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## **The Syntax of Relativization in English and Arabic: A Phase Approach\***

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### الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى تناول جملة الصلة والموصول في اللغتين العربية والانجليزية على وجه الخصوص، باستخدام منهاج الرحيلة. إنه وللأهمية، تجدر الإشارة إلى أن هذه الدراسة لا تعتمد على تحليلات الحركة والتوافق، بل أنها تقوم على التحليل التوليدي التكويني والذي بموجبه يفترض أن ضمير الصلة يُكوّن تحت الرأس  $Rel^0$  (صل)، بينما يُكوّن التركيب الحدي الموصول تحت مخصص تركيب الصلة، وتُكوّن التكملة — بشكل عام — ضمن التركيب الزمني. وباعتبار أن تركيب الصلة إسقاط لتركيب التكملة الإنشطاري، تفترض الباحثة أن ضمير الصلة يُكوّن ك رأس جملة الصلة، بِسَمِّي [الصلة] و [الخصوصية] المُقيمتين والمُفسّرتين. كما تفترض أن الضمير العائد والتركيب الحدي الموصول يخرجان من المعجم بسمات الفاي المقيمة والمفسرة وبسَمِّي [الصلة] و [الخصوصية] الغير مقيمتين. أما فيما يتعلق بضمائر الإستئناف والفجوات، فإن الباحثة تفترض أن ضمير الصلة مشابه لمثلث برمودا؛ فهو مزوّد بقوّة الإمتصاص والإبادة. فمن ناحية، يفترض أن لديه قوة إمتصاص لسَمِّي [التنكير] و [الإسمية] التابعتين للتركيب الحدي العائد، وبالتالي يتم تحويل هذا التركيب الحدي العائد إلى ضمير إستئناف. ومن ناحية أخرى، يفترض أن لديه قوة إبادة لسمة [البروز] التابعة للضمير العائد وتكون هذه القوة فعالة إذا لم يكن هذا الضمير العائد بداخل جزيرة وكان محلي، فتحوله هذه القوة إلى فجوة. وفيما يتعلق بطبيعة التطابق في الصلة ذات المسافة البعيدة، فإن هذه الدراسة تتبع الافتراض الأدنى الأكثر حداثة وهو أن التطابق (تط) فعال حتى بعد عملية إشتقاق ونقل الرحائل. كما تهدف الدراسة إلى دراسة بناء جملة الصلة المخففة، فترى أن غياب سمة [الزمن] المحدود يؤدي إلى توزيع تكاملي لغياب ضمير الصلة. وعلاوة على ذلك، فإن هذه الدراسة تتبع ظاهرة التأخير، وتخلص إلى أن هذه الظاهرة موجودة في الإنجليزية دون العربية.

### **Abstract**

In this study, I propose a novel approach based on base-generation analysis to tackle the phenomenon of relativization in both English and Arabic languages, employing the phase approach. According to this novel approach, the antecedent determiner phrase<sup>1</sup> and the relative pronoun are argued to be base-generated in Spec-RelP and  $Rel^0$ , respectively, while the complement is generally argued to base-generate in TP. Hence, this study abstracts away from

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, the label 'antecedent DP' interchangeably stands for the label 'relativized DP'.

the old strategies of the matching and promotion analyses. Actually, the relative pronoun is assumed to be base-generated as a head for the whole RC, intrinsically with interpretable valued [relative] and [specificity] Features. The relative pronoun is also assumed to be Bermuda-Triangle-like, absorbing the [indefiniteness] and [nominal] Features of the embedded coindexed determiner phrase when the embedded coindexed determiner phrase is in or out of islands, but annihilating the determiner phrase's [overtness] Feature when the embedded coindexed determiner phrase is local and outside the borders of islands. Like other nominal antecedents, I assume that the relative pronoun has the capability to pronominalize the embedded coindexed determiner phrase which merges initially as an indefinite determiner phrase, and this is mainly by the absorption of its [indefiniteness] Feature, transforming it to a definite one. I also argue that *Agree* mainly by the Feature sharing mechanism has a major role to play for the valuation of the matching unvalued Features among the antecedent determiner phrase, the relative pronoun and the embedded coindexed determiner phrase, leading to the valuation of the relative pronoun's unvalued phi-Features and Case and the antecedent determiner phrase's and embedded coindexed determiner phrase's [relative] and [Specificity] Features. Moreover, I hold the view that, in long distance relativization, *Agree* is not restricted by the Phase Impenetrability Condition so that it can be in effect even after the derivation and transfer of phases. Furthermore, I assume that the formation of reduced relative clauses is due to the nullness of the finite [Tense] Feature.

**Keywords:** Relativization, Phase Theory, *Agree*, relative pronouns, resumptive pronouns, antecedent, absorption, annihilation, base-generation, islands

## 1. Introduction

Being characterized with its underlying internal structure complexity, the assumed mechanisms adopted for forming RCs are largely controversial. To the best of my knowledge, the seeds of the debate concerning the Arabic RCs derivation go back to Sibawayhi's *l-Kitaab*, discussed in Al-Sirafi (2008), and also to the opposition of the strategy of the matching analysis employed, for example, by Galal (2005), Aoun & Li (2003), Salzmann (2009) and Demirdache (1991) and the strategy of the promotion analysis adopted by Vergnaud (1974) and Kayne (1994). Though both of these strategies adopt the transformational grammar, the pivot of the contention between them actually revolves around what is moved. For the matching analysis, the RLP (=Relative Pronoun) is what is assumed to move out of the embedded coindexed DP's slot

(cf. Demirdache, 1991; Aoun & Li, 2003; Galal, 2005; Salzmann, 2009; Aoun et al., 2010; and Radford, 2009). For the promotion analysis, however, the antecedent DP is what is primarily assumed to move out of the embedded coindexed DP's slot (cf. Vergnaud, 1974; Kayne, 1994; Kornfilt, 2000; and Grosu, 2000).

To proceed our account for relativization mainly in English and Arabic more, this study goes as follows. Section 2 presents relativization in the literature. Section 3 presents the proposal. Section 4 discusses RLPs and islands. In section 5, long distance relativization (=LDR) is tackled. Sections 6 and 7 expose the nature of reduced RCs and extraposition, respectively. Then, section 8 concludes the study.

## **2. Literature Review**

This section highlights the most prominent strategies postulated in the literature that attempt to depict the nature of relativization. It is to give an overview of relativization mainly in English and Arabic languages among some other languages here and there. It presumably gives the reader a sufficient background of the concerned phenomenon in general and also a justification for the proposed analysis, that this study puts forward later on, in particular.

Tackling RCs in terms of Features, it is widely assumed that there is a [Rel] Feature on the C<sup>0</sup> projection of the RC and that this Feature is the core Feature for relativization to be fulfilled and for the internal dependencies, either through *Merge* or *Move*, to be established (cf. Grosu, 2000; Rouveret, n.d., 2008; Leung, 2007; Suaieh, 1980). This very Feature fundamentally distinguishes RCs from interrogative constructions. Another distinction between RCs and interrogative constructions is argued to be that RCs are of a modifier-head sort (cf. Galal, 2005; Amer, n.d.; Ross, 1972; and Heim & Kratzer, 2000). Actually, the modifier RC in Arabic is to agree with the modified DP generally in definiteness, Case, Num, Person and Gender. The same case is also with the relativization in Turkish (see Kornfilt, 2000).<sup>Y</sup>

Generally, the relative head is considered a relative complementizer but not a relative pronoun (cf. Suaieh, 1980; Galal, 2005; Alqurashi, 2012; Rizzi, 1997, 2001; Koster, in preparation; Rouveret, 2008; and Radford, 2009; to mention

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<sup>Y</sup> In Turkish RCs, however, there is no overt *wh*-relative (cf. Kornfilt, 2000) .

but few).<sup>ƴ</sup> That is, it is generally argued that Force<sup>0</sup> is filled by the complementizer *that* while Spec-ForceP is occupied by a '*wh*-operator'. In accordance with the *Complementizer Condition*, however, either C<sup>0</sup> or its Spec can actually be overt. Nevertheless, it is argued that there is an "abstract agreement" on C<sup>0</sup>, triggered by the operator in Spec-CP, so that the head C<sup>0</sup> becomes the "head-governor for the trace" of the moved constituent (Rizzi, 1997: 307). The relative head, hence, "enters into some kind of 'action at a distance' with the specifier of its complement (for Case assignment/checking or the licensing of different kinds of effects)" (Rizzi, 1997: 282). Also, the dependency between the *wh*-relative and the embedded coindexed site is assumed to be due to the cyclic *Agree* in terms of phases since the intervening phase heads bear the Features of the *wh*-relative that need to be checked (cf. Freidin et al., 2008). In terms of *Agree*, too, there are actually three essential possibilities put forward in the literature to account for the derivation of (Welsh) RCs; these possibilities are: (a) movement which results from *Agree* followed by *Move* as in the case of gap relatives, (b) base-generation accompanied with *Agree* as in the case of resumptive relatives, or (c) pure base-generation in isolation from *Agree* as it is the case with RCs whose islandic embedded coindexed sites are filled by intrusive pronouns (cf. Rouveret, 2008).<sup>ξ</sup> *Agree* being essential in the derivation of RCs actually "applies phase by phase, in a cyclic fashion" (Rouveret, 2008: 170; see also Antonenko, 2012). Also, when forming RCs with either resumptive pronouns (=RPs) or gaps, *Agree*, as argued, goes along with the locality constraints and the multiple Transfer and also with the multiple Spell-Out (cf. Pan, 2016).

With respect to the strategies of RCs formation proposed in the literature, there are three prominent views attempting to depict the derivational processes and the I-language structures required to derive RCs. The first strategy is the old long-held strategy of the matching analysis; the second, the raising/promotion analysis; the third, the base-generation analysis.<sup>ο</sup> The strategy of the matching

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<sup>ƴ</sup> In some works in the literature, however, the *wh*-relative is considered to be not a relative pronoun but a relative particle joining two complete independent clauses (cf. Al-Tarouti, 1991; Arnold, 2009).

<sup>ξ</sup> Actually, the term 'intrusive pronouns' is used to refer to the RPs which are restricted within the boundaries of islands (cf. Boeckx, 2003a, 2003b; Rouveret, 2008).

<sup>ο</sup> In addition to the strategies in question, a new strategy for deriving FRCs (namely, the *Parallel Merge strategy*) is proposed by Citko (2000), as cited in Citko (2014) and also in Leung (2007), under which it is assumed that three entities are selected from the lexicon and

analysis approved, for example, by Galal (2005), Aoun & Li (2003) and Demirdache (1991) is called so because the *wh*-relative is assumed to raise higher to match with the antecedent DP and to be its adjunction. Some syntacticians assume that the *wh*-relative moves to Spec-CP and, hence, it is considered an operator (cf. Salzmann, 2009; Aoun et al., 2010). Some others, however, claim that it moves to C<sup>0</sup> so that it is considered a complementizer (cf. Demirdache, 1991). Generally speaking, the matching analysis proclaims that no transformational relation is directly held between the antecedent DP, which is assumed to be the head, and the trace. Rather, the antecedent DP is generally assumed to base-generate in its position while what moves up to the beginning of the RC, as mentioned above, is the *wh*-relative (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003; Radford, 2009; Demirdache, 1991). Hence, the matching analysis could be represented by the following schemata:

1. [DP [the antecedent DP] [CP *wh*-relative<sub>i</sub> [TP ... t<sub>i</sub>...]]]

Actually, the *wh*-relative and the RP are also assumed to generate as one constituent by means of right-adjunction, but, at LF, the *wh*-relative gets lifted and, hence, separated from the RP (cf. Demirdache, 1991). So that, resumption here is considered to be initially an instance of relativization in-situ at the Surface Structure. Thus, deviating somehow from the derivational account of the *wh*-movement adopted by Galal (2005), Aoun & Li (2003) and Radford (2009), to mention but only a few, the moved *wh*-relative, at LF, lands in C<sup>0</sup> but not in Spec-CP. Therefore, resumption, as mentioned above, is but a sort of relativization in-situ and this is against the assumption of the existence of pronouns which are structurally operator-bound.

