goal argument reveals that in fact we are dealing here with a locative argument: the corresponding clitic is *hi*, a locative clitic. From this logic it follows that (48a.) constitutes an instance of double object construction, regardless of whether the goal argument is doubled or not, i.e. irrespective of the realization of the clitic. (48b.), on the other hand, represents a real prepositional construction, as can be seen by the pronominalization with *hi*. However, this prepositional construction is not related to the system of how dative goals are encoded in Catalan (and Spanish); hence, a dative alternation of the English style does not exist in the Romance languages.



The second aspect I wish to address is the optionality of clitic doubling. One of Demonte's and Cuervo's results was that their analysis provides a very elegant way to get rid of optionality, which always constitutes a problem for a generative perspective. In their view, a true dative DP argument is always doubled, while a locative PP argument is never doubled; hence, what appears to be optionality is actually the reflex of two different derivational structures. In Pineda's account, on the other hand, the optionality of CLD is a true optionality – albeit only on a structural level. As illustrated above, Pineda argues that the (non-)realization of the clitic does not have any influence on e.g. c-command relations (which is also argued for by Pujalte 2012 and López 2012), but that it depends instead on pragmatic-semantic issues, such as the lax constraint “affectedness” (cf. also Campos 1999, Cuervo 2007). If we understand clitic doubling as a kind of agreement, it seems obvious that the realization of Appl as dative clitic is obligatory with dative arguments such as benefactives. An open question is, however, why ditransitive predicates should be the only context in which this agreement is optional. Of course, there are structural differences between different types of dative arguments: e.g., in a ditransitive structure, the dative is introduced by a Low Applicative, while in a psych predicate, the dative is introduced by a High Applicative. Still, the notion of optional agreement needs some further foundation, in my view. Pineda (2016: 147) argues that the (non-)realization of the dative clitic in a ditransitive predicate constitutes a case of silent variation rather than a structural issue, following Sigurðsson (2004) and Kayne (2005). According to this analysis, languages share “silent” structure, i.e. categories that are present in syntax but not necessarily on PF. According to Sigurðsson (2004: 235), “language has innate elements and structures irrespective of whether or how they are overtly expressed. ... It follows that language variation is to a substantial extent ‘silence variation’, that is, much of it boils down to languages being explicit vs. silent about different (syntactically active) categories. This claim is coined as the SILENCE PRINCIPLE, saying that any meaningful feature of language may be silent.” For the double object construction, this amounts to saying that the Romance languages share the corresponding structure – a Low Applicative Phrase – whose head can be realized in Spanish and Catalan, but not in other languages, such as French, Italian, and Portuguese (cf. also the next subchapter, 5.4.), while in varieties such as Argentinian Spanish, the realization is systematic. Pineda (2016: 151) concludes that for the extreme cases, e.g. no realization ever in French and (almost) obligatory realization in Argentinian Spanish, we can assume two different grammars. In other words, there is a parameter in between syntax and phonology which determines the phonetic realization of the Applicative head. However, as the discussion showed, there are cases that are neither black nor white, i.e. languages in which the realization of the clitic depends on syntax-external factors. So, if we accept that this kind of optionality is a structural optionality, the question arises how semantic-pragmatic issues can trigger the realization of a verbal head, i.e. how the interplay of syntax, LF and PF should be formalized.

Furthermore, dialectal variety also seems to play a role, which is the third aspect requiring further illumination. The widely accepted view in the literature is that in Argentinian Spanish, IOs are systematically doubled, unlike in European Spanish (cf. the discussion above; also Senn 2008, Parodi 1998, Pujalte 2009). If we assume that Pineda's judgements and

conclusions are correct for European Spanish, while Demonte's and Cuervo's judgements and conclusions are correct for Argentinian Spanish, what follows then for the structural analysis of ditransitive structures? With respect to European varieties, it is conceivable that the lexical-semantic constraint of affectedness has various realizations across the language area, such that one variety might allow CLD in more contexts, while another variety is more restrictive. However, it seems that European and American Spanish differ not only with respect to the distribution of CLD, but also regarding grammaticality judgements in questions of c-command and scope facts, as discussed above. It is unclear how this divergence can be reconciled under one analysis, and at the same time, I believe it would be an undesirable outcome if we had to assume that there is dative alternation in American Spanish varieties, while there is only a DOC in European Spanish.

I believe that further empirical research is needed with respect to a broader perspective of possible and impossible CLD structures as well as c-command and scope facts. While Demonte's, Cuervo's and Pineda's works offer important insights into the realm of ditransitive structures, further studies which not only take into consideration introspective judgements of individual speakers, but also include corpus studies and/or surveys of speakers of different varieties, would give a more detailed view on the speakers' performance and competence with respect to the actual usage and acceptance of clitic doubling structures. This I believe would enable us to find patterns in the distribution of IO CLD which then gives further hints with respect to the correct analysis.

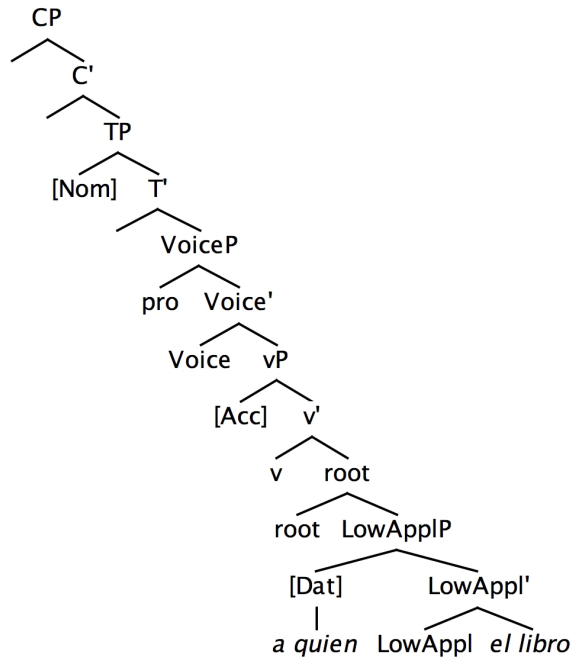
#### 5.4. Distinguishing the derivations of simple and complex resumption

In the subchapters above, I have argued that complex resumption in relative clauses is a case of clitic doubling, in contrast to simple resumption, which I analyzed as scattered deletion in chapter 4. The main argument for this bipartition are the distributional facts of the dative clitic: complex resumption patterns with clitic doubling in main clauses with respect to the optionality with ditransitive predicates, while simple resumption does not. Furthermore, I have argued in favour of Pineda's (2013a, b, c; 2016) analysis for CLD, and thus against a dative alternation in Spanish and Catalan.

In the derivations that follow, I take into consideration these new insights, following Pineda's representation of the verbal realm (cf. ex. 42 and the explanations thereafter). In the case of a ditransitive predicate like Spanish *dar*, "to give", illustrated in (49a.) with complex resumption and in (49b.) with simple resumption, the indirect object is base-generated in the specifier of a LowApplP, while the direct object *el libro* is the complement of Appl, see the base generation structure in (49c.), which illustrates only the relative CP, ignoring the antecedent.

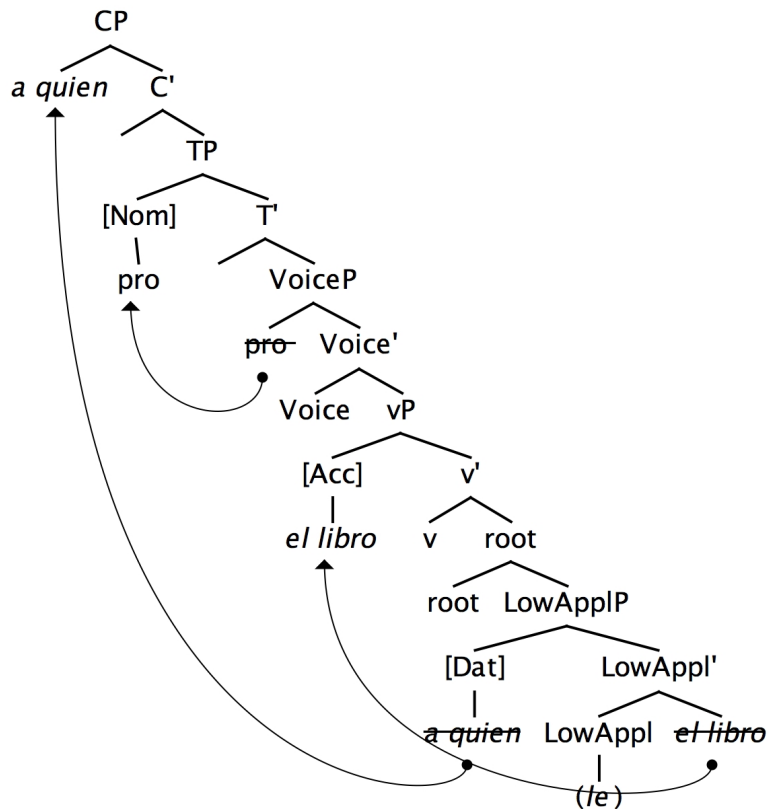
- (49) a. *El chico a quien (le) di el libro es Juan.*  
           the boy to rel cl.3.sg.dat I.gave the book is Juan  
       b. *El chico que le di el libro es Juan.*  
           the boy rel cl.3.sg.dat I.gave the book is Juan  
           both: "The boy to whom I gave the book is Juan."

c.



