

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RESTRICTIVE AND NON-RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES

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In this paper, the syntactic differences exhibited by English restrictive relative clauses *vs.* non-restrictive or appositive ones are accounted for by positing that restrictive operators move to C° while non-restrictive operators and pied-piped elements in general move to [Spec,CP]. Both restrictive and non-restrictive operators must check off a [+*wh*]-feature with an EPP property, but whereas such a feature is specified as [+*subjective*] for non-restrictive items, it bears the specification [+*predicative*] for restrictive operators. Such a feature-specification is argued to support not only the syntactic contrasts existing between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, but also basic semantic or interpretive differences between the two.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to show that the differences between English restrictive and non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses are a consequence of the different positions that relative operators occupy in each type. Within a Minimalist framework (Chomsky 1995), it will be argued that the contrasts existing between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses can be explained by positing that restrictive *wh*-items—excepting pied-piped elements—raise to the C head within CP, while *Wh*-movement in non-restrictive relatives is movement to [Spec,CP].

It being the case that *wh*-operators are generally argued to raise to [Spec,CP], the claim that those relative operators that introduce restrictive clauses move to C° instead of [Spec,CP], thereby becoming *derived complementisers*, needs to be strongly supported, and it thus seems to me that the major differences between English restrictive and non-restrictive relatives can be used as an argument in favour of such a claim.¹ Besides, the differences or contrasts between Spanish restrictive and non-restrictive relatives can similarly be used as an argument in favour of *Wh*-movement targeting a different position in each clausal-type, though due to lack of space I defer the analysis of such contrasts to a future work. Let us not forget that the domain of relative clauses is one of the most extensively studied in the history of linguistic theory and grammatical description from

1. The reader is referred to “The Puzzle of Infinitival Relatives” (2003), where it is argued that one of the two basic properties of *infinitival* relatives that explains the distribution of relative operators is the movement of such operators to C° .

both an intra- and a cross-linguistic perspective, a situation that is mainly due to relative clauses being one of the most universal means of building up two pieces of information at once. That is, in the structures in (1)-(2) below, two events or situations are predicated of the object *the vases*, which is made possible by the use of the relative pronoun *which*: most commonly, the information conveyed by (1)-(2) are liable to be expressed by means of two clearly differentiated independent clauses, namely *The vases were auctioned in Venice* and *The antiquarian bought the vases*.

As is well-known, there are two kinds of relative clauses in English: restrictive relatives and non-restrictive or appositive relatives. They are distinguished from each other on both semantic and syntactic grounds, though it is perhaps the prosodic properties of non-restrictive relatives that first helps in differentiating the two: only non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses are pronounced with comma intonation, which is also reflected in spelling (see [2] below).

- (1) The vases which the antiquarian bought were auctioned in Venice
 (2) The vases, which the antiquarian bought, were auctioned in Venice

The construction in (2) means that all the vases the speaker is referring to were bought by the antiquarian. The construction in (1) implies that the vases the antiquarian bought are distinguished from other vases not bought by the antiquarian. From a semantic or interpretive point of view, the information that the restrictive relative clause in (1) supplies is necessary in order to identify the head or antecedent, namely *the vases*, whereas the non-restrictive relative in (2) gives additional information about the head that is not necessary or essential in order to identify the latter. Restrictive relatives, as their name indicates, *restrict* the event or situation that they predicate to the class of objects specified in the relative clause, whereas non-restrictive or appositive relatives do not. An immediate consequence of this is the well-known inability of restrictive relatives to take proper names as antecedents—*John *(,) who auctioned the vase(,) had previously met the antiquarian*—since proper names refer to unique or specific individuals, and consequently the subject of predication cannot be specified any further.²

In the approach followed in this article, such interpretive facts will be understood as meaning that non-restrictive or appositive relatives, but not restrictive ones, are *complete units of predication*, in spite of the fact that both kinds are anaphorically related to a head. The different positions that relative operators are argued to occupy in restrictive relatives *vs.* non-restrictive relatives will be shown to correlate with such a semantic differentiation.

Along with facts of interpretation, both types of subordinate structures are distinguished from each other from a syntactic point of view, a contrast that will extend itself over most of the discussion. The syntactic differences that I will focus on are listed in (3) below, and they will crucially be interpreted as a consequence of the distinct target of *Wh*-movement in each clausal type. Besides, some of the properties in (3) will be shown to be

2. The constraint on proper names as heads or antecedents of restrictive relative clauses is cancelled out in case the individual in question is converted as it were into a common object belonging within a class of objects, and is therefore viewed as an entity liable to be specified. See (1): (1) “The John I referred to had previously met the antiquarian.”

in close connection with the interpretive property mentioned above according to which only appositive or non-restrictive relatives are complete units of predication.

