# Two types of non-restrictive relatives

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## 1 Introduction

Nonrestrictive relatives are usually conceived of as a unitary type of relative clause (semantically and syntactically opposed to both restrictive and "amount", or "third type", relatives). In the literature, they have been analysed either as a sentence grammar phenomenon, specifically as clauses internal to the nominal projection that also contains the Head, like restrictive and "amount" relatives (see, among others, Smith 1964, Jackendoff 1977, chapter 7; Huot 1978; Perzanowski 1980; Cornilescu 1981; Kayne 1994, chapter 8; Bianchi 1999, chapter 5; Kempson 2003; Arnold 2007, Arnold and Borsley 2008), or as a discourse grammar phenomenon, i.e., as sentences generated independently of the sentence containing the Head, whose pronouns relate to the Head much like (E-type) pronouns relate to an antecedent across discourse (see, for instance, Ross 1967,434ff; Aissen 1972; Emonds 1979; Stuurman 1983; Sells 1985; Haegeman 1988; Fabb 1990; Espinal 1991; Peterson 2004; Grosu 2005).[1]

Here I would like to suggest that the two analyses proposed in the literature should not be seen as competing analyses for a single construction, but as complementary analyses for two distinct nonrestrictive constructions; what I will call the "integrated" and "non-integrated" construction, respectively. Some languages (among which Italian and other Romance languages) display both. Other languages display only one. As suggested in section 6 below, northern Italian dialects (and possibly Chinese and Japanese) have just the sentence grammar, or "integrated", nonrestrictive; others (English and Romanian) only the discourse grammar, or "non-integrated", one. Still others lack nonrestrictives entirely.

In what follows, I will first review a number of syntactic properties which differentiate the two types of nonrestrictives in Italian (the 'integrated' ones introduced by *che/cui* and the 'nonintegrated' ones introduced by *il quale*), adding to those pointed out in Cinque (1978,1982). I will then consider English, whose nonrestrictives will be seen to systematically pattern with the "nonintegrated" *il quale*-nonrestrictives of Ital-

[1]This distinction roughly corresponds to what Emonds (1979,212) calls the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis and the Main Clause Hypothesis, respectively. I abstract away here from the different executions that these two hypotheses have received in the literature, and from those analyses, like Safir's (1986), Demirdache's (1991, chapter 3), and Del Gobbo's (2003,2006b), which combine the two. For a recent overview, see de Vries (2006).

ian. An (antisymmetric) analysis of the two types of nonrestrictives will then be suggested, followed by some comparative remarks.

One general consequence of the analysis (if correct) is that the properties which are generally attributed to the nonrestrictive construction (because of the earlier focus on English) turn out to be representative only of the "non-integrated" type.

# 2 Some differences between *che/cui*- and *il quale*-nonrestrictives in Italian

In Cinque (1978,1982) some evidence was presented which pointed to the existence of two separate nonrestrictive constructions, one of which virtually identical to the restrictive construction.[2]

For simplicity, I will call the 'integrated' one identical to the restrictive construction the *che/cui*-nonrestrictive, and the 'non-integrated' one distinct from the restrictive construction the *il quale*-nonrestrictive, from the different relative pronouns that introduce them.

## 2.1 The *che/cui*-nonrestrictive

**a) Subjects and direct objects are represented not by a relative pronoun but by the complementizer *che*:**[3]

(1)    a.   Inviterò anche Giorgio, **che/\*cui** abita qui vicino.
             I will invite also G., **that/ who** lives nearby.

       b.   Inviterò anche Giorgio, **che/\*cui** voi certamente conoscete.
             I will invite also G., **that/who** you certainly know.

**b) Prepositional objects are represented by the relative pronoun *cui* preceded by a preposition:**

(2)    Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ PP **di cui**] **/\*che** avete certamente sentito parlare.
        I will invite also G., of whom/that you have certainly heard.

**c) no Pied Piping is possible except for that of a prepositional phrase (compare (2) with (3)):**[4]

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[2]This required considering the nonrestrictive construction with *il quale* as conflating two separate paradigms. See Cinque (1978,1982) for detailed discussion. Smits (1989,116) and Bianchi (1999,151f) concede that that there is a residue of nonrestrictives that cannot be reduced to an "integrated" (matching or raising) analysis.

[3]For present purposes whether *che* is a complementizer or a weak relative pronoun (with *cui* its non-weak counterpart) is not really crucial. See Kayne (2007) and Sportiche (2008) for recent relevant discussion.