However, the matching analysis is disapproved. It (along with its view of RCs as adjunctions) is unsatisfactory since, from the perspective of the matching

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joined all together in a binary form. According to this strategy, both of the FRCs and the matrix clauses are assumed to derive simultaneously. However, this strategy has a number of defects (cf. Leung, 2007). Another analytic strategy views restrictive RCs as Conjunction Phrases (cf. Isac, 2003). The head of such a Conjunction Phrase is argued to be the functional category Co<sup>0</sup>. The two conjuncts of the head Co<sup>0</sup> are assumed to be the Spec, in which the antecedent DP/NP would be, and the complement. Nonrestrictive RCs are also viewed as being "only stylistic variants of coordinate sentences" (Heim & Kratzer, 2000: 87; see also Isac, 2003; and Vries, 2006).

analysis, the head 'NP' and the 'relative morpheme' (i.e. the *wh*-relative)<sup>1</sup> are improperly viewed as not appropriately correlated with but independent of one another; while this is not the right case (cf. Bianchi, 2000). Put in other words, the matching analysis could not account for the coreferentiality between the antecedent DP and the *wh*-relative. Also, in terms of the matching analysis, the CP is a barrier for "the dynamic agreement relation between the [embedded coindexed] DP and its antecedent NP [which] necessarily [and contrary to the postulations of the matching analysis] crosses this barrier" (Bianchi, 2000: 58-9). So that, the promotion analysis is assumed to be adequate<sup>Y</sup> to account for the phenomena of such a correlation and also for Case Attraction and, thus, to analyze the derivational structure of RCs more properly. That is primarily argued to be due to the morphosyntactic interaction that the promotion analysis posits between the *wh*-relative and the raised governed NP.

With respect to the promotion analysis, a determiner complementation analysis for RCs is proposed whereby RCs are considered CPs headed by C<sup>0</sup>s whose specifiers are basically NPs; so that RCs, as a whole, are complements of D<sup>0</sup>s (cf. Kayne, 1994). Actually, Kayne (1994) argues that this analysis is compatible with the LCA (=Linear Correspondence Axiom) which is based on asymmetric c-command relations. To make this point clearer, observe the configuration in (2. a) followed by the example in (2. b) taken from Kayne (1994: 90):

2. a. [DP D<sup>0</sup> [CP NP<sub>i</sub> [ C<sup>0</sup> ... [t]<sub>i</sub> ]]]  
b. the [CP [[DP man<sub>i</sub> [who [e]<sub>i</sub> ]]'s wife] [C<sup>0</sup> ...

However, the promotion analysis, like the matching analysis, is argued to have a number of flaws. The strategy of the NP raising in particular and the promotion analysis in general is unsatisfactory because it does lack a number of adequate mechanisms. For instance, it is unsatisfactory because movement

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<sup>1</sup> Significant to state that, based on the promotion analysis, a Split-CP hypothesis has been proposed to analyze RCs whose 'relative determiners'/*wh*-relatives are postposed, e.g. Latin RCs (cf. Bianchi, 2000; and also Zwart, 2000; and Aoun & Li, 2003). According to such an analysis, the embedded coindexed DP is assumed to move "to a low Topic or Focus position; the NP 'head' is then extracted and moves to the most prominent position, Spec-Force[P], to the left of the topicalized phrase occurring in the specifier of an intermediate [TopP]" (Bianchi, 2000: 72).

<sup>Y</sup> For the promotion analysis, see Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994), Bianchi (2000), Kornfilt (2000), Grosu (2000).

cannot be of NPs but of DPs. Also, it is inadequate because the 'DP-traces' have a number of characteristics which are as follows: (a) they can be coindexed with non-c-commanding pronouns, (b) they can control PRO subjects, (c) they can license controlled parasitic gaps, and (d) they must be in Case-marked slots (cf. Borsley, 1997). Moreover, finding that antecedent DPs in English can be definite, such definiteness is justified in the literature in terms of the assumption that there is a DP projection posited as an antecedent for the relative CP, with a definite  $D^0$  (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003; Borsley, 1997; Demirdache, 1991). On the contrary, however, there are a number of cases in which the antecedent DP is indefinite. Put in other words, the assumption of  $D^0$  filled by 'the' as a higher projection for the relative CP is incompatible with the cases in which the antecedent DPs are indefinite as follows:

3. a. I saw *a* man who speaks English.
- b. I bought *some* books which you enjoy reading.

Furthermore, there are languages like Chinese and Japanese which plainly disallow CPs to be complements of  $D^0$ s (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003; Ross, 1986). As a result of that, the assumption that there is an antecedent  $D^0$  higher than CP is inapplicable. Such an analysis seems illogical even in English and Arabic simply because the relative CP cannot be the complement of  $D^0$ . The following English example, in which the antecedent NP which is not basically as a one constituency with  $D^0$  is unrealized, challenges that assumption more clearly:

4. \*I saw the who I respect.

This actually comes in line with Borsley's (1997) view against Kayne's (1994) proposal. Thus, what is raised out of the RC cannot be an NP; otherwise, that would entail the trace to be just an NP, and this is not logical since NPs (but only DPs) cannot be viewed as sufficient proper arguments. Even if one follows the assumption that the antecedent NP alone, or even the *wh*-relative along with the antecedent NP, raises from the embedded coindexed DP slot (as assumed, for example, by Bianchi, 1999; Kayne, 1994), such a view actually contradicts with the proclamation that DPs are phases (cf. Shormani, 2016; Citko, 2014). Further, with the analyses of promotion and matching, through the recursive and reiterated process of *Move*, there is a violation of the movement condition which is argued in consensus to be a Last Resort but not an option (cf. Baltin, 2006; Boeckx, 2003b; Zwart, 1998; Chomsky & Lasnik, 2015; Chomsky, 2015; Seuren, 2004; Bobaljik & Wurmbrand, 2005; Abels, 2003; Pesetsky & Torrego,

to appear; *inter alia*). Also, recursive *Move* violates the SPC (=Structure Preservation Condition) (cf. Shormani, 2014).

Turning to the issue of the distinction between definite and indefinite RCs in Arabic,<sup>^</sup> it is widely argued in the literature that there is an interactive relationship between the overtness of the *wh*-relative and the definiteness of the antecedent DP (cf. Suaieh, 1980; Al-Tarouti, 1991; Darrow, 2003; Galal, 2005; Aoun et al., 2010; Alqurashi, 2012).<sup>^</sup> That is to say, the overtness of one almost entails the overtness of the other. For indefinite RCs, however, there is no overt C<sup>0</sup> (cf. Galal, 2005; Darrow, 2003; Suaieh, 1980; Drozdik, 2010). This is why the old Arab grammarians assume such indefinite constructions to be '*ṣifah*' but not '*ṣilah*', i.e. to be mere adjectives but not RCs (cf. Suaieh, 1980; Hamdallah & Tushyeh, 1998; Al-Hemary et al., 2009). Not only that difference, but also there is a consequent relation between the overtness of the *wh*-relative and the possibility of the gap/RP occurrence on the one hand and the nullness of the *wh*-element and the necessity of the RP occurrence on the other (cf. Galal, 2005; see also Hamdallah & Tushyeh, 1998).<sup>^</sup>, <sup>^</sup> Observe the following examples modified from Galal (2005: 108):

5. a. \*qaraʔtu      kitaab-an      ʔiʃtaraa      \_\_\_      t-taalib-u  
       read.I.NOM    book-ACC     bought        \_\_\_     the-student-NOM
- b. qaraʔtu      kitaab-an      ʔiʃtaraa-*hu*      t-taalib-u  
       read.I.NOM    book-ACC     bought-*it*.ACC    the-student-NOM

<sup>^</sup> Definite RCs and indefinite RCs have been interchangeably labelled by Al-Tarouti (1991) as syndetic RCs and asyndetic RCs, respectively.

<sup>^</sup> With regard to RCs' types, RCs can be restrictive, non-restrictive, appositive or free. For more details, see Demirdache (1991), Al-Tarouti (1991), Kayne (1994), Rizzi (1997), Alexiadou et al. (2000), Isac (2003), Riemsdijk (2006), Leung (2007), Alqurashi (2012) and Lohndal & Samuels (2013), to mention but few. For more other categorizations for the RCs' types, see Riemsdijk (2008), Vries (2006) and Grosu (2000), for example.

<sup>^</sup> For more differences between definite and indefinite RCs but primarily from semantics and discourse perspectives, see Mughazy (2008), Robert (2003) and Drozdik (2010).

<sup>^</sup> Like Arabic RCs, definite Western Neo-Aramaic RCs have overt RLPs while indefinite ones entail that RLPs are covert (cf. Arnold, 2009). However, what distinguishes them from Arabic RCs is that, even if their antecedent DPs are indefinite, Western Neo-Aramaic RCs can be definite also by means of following adjectives annexed to them. Definiteness in this case is actually marked by the presence of the suffix *-il* on the verb (cf. Arnold, 2009).

'I read a book that the student bought.'

However, this is not the case in English. In English, there is no strict interrelation between the overt/covert status of the *wh*-relative and the (in)definiteness of the antecedent DP. Somehow related to such a point is the view that, unlike definite RCs whose embedded coindexed DPs are not within islands, indefinite ones do not exhibit reconstruction (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003; and Darrow, 2003). Also, it is assumed that definite RCs whose embedded coindexed DPs are not within islands are best analyzed in terms of movement while indefinite RCs are accounted for in terms of base-generation (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003).

Distinguished category labels, resumption is of two types, the first of which is the true resumption characterized by an island intervening between the RP and the antecedent DP, while the second category is the apparent resumption in which there is no intervening island (cf. Aoun & Li, 2003; Aoun et al., 2001). Given that RCs are subject to the sensitivity of islands, resumption is the solution. That is, gaps are not allowed to exist within islands. However, when the embedded coindexed site is accessible to the antecedent DP and is not within islands, resumption is prevented mainly due to the Locality Condition (cf. Rouveret, 2008). Similarly, in Zurich German RCs, being post-nominal, gaps occupy subject and direct object positions as long as such positions are not islands, and RPs "are found from the [Dat] object on downwards" (Salzmann, 2009: 27). Actually, two more distinct approaches attempting to expose the nature of ellipsis (i.e. gap) primarily in the Celtic languages of Welsh and Irish are presented and these approaches are the PF deletion approach and the interpretive approach (cf. Freidin et al., 2008). For Isac (2003), however, gapping in restrictive RCs are attributed to the Conjunction Reduction.

Regarding (non-)subject relativization, in Arabic, there are SP-RCs (=subject-predicate RCs) and PS-RCs (=predicate-subject RCs)<sup>12</sup> (cf. Drozdik, 2010). For Arabic embedded coindexed subject DPs, particularly the SP-RC ones, it is argued that there is always an intrinsic RP in the Deep Structure and that the nullness of such an RP in this position is due to the subject-pronoun deletion (cf. Suaieh, 1980). Similarly, in Irish RCs, RPs are argued to exist in all the

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<sup>12</sup> These are known by the traditional Arab grammarians as "*naft sababi*." For some more details on such a categorization, see Al-Hemairy et al. (2009) and Abdul-Mutalib (2005), for example.

syntactic positions save in subject positions merely due to the constraint of the subject positions, namely, the constraint of the Highest Subject Restriction (cf. Asudeh, 2015; Beltrama, 2013b). However, some researchers attribute the nullness of subject RPs to the locality between  $C^0$  and the head  $T^0$  of those embedded coindexed subject DPs (cf. Boeckx, 2003a). Also, some other researchers attribute subject gaps in RCs to the dropping of subject pronouns, especially in Arabic, and object gaps to the 'controlled *pro*-deletion' (cf. Suaieh, 1980; Ross, 1972; Riemsdijk, 2006). The idea behind the condition of the controlled *pro*-deletion is that the gap position is fundamentally filled by a pronominal constituent that gets deleted afterwards due to its referential identity and matching coindexation with its local head. Somehow like Arabic RCs in which gaps are obligatory in subject slots while optional in direct object positions, in Swiss German RCs as manifested by Riemsdijk (1989), gaps are found in subject and direct object positions but, both, in an obligatory manner. Concerning English, on the contrary, gaps are obligatory in subject positions while preferred in (in)direct object positions.

