### THE SYNTAX OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses play a hugely important role in analysing the structure of sentences. This book provides the first evidence that a unified analysis of the different types of relative clauses is possible – a step forward in our understanding. Using careful analyses of a wide range of languages, Cinque argues that the relative clause types can all be derived from a single, double-headed, structure. He also presents evidence that restrictive, maximalizing, ('integrated') non-restrictive, kind-defining, infinitival, and participial RCs merge at different heights of the nominal extended projection. This book provides an elegant generalization about the structure of all relatives. Theoretically profound and empirically rich, it promises to radically alter the way we think about this subject for years to come.

GUGLIELMO CINQUE is Professor of Linguistics at Ca' Foscari University, Venice.

### CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS

General editors: P. AUSTIN, J. BRESNAN, B. COMRIE, S. CRAIN, W. DRESSLER, C. J. EWEN, R. LASS, D. LIGHTFOOT, K. RICE, I. ROBERTS, S. ROMAINE, N. V. SMITH

#### In this series

- 122. DAVID ADGER, DANIEL HARBOUR and LAUREL J. WATKINS: Mirrors and Microparameters: Phrase Structure beyond Free Word Order
- 123. NIINA NING ZHANG: Coordination in Syntax
- 124. NEIL SMITH: Acquiring Phonology
- 125. NINA TOPINTZI: Onsets: Suprasegmental and Prosodic Behaviour
- 126. CEDRIC BOECKX, NORBERT HORNSTEIN and JAIRO NUNES: Control as Movement
- 127. MICHAEL ISRAEL: The Grammar of Polarity: Pragmatics, Sensitivity, and the Logic of Scales
- 128. M. RITA MANZINI and LEONARDO M. SAVOIA: Grammatical Categories: Variation in Romance Languages
- 129. BARBARA CITKO: Symmetry in Syntax: Merge, Move and Labels
- 130. RACHEL WALKER: Vowel Patterns in Language
- 131. MARY DALRYMPLE and IRINA NIKOLAEVA: Objects and Information Structure
- 132. JERROLD M. SADOCK: The Modular Architecture of Grammar
- 133. DUNSTAN BROWN and ANDREW HIPPISLEY: Network Morphology: A Defaultsbased Theory of Word Structure
- 134. BETTELOU LOS, CORRIEN BLOM, GEERT BOOIJ, MARION ELENBAAS and ANS VAN KEMENADE: Morphosyntactic Change: A Comparative Study of Particles and Prefixes
- 135. STEPHEN CRAIN: The Emergence of Meaning
- 136. HUBERT HAIDER: Symmetry Breaking in Syntax
- 137. JOSÉ A. CAMACHO: Null Subjects
- 138. GREGORY STUMP and RAPHAEL A. FINKEL: Morphological Typology: From Word to Paradigm
- 139. BRUCE TESAR: Output-Driven Phonology: Theory and Learning
- 140. ASIER ALCÁZAR and MARIO SALTARELLI: The Syntax of Imperatives
- 141. MISHA BECKER: The Acquisition of Syntactic Structure: Animacy and Thematic
- Alignment 142. MARTINA WILTSCHKO: The Universal Structure of Categories: Towards a Formal Typology
- 143. FAHAD RASHED AL-MUTAIRI: The Minimalist Program: The Nature and Plausibility of Chomsky's Biolinguistics
- 144. CEDRIC BOECKX: Elementary Syntactic Structures: Prospects of a Feature-Free Syntax
- 145. PHOEVOS PANAGIOTIDIS: Categorial Features: A Generative Theory of Word Class Categories
- 146. MARK BAKER: Case: Its Principles and Its Parameters

## CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47970-7 — The Syntax of Relative Clauses Guglielmo Cinque Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