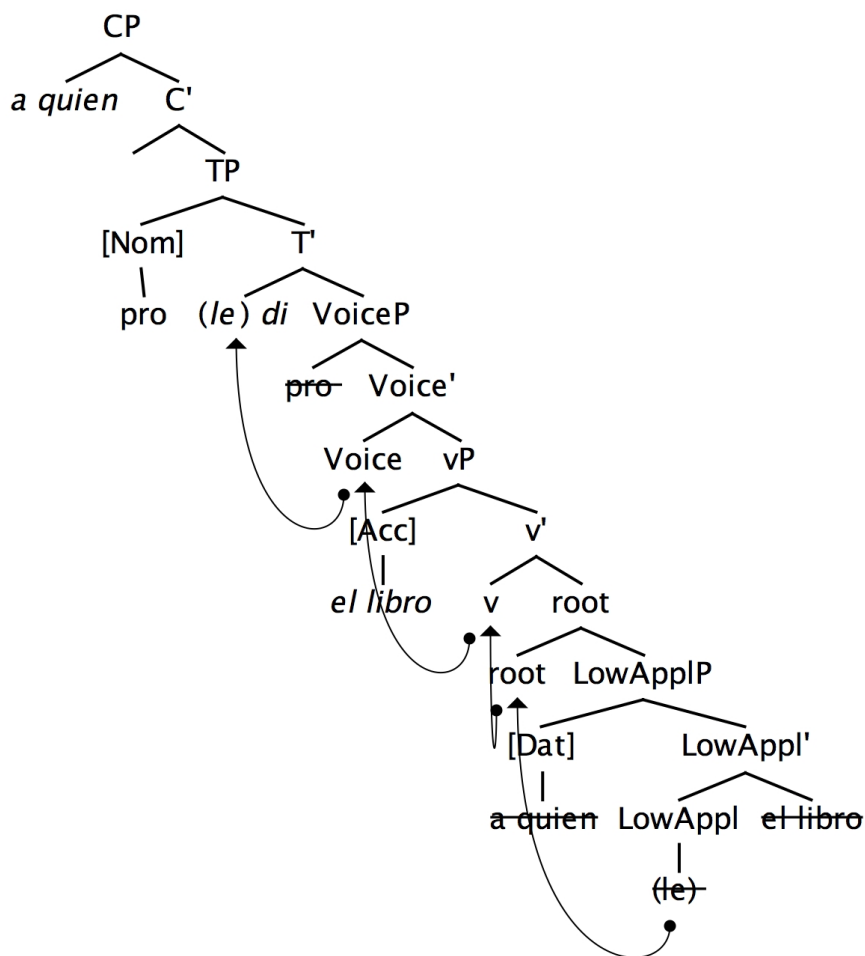
In both (49a.) and (49b.), the subject *pro* moves, i.e. copy-merges to SpecTP where it receives nominative Case, while the DO *el libro* copy-merges to SpecvP in order to receive accusative Case. The IO *a quien*, on the other hand, copy-merges to SpecCP due to its [rel] feature, which has to be checked in the C domain. In the case of complex resumption, the whole upper copy is pronounced as such, while the lower copy is deleted on PF. The head of LowApplP can be realized as *le*, or not.

(50)



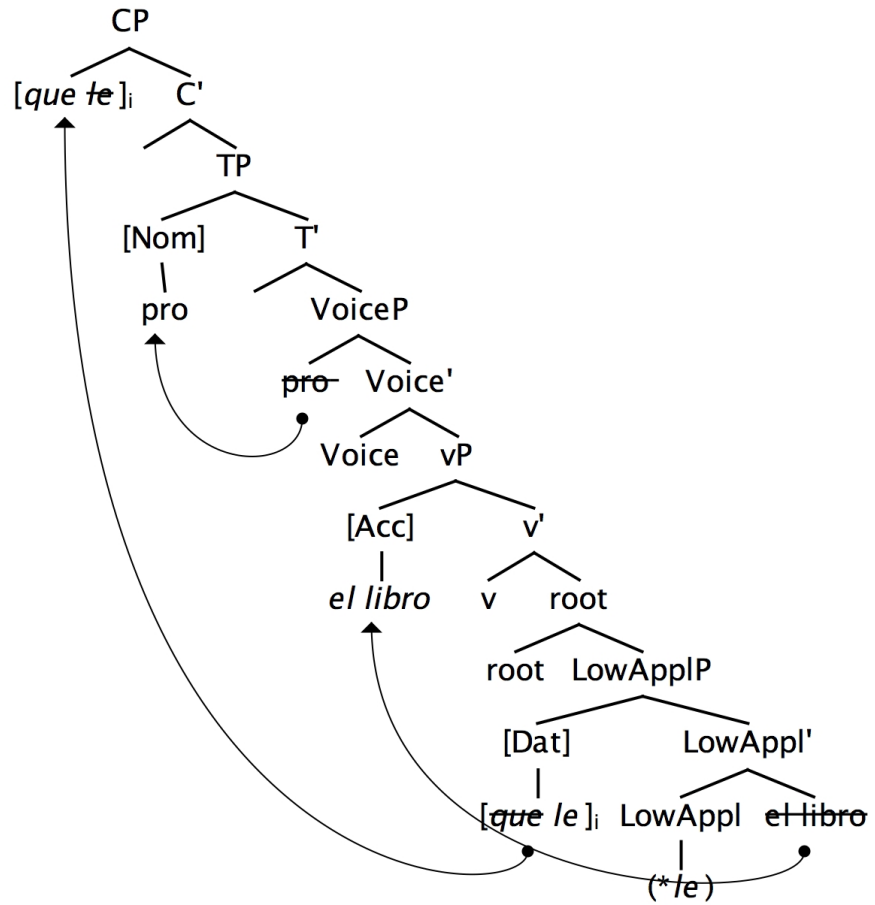
In any case, LowAppl fuses and moves up with the other verbal nodes to T. If the clitic is pronounced, it appears in proclisis, as illustrated in (51):

(51)