A significant issue associated with RCs in general and the occurrences of either gaps or RPs in particular is concerned with islands. Generally, islands can be coordinated nodes, CSs, embedded RCs, PPs, sentential subjects, *wh*-constructions and adjunct constructions, and these islands are sensitive to gaps and thus to extraction and stranding (cf. Shormani, in press; Ross, 1967; Corver, 2006; Suaieh, 1980; Aoun et al., 2001; Aoun & Li, 2003; Boeckx, 2003a; Kayne, 1994; Demirdache, 1991).<sup>۱۳</sup> Actually, the overtness of RPs within RCs are argued to be due to the principle which necessitates that the original copies of the constituents moved higher be "as close to unpronounceable as possible" and this is primarily because islands prevent the complete phonetic nonrealization of RPs within their spheres (cf. Radford, 2009: 191). Actually, the RPs' overtness is also attributed to the principle which holds that "*Move* obeys conditions that *Agree* is insensitive to" such as the conditions of the strong islands (Rouveret, 2008: 179).

### 3. The Proposal

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<sup>۱۳</sup> Worth mentioning that islands are traditionally categorized into two types: strong and weak (cf. Boeckx, 2003a; Szabolcsi, 2006; Postal, 1998; Panitz, 2014; Cinque, 2015).

From the analyses proposed in the literature, the present study actually differs in a number of respects. Rather being merely a [Rel] Feature relation, I propose a RelP Projection, headed by Rel<sup>0</sup>, as a syntactic structure with a semantic content. I propose that Rel<sup>0</sup> hosts the RLP while Spec-RelP is filled by the antecedent DP and the complement is generally in the TP-domain. In effect, she proposes that the head Rel<sup>0</sup> has essentially interpretable unvalued [Rel] and [Spf] (=specificity) Features. I also assume that it has uninterpretable and unvalued  $\phi$ -Features. The assumption that the Features of [Rel] and [Spf] enter the derivation as interpretable but unvalued ensues from the referentiality of the antecedent DP (cf. Shormani, 2017). Generally speaking, to construct the RC, the RLP enters the derivation with interpretable valued [Rel] and [Spf] Features. Thus, once the RLP merges, the valuation of the unvalued Features takes place.

Rightwards, the embedded coindexed DP, I argue, conversely has interpretable valued  $\phi$ -Features but uninterpretable unvalued [Rel] and [Spf] Features, the valuation of which takes place in the derivation. The embedded coindexed DP's valued  $\phi$ -Features thus value the corresponding unvalued ones of the RLP and the unvalued Features of the embedded coindexed DP get valued. Accordingly, I argue that, by means of *Agree* (primarily, by means of the Feature sharing mechanism), the embedded coindexed DP gets relativized and specified and also becomes definite by the merge of the RLP. As a matter of fact, I propose that the embedded coindexed DP is not generated initially nor directly as an RP, but as a full indefinite DP with [+nominal] and [INDEF] Features. However, I argue that, once the coindexed RLP (which is, as I assume, characterized with the [+pronominal] and [+DEF] Features) is merged, the embedded coindexed DP's [+nominal] and [INDEF] Features get absorbed. Hence, after the Feature valuation and Feature absorption are held, the embedded coindexed DP would become pronominal and definite and this goes in line with Rouveret's (n.d.: 19) view that RPs are "definite descriptions."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> To depict the nature of RPs, the literature presents two theories of resumption, the first of which is the Ordinary Pronoun Theory which views that RPs are ordinary pronouns but with an extra Feature of [+wh] (cf. Asudeh, 2015; Boeckx & Hornstein, 2008; Riemsdijk, 1989, 2008; Alexiadou et al., 2000; Demirdache, 1991; McCloskey, 2006). The second is the Special Pronoun Theory which states that there is "[s]ome lexical/morphological/featural/syntactic difference between resumptive pronouns and referential or bound pronouns" (Asudeh, 2015: 11).

Significantly, proposing that the RLP initially absorbs the embedded coindexed DP's [+nominal] Feature, transferring it into [-nominal]/[+pronominal],<sup>10</sup> I am not, thus, with the assumption that "pronouns are base-generated elements" nor with that traditional view of pronominalization which employs the strategy of the transformational copying (cf. Suaieh, 1980; Ross, 1986; Antonenko, 2012; Boeckx, 2003a). As I argue, pronominalization is held primarily by means of absorbing the embedded coindexed DP's [+nominal] Feature. Pronominalization within RCs, as I assume, is not held directly between the RP and the antecedent DP as in usual cases, but by means of the RLP in between. The RLP seems to participate strongly but covertly in this process of pronominalization. That is to say, the RLP, too, can be considered a coreferential antecedent for the pronominalized RP.<sup>11</sup> Also, due to the islands sensitivity, as given for example in Ross (1967) and Boeckx (2003a), I propose that, for the embedded coindexed DPs within the island boundaries, mere absorption process is in effect. That is, the RLPs' annihilation process which renders the realization of the RPs phonetically null is generally not allowed to penetrate into islands.

Leftwards, however, being in Spec-RelP, the antecedent DP gets its [Rel] and [Spf] Features valued by means of the mechanisms of the permanent link and Feature sharing primarily applied among the RLP, the embedded coindexed DP and the antecedent DP. Along with the process of coindexation proposed in Suaieh (1980) and held in Heim & Kratzer (2000) in terms of the syntactosemantics interplay among constituents, I assume that the RLP's [Spf] Feature is enabled to attribute to the existence of specified antecedent DPs. In Arabic, in contrast to English, the antecedent DP gets its [Spf] and [DEF] Features valued when the RLP is overt, but merely gets its [Spf] Feature valued

(2005), Aoun et al.'s (2010) Drozdik's (2010) and Alqurashi's (2012) view, mentioned earlier, that there is an interactive relation between the overtness of the RLP and the definiteness of the antecedent DP, is not that sufficient to handle the phenomenon of the (in)definiteness of the antecedent DP. This is actually due to the existence of a number of grammatical constructions in which the antecedent DP is definite despite the nullness of the RLP, as illustrated in the examples below:

6. a. taḥadaθtu maʕa r-rajul-i kaatibi r-risaalat-a  
talked.I with the-man-GEN writer the-letter-ACC  
'I talked with the man who wrote the letter.'
- b. qaabaltu r-rajul-a maḥuuma l-wajh-i.  
met.I the-man-ACC slapped the-face-GEN  
'I met the man whose face is slapped.'

Based on sentences similar to those provided above, I argue that though the indefiniteness of the antecedent DP entails the indispensable nullness of the RLP in the Arabic RC, the antecedent DP's definiteness seemingly has nothing to do with the overtness of the RLP, not only in Arabic for the latter case, but even also in English.<sup>14</sup> Put in other words, with the nullness of the RLP in both Arabic and English, the definiteness or indefiniteness of the antecedent DP seems to be but a matter of optionality while the overtness of the RLP in Arabic but not in English entails the definiteness of the antecedent DP. To prove this view more, observe the following constructions:

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<sup>14</sup> Noteworthy stating that in the RC whose subject is relativized, the RLP in English is inevitably overt, e.g.:

- i. I respect the man \*(who) teaches cross-linguistic syntax.

Following Pesetsky & Torrego (to appear) and more influentially Gallego (n.d.), the compulsory overtness of the RLP in the subject DP relativization can be attributed to the necessity of C<sup>0</sup> to value its unvalued [T] Feature. In Arabic, however, and in accordance with the literature, in the RCs whose subjects are relativized, the RLP is overt when the antecedent is definite, but this is not the case when the antecedent DP is indefinite even if the antecedent DP is the subject:

- ii. taḥadaθtu maʕa r-rajul-i llaḏi yaktubu r-risaalat-a  
talked.I with the-man-GEN who is.writing the-letter-ACC  
'I talked with the man who is writing the letter.'
- iii. taḥadaθtu maʕa rajul-in yaktubu r-risaalat-a  
talked.I with man-GEN.INDEF is.writing the-letter-ACC  
'I talked with a man who is writing the letter.'

7. a. taḥadaθtu maʕa r-rajul-i llaḏi kataba r-risaalat-a  
 talked.I with the-man-GEN who wrote the-letter-ACC  
 'I talked with the man who wrote the letter.'
- b. taḥadaθtu maʕa rajul-in (\*llaḏi) kataba r-risaalat-a  
 talked.I with man-GEN.INDEF who wrote the-letter-ACC  
 'I talked with a man who wrote the letter.'
- c. taḥadaθtu maʕa r-rajul-i kaatibi r-risaalat-a  
 talked.I with the-man-GEN writer the-letter-ACC  
 'I talked with the man who is the writer of the letter.'

In effect, what really obliges the RLP to get a null phonological realization in English and Arabic is, presumably, the nullness of the finite [T] Feature which marks the finiteness of the RC, as the following examples clearly manifest:

8. a. I talked with the man who read a book.  
 b. I talked with the man (\*who) reading a book.  
 c. I respect the man (\*who) loved by his students.
9. a. qaabaltu l-fataat-a llati tajlisu fi l-ḥadiiqat-i.  
 met.I the-girl.F.SG-ACC who.F.SG sits.F.SG in the-garden-GEN  
 'I met the girl who sits in the garden.'
- b. qaabaltu fataat-an (\*llati) jaalisatan fi l-ḥadiiqat-i.  
 met.I girl.F.SG-ACC.INDEF who.F.SG siting.F.SG in the-garden-GEN  
 'I met a girl sitting in the garden.'
- c. qaabaltu l-fataat-a (\*llati) l-jaalisata fi l-ḥadiiqat-i.  
 met.I the-girl.F.SG-ACC who.F.SG the-siting.F.SG in the-garden-GEN  
 'I met the girl who is sitting in the garden.'

Actually, this proposition does not necessarily entail the other facet of the coin. That is, when proposing that the nullness of the finite [T] Feature necessitates the nullness of the RLP<sup>1^A</sup> in English and Arabic RCs (as in 8. b & c and 9. b &

<sup>1^A</sup> We may encounter constructions such as the following, however:

i. raʔaytu r-rajul-a yaktubu d-dars-a  
 saw.I the-man-ACC writing the-lesson-ACC  
 'I saw the man writing the lesson.'

c above), this, however, does NOT entail the assumption that the overtness of finite [T] permits the overtness of the RLP in Arabic indefinite RCs in particular, as shown in (10) below.

10. taḥadaθtu maʕa rajul-in (\*llaḏi) yaktubu r-risaalat-a  
talked.I with man-GEN.INDEF who is.writing the-letter-ACC  
'I talked with a man writing the letter.'

Concerning their very internal derivational structure, needless to say that the adequate projection for RCs should not be determined blindly; it is not just a matter of having '*wh*-elements' in English or in some analogous cases in Arabic. In other words, the RelP projection is distinct from the ForceP projection in a number of perspectives. In spite of being *apparently* similar in their structures, the RCs and the interrogative constructions of ForcePs are effectually distinct in their intrinsic Features and, consequently, they should be distinguished in their supposed projections, too. For instance, the *wh*-elements in the interrogative ForceP projection, I assume, intrinsically and broadly bear the [+Q], [-Person], [-Num], [-DEF], [+Spf] and [+Overtness] Features. However, RLPs in Arabic, for example, in the course of the derivation, have the [+Person], [+Num], [+DEF] and [+Spf] Features, and, more significantly, they are fundamentally endowed with the [+Rel] Feature and they also bear the [-/overtness] Feature. Also, I postulate that the RPs in interrogative constructions have a [Q] Feature while the embedded coindexed RPs have a [Rel] Feature. To concretize such a difference, observe the following representational diagrams:

11. a. b.

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Actually, there seems to be an ambiguity in the derivation of such a construction. That is, there are two possibilities here the first of which views that the TP *yaktubu d-dars-a* is a reduced RC associated with the DP *r-rajul-a*. The second possible derivation is the subcategorization of the TP *yaktub-u d-dars-a* by the verb *raḥaytu*. With regard to the second view, the structure of the example above seemingly resembles the following construction where, though the DP *the wall* gets a semantic interpretation from both the verb *paint* and the AP *pink*, the verb *paint* subcategorizes for two slots, the first is the DP *the wall* and the second the AP *pink*:

- ii. I painted the wall pink.