[4]The relative pronoun *cui* is apparently possible even within some complex PPs (*accanto a cui* 'next to whom/which', *senza di cui* '(lit.) without of whom/which'), but not others (\**prima di cui* '(lit.) before of whom/which', \**da dietro a cui* '(lit.) from behind to whom/which'). The former, but not the latter, also allow what looks like extraction of the embedded PP (*A chi eri seduto accanto?* '(lit.) To whom were you seated next?', *Di chi potrete fare senza?* '(lit.) Of whom will you be able to do without?' vs. \**Di chi sei entrato prima?* '(lit.) Of whom did you enter before?' \**A chi veniva da dietro?* '(lit.) To whom was he coming behind?' - cf. Rizzi 1988,524ff). This may suggest that the two types of complex PPs differ in structure, with the former not being truly complex.

(3)  a.  *Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍DP₎ **il fratello di cui**] è uno dei nostri più cari amici.
I will also invite G., the brother of whom is one of our dearest friends.

   b.  *Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍AP₎ **affezionato a cui**] per altro non sono.
I will also invite G., fond of whom at any rate I am not.

   c.  *Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍CP₎ **liberarmi di cui**] non mi è proprio possibile.
I will also invite G., to get rid of whom is really not possible for me.

   d.  *Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍AdvP₎ **diversamente da cui**] io non serbo rancore.
I will invite also G., differently from whom I bear no grudge.

## 2.2   The *il quale*-nonrestrictive

**a) subjects and direct objects are represented by the relative pronoun *il quale*:**[5]

(4)  a.  Inviterò anche Giorgio, **il quale** abita lì vicino.
I will invite also G., who lives nearby.

   b.  ?Inviterò anche Giorgio, **il quale** voi certamente avrete avuto modo di apprezzare.
I will invite also G., who you will have had some opportunity to appreciate.

**   b) Prepositional objects are represented by the relative pronoun *il quale* preceded by a preposition:**

(5)  Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍PP₎ **del quale**] /**\*che** avete certamente sentito parlare.
I will invite also G., of whom/that you have certainly heard.

**c) Pied Piping of different types of phrases is available:**

(6)  a.  Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍DP₎ **il fratello del quale**] è uno dei nostri più cari amici.
I will invite also G., the brother of whom is one of our dearest friends.

   b.  Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍AP₎ **affezionato al quale**] per altro non sono.
I will also invite G., fond of whom at any rate I am not.

   c.  Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍CP₎ **liberarmi del quale**] non mi è proprio possibile.
I will invite also G., to get rid of whom is really not possible for me.

   d.  Inviterò anche Giorgio, [ ₍AdvP₎ **diversamente dal quale**] io non serbo rancore.
I will invite also G., differently from whom I bear no grudge.

The two constructions also differ with respect to a number of other properties, listed in 2.3.1 to 2.3.10)

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[5]Strictly speaking, the obligatoriness of the pronoun and the unavailability of the complementizer *che* in the *il quale-* nonrestrictive construction is not immediately obvious due to the parallel existence of the *che/cui*-nonrestrictive construction, which has *che* for subjects and objects. It is, however, apparent in those contexts, to be presented in section 2.3, where the *che/cui* nonrestrictive is disallowed. Relativization of objects with *il quale* is actually quite marginal, perhaps for the reason discussed in Cinque (1978, section 3.7). Also see section 5.2 below.

## 2.3   Additional differences between *che/cui*- and *il quale*-nonrestrictives[6]

### 2.3.1   Illocutionary independence

Nonrestrictives (just like restrictives) can be declarative even if the matrix is interrogative or imperative:

(7)   a.   Is even Clarence, who is wearing mauve socks, a swinger? (Ross 1967,435)
     b.   Get Bill, who is in charge of this operation! (Andrews 1975,28)

This property does not distinguish *che/cui*-nonrestrictives from *il quale*-nonrestrictives. See (8) and (9):

(8)   a.   Sarà Gianna, **che** non sopporta tipi del genere, disposta ad aiutarlo?
       Will G., who cannot stand such kind of people, be willing to help him?
     b.   Sarà Gianna, **la quale** non sopporta tipi del genere, disposta ad aiutarlo?
       Will G., who cannot stand such kind of people, be willing to help him?

(9)   a.   Chiama i Rossi, **che** certamente non ti diranno di no!
       Call the Rossis, who (lit. that) will certainly not say no!
     b.   Chiama i Rossi, **i quali** certamente non ti diranno di no!
       Call the Rossis, who will certainly not say no!