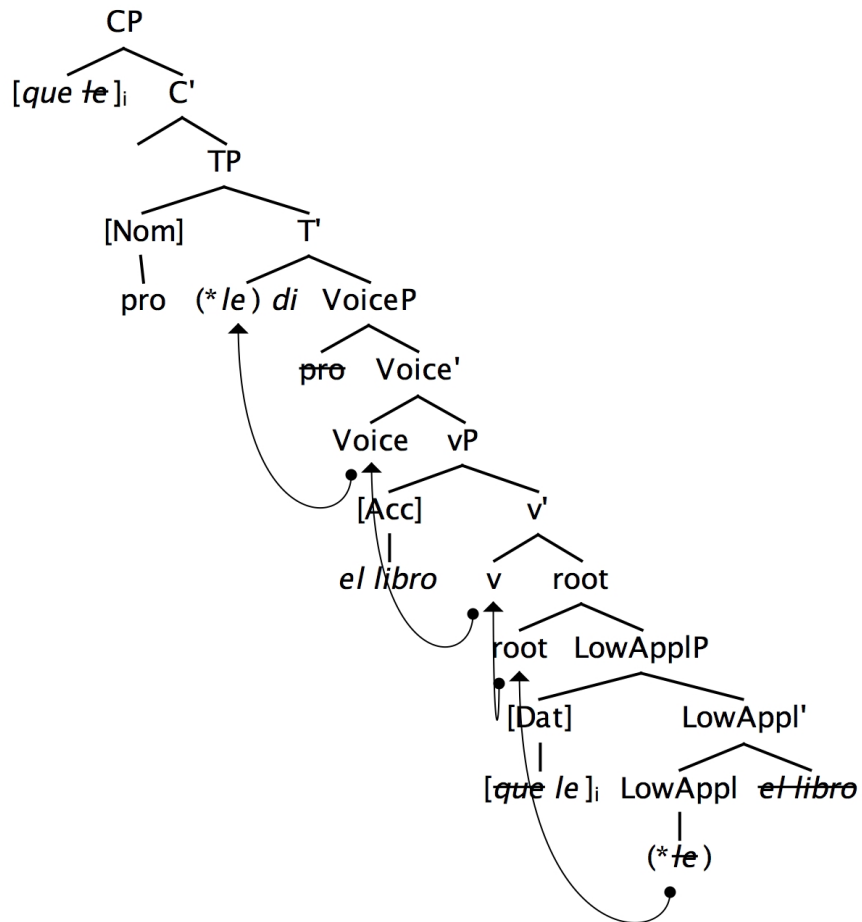


On the other hand, if the realization of the RC is via simple resumption, the following process occurs. As in (50), the subject *pro* moves to SpecTP to receive nominative Case, the DO *el libro* moves to SpecvP to receive accusative Case, and the IO moves to SpecCP to check its [rel] feature. Now, however, scattered deletion sets in: in the upper copy, only the [rel] feature is realized, hence mere *que* is pronounced, while in the lower copy, the remaining features are pronounced as clitic pronoun, *le*. Consider (52a.) for an illustration: scattered deletion is depicted by crossing out the part that is not pronounced: [*que le*] means that in the upper copy, only *que* is pronounced, while [*que le*] means that in the lower copy, only *le* is pronounced. (52b.) illustrates movement of the verbal heads, ending up in T. In this case, now, the realization of the head of LowAppl is not allowed, as can be seen by the fact that (53) is ungrammatical:

(52) a.



b.



(53) \**El chico que le le di el libro.*  
 the boy rel cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.sg.dat I.gave the book

(53) corresponds to a situation in which scattered deletion applies, i.e. *que* is pronounced of the upper copy and *le* is pronounced of the lower copy, and additionally, the head of the Low Applicative Phrase is also pronounced as another clitic *le*. Given that the structural context is the same in (52) and in (51), why is it that pronunciation of LowAppl is possible only in (51), i.e. in the version with complex resumption?

It is a well-known fact of Romance clitics that their realization is not only influenced by morphosyntactic characteristics of the sentence, e.g. preverbal vs. postverbal position in finite vs. infinite contexts, respectively. Another influential factor is whether a clitic occurs alone or in a cluster with other clitical elements. Some examples for this are the following: in Spanish and Catalan, it is impossible to have a cluster of two third person clitics, representing an accusative and a dative argument, if both start with *l-*. In this combination, the dative clitic has to change its form to avoid a clash of two identical initial sounds. In Spanish, the dative clitic *le* then changes to *se*, which resembles the reflexive pronoun, as in (54a.), the so-called “spurious *se*” after Perlmutter (1971). In Eastern Catalan varieties, the dative clitic *li* changes to *hi*, a locative look-a-like (54b.). Furthermore, the order of the pronouns has to be changed in this kind of cluster, as can be seen in (54b.) – notice that the accusative clitic *el* then changes to its allomorph form *l'* due to the fact that initial *h* has no phonetic realization:

(54) a. \*{*Le lo*}/ {***Se lo***} *doy.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc *se* cl.3.sg.acc.masc I.give  
 b. \*{*Li el*}/ {***L'hi***} *dono.*  
 cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.sg.acc.masc cl.3.sg.acc.masc'hi I.give  
 both: “I give it to him.”

Another example for constraints on clitic clusters is the fact that certain sequences are ungrammatical. For example, in Spanish, a second person reflexive clitic can precede a first person ethical dative clitic, but not the other way around, cf. the contrast in (55):

(55) a. *Te me escapaste.*  
 cl.2.sg.refl cl.1.sg.dat you.escaped  
 “You escaped from me.”  
 b. \**Me te escapé.*  
 cl.1.sg.refl cl.2.sg.dat I.escaped  
 intended reading: “I escaped from you.”  
 (Perlmutter 1971: 25-26)

Further constraints of this type are e.g. the impossibility of having two identical clitics *se*, irrespective of whether these are reflexive, a spurious dative clitic or some other form, and, crucially, the impossibility of having two clitics *le(s)*, as illustrated in (56a., b.):

- (56) a. \**Ramón le le complicó la vida a su hija*  
 Ramón cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.sg.dat complicated the life A his daughter  
*a mi amigo.*  
 DAT my friend  
 intended reading: “Ramón complicated my friend’s daughter’s life on him.”
- b. \**Ramón le les complicó la vida a su hija*  
 Ramón cl.3.sg.dat cl.3.pl.dat complicated the life A his daughter  
*a mis amigos.*  
 DAT my friends  
 intended reading: “Ramón complicated my friends’ daughter’s life on them.”
- c. \**Ramón se le complicó la vida a su hija*  
 Ramón se cl.3.sg.dat complicated the life A his daughter  
*a mi amigo.*  
 DAT my friend  
 intended reading: “Ramón complicated my friend’s daughter’s life on him.”
- d. *Ramón me le complicó la vida a mi hija.*  
 Ramón cl.1.sg.dat cl.3.sg.dat complicated the life DAT my daughter  
 “Ramón complicated my daughter’s life on me.”
- (Perlmutter 1971: 42-43)

In (56a., b.), the combination of two ethical dative clitics *le(s)* is not possible. (56c.) shows that even if the first *le* is converted in spurious *se*, the sentence is still ungrammatical. However, if one of the ethical dative expressions is of another person, as in (56d.), the sentence becomes grammatical. From this fact, Perlmutter (1971) concludes that this constraint is not syntactic in nature, but rather phonological. He proposes that all conditions on the output of Spanish clitic pronouns regarding their sequence can be captured by the template in (57):

- (57) Output conditions on clitic pronouns (Perlmutter 1971: 44)
- se II I III

The template in (57) predicts correctly that if two clitics combine to form a cluster, they must always follow the illustrated order, i.e. a clitic from the second person slot must always precede a clitic from the first person and third person slot, while clitic *se* must always

precede all other clitics, for example<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, this template includes the constraint that in a clitic cluster, two clitics of the same slot are not allowed to co-occur, including *\*le(s) le(s)*.

This fits well with the assumption about simple resumption in a context that in principle allows the realization of LowAppl in the form *le*, as in (52). Given that a ditransitive predicate such as *to give* allows optional clitic doubling in Spanish and Catalan, which can be seen in matrix clauses and in RCs with complex resumption, we must assume that this is also the case in relative clauses with simple resumption. But on the surface, one just cannot see it: by assumption, the LowAppl head moves and fuses with the other verbal heads, like in any relative clause, ending up with the finite verb in T. Then, however, PF steps in with its constraint on two identical clitic pronouns. In contrast to the situation in (56), where the outcome is simply ungrammatical, in a relative clause with simple resumption, the two instances of *le* share the same index. For this reason, I assume, PF fuses the two clitics such that on the surface, only one *le* is pronounced. The contrast regarding the indices of the clitics and the outcome of (56) and (52), respectively, is illustrated in (58):

- (58) a.  $le(s)_i + le(s)_j = *$   
 b.  $le(s)_i + le(s)_i = le(s)_i$

A further question arises from the derivation in (52): given that the clitic in [~~que~~ *le*] in SpecLowAppl is crucially not the head of LowAppl, but part of a DP argument, why does it still fuse and move with the verbal heads? In order to answer this question, let us have a closer look into the argument that is affected here. In the Romance languages, dative is the only Case that has an overt morphological realization on lexical DP arguments, consider the contrast in (59) for a nominative, accusative, and dative argument in Spanish, respectively:

- (59) a. [*La puerta*]<sub>NOM</sub> *está cerrada*.  
 the door is closed  
 “The door is closed.”  
 b. *Compramos* [*la puerta*]<sub>ACC</sub> *el año pasado*.  
 we.bought the door the year passed  
 “We bought the door last year.”  
 c. *Le dio un golpe* [*a la puerta*]<sub>DAT</sub>.  
 cl.3.sg.dat he.gave a stroke DAT the door  
 “He hit the door.”

It is only in (59c.) that the DP *la puerta* is marked for Case by the morpheme *a*, which is crucially not a preposition, as has been argued by many authors, among them Meisel (1970),

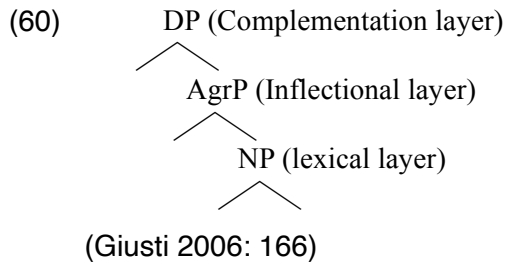
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<sup>29</sup> However, in some Spanish dialects, the combinations *se me* and *se te* alternate with *me se* and *te se*, as discussed by Heap (2005). He therefore proposes an alternative view for the ordering of clitic pronouns in Spanish, coming from a Feature Geometry approach. This is based on the constraint “Least leafy to the left: arrange clitics from the morphologically least specified to most specified”. In this perspective, *se* and *me/te* have the same amount of specification and therefore, there can be a tie when it comes to ordering. While this proposal might be superior to the template account regarding linear order, it is not clear to me how the constraint on the impossible combination of identical clitics can be captured. I therefore assume Perlmutter’s phonological template on the order of clitic pronouns, as illustrated in (57).