Moreover, the difference, as put forward by Alexiadou et al. (2000: 6), lies in that "there is no morphosyntactic or referential dependency between the *wh*-phrase and the containing DP in [interrogative *wh*-clauses]; the clause itself satisfies requirements of the argument position of the lexical head (N=*question*) which selects it." Also, the matrix verb containing the interrogative CP must bear the [+Q] Feature, so that we have [+Q]-Featured verbs like *ask* and *wonder* which have a sense of interrogation (cf. Antonenko, 2012). In contrast, I argue that the matrix verb containing the RC does not necessarily have such a [Q] Feature, but possibly a [Rel] Feature, as proved in the following sentences within each of which there is an RC:

- 12. a. Alia *asks* the professor who teaches syntax.
- b. Alia *respects* the professor who teaches syntax.

Grammatically speaking, interrogative constructions positioned in ForceP can be mono-clausal structures. On the contrary, RCs are necessarily embedded within other constructions, forming bi-clausal structures at minimum. With respect to discourse, however, I postulate that interrogative *wh*-elements are  $\theta$ -assigned mainly due to being part and parcel of the mono-clausal structure. On the contrary, since the RCs as a whole, but not only the RLPs or the antecedent DPs, are specificity-implemented and DP-oriented,<sup>19</sup> they, presumably, share the very same  $\theta$ -role that their antecedent DPs have. Also, I postulate that, on the contrary to the interrogative *wh*-elements in Specs-ForcePs, the RLPs

<sup>19</sup> In effect, my proclamation here that RCs are DP-oriented and that DPs, in turn, have a peripheral Feature of relativization enforces Suaieh's (1980: 33) declaration that "any [DP] can be relativized" and, thus, Vries' (2006: 240) view that "the antecedent and the relative clause form [one] constituent." However, stating that RCs are DP-oriented does not mean that only pure DPs but not sentential constituents can be relativized. Actually, the antecedent DP can be a DP or a verbal or even a sentential clause; an example for the sentential antecedent is the following construction (Al-Ghamdi, 2016: 38):

- i. He supports Mr. Ahmed which I appreciate.

participate in the process of Feature valuation held between the embedded coindexed DPs and the antecedent DPs, with the assistance of the Feature sharing mechanism.

Another facet of difference can be in terms of coindexation. In interrogative constructions, positioned in ForceP, which have RPs, coindexation is maximally held between two entities—the *wh*-element and the RP in each. Coindexation in RCs, in contrast, holds among three entities the mediator of which (namely, the RLP) does relate between the antecedent DP and the RP. Though "the antecedent and the relative clause form a constituent," as Vries (2006: 240) states, each of the antecedent DP and the RLP seemingly has a distinct theme for a distinct verb (the first verb is the matrix verb while the second is the verb within the RC). Thus, the observation that the RelP is distinguished from the other projections of CP by having the primary function of *relating* two instances of DPs which have the same coindexation enforces my assumption that RLP is in Rel<sup>0</sup> but not in Force<sup>0</sup>. Actually, one of the most essential functions of the RLP here is being a mediator for relativization and coindexation, fundamentally by referring to the same referent that the antecedent DP and the RP co-refer to. In contrast with the head Rel<sup>0</sup>, the other heads of the split projections of CP, particularly, the ForceP, do not work as mediators relating between two distinct thematic constituents bearing the same index.

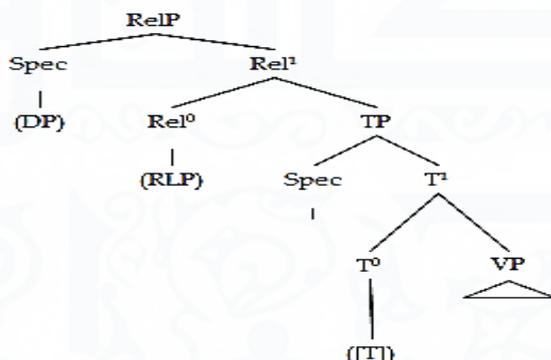
Another difference, when constituents focalized into FocP or moved into ForceP since they have the [+Q] Feature, this entails the subject-auxiliary inversion. However, we do not have such an inversion process with RCs because their head RLPs, as I argue, are base-generated constituents. Observe the ungrammaticality of the following RC example (cf. Rizzi & Roberts, 1989):

13. \*The professor who *do* we respect.

In effect, the analytic strategy I propose in the study at hand differs from the traditional ones which account for RCs either in terms of the NP promotion into Spec-CP preceded by D<sup>0</sup>, or in terms of split DP according to which the RLP is assumed to get separated from the slot of the embedded coindexed DP, or in terms of CP-split whereby the raised constituent is assumed to split between two of the CP layers at the Surface Structure, or in terms of the *wh*-movement at LF. Actually, the proposal called for in this study has the schemata simplified in (14. a) and the format in (14. b):

14. a. [<sub>RelP</sub> [<sub>Spec</sub> DP [<sub>Rel</sub><sup>0</sup> RLP [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub><sup>0</sup> [<sub>VP</sub> ....

b.



From a minimalist perspective, there are a number of computational processes taking place in the narrow syntax, the most significant of which, in my proposal, are *Merge*, *Match* and *Agree*. With *Merge*, the intrinsic Features of [Rel] and [Spf], for instance, are significantly encoded within the RLP in relation to the head Rel<sup>0</sup> and such a relation is "defined over the most core operation, i.e. *Merge*" (Shormani, 2017: 151). Then, the role of *Agree* would be in effect here, codifying the unvalued Features of the probe Rel<sup>0</sup> with the matching valued ones of the base-generated goal RLP (cf. Shormani, 2017; see also Frampton & Gutmann, 2000; Szendrői, 2006; Pesetsky & Torrego, to appear). Following Shormani's valuation mechanism, I argue that the attribute-value pair of the probe Rel<sup>0</sup> is [Rel: \_\_] while the pair of the goal RLP is [Rel: \_valued\_]. Here, I assume that by the *Match* of the Features of the probe and the goal, *Agree* gets established, codifying the Features in question.

For the proposed projection, I have an additional piece of evidence that the RLP is not posited in Spec-ForceP nor in Force<sup>0</sup>. First, observe the following acceptable, grammatical French construction slightly modified from Pesetsky (to appear: 41):

15. l'homme      avec      qui      que      j'ai      dansé  
 the.man      with      whom      that      I.PAST      dance

Such a construction, though grammatical, violates the Doubly Filled Complementizer Filter if I follow the assumption that *qui*, here, is positioned in Spec-ForceP and that *que* is positioned in Force<sup>0</sup>. However, when applying the proposed RelP projection to analyze such a construction, *qui* is positioned in



(2015: 27) supports that view by providing some constructions, modified as follows:

19. a. raʔaytu t-taalib-a llaði qaraʔa l-kitaab-a  
 saw. I the-student-ACC who read the-book-ACC  
 'I saw the student who read the book.'
- b. ʔayy-u kitaab-in raʔayta t-taalib-a llaði qaraʔahu  
 which-NOM book-GEN saw.you the-student-ACC who read.it  
 'Which book that you saw the student who read it?'
- c. \*ʔayy-a kitaab-in raʔayta t-taalib-a llaði qaraʔahu  
 which-ACC book-GEN saw.you the-student-ACC who read.it

Substantially, he declares that "[i]f it were an instance of [*wh*-movement], we would expect that *ʔayy* would have preserved and surfaced with its [Acc] Case" (ibid: 27). Also, how can the DP Case-marked with the Acc Case, for instance, as in (19) above, move and stay in the slot assigned with the Gen Case? Since Case, as Matushansky (2005: 161) states, "cannot be assigned twice," the matching analysis and also the promotion analysis actually seem to be not that adequate, let alone the complexities that the derivation of such a construction could confront when employing those analyses.

On the same track, observe the following examples which could approve more the proposed base-generation analysis:

20. a. qaabaltu r-rajul-a llaði yaktubu r-risaalat-a  
 met.I the-man-ACC who is.writing the-letter-ACC  
 'I met the man who is writing the letter.'
- b. \*qaabaltu r-rajul-u llaði yaktubu r-risaalat-a  
 met.I the-man-NOM who is.writing the-letter-ACC

In (20) above, the embedded coindexed DP is the subject *r-rajul-u*. When we adopt the promotion analysis, we get the ungrammatical construction (20. b) because the assigned Case for the embedded coindexed DP would surface as Nom. That is, when we go along with the promotion analysis, two Cases would possibly and illicitly compete to be on the DP. Hence, the base-generation analysis whereby one and only one Case is assigned to the antecedent DP seems to be more adequate to account for such a case.

Moreover, the base-generation of the antecedent DPs would not suffer from the problem raised by the promotion analysis which assumes that NPs raise from their basic thematic argument slots to have the new role of being the antecedent DPs for the RCs and this is actually what Borsley (1997) disapproves when declaring that NPs cannot be proper arguments in their first base-generated sites. To elaborate more, the view that the RLP and the antecedent DP should be analyzed in terms of the base-generation analysis but not in terms of the promotion or matching analyses seems to be adequate since structures like the following which we might confront with the latter analyses are not possible in the former one:

21. \*I saw the who I respect.

Another problem for the promotion analysis is the in-consensus proclamation that no (lexical) constituent could move out of islands. However, the base-generation analysis adheres to the general constraints of islands provided in the literature, and this is since, as I propose, most of the syntactic operations employed to derive RCs would be mainly by means of the Features manipulation among the concerned constituents. From the minimalist perspective, too, the base-generation analysis deviates from the extensive utilization of the recurrent movements of constituents employed in the promotion analysis, and this, in turn, seems to be adherent with the theory of minimalism in its simplicity and minimality when deriving RCs.

In addition to the assumptions proposed so far, I propose that RLPs are Bermuda-Triangle-like; that is, they have the capacity to penetrate into the embedded coindexed DPs and to absorb some of their Features, and sometimes to annihilate their [overtness] Features, leaving them phonetically unrealized. This actually accounts for the motivation behind the transformation of the embedded coindexed DPs into RPs, and for the nullness of RPs and the presence of gaps in non-islandic environments, too. Also, through the process of absorption, and also the base-generation of RLPs, I generally assume that no reconstruction can hold within islands, nor with overt RPs instances. The following examples exemplify the point in question:

22. a. Ali met the man who we know that Ahmed respects *him*.  
b. \*Ali met the man who we know that Ahmed respects *the man*.

23. a. raʔaytu l-mudarris-a                      llaði                      nuʔminu                      ʔanna muḥammad-an  
 saw.I the-teacher.M.SG-ACC who.M.SG we.believe that Mohammed-ACC

yaḥtarimu-*hu*.

respects-*him.M.SG*

'I saw the teacher who we believe that Mohammed respects him.'

b. \*raʔaytu l-mudarris-a                      llaði                      nuʔminu                      ʔanna muḥammad-an  
 saw.I the-teacher.M.SG-ACC who.M.SG we.believe that Mohammed-ACC

yaḥtarimu *l-mudarris-a*.

respects *the-teacher.M.SG-ACC*

Also, I assume that the RLP has a bidirectional capacity to match and agree with and share the Case of either the antecedent DP (as it is the case in Arabic, for example) or the embedded coindexed DP (as it is the case in English, for instance) and that the choice of the direction depends on the parametric variation of the language. A piece of evidence for this assumption, observe the following instances modified from Drozdik (2010: 303-4), where both possibilities are available; he says that "[t]he role of the RC's head is doubly marked: by the [C]ase, and by the choice between the definite and indefinite verb inflection (a Feature common to Uralic languages)":

24. a. SS: a                      kutya                      kerget-i                      a                      macska-(a)t,                      amely  
 the dog.NOM chase-3<sup>rd</sup>.SG.DEF the cat-ACC which.NOM  
 néz-i                      az                      eger-et  
 watch-3<sup>rd</sup>.SG.DEF the mouse-ACC  
 'The dog chases the cat that watches the mouse.'

b. SO: a                      kutya                      kerget-i                      a                      macska-(a)t,                      amely-et  
 the dog.NOM chase-3<sup>rd</sup>.SG.DEF the cat-ACC which-ACC  
 néz                      az                      eger  
 watch.3<sup>rd</sup>.SG.INDEF the mouse.NOM  
 'The dog chases the cat that watches the mouse.'