More interesting is the converse case, where the matrix is declarative and the nonrestrictive interrogative or imperative. Here *che/cui*-nonrestrictives differ from *il quale*-nonrestrictives. The former, like restrictives, can only be declarative (irrespective of the illocutionary force of the matrix clause), while the latter can have their own (non-declarative) illocutionary force (e.g., interrogative or imperative), distinct from the illocutionary force of the matrix clause. See the contrasts in (10) and (11):[7]

(10)   a.   L'unico che potrebbe è tuo padre, *il quale* potrà, credi, perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?
       The only one who could is your father, by whom will we ever be forgiven, you think, for what we have done?
     b.   *?L'unico che potrebbe è tuo padre, **che** potrà, credi, perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?
       The only one who could is your father, who (lit.that) will ever forgive us, you think, for what we have done?

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[6]In sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.10 the c. examples contain *che/cui*-restrictives, which, as noted, pattern with the *che/cui*-nonrestrictives rather than with the *il quale*-nonrestrictives.

[7]For similar cases in French, see Muller (2006,328f). Note that the matrix need not be declarative when the nonrestrictive is non-declarative. In (i) the matrix and the nonrestrictive are both interrogative:

(i)   (?)   Sarebbe stato tuo padre, **al quale** potremo mai rivolgerci ora per aiuto?, ben disposto nei nostri confronti?
      Would your father, to whom will we ever be able to refer now for help? , have been well disposed toward us?

Also see the English example (37a) below, where the matrix and the nonrestrictive clauses constitute two distinct imperative sentences, even though not all speakers seem to like it.

  c. *Questa è la sola persona **che** potrà, credi, perdonarci per quello che abbi-
amo fatto? (restrictive)
This is the only person that will he ever manage to forgive us, you think, for
what we have done?

(11) a. Ci sono poi i Rossi, **per i quali**, ti prego, cerca di trovare una sistemazione!
There are then the R.'s, for whom please try to find an accommodation!

  b. *?Ci sono poi i Rossi, **per cui**, ti prego, cerca di trovare una sistemazione!
There are then the R.'s, for whom please try to find an accommodation!

  c. *Sono loro le sole persone *per cui* cerca di trovare una sistemazione! (re-
strictive)
It's them the only people for whom please try to find an accommodation!

## 2.3.2 Non adjacency

As opposed to *che/cui*-nonrestrictives (and restrictives), which must be adjacent to the
Head[8], *il quale*-nonrestrictives can be separated from it within the sentence (see (12))
or across discourse (see (13) and (14)):[9]

(12) a. Da quando i russi se ne sono andati, **i quali** non si erano mai veramente
integrati con la popolazione, la pace è finita.
Since the Russians left, who had never really mixed with the population,
there is no more peace.

  b. *Da quando i russi se ne sono andati, **che** non si erano mai veramente inte-
grati con la popolazione, la pace è finita.
Since the Russians left, who (lit. that) had never really mixed with the pop-
ulation, there is no more peace.

  c. *Da quando i russi se ne sono andati **che** non si erano integrati la situazione
è migliorata. (restrictive)
Since the Russians left that had not integrated the situation got better.

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[8]Except for limited cases of extraposition of the type in (i) (nonrestrictives) and (ii) (restrictives):

(i) a. Se hanno portato Carletto al mare, **che** comunque non c'era mai stato, una ragione c'è.
If they took C. to the seaside, who in any case had never been there, there is a motive.

 b. Ho incontrato il dott. Setti ieri, **che** mi ha detto che non potrà intervenire.
I met dr. S. yesterday, who told me that he will not be able to come.

(ii) a. Ho trovato un uomo ieri alla festa **che** ti assomigliava molto. (cf. Cardinaletti 1987,25)
I met a man yesterday at the party that looked very much like you.

 b. ...crede di non avere ostacoli davanti a sé **che** non possa abbattere o aggirare. (Cinque
1988,472)
...(s)he thinks (s)he has no obstacles in front of himself/herself that (s)he cannot pull down
or overcome.

On the limited applicability of relative clause extraposition in Italian, see Valesio (1974), Cinque
(1978,fn.65; 1988,section 1.1.10), Cardinaletti (1987).

[9]Cf. Cinque (1978,79f). For similar examples of non-adjacency in French with *lequel*, see Gross
(1977,136) and Fuchs and Milner (1979, 57), among others. This should not be taken to mean that non
adjacency is always possible. In fact, there appear to be severe restrictions, reminiscent of those ob-
served for English by Ziv (1973) and Ziv and Cole (1974), whose nature remains largely to be understood.
Also see fn. 17 below.

(Cf. Da quando i russi che non si erano integrati se ne sono andati la situazione è migliorata.