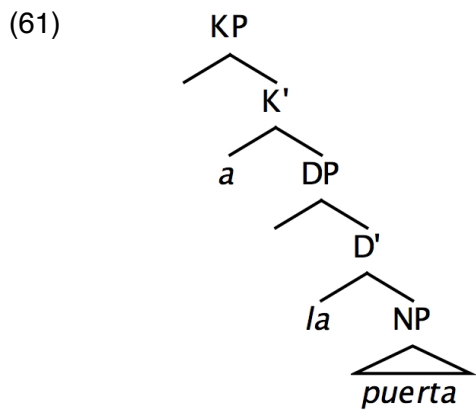
Kempchinsky (1992), Torres Morais & Salles (2010), cf. furthermore the discussion around the dative alternation above.

Regarding the locus for this morphological reflex of dative Case in the Romance languages, I follow Giusti (2002; 2006; 2012), who proposes that there are certain parallels in the clausal and the nominal periphery. Rizzi (1997) presents a similar system for a split CP-system, while Giusti argues for a split DP-system:

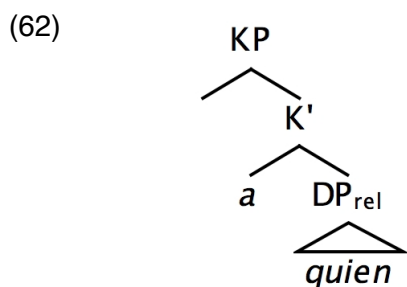


Some of the complementation and inflectional, i.e. functional layers are connected to interface properties, such as Case: similar to Force in the clausal domain, which relates the CP's proposition to the discourse context, Case relates the nominal to the syntactic context. Giusti assumes that Case is a further projection of the higher DP, labelled as Case phrase, KP.

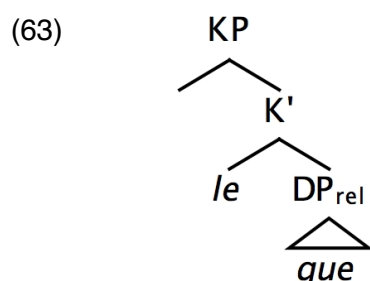
I adopt this proposal of a Case phrase (KP) as a functional layer above the DP, which is the locus of the expression of dative Case in Romance, and therefore, the place where dative *a* is located:



Accordingly, I assume that a relative pronoun like *a quien* in *El chico a quien (le) di el libro*, cf. example (49) and following, has the following structure:



Now, the argumentation regarding the analysis of simple resumption as scattered deletion was that *que + le* in *El chico que le di el libro* corresponds to the complex relativizer *a quien* in the canonical relative clause structure, with or without clitic doubling. While *a quien* is the realization of the whole dative argument in the upper copy in SpecCP, *que + le* corresponds to the realization of only the [rel] feature of the copy in SpecCP, and the realization of the remaining features in the lower copy in argument position. This contrast was illustrated as [*a quien*] ... [~~*a quien*~~] on the one hand, and [*que le*] ... [~~*que le*~~], on the other, where strike-through means non-realization. (62) shows that in the case of a complex relativizer, which corresponds to a lexical dative argument, the Case head *a* selects the DP *quien* (or similar relativizers like *el cual*, *el que*, etc.). I propose that the head of a KP cannot only be realized by the morpheme *a*, but also by the dative clitic *le* if it represents the dative argument or parts of it. This head selects for a DP, which is responsible for expressing the [rel] nature of the argument, i.e. relative *que*:



Now, from this new perspective, a relative clause of an indirect object with and without simple resumption differs in terms of which part(s) of the constituent are spelled out and where: in the case of *a quien*, the whole KP, representing a bundle of all features, is realized in the upper copy, while the lower one is deleted on PF, cf. (64a.). In the case of *que + le*, on the other hand, only the DP part with its [rel] feature is realized in the higher copy, and the remaining features, i.e. the KP, is deleted on PF. In the lower copy, the reverse is true, cf. (64b.):

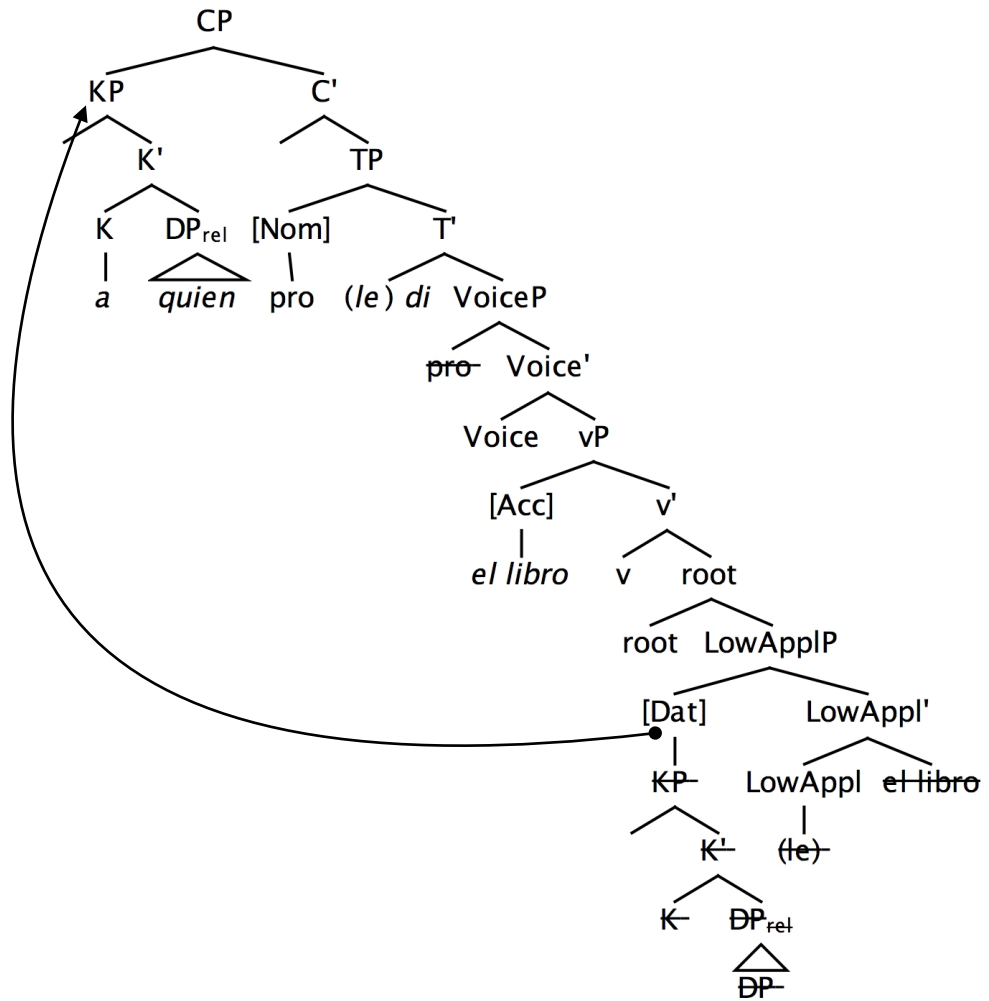
- (64) a. [<sub>KP</sub> K [rel] DP] ... [~~<sub>KP</sub> K [rel] DP~~] → *a quien*  
 b. [~~<sub>KP</sub> K [rel] DP~~] ... [<sub>KP</sub> K [rel] DP] → *que ... le*

From this it follows that the clitic *le* in a simple resumption structure is a real clitic pronoun in the sense that it is a X<sup>0</sup>, and not a XP. As such, it underlies the same morphophonological constraints as other clitic pronouns (cf. e.g. Kayne 1991), one of which is that it always has to look for a phonetic host due to its own phonetic-phonological weakness. Therefore, I assume that the phonological outcome of K in (64b.) as a clitic pronoun forces it to PF-cliticize to the finite verb.