- (3) the categorial status of *which*
 the categorial status of the relativised head or antecedent
 the restriction on the use of pied-piped *wh*-phrases in restrictive relatives
 the non-occurrence of the null operator in non-restrictive relatives
 the non-occurrence of the *that*-complementiser in non-restrictive relatives
 the distribution of *qu*-items in Spanish relative clauses³

Apart from the contrast DP-antecedent *vs.* non-DP-antecedent (see second point in [3]), both kinds of relative clauses are further opposed as regards the type of DP that acts as head or antecedent. As mentioned above, and as illustrated in (4) below, proper names cannot occur as antecedents of restrictive relatives.⁴ On the other hand, non-restrictive relative clauses cannot take as antecedents universal quantifiers like *all*, *every*, or *any*. The reason why such restrictions have not been included in (3) above is that, at the current stage of research, they will solely be imputed to the above-mentioned property of restrictive relatives according to which such subordinate clauses must necessarily constrain the class of individuals that they include in their predication. Such restrictions or constraints would therefore be excluded from the pre-Spell-Out process and they would be exclusively allocated within the level of LF. As noted above, proper names cannot be further specified, which is why the subordinate in (4a) cannot be a restrictive relative. As for (4b), the opposite situation is enhanced, since universal quantifiers like *every* match the specifying function of restrictive relatives.

- (4a) John, who auctioned the vase, had previously met the antiquarian [only non-r.]
 (4b) They will accept every book that the editor asks them to [only restr.]

The paper is organised as follows. In section 2, an approach is offered in which the target of *Wh*-movement is not the same in restrictive relatives as in non-restrictive or appositive ones. Section 3 is devoted to analysing the contrasts between both clausal-types (see [3] above) by using the hypothesis of the two-fold target of movement of relative operators. Such contrasts or differences constitute the main target of the discussion.

2. The derivation of relative clauses

The contrasts or differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses have generally been explained by resorting to a difference in phrase structure. Thus, in Fabb's (1990) analysis, restrictive relatives are sisters to $N^{\bar{P}}$, whereas non-restrictive ones occupy

3. It was noted above that the analysis of Spanish data will be provided in a separate work.

4. In a similar fashion, DPs that contain a possessive cannot act as antecedents of restrictive relatives. Note the contrast in (1): (1a) *"They have repaired my car/John's car which is parked over there," and (1b) "They have repaired my car/John's car, which is parked over there."

a node adjoined to the root sentence node, specifically IP or TP.⁵ Nonetheless, Kayne (1994) rejects the traditional analysis of relative clauses where they are right-adjoined to N³ in favour of a *raising analysis*. According to the latter, a relative DP or PP is raised from within the CP that is the relative clause to initial position of such a CP, and further the NP *antecedent* is raised out of the DP or PP in the manner indicated below.⁶ As for the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, the author resorts to the level of LF, where further movement of the IP in the relative applies.

(5) [_{DP}the [_{CP}[_{DP}[antiquarian_i][who t_i]_h] [John met t_h]]]⁷

The analysis of relative clauses proposed in this article is one in which the target of movement, specifically *Wh*-movement, is not the same in restrictive relatives as it is in non-restrictive ones. Specifically, I would like to argue that those operators introducing restrictive relatives are moved to C^o, whereas those operators introducing non-restrictive or appositive relatives are raised to [Spec,CP]. This means that I will be agreeing with the standard analysis only partially since, as noted in the Introduction, all relative operators are generally assumed to move to [Spec,CP]. Nonetheless, only *simple* relative items introducing restrictive clauses will be claimed to move to C^o: by contrast with simple relative items, *complex* relative items or pied-piped phrases will be argued to coincide with non-restrictive operators in getting raised to [Spec,CP]. In both 2.1 and 3, I will provide arguments supporting this proposal. Specifically, 2.1 will be dedicated to analysing the semantic or interpretive differences existing between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, and how these are reflected in a basic syntactic feature or property deciding the target of *Wh*-movement. The discussion in 2.1 will pave the way for section 3, which will deal with the contrasts between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives shown in (3) above. As mentioned in the Introduction, the analysis of such contrasts or differences is the main target of this paper.