'Since the Russians that had not integrated left the situation got better')

(13)  a.  Ha difeso la sua tesi quasi contro tutti. **La quale** sosteneva la necessità del non intervento

He defended his thesis against almost everyone. Which asserted the need of non intervention.

b.  Ha difeso la sua tesi quasi contro tutti. **\*Che** sosteneva la necessità del non intervento.

He defended his thesis against almost everyone. That asserted the need of non intervention.

c.  \*Ha difeso la sua tesi quasi contro tutti **che** sosteneva la necessità del non intervento. (restrictive)

He defended his thesis against almost everyone that asserted the need of non intervention.

(14)  a.  Non ho mai parlato dei miei parenti$_j$ a Clara$_i$. **Ai quali$_j$** d'altronde non serve alcuna presentazione.

I never talked about my relatives to C. For whom in any event no introduction is necessary.

b.  Non ho mai parlato dei miei parenti$_j$ a Clara$_i$. **\*A cui$_j$** d'altronde non serve alcuna presentazione.

I never talked about my relatives to C. For whom in any event no introduction is necessary.

c.  \*Non ho mai parlato dei miei parenti$_j$ a Clara$_i$ **a cui$_j$** non serve alcuna presentazione. (restrictive)

I never talked about my relatives to C. to whom no introduction is necessary.

### 2.3.3  Split antecedents

*Il quale*-nonrestrictives, but not *che/cui*-nonrestrictives (and restrictives), can have split antecedents. See the contrast between (15a/b) (adapted from Cinque 1988,450), and (16a/b):

(15)  a.  Se Carlo$_i$ non amava più Anna$_j$, **i quali$_{i+j}$** d'altra parte non si erano mai voluti veramente bene, una ragione c'era.

If C. was no longer in love with A., who at any rate never really loved each other, there was a motive.

b.  \*Se Carlo$_i$ non amava più Anna$_j$, **che$_{i+j}$** d'altra parte non si erano mai voluti veramente bene, una ragione c'era.

If C. was no longer in love with A., that at any rate never really loved each other, there was a motive.

c.  \*Se il ragazzo$_i$ non amava più la ragazza$_j$ **che$_{i+j}$** si erano voluti bene, una ragione c'era. (restrictive)

If the boy no longer loved the girl that loved each other, there was a motive.

(16)   a.   Se Piero$_i$ non si trova più tanto bene con Ida$_j$, **tra i quali$_{i+j}$** d'altronde non
             c'è mai stata una vera amicizia,… (Cinque 1981/82,263)
             If P. no longer likes to stay with I., between whom in any event there never
             was a real friendship,…

       b.   *Se Piero$_i$ non si trova più tanto bene con Ida$_j$, **tra cui$_{i+j}$** d'altronde non c'è
             mai stata una vera amicizia,…
             If P. no longer likes to stay with I., between whom in any event there never
             was a real friendship,…

       c.   c *Se il ragazzo non si trova più tanto bene con la ragazza **tra *cui*** non c'era
             stata una vera amicizia… (restrictive)
             If the boy no longer likes to stay with the girl between whom in any event
             there never was a real friendship,…

### 2.3.4   Retention of the 'internal' Head

In more careful styles of Italian the 'internal' Head, despite its non-distinctness from
the 'external' one, may be retained in *il quale*-nonrestrictives, but not in *che/cui*-non-
restrictives (nor in *che/cui*-restrictives):[10]

(17)   a.   Quel tale farmaco, **col quale farmaco** il Ministero intendeva iniziare la sper-
             imentazione, era il frutto di molti anni di lavoro.
             That medicine, with which medicine the Ministery intended to begin the
             experiment, was the result of many years' work.

       b.   Giorgio riuscì a sposare quella ragazza. **Della quale ragazza**, devo dire, ero
             invaghito anch'io. (cf. Cinque 1988,449)
             G. managed to marry that girl. Which girl, I must say, I was also in love with.

### 2.3.5   Non identity of the 'external' and 'internal' Heads

*Il quale*-nonrestrictives, as opposed to *che/cui*-nonrestrictives (and restrictives), do
not require absolute identity of the 'internal' and 'external' Heads (cf. Cinque 1988,
449; and Sandfeld 1936,179, and Kayne 1975, chapt.1 fn.20, for corresponding facts in
French):

(18)   a.   Ha raggiunto la fama con *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, **il quale romanzo** ha
             poi anche avuto una riduzione cinematografica.
             He became famous with *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini*, which novel was then
             also made into a film.

       b.   All'appuntamento erano venuti quaranta studenti. **Il qual numero** non im-
             pressionò nessuno.
             To the rendezvous forty students had come. Which number impressed no-
             body.