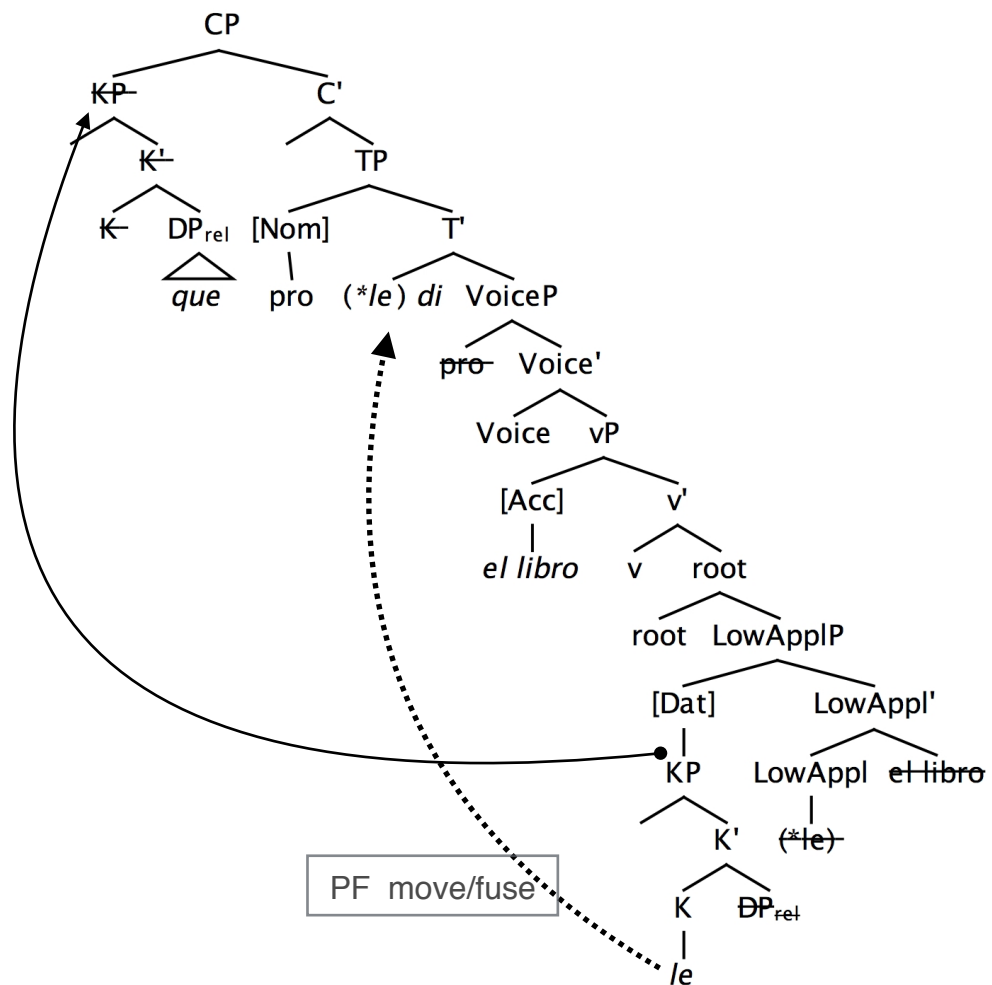
We can now contrast the derivations of a RC with complex and simple resumption in more detail, focussing on the structure of the relativized argument. In (65) and (66), only copy-merge of the relativizer is explicitly shown. Movement of the subject, the direct object and the verb occur as shown above.

- (65) a. *El chico a quien (le) di el libro.*  
 the boy a rel cl.3.sg.dat I.gave the book  
 "The boy to whom I gave the book."

b.



- (66) a. *El chico que \*(le) di el libro.*  
 the boy rel cl.3.sg.dat I.gave the book  
 “The boy to whom I gave the book.”
- b.



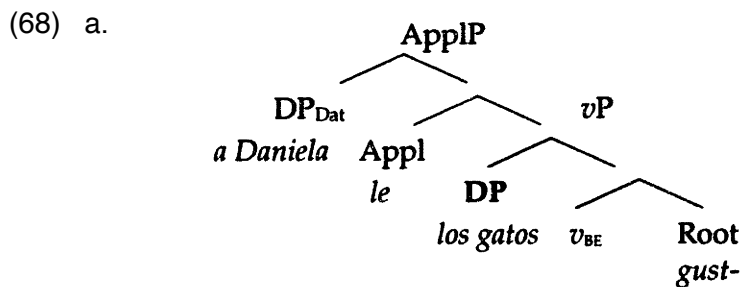
The fact that in complex resumption, *a quien (le) di el libro*, the realization of the clitic is optional, while in simple resumption, *que le di el libro*, it is obligatory, now follows naturally: in the former, cf. (65), the argument and its Case is completely realized by the relativizer [<sub>KP</sub> *a quien*] in the copy in SpecCP, hence, the constraint to always overtly realize dative Case is satisfied. Realization of the doubling clitic, which is the head of LowAppIP, having moved with the verb to T, now underlies the same constraints as in matrix sentences: affectedness, dialectal variation, etc., as discussed in chapter 5.3. In simple resumption, on the other hand, the IO argument is split up, and therefore, the part that carries the dative information, [<sub>K</sub> *le*], has to be realized obligatorily. This *le* moves on PF in a verb-adjacent position, illustrated in (66b.) by a dotted arrow, and its occurrence there makes it impossible for phonology to pronounce a further clitic, which would correspond to LowAppI. Instead, both clitics fuse to just one *le*, as argued above.

What happens now in the case that a different verb selects a dative argument, like e.g. a psych predicate? I assume that the processes for complex and simplex resumption remain the same.

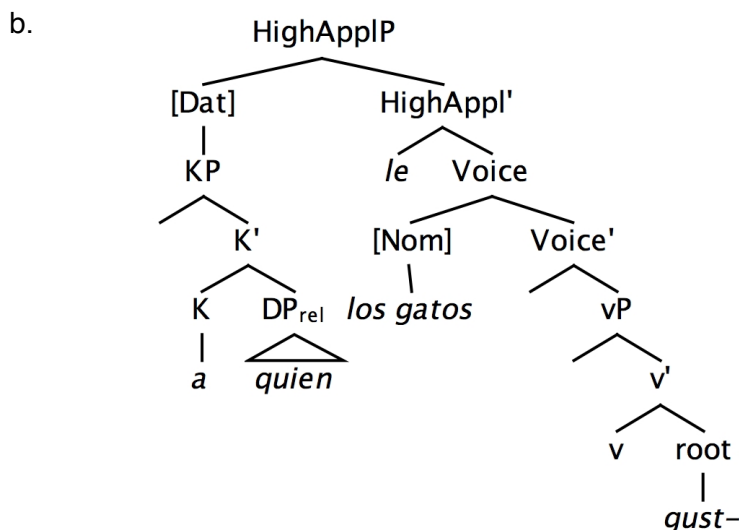
Compare the simple and complex resumption variants in (67), both of which demand the realization of the clitic:

- (67) a. *La chica que \*(le) gustan los gatos es Daniela.*  
 the girl rel cl.3.sg.dat please the cats is Daniela  
 b. *La chica a quien \*(le) gustan los gatos es Daniela.*  
 the girl to rel cl.3.sg.dat please the cats is Daniela  
 both: “The girl who likes cats is Daniela.”

Following (Cuervo 2003a, b), I assume a High Applicative Phrase for verbs like *gustar*, as illustrated above in (20b.), repeated here as (68a.). Deviating from Cuervo’s base structure, however, and following Pineda’s architecture of the verbal realm, I assume that the nominative argument *los gatos* is base-generated in SpecVoiceP – parallel to what has been assumed in the discussion so far. The base generation for a verb like *gustar* in a relative clause would therefore be as in (68b.):