A description of the head-status *vs.* the phrasal status of relative *wh*-operators is in order, since only head-level categories can instantiate movement to a head-level category such as C^o. The relative operators *who(m)*, *which*, and also the null or zero operator are head-level categories, as is clear from the fact that they are morphologically *simple* items, that is one-word elements—as a matter of fact, the null or zero operator does not even have a phonetic matrix. By contrast, it is a trivial fact that pied-piped elements have phrasal status, since they are typically PPs. Additionally, *whose*-phrases constitute a case of pied-piping. See (6)-(7) below.

5. In this respect, Haegeman's (1988) analysis is a radical one, since the author proposes that non-restrictive relatives are not part of the syntactic representation, and that they are licensed exclusively at the level of discourse.

6. It must be noted that Kayne's analysis complies with the hypothesis that the head or antecedent originates within the relative clause. This hypothesis is mainly based on the relativisation of idiom chunks and predicate nominals—see the *promotion analysis* of Schachter (1973).

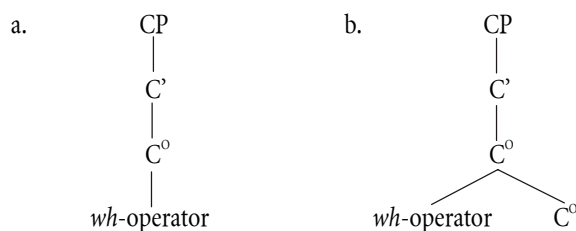
7. The structure previous to movement corresponding to (5) is as follows: (t) [_{DP}the [_{CP}John met who antiquarian]].

- (6a) The employer for whom they used to work has been sacked
 (6b) John, for whom they used to work, has been sacked
 (7a) The baby whose mother was Danish was taken to hospital
 (7b) The baby, whose mother was Danish, was taken to hospital

The fact that pied-piped elements, including *whose*-phrases, are morphologically *complex* items means not only that they occupy a Spec position initially in the derivation, but also that they must necessarily be moved to a Spec position. As generally assumed in the literature, they are argued here to raise to [Spec,CP]. However, the fact that *who(m)*, *which*, and likewise the null operator, are simple items from the point of view of morphology seems in principle to enable them to raise to a head position. Thus, *who*, *whom*, *which*, and the null operator are argued in the approach proposed here to originate as phrases or maximal projections in the corresponding Spec position within VP (whether as subject, object, etc.), but to crucially move as heads to a head position, namely C^0 . It must be emphasised that such is the case with *restrictive who(m)* and *which* (and also the null operator) since, together with pied-piped phrases, *non-restrictive who(m)* and *which* also move like phrases or maximal projections to a phrasal site. All this means that single-word items can in principle entertain movement to either a phrasal or a head site, but a clear restriction exists for head positions to be occupied by single-word items.⁸ As for phrasal constituents, the only possibility is for them to raise to phrasal or maximal projection positions. We must not forget the trivial fact that a phrase can consist of just one word—the head—or more than one word, which means that a phrasal position can be occupied by a one-word or a multiple-word element. I would like to make the point that it is not only *non-restrictive who(m)*, and *which* that move like phrases to a phrasal position while being characterised as one-word items, but also interrogative *wh*-items, or demonstratives, possessives, and determiners in general. In this respect, the present approach does not depart from general assumptions in the literature.

According to the analysis presented here, the CP of relative clauses has the form specified in (8)-(9) below. (8a) is the configuration entertained for restrictive *who(m)* and

(8) Restrictive relatives



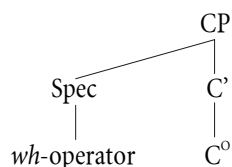
which, and also for the null or empty operator; the structure in (8b) corresponds to those (restrictive) relative clauses where the *that*-complementiser is instantiated. In the latter

8. It is worth noting that a two-fold analysis has generally been entertained for clitics in the literature, since they have been considered in some instances as heads, and in other instances as phrases or maximal projections.

case, the C° position is divided into two sites, one is the site for the null operator, and the other is the site for *that*. The co-occurrence of such elements is made possible by the null or covert character of the relative operator itself. It being the case that restrictive relative operators are claimed in this approach to occupy C° instead of [Spec,CP], the *doubly-filled Comp filter* is reduced to the trivial restriction according to which no more than one overt item can occupy one syntactic position at a time—in our case, C° . According to the standard view, the doubly-filled Comp filter prohibits both the Spec of CP and C° to be overtly filled at the same time in relative constructions.