#### 4. Relative Pronouns and Islands

The discussion of RCs actually necessitates giving a heavy light on the topic of islandhood, and this is primarily to investigate the general intrinsic confidentiality between RPs and islands. As put forward in § 3, gaps are

generally prohibited within islands, and this is due to the general incapability of the RLP's annihilation force to penetrate into the boundaries of islands. Accordingly, when the RLP's annihilation force encroaches the (strong) islands' borders, ungrammatical constructions would ensue.<sup>۲۰</sup> Generally speaking, embedded RCs,<sup>۲۱</sup> *wh*-clauses, adjuncts, coordinate nodes, PPs, and also CSs and sentential subjects are all islands (cf. Ross, 1967, 1986; Demirdache, 1991; Hamdallah & Tushyeh, 1998; Galal, 2005; Aoun et al., 2001; Aoun et al., 2010; Asudeh, 2015; *inter alia*).

#### 4.1. Embedded Relative Clauses

Regarding embedded RC islands, the RLP of the embedded RC could be argued to be a barrier boarder for the annihilation force of the higher RLP, disqualifying it from the capability of annihilating the [overtness] Feature of the concerned RP; otherwise, ungrammaticality, and also unintelligibility of the construction, would be the result. The following English and Arabic examples are to make such a point clearer:

25. a. The paper that the distinguished professor who speaks five languages has written *it* is daring.  
 b. \*The paper that the distinguished professor who speaks five languages has written \_\_\_ is daring.

26. a. jaaʔa l-muʕalim-u llaði t-tullaab-u llaðiina yadrusuuna l-ingliiziat-a  
 came the-teacher-NOM who the-students-NOM who study the-English-ACC  
 ACC  
 yahtarimuuna-*hu*  
 respect-*him*  
 'The teacher who the students who study English respect him came.'

b. \*jaaʔa l-muʕalim-u llaði t-tullaab-u llaðiina yadrusuuna l-ingliiziat-a  
 came the-teacher-NOM who the-students-NOM who study the-English-ACC  
 yahtarimuuna \_\_\_  
 respect

<sup>۲۰</sup> Gaps—not as a consequence of the movement analysis, as put forward by Panitz (2014)—can be found in weak islands, however.

<sup>۲۱</sup> Significant noting here that the label 'embedded RCs' used in the study at hand, by and large, stands for 'complex DPs' given in the literature.

Put simply, in each construction in the examples (25 & 26) provided above, there are two RCs, a higher RC and an embedded RC. In the English RC in (25), the higher antecedent DP is *The paper* while the embedded antecedent DP is *the distinguished professor*. In the Arabic RC in (26), the higher antecedent DP is *l-muṣalim-u* while the embedded antecedent DP is *t-tullaab-u*. Evident that the RPs coindexed with the higher RLPs *that* and *llaḏi* (viz. the RPs *it* and *-hu*) are within the domains of the embedded RLPs *who* and *llaḏiina*; therefore, though the absorption of their [nominal] Features is allowed, the annihilation of their [overtness] Feature is prohibited. In addition, in accordance with the view that RPs are to prevent locality violations, I argue that gaps in the examples above are not allowed. Associated with this is also the prohibition of bi-gaps (i.e. real and parasitic gaps). Observe the following English constructions:

27. \*The student who the distinguished professor who \_\_\_\_ likes \_\_\_\_ is clever.

In addition to the syntactic account of the violation of the embedded RC island mentioned above, there is a semantic one. The two gaps in the very same embedded clause in (27) lead to ambiguity and consequently to the divergent derivation and parsing. That is, it is not clear who likes whom. So that, only the annihilation force of the closest RLP could be in effect. Here in the example above, it is the embedded RLP *who* that could annihilate its coindexed RP. However, the concerned RP of the higher RLP cannot be annihilated.

Like the examples given above, in the Irish embedded coindexed DP slots within embedded RCs, only RPs are allowed (cf. McCloskey, 2006). Observe the following examples (McCloskey, 2006: 99-100):

28. a. An fánaidhe a n-abradh daoine nár thuig é go rabh sé  
the wanderer that would-say people NEG C understood him that was  
he  
éadtrom sa cheann.  
light in.the head  
'The wanderer that people who didn't understand him would say that he was soft in the head.'

b. seanchasóg ar dócha go bhfuil an táilliúir a dhein í sa chré  
old.jacket that probable that is the tailor that made it in.the earth  
fadó  
long.ago  
'An old jacket that the tailor who made it has probably been in the grave for ages'

#### 4.2. *Wh*-islands

With respect to *wh*-constructions which by and large are argued to be of the weak sort, the (un)acceptability of gaps within them is controversial and not clearcut (cf. Borsley, 2003; Truswell, 2013; Szabolcsi, 2006). However, following Szabolcsi (2006) and also Borsley (2003), I assume that when the *wh*-element of the *wh*-construction comes along with a finite verb, the gap is not allowed. However, when it does not, gap is allowed. To illustrate for this point, I provide the following constructions:<sup>٢٢</sup>

29. a. \*The paper which we do not know *who* wrote \_\_\_\_.  
b. The paper which we do not know *who* wrote *it*.  
c. \*The student who we wonder *what* \_\_\_\_ did.  
d. The student who we wonder *what* *he* did.
30. The student who we wonder *whether* \_\_\_\_ to pass the exam.

The ungrammaticality of (29. a & c), on the contrary to (30), can be attributed to the violation of the *wh*-islands which necessitate the overtiness of the RPs within them due to their finiteness. So that, the overtiness of the RPs in (29. b & d) renders the given constructions grammatical. In contrast, the clause of the *wh*-element *whether* in (30) is not finite, so that, the annihilation force could transcend the weak border of *whether* to annihilate the targeted RP. Noteworthy stating that, as it is the case with embedded RC islands exposed earlier, the ungrammaticality of (29. a & c) is presumably not attributed only to syntax but also to semantics. For making this point clearer, observe the following examples:

31. a. \*The student who we wonder who \_\_\_\_ hits \_\_\_\_  
b. The student who we wonder who *he* hits \_\_\_\_  
c. The student who we wonder who \_\_\_\_ hits *him*

In (31. a), the parser may not be able to differentiate between the gap of the concerned embedded coindexed DP and that coindexed with the interrogative *wh*-element. Put simply again, it is not clear who hits whom. However, such a confusion is eliminated in (31. b & c) in which the concerned RPs are clearly the subject in the former and the object in the latter. Thus, like syntax,

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<sup>٢٢</sup> For more examples on *wh*-islands in English, see McCloskey (2006), Szabolcsi (2006), Borsley (2003), Galal (2005).

semantics can contribute to the (un)grammaticality of constructions like the ones above.

Turning to Arabic *wh*-islands, the annihilation of the [overtness] Feature of the RP is similarly prevented as evident in the following constructions (cf. Galal, 2005; Aoun et al., 2010):

32. a. raʔaytu l-muʕalim-a llaði saʔalatni ʔuxti hal ʔahtarimu-hu  
saw.I the-teacher-ACC who asked.me sister.my whether respect.I-him  
'I saw the teacher who my sister asked me whether I respect him.'

b. \*raʔaytu l-muʕalim-a llaði saʔalatni ʔuxti hal ʔahtarimu \_\_  
saw.I the-teacher-ACC who asked.me sister.my whether respect.I

The ungrammaticality of the example (32. b) is due to the annihilation force of the higher RLP when encroaching the border of the *wh*-island. Such a construction enforces that gaps are not allowed in Arabic *wh*-constructions.

### 4.3. Adjuncts

Similar to *wh*-islands, gaps within adjuncts which have finite [T] Features lead to the ungrammaticality of the constructions (cf. Borsley, 2003). Thus, the solution to such ungrammaticality is the retainment of the [overtness] Feature of the RP. However, when the adjuncts lack finite [T] Features, covert RPs (viz. gaps) appear. Observe the following examples in which gaps are not allowed in (33) due to being within finite adjuncts while allowed in (34) due to being within infinite adjuncts:

33. a. \*The paper that I respect its writer because I like \_\_\_\_.  
b. The paper that I respect its writer because I like *it*.

34. The paper that I respect its writer without reading \_\_\_\_.

With respect to adjuncts in Arabic RCs, observe the following constructions which enforce that the annihilation of the [overtness] Feature of the RP from within the domains of adjuncts posited at the bottom of the derivation is not acceptable (cf. Suaieħ, 1980; Galal, 2005; Aoun et al., 2010):

35. a. al-kitaab-u llaði najaha t-taalib-u duuna ʔan yaqraʔu-hu  
the-book-NOM which passed the-student-NOM without to read-it  
'The book that the student passed the exam without reading it.'

- b. \*al-kitaab-u      llađi    najaha    t-taalib-u            duuna    ?an    yaqra? \_\_\_\_  
 the-book-NOM    which    passed    the-student-NOM    without    to    read

Observe also the following constructions which exhibit another adjuncts example which has no finite [T] Feature:

36. a. ar-rajul-u      llađi    ?ibtasamat    tiflat-u-hu      ba?d    ru?yyati-*hi*  
 the-man-NOM    who    smiled            child-NOM-his    after    seeing-*him*  
 'The man whose child smiled after seeing him.'

- b. \*ar-rajul-u      llađi    ?ibtasamat    tiflat-u-hu      ba?d    ru?yyati \_\_\_\_  
 the-man-NOM    who    smiled            child-NOM-his    after    seeing \_\_\_\_

From the RCs above, one can notice that gaps are not allowed within adjuncts which do or do not have the finite [T] Feature in Arabic. The overtness of the RPs is inevitable for the grammaticality of such constructions; otherwise, ungrammaticality would be the consequence.

#### 4.4. Coordination

Another constraint the violation of which leads to the ungrammaticality of the whole RC is that of coordinate nodes. Consider the following English and Arabic examples:

37. a. \*The professor who Ali likes \_\_\_\_ and Alia respects *him*  
 b. \*The professor who Ali likes *him* and Alia respects \_\_\_\_

38. a. \*?aada      r-rajul-u      llađi    qaabaltu \_\_\_\_    wa    ?ahtarimu-*hu*  
 returned    the-man-NOM    who    met.I            and    respect.I-*him*
- b. \*?aada      r-rajul-u      llađi    qaabaltu-*hu*    wa    ?ahtarimu \_\_\_\_  
 returned    the-man-NOM    who    met.I-*him*      and    respect.I

In each example here, the RLP's annihilation force encroaches the &P (=Coordination Phrase), annihilating the RP from only one conjunct, ensuing ungrammatical constructions. That is, each of the examples in (37) and (38)<sup>۲۳</sup> is ungrammatical for the RLP's annihilation force encroaches the sacredness of

<sup>۲۳</sup> Thanks are to Prof. Mutiia Ghaanim and Prof. Abdullah A-Sharaai and also to T. Ohood Shahrah and T. Aisha Hasan for their valuable information regarding the (un)grammaticality of such Arabic coordinated constructions.

the &P, annihilating the RP from one conjunct but not from the other. The annihilation force, otherwise, should affect the whole &P and this is primarily by annihilating the overtness of the conjunct RPs of the &P; and this is proven in the grammaticality of the following constructions (cf. Borsley, 2003; Szabolcsi, 2006; Fox & Nissenbaum, 1999; Suaieh, 1980; Ross, 1967; Alqurashi, 2012):

39. The man who Ali likes \_\_\_ and Alia respects \_\_\_.

40. ʕaada r-rajul-u llaði qaabaltu \_\_\_ wa ʔahtarimu \_\_\_  
returned the-man-NOM who met.I and respect.I  
'The man whom I met and respect has returned.'