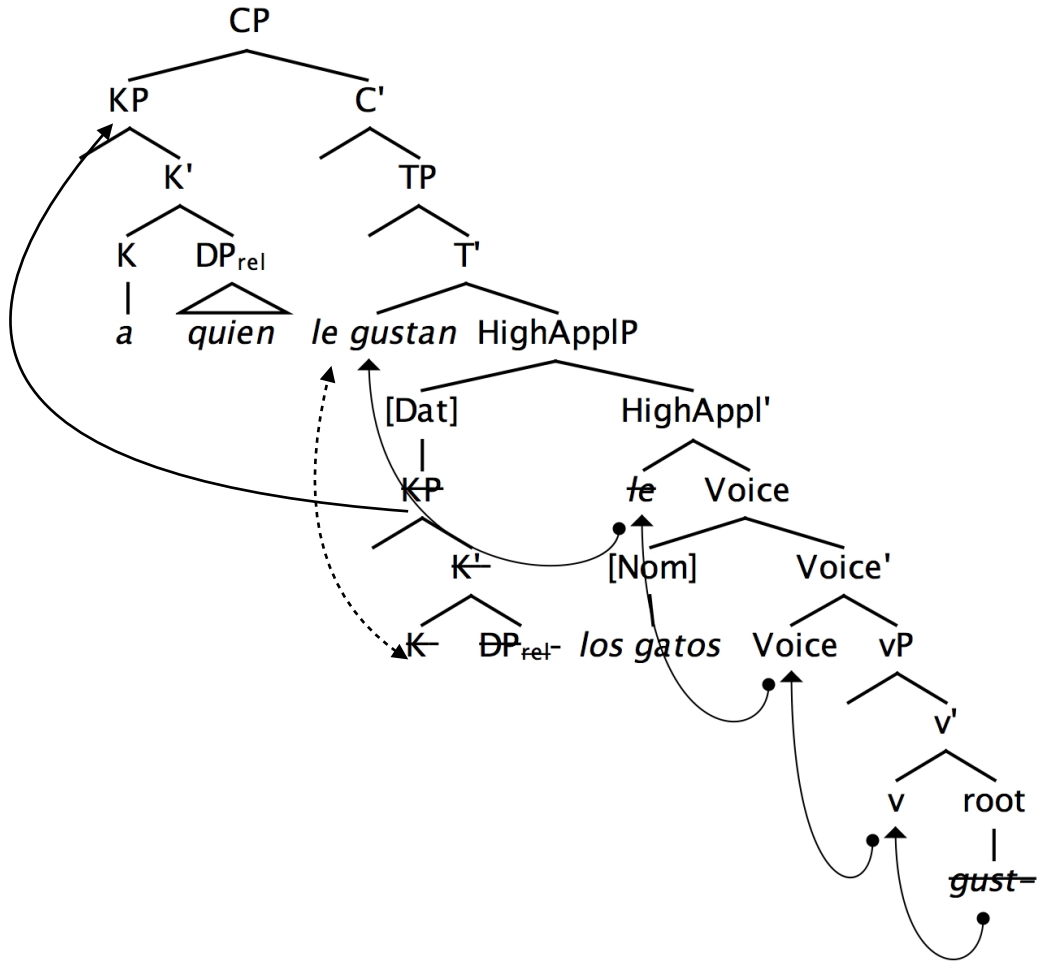


(Cuervo 2003a: 165)



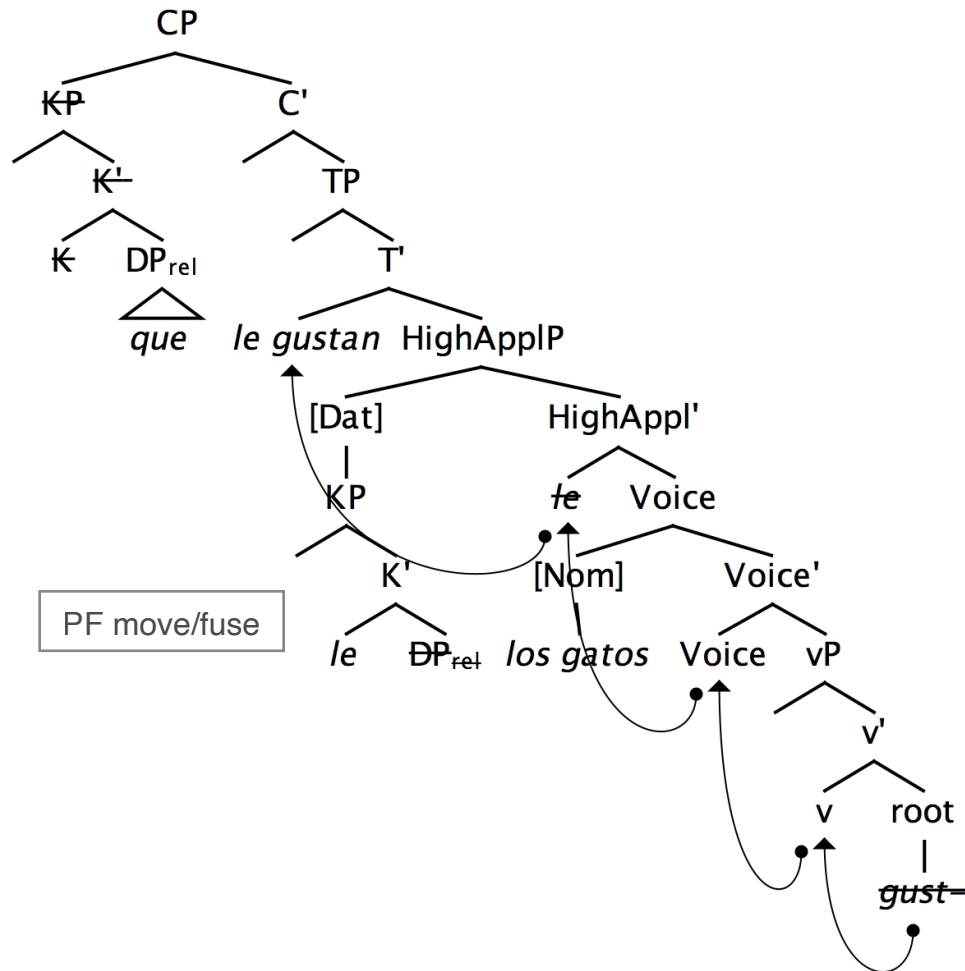
Just as in the ditransitive structure above, the dative argument, being endowed with a feature [rel], moves up to SpecCP, where – in the complex resumption variant – it is spelt out as a whole, while the lower copy is deleted on PF. The head of HighAppIP is obligatorily realized as *le* and fuses and moves up with the other verbal heads, as illustrated in (69):

(69)



In the case of simple resumption, on the other hand, the upper and the lower copy are split: in the upper one, only [rel] is realized, while in the lower, the remaining features are pronounced as *le*. Now, what happens with the head of HighApplP? Coming from (67), we must assume that it is obligatorily realized, which would lead to two overt elements *le*: one as head of HighApplP, and one as part of the lower copy of the relativizier. However, as argued above, PF does not allow for such a combination. Instead, the two clitics, bearing the same index, are fused into one, which results in the realization of (67a.). This is illustrated in (70):

(70)



Having now established these derivations, I would like to discuss two more points. The first one regards the conclusion that can be drawn from the discussion so far regarding the respective status of the dative clitic. While the superficial order and form of *a quien le* and *que le* seem to suggest a similar analysis for complex and simple resumption, the discussion has shown that in fact, the relation of relativizer and clitic is not the same, respectively. In complex resumption, the relativizer and the clitic pronoun are two distinct elements taken from the lexicon, which enter the derivation on their respective base position: specifier and head of an Applicative Phrase. In simple resumption, on the other hand, the relativizer and the clitic pronoun constitute only one element in the numeration, viz. the dative argument DP, which means they start off together as one in the specifier of ApplP.

The second point regards Portuguese relative clauses. This chapter started with the answer to my first research question from chapter 2: Portuguese does not have complex resumption in RCs because it lacks clitic doubling. However, at this point, we can bring Portuguese back into the discussion and round off the picture by providing the derivations for those relative structures that do exist in the language. Torres Morais (2007) and Torres Morais & Salles (2010), following Cuervo (2003a, b), assume that in European Portuguese, the indirect object of a ditransitive predicate is introduced by a Low Applicative Head:

- (71) a. *O João enviou uma carta à Maria / enviou-lhe uma carta.*  
 the João sent a letter DAT.the Maria sent-cl.3.sg.dat a letter  
 “João sent Maria a letter / sent her a letter.”  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> *O João* [<sub>V'</sub> *V* [<sub>VP</sub> *enviou* [<sub>AppIP</sub> *à Maria/lhe* [<sub>AppI'</sub>  $\emptyset$  [<sub>DP</sub> *uma carta*]]]]]]]]  
 (Torres Morais & Salles 2010: 198)

(71) illustrates that Torres Morais & Salles (2010) assume the dative *a* in Portuguese to always be a dative marker, and never a real preposition – just as has been argued for other Romance languages, cf. the discussion of example (59). Hence, the indirect object is always a DP, and never a PP<sup>30</sup>. Pineda (2016: 236), reporting data from Brito (2014), argues that also in EP, there is symmetrical c-command between direct and indirect object, as illustrated in (72).

- (72) a. ?*A professora entregou [DOo seu<sub>i</sub> desenho] [IO a cada criança]<sub>i</sub>.*  
 the teacher gave the his drawing DAT each child  
 “The teacher gave his drawing to each child.”  
 b. *A professora entregou [DOcada desenho]<sub>i</sub> [IO ao seu<sub>i</sub> autor].*  
 the professor gave each drawing DAT.the his author  
 “The teacher gave each drawing to his author.”  
 (Brito 2014: 6-7; *apud* Pineda 2016: 236)

Therefore, Pineda assumes that her analysis for Spanish and Catalan also holds for this language, the crucial difference being that in Portuguese, the head of LowAppIP can never be overtly realized. I adopt Pineda’s structure for ditransitive predicates also for Portuguese relative clause derivations, which diverges from Torres Morais & Salles (2010)’s proposal only in that the subject is base-generated in SpecVoiceP, and that the direct object moves to SpecvP, where it receives accusative Case.