As for (9), such is the CP corresponding to non-restrictive operators, and also to pied-piped phrases in general, whether of the non-restrictive or the restrictive type. It was mentioned above that (9) is the CP-configuration currently assumed for all relative clauses in the literature.

(9) Non-restrictive relatives



In a parallel fashion to relative *that*, which has generally been considered a complementiser in transformational grammar (see the classical analysis in Bresnan [1970]), restrictive *who(m)* and *which*, and likewise the null or empty operator, are argued in this approach to be eventually *relative complementisers* (see [8] above). The big contrast between restrictive operators on the one hand, and *that* on the other, is that the former are derived complementisers, whereas the latter is a base-generated or merged function word. Thus, while there is a consensus on the analysis of *that* as a complementiser, what is different in the present framework is that the assimilation between restrictive *wh*-items and *that* works in both directions. *Wh*-items in restrictive relatives are assimilated to *that* or, more properly, to the C head position, by getting raised to that position.

2.1. *The property [+subjective] vs. [+predicative]*

As assumed in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), movement is triggered by the need to check features in the corresponding functional projections. More specifically, overt movement is enhanced by virtue of an E(xtended) P(rojection) P(rinciple) property, whereas covert movement, or movement of a weak feature, corresponds to a functional projection position that lacks such an EPP property. *Wh*-movement in English relative clauses is always overt movement: specifically, the *wh*-operator is attracted by the [+*wh*]-feature with an EPP property somewhere within CP. In the traditional approach, such a site is [Spec,CP] for all relative clauses, whether of the restrictive or the appositive type. By contrast, in the approach followed here, [Spec,CP] is the site or position attracting only *non-restrictive wh*-elements, and *pied-piped* items in general. *Restrictive wh*-operators check off the corresponding [+*wh*]-feature in C° . The derivation of (1)-(2) above, repeated below as (10)-(11), is as follows:

- (10a) The vases which the antiquarian bought were auctioned in Venice
 (10b) [the vases_i [_{Spec,CP} [_C which_i [_{IP} the antiquarian bought t_i]]] ...
 (11a) The vases, which the antiquarian bought, were auctioned in Venice
 (11b) [the vases_i [_{Spec,CP} which_i [_C [+wh] [_{IP} the antiquarian bought t_i]]] ...

The semantic rationale backing up a framework where the target of *Wh*-movement is different in restrictive relatives than in appositive or non-restrictive relatives is in order.

Most utterances in natural language constitute the expression of a *predication*, that is an event or situation that is attributed to an object or entity. Predication acts most typically consist of a *subject*, or entity about which something is said, and a *predicate*, or what is actually said about the subject. A basic tenet of the syntax-semantics interface is that acts of predication are enhanced by virtue of *Spec-head agreement* configurations, in which the subject of predication holds the position of *Spec* within a given phrasal projection, and the predicate occupies the head position of such a projection.

It was noted in the Introduction that both restrictive and non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses refer back to the so-called *antecedent* in the main clause, though only restrictive relatives provide information that is necessary in order to identify the antecedent. The present analysis argues that such a semantic dependency between antecedent and restrictive relative is reflected in the fact that the above-mentioned relation of predication is instantiated between the antecedent itself and the head of the relative clause. The antecedent occupies the corresponding *Spec* position—whether as subject or object—in its own clause, and the relative operator is the *head* of the CP relative clause, which means that it is situated in C° . The movement of the relative operator is therefore triggered by the [+wh]-feature with an EPP property in C° . Since the interpretive force of such a head position is argued here to be that of predicate, the EPP property of the [+wh]-feature is further characterised as [+predicative]. Though the relation between the antecedent and the relative operator in C° is not one of strict c-command, since the relative operator belongs within its own projection, namely CP, we can still consider that both elements conform a *Spec-head agreement* relation. In this respect, it is no coincidence that both the antecedent and the relative operator must agree in their phi-features (*the man who ... /the vase which ...*).

By contrast with restrictive relative clauses, non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses are *complete* relations of predication, which means that both the subject and the predicate belong within the relative clause itself. It being the case that a *Spec-head agreement* configuration must be instantiated, the subject is the relative operator situated in [Spec,CP], and the rest of the clause headed by C° plays the part of predicate. In a similar fashion to indirect interrogatives, where no inversion applies and where the C head position is occupied instead by a(n interrogative) [+wh]-feature (see [12] below), the C° of non-restrictive or appositive relatives is filled with a (relative) [+wh]-feature agreeing with the [+wh]-feature on the [Spec,CP] position (see the configuration in [11] above).