#### 4.5. Sentential Subjects

The annihilation force is not allowed also when meeting sentential subjects (cf. Boeckx, 2003a; Borsley, 2003; Iatridou, 1995; Overfelt, 2015; Demirdache, 1991). What is meant by the 'sentential subject' here is the subject which comes in the form of a sentence or a complex phrase. The annihilation of a constituent from within such a sentential subject transfers the whole construction ungrammatical. Observe the following examples (cf. Borsley, 2003):

41. a. The paper which a section of *it* is interesting  
b. \*The paper which a section of \_\_\_ is interesting

#### 4.6. Construct States

Worth mentioning that CSs is a phenomenon found in Arabic, but not in English. To tackle this island category, look first at the following example:

42. a. ʔibtasamat t-tiflat-u llati ʕaada waalid-u-ha  
smiled the-child-NOM who returned father-NOM-her  
'The child whose father returned smiled.'

b. \*ʔibtasamat t-tiflat-u llati ʕaada waalid-u \_\_\_  
smiled the-child-NOM who returned father-NOM

Here, the annihilation of the [overtness] Feature of the RP out of the CS *waalid-u-ha* is impossible; otherwise, ungrammaticality is the consequence. Actually, no constituent (namely, the possessee) could be annihilated from within the CS. Thus, the nullness of the RP in the example (42. b) above renders the construction ungrammatical. In effect, within CSs, RPs which could

represent the definiteness of the CSs as a whole and which also bear the Gen Case are significant and indispensable for the grammaticality of the construction as in (42. a); otherwise, the derivation would crash (cf. Galal, 2005). At a simple level of the CSs structuring, the following examples elucidate the necessity of RPs:

43. a. baiyt-u            r-rajul-i            l-qadiim-u  
          house-NOM    the-man-GEN    the-old-NOM  
          'The man's old house'

b. \* baiyt-u            \_\_\_\_\_            l-qadiim-u  
          house-NOM                                    the-old-NOM

As evident, *l-qadiim-u* shares *baiyt-u* not only the Case but also the [DEF] Feature. Actually, the Gen noun *r-rajul-i* which is the basic reason behind the definiteness of the noun *baiyt-u* must appear in this environment. So that, to remedy (43. b) when being in the RC, the RP should be overt, as follows:

44. baiyt-u-*hu*                    l-qadiim-u  
          house-NOM-*his*-GEN    the-old-NOM  
          'His old house'

Thus, the significance of the overtness of the RP *-hu* as evident from the example above lies in its very underlying function signifying both its Gen Case and the definiteness of the antecedent noun.

A similar case for the obligatory overtness of RPs within CSs is in Hebrew, too, as the following example taken and modified from Galal (2005: 146) shows:

45. ha-ʔif            she            raʔiti            ʔet            ʔift-\*(o)  
          the-man    that            (I).saw    ACC            wife-(his)  
          'The man whose wife I saw'

#### **4.7. Prepositional Phrases**

Regarding English PPs, the annihilation of the [overtness] Feature of the complement RPs apparently seems to be possible. However, the embedded coindexed PPs, though having no explicit nature of islandhood, could be assumed to have null realized RPs. To illustrate for the null realization of RPs within embedded coindexed PPs, observe the following example:

46. The boy whom I gave a present to

With respect to Arabic PPs, Arabic, like Spanish, Italian, Irish, Swiss German and Hebrew, does not allow preposition stranding (cf. Suaieħ, 1980; Galal, 2005; Riemsdijk, 1989; Salzmänn, 2009; Aoun et al., 2010). Accordingly, the annihilation of the [overtness] Feature of the RP is not allowed. Consider the following examples which contain the preposition *ʔila*:

47. a. jaaʔa r-rajul-u ɪlaði katabtu r-risaalat-a ʔilay-hi  
came the-man-NOM who wrote.I the-letter-ACC to-him  
'The man to whom I wrote the letter came.'

b. \*jaaʔa r-rajul-u ɪlaði katabtu r-risaalat-a ʔila \_\_\_\_  
came the-man-NOM who wrote.I the-letter-ACC to

Observing the examples above closely, the preposition *ʔila* needs to check its assigned Gen Case so that the nullness of the RP is not permitted and hence gap renders the given construction ungrammatical (cf. Galal, 2005). That is, RPs can be assumed to enable the prepositions to check their inherent Gen Cases. Rather, if there are no RPs but gaps, such a Gen Case stays unchecked that the derivation diverges and then crashes at the interfaces.

Another associated account for the obligatory overtness of the RPs within the domains of the PPs is that the Head-Complement relation between the prepositions and their complements in Arabic (as it is also the case in Spanish, Italian, Irish, Swiss German, French and Hebrew, to mention but few) is, presumably, so tight and absolute that the annihilation force of the RLP there could not do its work properly. The incorporated (i.e. contracted) forms of prepositions with their complement DPs in Arabic and French, for instance, can be considered a piece of evidence. In the following examples, the first ones in (48) are from standard and dialectal Arabic, respectively, while the other ones in (49) are from French:

48. a. ʕala l-ħaaʔiti  
on the-wall

b. ʕalħaaʔit  
on.the.wall  
'On the wall'

49. a. a + le =au  
to/at + the.SG

b. a + les =aux  
to/at + the.PL

## 5. Long Distance Relativization

When tackling LDR, we are concerned with cases in which the distant coindexed DP is relativized regardless of the existence of a number of clauses intervening between this distant embedded coindexed DP and the RLP that it is coindexed with. Actually, the difference between this type of LDR and other simple RCs is that in the former there often exist one or two intervening complementizers or RLPs. Though being not that easy to be accounted for in terms of phases, there are, however, two remarkable views in the literature accounting for LDR from the Phase Theory perspective. These are stated in (50) below:

50. a.  $v$ Ps/TPs/CPs, for instance, are prevented from closing, and this is due to the ongoing accessibility of the concerned unvalued [Rel] Feature of the RP to the higher RLP head (cf. Antonenko, 2012; Rouveret, 2008). As argued, the unvalued [Rel] Feature of the RP is linked with the identical unvalued ones of the higher  $v^0$ s and  $C^0$ s so that those phasal heads share the unvalued instance of their domains. That is, they enter a "sharing [P]robe-[G]oal relationship" with that unvalued Feature within their domains (Antonenko, 2012: 224). This, consequently, signifies the possibility of the exposure of the unvalued Features to goals outside the spheres of such phrases which are still not transferred.
- b. *Agree* is not constrained by phases and thus it is, as Shormani (2017: 167; see also the references therein) states, "not subject to PIC effects, or otherwise PIC does not hold of long-distance *Agree*." Thus, the phases constraints and the locality condition, presumably, apply to *Move* but not to *Agree* (cf. Bošković, 2007; Shormani, in press; Antonenko, 2012).

To expose such views concretely, look at the following English, Arabic and French examples:

51. a. I saw the man<sub>i</sub> who<sub>i</sub> Ali said that Ahmed knows that the student respects *him*<sub>i</sub>.  
 b. I read the book<sub>i</sub> which<sub>i</sub> Ali thinks that Ahmed knows the student who respects the teacher who wrote *it*<sub>i</sub>.

52. a. ?istaqaala l-waziir-u<sub>i</sub> llaði<sub>i</sub> şaddaqtu zaşma řaliyy-in ?anna  
 resigned the-minister-NOM who believed.I claim Ali-GEN that  
 l-mar?at-a llati ?ahabbat-hu<sub>i</sub> ?intařarat  
 the-woman-ACC who loved-him committed.suicide.she  
 'The minister that I believed Ali's claim that the woman who loved him committed suicide resigned.'

(slightly modified from Suaieh

(1980:184))

- b. ra?aytu r-rajul-a<sub>i</sub> llaði<sub>i</sub> qaala muhammad-un ?anna řaliyy-an yu?minu  
 saw.I the-man-ACC who said Mohammed-NOM that Ali-ACC believes  
 ?anna ?ahmad-a yařrifu t-taalibat-a llati tahtarimu-hu<sub>i</sub>.  
 that Ahmed-ACC knows the-student-ACC who respects-him  
 'I saw the man who Mohammed said that Ali believes that Ahmed knows the student who respects him.'

53. J'ai vu l'homme<sub>i</sub> que<sub>i</sub> Ali dit que Ahmed respecte l'etudiante que  
 I.PAST see the.man who Ali says that Ahmed respects the.student that  
 la professeure sait que Mohammed l'a rencontré  
 the professor knows that Mohammed *him*<sub>i</sub>.PAST meet  
 'I saw the man who Ali says that Ahmed respects the student that the professor knows that Mohammed met him.'

As seen in (51. a & b), the distant RPs *him* and *it* are essentially coindexed with the RLPs *who* and *which*, respectively. Even through clauses boundaries, there is a transcendent LDA between the RPs, on the one hand, and the RLPs (along with their antecedent DPs) on the other. To expose how such a mechanism of LDA regarding LDR operates, let us apply the accounts provided in (50) above, one by one, to (51. a).<sup>۲۴</sup>

Following the first potential account, the long main RC *the man who Ali said that Ahmed knows that the student respects him* in (51. a) can be derived as follows. The basic embedded coindexed DP *a man* comes from the lexicon with valued  $\phi$ -Features but with the unvalued Feature of [Rel]. Then such an embedded coindexed DP merges with the verb *respects* and values its Acc

<sup>۲۴</sup> Due to the limit of space, I discuss here the English example, making it a representative for the other similar examples in Arabic and also French.

Case. After that, the DP and the verb amalgamated into VP merge with the  $v^0$  projection (not shown in the diagram, for simplicity) in order to get attached to the subject of the clause, namely, to *the student*. However, though merging with  $T^0$  in order for the verb to value its [T] Feature and also in order for the subject to value its Nom Case, the  $vP$ , till this point, cannot be considered a phase since it would crash once it is sent to the interfaces due to the [Rel] Features (and also the [Spf] ones) which are still unvalued and which are still open and active, too, for higher goals and probes. Put in other words, the  $vP$  here is prevented from acquiring its phasal status so that the higher ongoing probing into its domain would not be a violation of the PIC. When proceeding the derivation, the whole TP projection *the student respects a man* merges with the  $C^0$  filled by the complementizer *that*. Here, it is supposed in the literature that the domain would be sent to the two interfaces; nevertheless, the CP, too, in this case, is still bearing unvalued active Features which are in urgent need for matching valued counterparts.

In turn, such a clause merges with the higher verb *knows* to fill the thematic requirement of the latter as being transitive in nature. Thus, the CP we have got will be valued with an abstract Acc Case. However, the [Rel] Feature of the embedded coindexed DP is still up to this moment unvalued, so that the second higher  $vP$ , too, cannot be considered a phase even when merging with  $T^0$ . Then, a recursive algorithm of more higher intervening TPs and CPs are progressively built on. The whole TP *Ahmed knows that the student respects a man*, accordingly, merges recursively with the complementizer *that*, constituting the CP *that Ahmed knows that the student respects a man* which cannot be a phase according to the account of LDR at hand. However, by the merge of such a clause with  $V^0$  (filled by the verb *said*),  $T^0$  and, crucially,  $Rel^0$ , the unvalued linked [Rel] Features (and also [Spf] Features) would share the same value of the RLP *who* and the whole construction, thus, could be sent to the two interfaces for interpretation.<sup>۲۰</sup>

Noteworthy stating that phase heads such as  $v^0$ s are argued to bear not only unvalued  $\phi$ -Features but also unvalued [Rel] Feature (cf. Rouveret, n.d.; Antonenko, 2012). Then, the unvalued [Rel] Feature (and also the [Spf]

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<sup>۲۰</sup> Based on this, I assume that RelPs *per se* are generally phases. Holding Antonenko's (2012) argumentation that what determines a phrase to be a phase is the complete valuation of its Features, and assuming that the RelP is a split projection of CP which is a phase by itself, the RelP projection, since it also gives a complete proposition, is generally a phase, as I assume.

Feature) of the embedded coindexed DP searching for the valued counterpart gets linked with the matching unvalued Features of the higher dominating  $\nu$ Ps and CPs; all of these linked unvalued Features eventually enter into a local relationship with the valued counterpart Feature once the RLP merges. Thus, valuation takes place and the phases would not crash when they get transferred to the LF and PF interfaces.

Actually, from the analysis given above, I argue that the first potential account is not that adequate because it deviates somehow, in both derivation and transference, from the simplicity called for in minimalism. Then, let us see the second potential account. According to this account, Shormani (in press) suggests that *Agree* relations are not restricted to phases nor to phasal transfers. For the construction in (51. a) above, the LDR of the embedded coindexed DP can be in effect over the constructed and even the transferred phases of  $\nu$ Ps and CPs. However, I assume here that the articulation of such phases is postponed till the merge of the RLP for the sake of the RLP's absorption process to take place, rendering the embedded coindexed DP *a man* into the RP *him*. That is, based on this account, I argue that this pronominalization process takes place at the LF interface.