Given all these considerations, we can illustrate the derivations for EP relative clauses including a gap (73) and relative clauses with simple resumption (74). For the sake of visual clearness, I do not include the syntactic movements in (73) and (74), as I assume that they are identical to those discussed above.

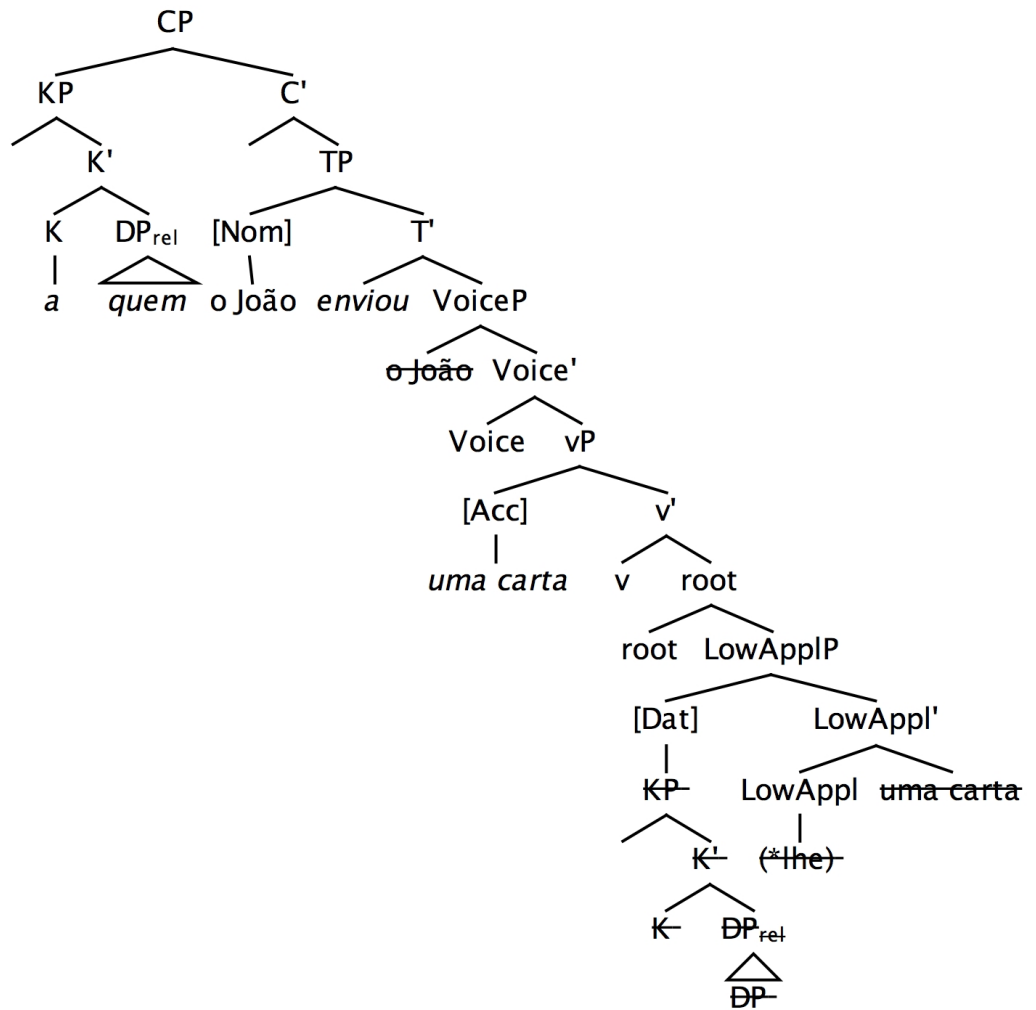
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30 In contrast to the preposition *para*, which in some contexts can also be used to introduced a goal argument: *O João enviou uma carta para a Maria*. This contrast is supported by the fact that for dative arguments, the resumptive form in a RC is always *que+lhe(s)*, while for oblique arguments, the resumptive form is either mere *que*, i.e. preposition chopping, or P+strong pronoun: *para ela*. Note, finally, that in Brazilian Portuguese, introducing a goal with *para/prá* is much more widespread than in the European counterpart (and probably structurally different from the dative *a*-argument, cf. Calindro 2020). Torres Morais & Salles (2010) propose that BP suffers a loss of the Low Applicative structure, a diachronic change that is connected with the loss of the dative clitic as well as the loss of dative *a*.

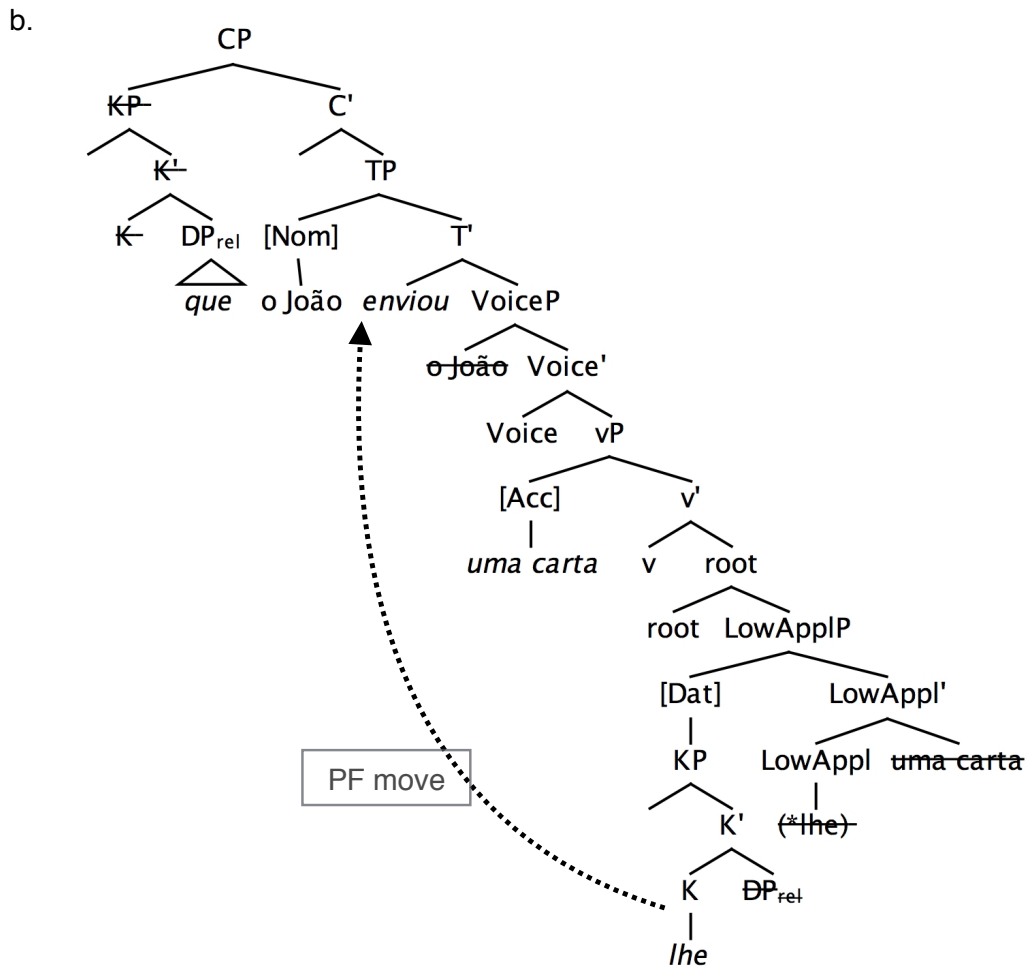


- (73) a. *A menina a quem o João enviou uma carta é a Maria.*  
 the girl DAT rel the João sent a letter is the Maria  
 “The girl to whom João sent a letter is Maria.”

b.



- (74) a. *A menina que o João lhe enviou uma carta é a Maria.*  
 the girl rel the João cl.3.sg.dat sent a letter is the Maria  
 “The girl to whom João sent a letter is Maria.”