- (12) John wondered [_{Spec,CP} what vases_i [_C [+wh] [_{IP} the antiquarian had auctioned t_i]]]

Whereas the movement of restrictive relative operators is claimed in the present framework to be triggered by the [+wh]-feature with an EPP property specified as

[+predicative], non-restrictive operators raise to C^0 attracted by a [+wh]-feature whose EPP property is characterised as [+subjective]. Interrogative operators were mentioned above in relation to non-restrictive relatives: I would like to insist on the fact that such *wh*-operators, whether they occur in direct or indirect interrogative structures, are grouped with non-restrictive relative operators in the sense that they, too, check a [+wh]-feature against [Spec,CP]. This is due to questions being complete units of predication where the constituent playing the part of subject of predication is the *wh*-item itself. As a subject, it is coindexed with the head of the predicate, that is to say with the C^0 position heading the rest of the question.

- (13a) [_{Spec,CP}What_i [_Chad_v [_{IP}the antiquarian t_v auctioned t_i?]]]
 (13b) John wondered [_{Spec,CP}what_i [_C[+wh] [_{IP}the antiquarian had auctioned t_i]]]

My focus in the remainder of this section is on pied-piped elements, which, as noted above, must necessarily be grouped with non-restrictive operators from the perspective of their target of movement.

It is argued in this paper that the default mechanism applying in restrictive relative clauses is one by which the corresponding *wh*-elements must check off a [+wh]-feature on C^0 , whose EPP property is characterised as [+predicative]. Due to their categorial status, both PPs and *whose*-phrases must necessarily land in [Spec,CP], which prevents them from complying with such a mechanism. I would like to suggest that the only way for pied-piped operators in [Spec,CP] to have access to the predicative position that is C^0 is through coindexation with the latter, as shown in (14). In 2.1.1 below, the different sites occupied by pied-piped elements on the one hand and non-pied-piped ones on the other will be argued to correlate with a well-known condition on interpretation.

- (14a) The man_h [_{Spec,CP}[with whom_h]_i [_C[+wh] [_{IP}she danced t_i]]] lives nextdoor
 (14b) The authors_i [_{Spec,CP}[whose_i books]_h [_C[+wh] [_{IP}they edited t_h]]] have not complained

All in all, the C head position, which is typically assumed to determine the illocutionary force of an utterance, is claimed in the present approach to be filled in different ways in restrictive and in non-restrictive relative clauses: whereas the C^0 of restrictive clauses is occupied by the *wh*-operator itself, that of non-restrictives is filled with a [+wh]-feature. As for interrogative clauses, direct ones have the corresponding auxiliary in C^0 , and indirect ones host a [+wh]-feature in that position.

2.1.1. The recoverability condition

The claim that pied-piped relative operators in restrictive configurations are not raised to the same position as simple operators can be justified on semantic grounds, specifically by resorting to the classical rule of *deletion-up-to-recoverability*, or the *recoverability condition*. The recoverability condition states that the content of an empty category must be recoverable from an overt item with which the former is coindexed. In the domain of relative clauses, the recoverability condition is to be interpreted as the use and distribution of the empty or null *wh*-operator: the relative pronouns *who*, *whom*, and *which* are interchange-

able with the null operator,⁹ but the same does not apply to *whose*-phrases and pied-piped phrases in general—note the ungrammaticality of the second option in (15c, 15d).

- (15a) The books_i [which_i/Op_i they edited t_i last year]
 (15b) The man_i [who_i/whom_i/Op_i she danced with t_i]
 (15c) The man_i [[with whom_i]_i/*Op_h she danced t_h]
 (15d) The authors_i [[whose_i books]_i/*Op_h they edited t_h]¹⁰

If *who(m)* and *which* are argued to move to C^o, as proposed in the present framework, then a correlation can be established between their structural position and their *coinciding* with the head antecedent from a referential or interpretive point of view: *the books = which*; *the man = who(m)*. Let us recall that the antecedent is the subject of predication in the corresponding relation, and C^o is the head of the predicate.