In accordance with this account and the mechanism of Feature sharing, I argue for the cyclic *Agree* whereby *Match* and *Agree* and the RLP's forces of absorption and annihilation could have an access to prior phases transferred. Hence, even if the embedded coindexed DP is transferred to LF, its Features values are presumably 'updated' in correspondence with the matching valued Features of the coindexed RLP. Consequently, the valuation of the coindexed matching constituents can be assumed to be fulfilled at a later stage of the phasal transfer.

## **6. Reduced Relative Clauses**

Following Cinque's (1993b) view, cited in Kayne (1994: 100), that there are two sorts of "adnominal adjectives" the first of which are reduced relatives while the second are APs generated and posited in Specs of "functional heads" occurring between the functional head  $D^0$ s and the lexical head  $N^0$ s, maintaining Kayne's view that APs, which are not initial structures within DPs, are essentially of a sentential sort, and noticing the semantic parallelism of reduced RCs with ordinary full RCs, I follow Ross (1972), assuming that reduced RCs are fundamentally ordinary RCs whose RLPs have null realization.

Attempting to expose the nature of reduced RCs more, the nullness of the RLP is traditionally accounted for in terms of the 'Whiz Deletion' which is assumed to be in effect when the RLP and the verb to BE are adjacent to one another (cf. Ross, 1972; Stanton, 2011). However, I argue that when there is a null RLP, it means that this null RLP is 'weak' since, as I assume, the embedded verb, if existing, has no finite [T] Feature (cf. Hudson, 1973; Stanton, 2011). Being weak, the RLP sacrifices itself, if expressed well, paving the way for a total interlacement between the antecedent DP and the complement sharing the same coindexation, the same [Rel] and [Spf] Features and the identical  $\phi$ -Features. This point is illustrated in the following English example:

54. *The man speaking Italian* is over there.

Noteworthy declaring that in reduced RCs the participles of verbs (along with prepositions, adverbs and post-nominal adjectives) could surface. Crucial to bear in mind that the present participle form is used when the embedded coindexed DP is the subject DP. However, when the embedded coindexed DP is the object DP, the verb is necessarily of the past participle (i.e. passive) form. Observe the following construction:

55. *The language spoken by Ali* is Spanish.

To provide examples for other forms of the reduced RCs in English, look at the following constructions:

56. a. *The girl with the red coat* is beautiful.  
b. *The tree there* is fruitful.  
c. *The girl present* is the most intelligent student in her class.

In the English examples above, the [T] Feature along with the RLP are null. What remains in (56. a) is but the PP *with the red coat*; in (56. b), the AdvP *there*; and in (56. c), the AP *present*.

With regard to Arabic reduced RCs, the strong interaction between the nullness of the RLP in Arabic and the indefiniteness of the antecedent DP has no major role in determining whether the RC is full or reduced. Actually, like English, what determines that is presumably the finite [T] Feature. When this [T] Feature is null, the whole RC is necessarily rendered into a reduced RC. This is clearly manifested in the following illustrations:

57. a. qaraʔtu    l-kitaab-a    llaði    tufaḍiluhu  
read.I    the-book-ACC    which    you.prefer.it  
'I read the book that you prefer.'

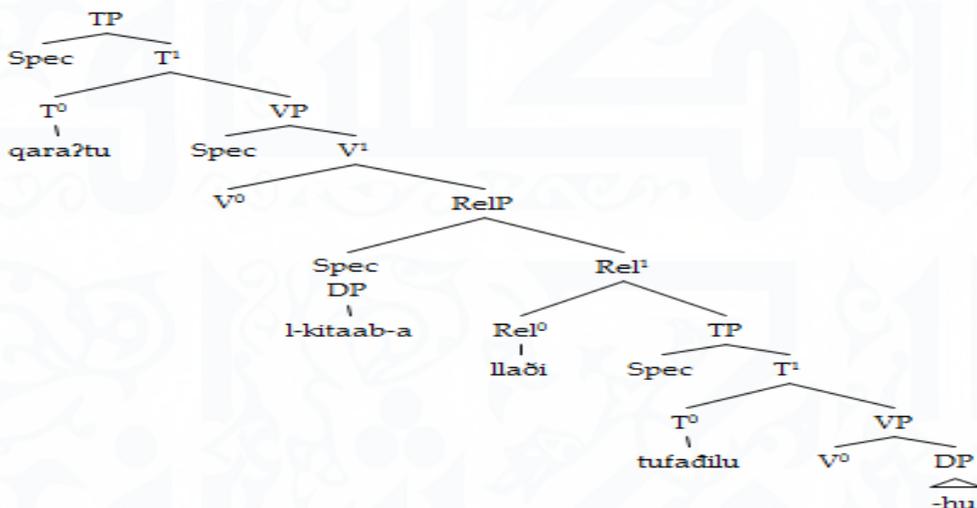
b. qaraʔtu    kitaab-an    tufaḍiluhu  
read.I    book-ACC.INDEF    you.prefer.it  
'I read a book that you prefer.'

58. a. qaraʔtu    l-kitaab-a    l-mufaḍala  
read.I    the-book-ACC    the-preferred  
'I read the preferred book.'

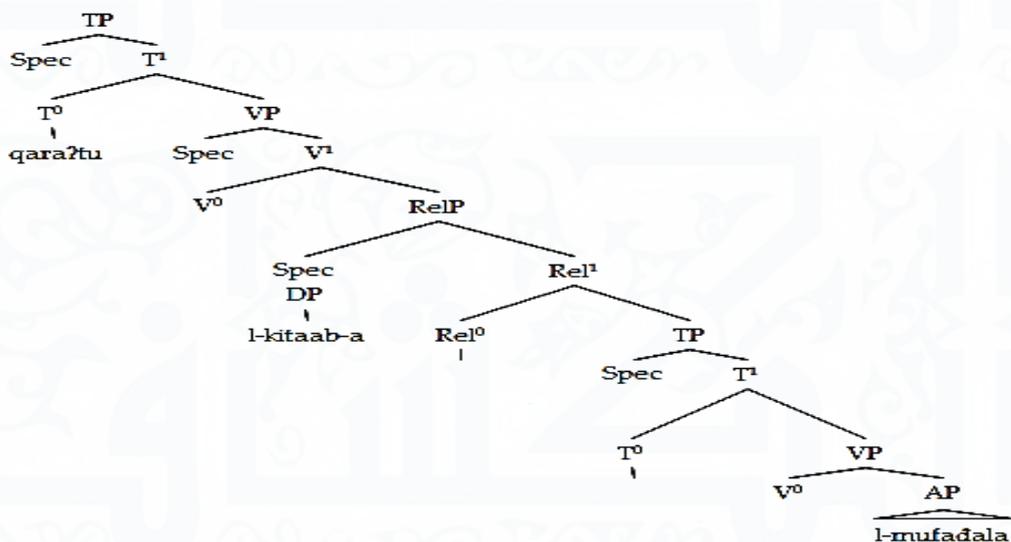
b. qaraʔtu    kitaab-an    mufaḍalan  
read.I    book-ACC.INDEF    preferred.INDEF  
'I read a preferred book.'

The definite and indefinite RCs in (57. a & b) can be argued to be full RCs since the finite [T] Feature in each construction is overt. However, in (58. a & b), the matter differs due to the nullness of the finite [T] Feature; thus, the whole constructions are rendered into reduced RCs. According to that, Arabic RCs, like English ones, are considered reduced RCs when the finite [T] Feature is null. I assume that, due to its nullness, the RLP is not projected, and this goes in line with the principle of economy whereby a phrase is not projected if it has no lexical content (cf. Speas, 2006). Actually, the RLP being a functional category, the potential nullness of the RLP can be also attributed to what Pesetsky (to appear) labels as the *Telegraph*; meaning that, though being present in the derivation, functional constituents, presumably like RLPs, could be not pronounced especially when their nullness does not render the construction ungrammatical. Based on that, I argue that the representational diagrams of both reduced RCs and full ones are similar to one another to a great extent. Observe, for example, the following diagrams in (59 & 60) representing the examples (57. a) and (58. a), respectively:

59.



60.



Given that reduced RCs have a parallel semantic interpretation with full RCs save that, with the former, the finite [T] Feature and the RLP are null, the (in)definiteness and the Case of the antecedent DP are generally spread to the AP remnant within the reduced RC. To clarify that, observe the following constructions:

61. a. *daxalat l-fataat-u l-jamiilat-u*  
 came.in *the-girl-NOM the-beautiful-NOM*  
 'The beautiful girl came in.' (definite)
- b. *daxalat fataat-un jamiilat-un*  
 came.in *girl-NOM beautiful-NOM.INDEF*  
 'A beautiful girl came in.' (indefinite)

Evidently, the [+/-DEF] Feature is shared between the antecedent DPs and the APs following them. Hence, they get [+DEF] Features when the antecedent DPs have [+DEF] Features, and they get [INDEF] Features when the antecedent DPs have [INDEF] Features. Actually, the [+/-DEF] Feature is distributed to the adjectives following them which widely include the categories of *ʔisma l-faaʕil* (i.e. present participle) and *ʔism l-mafʕuul* (viz. past participle). Nevertheless, when the constituents following the antecedent DPs in reduced RCs are not APs but AdvPs or PPs, there is no overt agreement in the [-/+DEF] Feature between them and the antecedent DP. For PPs, look at the following examples:

62. a. *at-taalib-u mina l-hindi kataba r-risaalata*  
*the-student-NOM from the-India.GEN wrote the.letter.ACC*  
 'The student from India wrote the letter.'
- b. *taalib-un mina l-hindi kataba r-risaalata*  
*student-NOM.INDEF from the-India.GEN wrote the.letter.ACC*  
 'A student from India wrote the letter.' (PP)

## 7. Extraposition

No debate that the antecedent DPs and the remaining constituents of the full RCs could be separated from one another primarily by means of the process of 'extraposition'. The apparently separated constituents of those RCs are widely well-known as 'extraposed RCs'.<sup>٢٦, ٢٧</sup> For better comprehension, observe the following examples:

<sup>٢٦</sup> Significant to state that extraposition seems to be not purely the option of syntax; there seems to be an outstanding interplay between syntax and discourse. Moreover, extraposition can be also attributed to semantics, pragmatics and stylistics (cf. Song, 2009; Zwart, 1998).

63. a. *A new student who wrote an amazing article* came into the class.  
b. *A new student* came into the class *who wrote an amazing article*.
64. a. Yesterday, I saw *the great professor whose name is Shormani Sir*.  
b. I saw *the great professor* yesterday *whose name is Shormani Sir*.

In (63. b) and (64. b) above, the RCs *who wrote an amazing article* and *whose name is Shormani Sir* are evidently extraposed from the antecedent DPs *A new student* and *the great professor*.

As a matter of fact, there are a number of accounts put forward in the literature, attempting to account for such a phenomenon. The first account is the analysis of extraposition in terms of the rightward movement of the extraposed RC from its canonical position to a higher position (cf. Ross, 1986; Baltin, 2006). The second account is based on the base-generation propped with an interpretive mechanism which is in effect since the extraposed RC is bound to the maximal projection containing the antecedent DP (cf. Culicover & Rochemont, n.d.). Actually, it is assumed that the base-generation account is preferred since the 'ordering' of the extraposed constituents via the movement analysis seems to be difficult. The third account bears that the whole RC (namely, the antecedent DP and the extraposed RC) generates in the extraposed position, but then the antecedent DP undergoes a leftward movement that the remnant extraposed RC gets stranded (cf. Kayne, 1994). Put in other words, arguing that linearization is a post-syntactic operation, Kayne (1994: 118) proposes that "the 'extraposed' relative [is] 'stranded' by [the] leftward movement." The fourth account views extraposition as a hybrid phenomenon (cf. Fox & Nissenbaum, 1999; Overfelt, 2015). That is, extraposed constructions are assumed to be derived by the covert movement of the antecedent DPs, mainly by the Quantifier Raising operation subjected to the theory of Binding, followed by the merge of the extraposed RCs. The rightward moved antecedent DPs, thus, are argued to get no phonological realization because their movement is covert.