(74b.) corresponds to the derivations for simple resumption structures in Spanish and Catalan, cf. (66b.). (73b.), on the other hand, corresponds to that derivation which allows for complex resumption in Spanish and Catalan, cf. (65b.). The only, though important, difference is that in Portuguese, the head of LowAppIP can never be realized, i.e. agreement with the indirect object in the form of the dative clitic, i.e. clitic doubling, is not possible. Pineda’s analysis accounts for this difference very elegantly in providing a structure that allows for the realization of the head of LowAppIP, if the responsible, extra-syntactic context is present. As argued above, the c-command facts lead to the conclusion that there is no structural difference with and without the clitic. Instead, semantic-pragmatic issues interplay with syntax and phonology in such a way that the head of LowAppIP can be realized as dative clitic in European Spanish and Catalan. This is mirrored in relative clauses by the fact that Spanish and Catalan allow for complex resumption, while Portuguese does not.

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this work was to systematize and analyze resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses in European Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan. The choice of these three languages was justified insofar as their genetic closeness gives us the possibility to look at the phenomenon under consideration from a micro-comparative perspective, the idea behind this enterprise being that in this way, it is possible to determine the deep underlying structures without being diverted by macro-structural differences.

Chapters 2 and 3 were devoted to the enterprise to systematize resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses in the three languages. A resumptive relative clause was defined as a relative structure whose variable site is filled by a pronominal element, and one important result of chapter 2, in which relativizing structures were systematized according to what is known from descriptive grammars and earlier research, was that actually there exist two types of resumptive relative clauses: one that employs a neutral relativizer *que*, which I called simple resumption, and one that employs more complex relativizers like *al cual* in Spanish, which I called complex resumption. Interestingly, only Spanish and Catalan make use of both of these resumptive RCs, while Portuguese lacks the complex one. This was formulated as a first research question: given the genetical closeness of the languages, why does one language lack a structure that the other two have?

Chapter 3, on the other hand, was about an empirical perspective of resumptive and non-resumptive RCs. I reported the corpus studies that I conducted for each language, and interestingly, the results match for EP, Spanish, and Catalan alike: first, resumption is an infrequent phenomenon; second, there is no complex resumption in spontaneous oral speech in either of the languages; third, there is an asymmetry regarding the Case of the relativized argument: while simple resumption with dative arguments is categorial, i.e. obligatory, resumption with accusative (and nominative) arguments does occur, but seems to be optional. This was the ground for my second research question: what is the reason for this Case asymmetry in simple resumption?

In chapter 4, I discussed theoretical approaches to non-resumptive RCs on the one hand, and to resumptive RCs on the other hand, and raised a third research question regarding the correct analysis for both types of RCs. First, I argued against a head-internal analysis for relative clauses and adopted the Head External Analysis proposed in Rinke & Aßmann (2017). Furthermore, it was discussed that from a generative perspective, the main difference between a non-resumptive and a resumptive RC has been the assumption that while in non-resumptive RCs, there is always A'-movement of a relative operator, no such movement takes place in resumptive RCs. Instead, an overt or covert operator is directly merged into a peripheral position inside the RC, and from there A'-binds the overtly filled variable site. I provided several arguments against this assumption, and argued in favour of A'-movement of the operator in non-resumptive as well as resumptive RCs. In the latter, however, the relativizer *que* only realizes the [relative] feature. Resumptive and non-resumptive RCs that do not include a structural island therefore do not differ regarding their structural derivation. They do differ, however, regarding their spell out: in a non-resumptive RC, only the upper copy of the relativizer is phonetically realized – depending on the relativized argument, the

semantic type of the relative clause, and other factors, it may be only *que* or some more complex relative pronoun like *el cual* or *quien*. In the resumptive variant, the upper and the lower copy share the work of phonetic realization: for example, in a resumptive dative RC, the higher copy realizes only the [relative] feature, resulting in *que*, while the lower copy realizes [dative], [number], and other features, resulting in *le*, i.e. a dative clitic pronoun. I argued that this divided realization of features is the phonetic counterpart to what Chomsky (1993) proposes as the preferred interpretation of wh-dependencies, the so-called scattered deletion: for example, in the case of an interrogative structure, in which the argument *which house* is displaced to the left periphery, only the wh-operator is interpreted in the left-peripheral position, while the variable of the argument is interpreted in its base position. Simple resumption in relative clauses represents this division of interpretation also on the phonetic level.

By assumption, dative as an inherent Case has to be phonetically realized in order to ensure interpretation of the sentence, as was supported by further evidence as well. This means that in a relative clause, dative Case of the relativized argument has to be realized overtly, either via Case marking on a complex relativizer, i.e. *al cual*, or via a dative clitic in base position, i.e. *...que...le...*, that is, via simple resumption. This fact was presented as answer to the second research question. The Case asymmetry found in chapter 3 can be explained in the following way: given the preferred interpretation of wh-dependencies, i.e. scattered deletion, the only feature interpreted in SpecCP of a relative clause is [relative], i.e. simple *que*. Given that the interpretation of a relative-clause dependency, i.e. scattered deletion, has a counterpart on the phonetic level, it is possible to realize other features of the argument via the copy in its base position. In the case of a dative argument, this is indeed necessary given the inherent nature of dative Case. For other Cases, there is no such need; accusative or nominative resumptive pronouns are pronounced for other reasons, mainly in order to disambiguate a specific from an unspecific referent. This explanation was argued to hold for European Portuguese, Spanish, and Catalan.

Finally, chapter 5 contrasts simple and complex resumption and gives an answer to research question 1: why is it the case that Portuguese lacks the complex version of resumption? I provided evidence for the assumption that complex resumption is actually a subcase of clitic doubling. Given that Portuguese has been regarded as a language without clitic doubling, the answer to research question 1 follows naturally: this language lacks complex resumption because it lacks clitic doubling. I adopted Pineda's (2013a, b, c; 2016) analysis for ditransitive predicates with and without clitic doubling in the Romance languages as well as Pylkkänen's (2008) and Cuervo's (2003) architectural differentiations of dative arguments: a Low Applicative Phrase for indirect objects, and a High Applicative Phrase for other dative arguments. On this basis, I provided a detailed analysis for simple and complex resumption for the three languages. From this view, the lack of complex resumption in EP boils down to the inability of Portuguese to realize the head of a Low Applicative Phrase. This assumption fits with Pineda's (2016) affirmation that Spanish, Catalan, and EP do not differ regarding the structural derivation in ditransitive predicates.

All in all, this work has shown that a comparative approach is very much worthwhile. Bringing not only Spanish and Catalan, but also European Portuguese into the picture has

provided one strong piece of evidence against treating simple and complex resumption as equivalents. From the fact that only the former, but not the latter type of resumption represents a productive strategy of relativization structures in all three languages, I have drawn the conclusion that the two types of resumption do not constitute the same phenomenon. At the same time, the proposed derivations unify the analyses for relative clauses in the Romance languages: there is always overt A'-movement of a relative operator into a left-peripheral position, while the spell out may differ in various ways. Given that one would like syntactic processes and UG in general to be as economic and simple as possible, I believe that this approach is on the right track.

Some issues, however, could not be tackled in this work and have to be postponed for further research. One topic regards reconstruction and anti-reconstruction in relative clauses. As discussed in chapter 4, reconstruction data, like e.g. the binding of an anaphor by a RC-internal referent, recently have been the focus of the research on relative clauses, leading to the development of head-internal analyses. In this way, reconstruction can be handled as a direct consequence of a syntactic procedure, i.e. of movement of the antecedent out of its base position inside the RC. However, I have argued against such an analysis; on the one hand because of several empirical and theory-internal problems that a head-internal analysis involved; on the other hand because of the unclear data situation. Several native speakers confirmed that a structure parallel to the famous English example *The pictures of himself<sub>i</sub> that Bill<sub>i</sub> took* is hardly interpretable in their respective Romance language, and surely not grammatical. From this, I concluded the following. While I do believe that reconstruction data can give important insights into the processes of relativization, I also think that it is necessary to understand better how these data really work, and in what way languages may differ regarding the acceptability of one or another reconstruction effect. Unfortunately, this attempt could not be included in this work.

Furthermore, the role of dative Case remains somewhat mysterious. There seems to exist some constraint that dative in the Romance languages has to be overtly expressed, in contrast to nominative, accusative, and even oblique Case. The latter three all allow for relativization with only *que*, which does not overtly express Case – while for nominative and accusative, this is the default structure; for oblique, it exists in the form of preposition chopping. As was discussed in chapter 3, and as is known from the literature, this is a usual way for PP relativization in colloquial, oral language. I have argued in chapters 4 and 5 that dative as inherent Case has to fulfil this constraint – it is not entirely clear though in what way dative differs from oblique Cases. One could speculate that a dative argument differs from an oblique argument regarding their phrasal structure: a KP vs. a PP. However, this consideration just shifts the question at hand to the structural level. While empirical evidence, as discussed in chapter 4, confirms the special status of arguments marked with inherent Case in general, and arguments marked with dative Case in particular, the underlying reason for this remains open.

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