By contrast with *who(m)* and *which*, pied-piped elements in general and *whose*-elements in particular are not recoverable, since they do not *coincide* with the antecedent from an interpretive point of view, but *contain* it: *the man*,/with [whom_i]; *the authors*,/[whose_i] books. Therefore, pied-piped phrases do not occupy the same position as the null operator—or *who(m)* and *which*, for that matter—but [Spec,CP]. On the other hand, this situation is not incompatible with pied-piped elements checking off a [+wh]-feature with an EPP property specified as [+predicate], in identical fashion to non-pied-piped items: as will be recalled from the previous section, pied-piped items check off such a feature in an indirect way. It is important to note that, in an approach where all relative operators are moved to [Spec,CP], whether or not they are in complementary distribution with the null operator, the recoverability condition seems to have no explanatory power.

Interrogative operators, which have been mentioned in relation to their checking properties, pattern with pied-piped phrases with respect to the recoverability condition: no empty category can substitute for an interrogative operator since its content is not recoverable, there not being any antecedent like that of relative clause constructions in questions ([What_i [did the antiquarian auction t_i?]] vs. *[Op_i [did the antiquarian auction t_i?]]).

Let us finally recall that one of the properties dealing with the contrasts between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (see [3] above) relates to the non-occurrence of the null operator in non-restrictive configurations. This means that the recoverability condition is inoperative in non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses. The analysis of such contrasts will be carried out in the following sections.

3. Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relatives

The main target of the discussion in this paper is the analysis of the differences existing between restrictive and non-restrictive or appositive relatives as listed in (3) above. After

9. As is well-known, the null operator can substitute for *who* or *which* only in their objective function, not in the subjective one.

10. The choice of the null or empty operator is grammatical under a non-possessive reading that is not pertinent here.

introducing a novel approach based on the distinct target of *Wh*-movement in each type— C^0 for restrictive *wh*-operators, and [Spec,CP] for both non-restrictive *wh*-operators and pied-piped operators in general—it is time now to see whether such an approach or framework is supported by the properties of (3). Let us recall, nonetheless, that such an approach was shown above to be supported by semantic or interpretive facts that relate to the property [+predicative] vs. the property [+subjective] on the one hand, and to the recoverability condition on the other.

3.1. *The status of which*

Restrictive *which* can only be a pronoun or intransitive determiner, whereas the categorial status of non-restrictive *which* is twofold: either a transitive or an intransitive determiner, as shown in (16)-(17) below. However, such a constraint on restrictive *which* does not seem to have an interpretive or semantic basis. By contrast with *which*, the interpretive force of an item such as *whose* makes it necessary for both the *possessor* and the *possessee* to be present in the relative CP, though it is only the possessor that must obligatorily occupy the CP in questions—see (18)-(19) below.

- (16a) The vase, which the antiquarian auctioned, ...
- (16b) The vase, which masterpiece the antiquarian auctioned, ...
- (17a) The vase which the antiquarian auctioned ...
- (17b) *The vase which masterpiece the antiquarian auctioned
- (18a) The author whose books were edited ...
- (18b) *The author whose were edited ...
- (19a) Whose books were the ones edited?
- (19b) Whose were the books edited?

Since the interpretation of a restrictive relative does not seem to contradict the status of *which* as a determiner, and nevertheless relative *which* can only be a pronoun or intransitive determiner in restrictive relatives (as in [17]), we are led to conclude that the restrictive operator *which*, in identical fashion to *who* or *whom* (or otherwise the null operator), has head status and is therefore raised to C^0 . By contrast with restrictive *which* (or *who*, *whom*), non-restrictive *which* (or *who*, *whom*) move to [Spec,CP]. Interrogative *which*, in identical fashion to non-restrictive *which*, can be either a transitive or an intransitive determiner, which points in the direction of it occupying [Spec,CP]:

- (20) Which (vase) was auctioned by the antiquarian?

3.2. *The status of the head or antecedent*

One of the differences existing between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses that has frequently been highlighted in the literature but that seems to have received no satisfactory explanation concerns the categorial status of the relativised head or antecedent. Whereas restrictive relatives can only take determiner antecedents, that is DPs, non-restrictive relatives can take as antecedents either DPs, or PPs, APs, AdvPs, VPs, or even clauses or IPs—think of the so-called *sentential relative* structures.