- 147. WM. G. BENNETT: The Phonology of Consonants: Dissimilation, Harmony and Correspondence
- 148. ANDREA SIMS: Inflectional Defectiveness
- 149. GREGORY STUMP: Inflectional Paradigms: Content and Form at the Syntax-Morphology Interface
- 150. ROCHELLE LIEBER: English Nouns: The Ecology of Nominalization
- 151. JOHN BOWERS: Deriving Syntactic Relations
- 152. ANA TERESA PÉREZ-LEROUX, MIHAELA PIRVULESCU and YVES ROBERGE: Direct Objects and Language Acquisition
- 153. MATTHEW BAERMAN, DUNSTAN BROWN and GREVILLE G. CORBETT: Morphological Complexity
- 154. MARCEL DEN DIKKEN: Dependency and Directionality
- 155. LAURIE BAUER: Compounds and Compounding
- 156. KLAUS J. KOHLER: Communicative Functions and Linguistic Forms in Speech Interaction
- 157. KURT GOBLIRSCH: Gemination, Lenition, and Vowel Lengthening: On the History of Quantity in Germanic
- 158. ANDREW RADFORD: Colloquial English: Structure and Variation
- 159. MARIA POLINSKY: Heritage Languages and Their Speakers
- 160. EGBERT FORTUIN and GETTY GEERDINK-VERKOREN: Universal Semantic Syntax: A Semiotactic Approach
- 161. ANDREW RADFORD: Relative Clauses: Structure and Variation in Everyday English
- 162. JOHN H. ESLING, SCOTT R. MOISIK, ALISON BENNER and LISE CREVIER-BUCHMAN: Voice Quality: The Laryngeal Articulator Model
- 163. JASON ROTHMAN, JORGE GONZÁLEZ ALONSO and ELOI PUIG-MAYENCO: Third Language Acquisition and Linguistic Transfer
- 164. IRINA NIKOLAEVA and ANDREW SPENCER: Mixed Categories: The Morphosyntax of Noun Modification
- 165. WERNER ABRAHAM: Modality in Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics
- 166. GUGLIELMO CINQUE: The Syntax of Relative Clauses: A Unified Analysis

Earlier issues not listed are also available

# CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-47970-7 — The Syntax of Relative Clauses Guglielmo Cinque Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

# THE SYNTAX OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

### A UNIFIED ANALYSIS

### **GUGLIELMO CINQUE**

Ca' Foscari University, Venice





University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108479707 DOI: 10.1017/9781108856195

© Guglielmo Cinque 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-47970-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-79058-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

# Contents

	Acknowledgements	<i>page</i> ix
	Introduction	1
1.	Preliminaries	4
1.1	The Syntactic Typology of Relative Clauses	4
1.2	The Semantic Typology of Relative Clauses	5
1.3	A Unified Double-Headed Analysis	6
1.4	The Pre-nominal Origin of Relative Clauses If Linear Order	
	Is Part of Narrow Syntax	7
1.5	Pre-nominal Merge, Antisymmetry, and a Unified	
	Double-Headed Structure for 'Raising' and 'Matching'	14
2.	Deriving the Cross-Linguistically Attested Types of	
	<b>Restrictive and Maximalizing Relative Clauses from</b>	
	a Double-Headed Structure	20
2.1	Externally Headed Post-nominal Relative Clauses	20
2.2	Externally Headed Pre-nominal Relative Clauses	65
2.3	Internally Headed Relative Clauses	73
2.4	Double-Headed Relative Clauses	90
2.5	'Headless' or Free Relative Clauses and Light-Headed Ones	97
2.6	Correlative Relative Clauses	125
2.7	Adjoined Relative Clauses	141
3.	Deriving the Other Types of Relative Clauses from a	
	Double-Headed Structure	143
3.1	Finite Non-restrictive Relative Clauses	143
3.2	Kind(-Defining) Relative Clauses	184
3.3	Infinitival Relative Clauses	191
3.4	Participial Relative Clauses	203
	L	

vii

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-47970-7 — The Syntax of Relative Clauses
Guglielmo Cinque
Frontmatter
More Information