Actually, all the accounts exhibited so far compete with one another. However, I approve the last account primarily for one or two reasons the most prominent of which are concerned with the validity of the semantic interpretation and with

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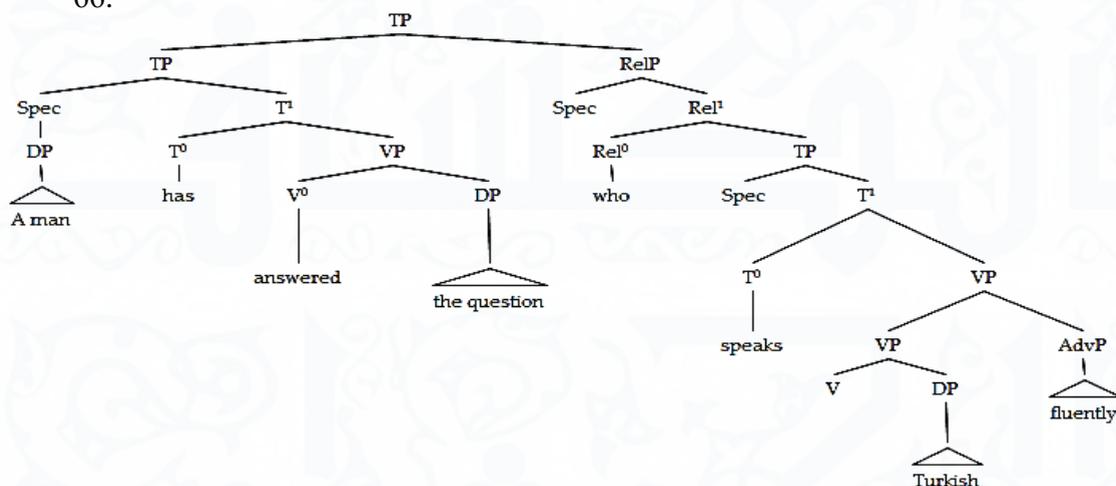
<sup>24</sup> Extraposition is preferred when the RC is longer or more complex in comparison with the VP, or when the antecedent DP is indefinite (cf. Francis & Michaelis, 2016).

the licensing mechanism.<sup>٢٨</sup> Applying this account to some constructions that have extraposed RCs, consider the following example:

65. *A man* has answered the question *who speaks Turkish fluently*.

Putting in mind the in-consensus view of the initial generation of the subject DP primarily in Spec-*v*P and its movement to Spec-TP, the antecedent DP *A man*, in the example (65) above, can be assumed to undergo a covert movement to a rightward slot within the rightward base-generated projection of the RelP. In this new slot (viz. Spec-RelP), it gets a null phonetic realization, however. To represent the construction in question in a diagram, see (66) below:

66.



Concerning the appropriate position for the extraposed RC, it should be, as shown above, a position in which there is no clausal barrier between its basic slot of generation and the new position hosting it. That is to say, it should be within the same clause where its antecedent DP gets a phonetic realization. And this concurs with Baltin's (2006: 241) generalization which states that the "extraposed phrase is adjoined to the first maximal projection that dominates the phrase in which it originates." Such a generalization actually accounts for the grammatical sequencing of the RCs in (67. a) and the ungrammatical one in (67. b)—these examples are slightly modified from Baltin (2006: 242):

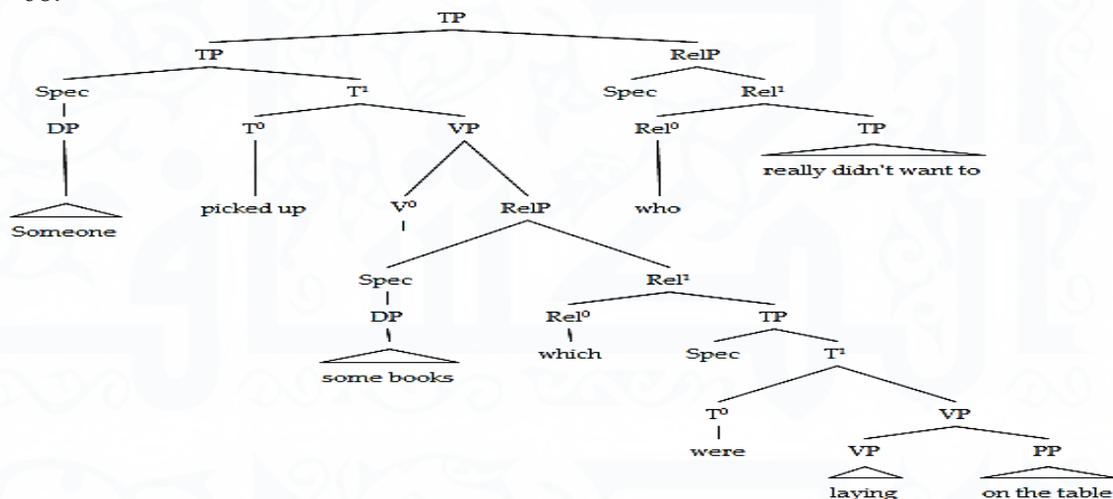
<sup>٢٨</sup> For more elaboration on this point, see Overfelt (2015).

67. a. Someone picked up some books which were lying on the table who really didn't want to.

b. \*Someone picked up some books who really didn't want to which were lying on the table

The grammatically sequenced RCs in (67. a) above could be accordingly diagrammed in (68):

68.



Thus, in accordance with this account, the extraposed RC base-generates outside the closest maximal projection dominating the antecedent DP and, consequently, it generally cannot be found in a thematic Cased position, as proven by the ungrammaticality of (69. b), in contrast with (69. a):

69. a. *A man* has answered the question *who speaks Turkish fluently*.

b. \**A man* has answered *who speaks Turkish fluently* the question.

The ungrammaticality of (69. b) can be attributed also to the position of the extraposed RC inside the VP projection, seemingly being a barrier or a blocking category between the Case assigner (i.e. the verb *answered*) and the real assignee (viz. the complement *the question*), defacing, metaphorically speaking, the constituents' sequencing required by the  $\theta$ -role assignment. Otherwise, the extraposed RCs positioned in the wrong  $\theta$ -roled slots would gain roles not assigned to them (cf. Kayne, 1994; Vergnaud, 1994; Baltin, 2006; Szabolcsi, 2006; Chomsky & Lasnik, 2015). Also, the extraposed RC in (69. b)

violates the concept of the Relativized Minimality when competing with the real complement *the question* through its intervention between the real complement and the verb.

Significant also to declare here that, regardless of the antecedent DP, extraposition cannot be held only on a partial segment of the RC, but of the RC as a whole. To clarify this point, observe the following examples:

70. a. *The article is daring that the distinguished professor who speaks five languages has written it.*  
b. \**The article that the distinguished professor has written is daring who speaks five languages.*

We notice that the extraposition of the whole RC (save its antecedent DP) is permitted as evident in (70. a). However, the example (70. b) is ungrammatical and this is due to the extraposition of the embedded RC *who speaks five languages* from within the dominating RC *that the distinguished professor has written*.<sup>۲۹</sup>

Turning to the phenomenon of extraposition in Arabic RCs, let us first consider the following examples:

71. a. *jaaʔa ʔamsi r-rajul-u llaʔi kataba d-dars-a*  
came yesterday the-man-NOM who wrote the-lesson-ACC  
'The man who wrote the lesson came yesterday.'
- b. \**jaaʔa r-rajul-u ʔamsi llaʔi kataba d-dars-a*  
came the-man-NOM yesterday who wrote the-lesson-ACC

In the examples above, the example (71. a) is grammatical. In contrast, (71. b) in which the RC *llaʔi kataba d-dars-a* is extraposed is ungrammatical. It is ungrammatical simply since the AdvP *ʔamsi* intervenes between the antecedent

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<sup>۲۹</sup> Actually, Ross (1986) accounts for the ungrammaticality of such a construction in terms A-over-A violation.

DP *r-rajul-u* and the RLP *llađi*. That is, the antecedent DP and the RLP should be adjacent to one another.<sup>۳۰</sup>

Similarly, following Alqurashi (2012), I argue that extraposition cannot be also in Arabic FRCs. To make such a point clearer, observe the following example:

72. ?ahabba t-tifl-u bifidatin llađi kataba l-qişat-a  
 loved the-child-NOM very.much who wrote the-story-ACC  
 'The child loved who wrote the story very much.'

In analogy with the impossibility of extraposition in full Arabic RCs, and following Alqurashi (2012: 12), the FRC in (72) above is not a sort of extraposition but a sort of complexity where the FRC, along with its unrealized antecedent DP, occupies a "noncanonical position."

With regard to reduced RCs, however, observe the following examples which represent definite and indefinite reduced RCs, respectively:

73. a. al-fataat-u l-hasnaa?-u tarsumu şuurat-an  
 the-girl-NOM the-beautiful-NOM draws picture-ACC  
 'The beautiful girl draws a picture.'  
 b. \*al-fataat-u tarsumu şuurat-an l-hasnaa?-u  
 the-girl-NOM draws picture-ACC the-beautiful-NOM
74. a. fataat-un jamiilat-un tarsumu şuurat-an  
 girl-NOM beautiful-NOM draws picture-ACC  
 'A beautiful girl draws a picture.'  
 b. \*fataat-un tarsumu şuurat-an jamiilat-un  
 girl-NOM draws picture-ACC beautiful-NOM

As evident from the examples above, the extraposition of the reduced RCs in (73. b) and (74. b) renders the whole constructions ungrammatical.<sup>۳۱</sup> Thus, all

<sup>۳۰</sup> In constructions like the following, the sequencing of the given constituents is not appropriate. That is, the position of the AdvP *?amsi* at the final position in the given construction leads to ambiguity. It is ambiguous whether this AdvP goes back to the verb *jaa?a* or to the verb *kataba*:

- i. ?jaa?a r-rajul-u llađi kataba d-dars-a ?amsi  
 came the-man-NOM who wrote the-lesson-ACC yesterday

<sup>۳۱</sup> Constructions like the following, which permit extraposition, are not reduced RCs; actually, they are widely known as '*l-haal*' and they are always marked with the Acc Case:

- i. muhammad-un *mubtasim-an* kataba r-risaalat-a fi l-maktabat-i.  
 Mohammed-NOM smiling-ACC wrote the-letter-ACC in the-library-GEN

in all, extraposition of full RCs, FRCs and reduced RCs is evidently not permitted in Arabic.

## 8. Conclusion

To sum up, abstracting away from the old strategies of the matching and promotion analysis, I have proposed a novel projection based on the base-generation analysis to tackle the phenomenon of relativization in both English and Arabic languages. According to this projection, the antecedent DP is base-generated in Spec-RelP, the RLP is base-generated in Rel<sup>0</sup>, and the complement is generally base-generated inTP. Actually, the RelP is assumed to be a CP-split projection, and the RLP is assumed to base-generate as the head for the whole RC, intrinsically with interpretable valued [Rel] and [Spf] Features but with unvalued  $\phi$ -Features. The RLP is also assumed to be Bermuda-Triangle-like, having absorption and annihilation forces. It could absorb the [INDEF] and [nominal] Features of the embedded coindexed DP, and could also annihilate the embedded coindexed DP's [overtness] Feature when the latter is local and outside the borders of islands. Thus, I have assumed that the RLP, like other nominal antecedents, has the capability to pronominalize the embedded coindexed DP. Also, I have argued that *Agree* mainly by the Feature sharing mechanism has a major role to play for the valuation of the matching unvalued Features among the antecedent DP, the RLP and the RP, leading to the valuation of the RLP's unvalued  $\phi$ -Features and the antecedent DP's and RP's [Rel] and [Spf] Features. Moreover, I have held the view that, in LDR, *Agree* is not subjected to PIC. That is, it is in effect even after the derivation and transfer of phases. Furthermore, the formation of reduced RCs is argued to be due to the nullness of the finite [T] Feature. Finally, when exposing the nature of extraposition, it has become evident that the extraposition of RCs can be in English but not in Arabic.

However, due to the limitation of space and time, this study has not investigated where the appropriate slot for the preposition italicized in the example that follows, should be; leaving that for further researches:

75. She finds a person *with* whom to speak.

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ii. muhammad-un      kataba      r-risaalat-a      fi      l-maktabat-i      *mubtasim-an*.  
Mohammed-NOM      wrote      the-letter-ACC      in      the-library-GEN      smiling-ACC  
'Smiling, Mohammed wrote the letter at the library.'

Also, further researches can also attempt to account for the overtness of the RLP in the construction below—and also in the example right above—which has a nonfinite [T] Feature:

76. This is the man *whom* to speak to.

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