- (21) [the vase] which the antiquarian auctioned
 (22a) [the vase], which the antiquarian auctioned ...
 (22b) They auctioned the vase [in Venice], which is where they'd like to live
 (22c) The vase was [superb], which the desk was not
 (22d) He dresses very [smartly], which is how he should dress
 (22e) They unfortunately could not [auction all the pieces], which we fortunately could
 (22f) [The vase was eventually auctioned], which was fortunate

In the present framework, such a contrast is imputed to DPs being the only items occupying a Spec position, whether as subject or as object—let us note that DPs obligatorily have features to check, and that they do so in the corresponding Spec-head agreement configurations instantiated in TP, or AgrOP. As argued in section 2 above, restrictive *wh*-operators must enter into a relation of predication with the antecedent where the latter acts as subject, and the *wh*-operator itself is the predicate. Such a relation of predication is instantiated via a Spec-head agreement configuration, which means that the antecedent must occupy a Spec position, and the *wh*-element itself must occupy C°. It is in C° where the *wh*-element will check the corresponding [+*wh*]-feature whose EPP property is specified as [+predicative]. By contrast, non-restrictive or appositive relatives constitute themselves a relation of predication where the *wh*-item in [Spec,CP] is the one having the role of subject. In such cases then, it does not matter whether the antecedent of the relative clause construction is a DP or a non-DP—see (22) above. As for the predicate, it is C°—specifically, the [+*wh*]-feature in C°.

3.3. The use of pied-piped *wh*-phrases

Though pied-piped elements are possible in both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives, their distribution is subject to certain constraints in restrictive constructions. As shown in the illustrations below, such *complex wh*-operators as periphrastic-genitive phrases and partitive phrases are banned from restrictive relatives.

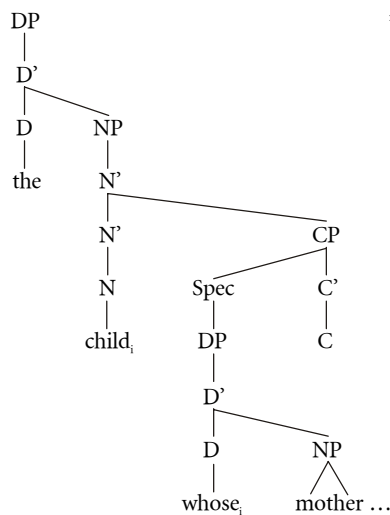
- (23a) The employer, for whom they used to work, has been sacked
 (23b) The employer for whom they used to work has been sacked
 (24a) The child, whose mother was Danish, was taken to hospital
 (24b) The child whose mother was Danish was taken to hospital
 (25a) The employers, some of whom worked here, have been sacked
 (25b) *The employers some of whom worked here have been sacked
 (26a) The child, the mother of whom was Danish, was taken to hospital
 (26b) *The child the mother of whom was Danish was taken to hospital

I would like to suggest that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (25b) and (26b) above must be sought in the fact that the *c*-command relation that is established between the antecedent and the *wh*-item does not comply with the condition on Relativised Minimality. Let us recall from section 2.1 above that the antecedent of the restrictive relative clause construction, which is the subject in the above-mentioned relation of predication, must *c*-command the predicate, which is the relative operator. A *c*-command configuration is instantiated in all the restrictive relative clauses above, but in (25b) and (26b) there is a D in between the antecedent and the *wh*-operator with which the

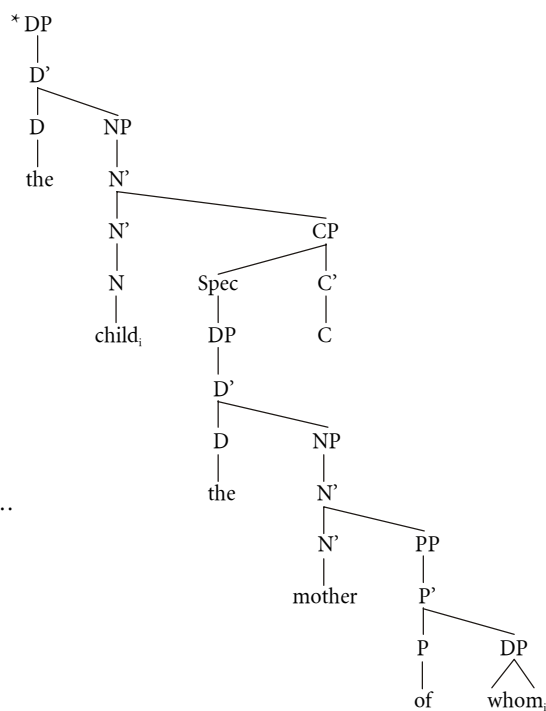
antecedent could in principle establish a c-command relation, which means that the condition on Relativised Minimality has not been fulfilled. Specifically, such Ds are *some* and *the* (in *the mother*), respectively.