viii	Contents	
3.5	The Different External Marga Desitions of the Different	
5.5	The Different External Merge Positions of the Different Types of Relative Clauses	221
3.6	A Note on Chinese Relative Clauses	234
4.	'Strategies' for the Realization of the Internal Head	242
4.1	The Gap Strategy with Overt or Silent Invariant Relativizers	242
4.2	The Gap Strategy with Relative Pronouns/Adjectives	242
4.3	The Resumptive Pronoun/Epithet Strategy	244
4.4	The PRO Strategy	248
4.5	The Non-reduction Strategy	248
4.6	The Verb-Coding Strategy	249
4.7	A Note on Bantu Relative Clauses	251
4.8	On the Putative Gapless Strategy of East Asian	
	Relative Clauses	253
5.	Some Residual Questions	256
5.1	Coordinated DP Heads: 'Hydras'	256
5.2	Relative Clauses with Split Antecedents	258
5.2 5.3	Single Head Followed by a Relative Clause with Multiple	238
5.5	Relative Pronouns	263
5.4	'Double Dependence'	265
5.5	Selective Extraction from Certain Relative Clauses	260
5.6	Residual Points and Puzzles	276
	Conclusion	281
Appe	ndix: Possible Evidence for the Existence of Non-'raising'	
	Derivations	285
A1	Relative Clauses Failing to Display Reconstruction	
	of the Head	286
A2	Relative Clauses Failing to Display Movement – Hence	
	'Raising'	288
A3	Possible Advantages of an Analysis Countenancing Both	
	'Matching' and 'Raising'	290
A4	Three Phenomena Discriminating between 'Matching' and	
	'Raising' - Extraposition, Stacking, and Weak Island	
	Sensitivity - and Some Apparent Exceptions	293
Rofo	rancas	314
References		314
	Author Index	
Language Index		388
Subject Index		392

# Acknowledgements

This book has had a long gestation. Earlier versions of (parts of) it were presented in lectures at the University of Venice (spring 2002), and University of California, Los Angeles (winter 2003), at the Workshop on Antisymmetry and Remnant Movement at New York University (31 October-1 November 2003); in classes at the Linguistic Society of America summer school at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (July 2005), the Ecole d'Automne de Linguistique (EALing) in Paris (September 2009), the Workshop on Syntax-Semantics Interface, Taipei (17-18 June 2011), and New York University in the spring of 2014; at the London Advanced Core Training in Linguistics summer school (23-27 June 2014), the University of Siena (31 March 2015), and the University of Tel Aviv in June 2016; and in the Linguistics Department of the Higher School of Economics in Moscow in the spring of 2017. I wish to thank here the many people who commented on various aspects of the analyses on these occasions, and in particular Klaus Abels, Adriana Belletti, Valentina Bianchi, Peter Cole, Christopher Collins, Michael Daniel, Francesca Del Gobbo, Yoshio Endo, Alex Grosu, Hubert Haider, Gaby Hermon, Roland Hinterhölzl, Julia Horvath, Jim Huang, Richard Kayne, Hilda Koopman, Yury Lander, Peter H. Matthews, Friederike Moltmann, Marie-Claude Paris, David Pesetsky, Cecilia Poletto, Andrew Radford, Luigi Rizzi, Ian Roberts, Ken Safir, Ur Shlonsky, Tal Siloni, Andrew Simpson, Dominique Sportiche, Tim Stowell, Peter Svenonius, Anna Szabolcsi, Adam Szczegielniak, Henk van Riemsdijk, and Gert Webelhuth.

Special thanks are due to Paola Benincà, Wayles Browne, Iliyana Krapova, Yen-Hui Audrey Li, Akira Watanabe, and Niina Zhang for their observations on specific points of my analysis. I am particularly indebted to Željko Bošković, Alex Grosu, Jaklin Kornfilt, Andrew Radford, Alain Rouveret, and Adam Szczegielniak, who went over the entire manuscript providing many valuable comments of both substance and form.

### x Acknowledgements

My grateful thanks also go to Cambridge University Press's publishing team, especially Andrew Winnard, for encouraging me to produce this volume, Gordon Lee for his exceptionally careful copy-editing of the manuscript and Grace Morris for her constant guidance.

Specific thanks will also appear in the chapters that follow.