The phrase-marker in (27) below corresponds to the grammatical (24b), where no intervening head occurs for the purposes of Relativised Minimality; by contrast, (28) is the configuration corresponding to the ungrammatical (26b): here the D head *the* can be clearly seen as interrupting the c-command relation between *the child* and *whom*. As for non-restrictive relatives, there is no ban on the use of pied-piped elements since the c-command relation is instantiated between the relative operators themselves and the [+wh]-feature in C^o—see the (a) structures in (23)-(26) above.

(28)



(29)



3.4. The non-occurrence of the null operator

One of the properties of non-restrictive or appositive relatives that distinguish them from restrictive ones is the non-occurrence of the null or empty operator.

- (29) the vase_i which_i/Op_i the antiquarian auctioned t_i
 (30a) the vase_i, which_i the antiquarian auctioned t_i, ...
 (30b) *the vase_i, Op_i the antiquarian auctioned t_i, ...

As noted at the end of 3.1.1 above, this means that the recoverability condition is inoperative in the non-restrictive type. In the account presented here, this constraint is due

to non-restrictive relatives constituting themselves complete units of predication where the *wh*-operator is the subject, and therefore checks off a [+*wh*]-feature containing an EPP property that is specified as [+subjective]. In identical fashion to interrogative configurations, the *subject* in [Spec,CP] must be phonetically overt, which prevents the null operator from being instantiated.

3.5. The non-occurrence of the *that*-complementiser

In section 3 above it was argued that the main feature distinguishing the present approach from other traditional frameworks is that restrictive *who*, *whom*, *which*, and also the null operator are taken as *derived complementisers*, since they are claimed to raise to the C head position. By contrast, the complementiser *that* is a base-generated function word.

The *that*-complementiser that introduces relative clauses differs in important ways from completive *that*, or from other complementisers in general. In the classical analysis of Pesetsky (1982), *that*-relatives depend on the index of the null operator being transferred to the complementiser itself ($Op_i \text{ that} \rightarrow \text{that}_i$); also, in the account of Rizzi (1990), inspired by Pesetsky (1982), *that* is taken as a [+pred] C^0 . In both frameworks, *that* is assimilated to relative pronouns, an insight that must obligatorily be shared by any account of relative clause constructions, and that I assume in this paper.¹¹ Let us recall that the configuration (8b) above, where the C site branches off into two positions, is the one proposed in the present account for those relative constructions where the complementiser *that* is instantiated: the node on the left is occupied by the null operator, and the one on the right is filled with *that*. It is precisely the covert character of the null operator that makes it possible for *that* to occupy the second site within C^0 —the instantiation of more than one overt item being barred by the *doubly-filled Comp filter*.

What concerns us most in this section is that the above-mentioned configurations where *that* is instantiated correspond to restrictive relatives, since the complementiser is generally impossible in non-restrictive relatives. In the approach proposed here, the explanation for such a constraint is similarly based on non-restrictive or appositive configurations being complete units of predication where [Spec,CP] is subject, and the rest of the clause headed by C^0 acts as predicate. In non-restrictive relatives introduced by *that*, the latter occupies C^0 and the [Spec,CP] position remains empty, which results in ungrammaticality. Recall further that the empty operator is impossible in non-restrictive relatives.

(31) the vase_i [_COp-*that*_i [the antiquarian auctioned *t*_i]]

(32) *the vase_ρ [_C*that* [the antiquarian auctioned *t*_i]], ...

4. Conclusion

In the approach presented here, the contrasts between English restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses derive from the single basic difference that restrictive operators

11. In this respect, the most extreme position is the one proposed in Auwera (1985), where *that* is considered as a relative pronoun itself.

move to C^0 whereas non-restrictive operators and pied-piped elements in general move to [Spec,CP]. Both restrictive and non-restrictive operators have to check a [+wh]-feature with an EPP property. However, whereas such an EPP property is specified as [+predicative] for restrictive operators, it bears the specification [+subjective] for non-restrictive ones. This distinction relates to the different roles played by restrictive and non-restrictive items in the relation of predication that is instantiated in each case. A semantic or interpretive concept that receives explanatory power by positing that single or non-pied-piped operators in restrictive relatives move to C^0 is the so-called *recoverability condition*.

The syntactic differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses that seem to be accounted for by treating the *wh*-operators in restrictive relatives as *derived complementisers* (i.e. as items moving to C^0) relate to (i) the restriction on the use of certain elements, and (ii) the categorial status of certain items.

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