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[10]It can, however, be retained in the very formal *il quale*-restrictive discussed in Cinque (1978,84ff;
1982,section 1.5), which has many of the syntactic properties of *il quale*-nonrestrictives, although pre-
cisely how many and which ones remains to be investigated more systematically. Here I will not be
concerned with the restrictive constructions. French *lequel*-nonrestrictives display the same property.
They too can retain the 'internal' Head. See for example Sandfeld (1936,179), Huot (1978,119), Togeby
(1982,463), and Muller (2006,325).

The example in (19) represents a different type of non identity (where the 'external' and the 'internal' Heads differ in number features):[11]

(19)   Giorgio non era certo un romanziere, la prima virtù de**i quali** è quella di catturare l'interesse del lettore.
G. was no novelist (sing.), the first virtue of whom (pl.) is that of catching the reader's interest (cf. (49) below)

### 2.3.6   Categorial nature of the Head (DP vs. XP)

*Il quale*- and *che/cui*-nonrestrictives also differ with respect to the categorial nature of the antecedent that they can take. While *che/cui*-nonrestrictives (and restrictives) only take nominal antecedents, *il quale*-nonrestrictives can take a larger class of antecedents, as shown in (20):

(20)   a.   Carlo lavora troppo poco. **La qual cosa** verrà certamente notata. (CP) (Cinque 1988,467)[12]
C. works too little. Which thing will certainly be noticed.

   b.   Carlo lavora troppo poco. ***Che** verrà certamente notato.
C. works too little. That will certainly be observed.

   c.   Carlo lavora troppo poco. ***Di cui** si è reso conto anche il suo principale.[13]
C. works too little. Which even his boss realized.

(21)   a.   Maria è suscettibile. **La qual cosa** sua sorella di certo non è. (AP)
M. is touchy. Which thing her sister certainly is not.

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[11] Cases of gender mismatch like (i) may only be apparent if the relative pronoun actually agrees with a non pronounced *città* ('city', feminine; cf. *la città del Cairo* 'the city of Cairo') taking *Il Cairo* as its specifier (on non pronunciation see Kayne 2005):

   (i)   Il Cairo, la quale/*il quale* è la capitale dell'Egitto,...
(Lit.) the (masc.) Cairo, the which (fem./*masc.) is the capital of Egypt,...

[12] In both (20) and (21) one can have, in addition to *la qual cosa* '(lit.) the which thing', *il che* '(lit.) the that', and the pseudo-free relatives *cosa che* 'thing that' and *ciò che* 'that that'. Also see Bianchi (1999,151).

[13] *Cui*, when preceded by *per*, appears to be able to resume a CP (e.g. *Lei si e' ammalata, **per cui** ha dovuto smettere di fumare* 'She got ill, so that she had to quit smoking'). As this is the only preposition that seems to permit such a usage (see (20c) and the examples in (i)), I tend to interpret it as a fixed expression. This is confirmed by the fact that *per cui* is not exactly synonymous with *per la qual cosa* 'for which thing'. See (i)e:

   (i)   a.   Se il governo vacilla, **alla qual cosa/*a cui** ho fatto riferimento anch'io,...
If the government is shaky, to which I too have referred,...

   b.   Da quando la società è sull'orlo del fallimento, **con la qual cosa/*con cui** dovremo fare i conti tutti,...
Since the company is going bankrupt, with which all of us will have to cope,...

   c.   Il prezzo del petrolio è sceso, **dalla qual cosa/*da cui** tutti hanno tratto benefici.
The oil price lowered, from which everybody benefitted.

   d.   Gianni un giorno si riprenderà, **nella qual cosa/*in cui** tutti confidano.
One day Gianni will recover, on which everyone is relying.

   e.   Se Gianni non ha pagato le tasse, **per la qual cosa** ≠ **per cui** dovrà pagare una multa salata,...
If Gianni did not pay his taxes, for which thing/so that he will have to pay an expensive fine,...

b. Maria è suscettibile. **\*Che** sua sorella di certo non è.
M. is touchy. That her sister certainly is not.

c. Maria è suscettibile. **\*Di cui** non si era resa conto neanche sua madre.
M. is touchy. Which not even her mother realized.

### 2.3.7 Preposability (of the sentential relative)

Cinque (1988, 467) notes that one exception to the impossibility of *che* in nonrestrictives with a sentential antecedent like (20b) is given by contexts where *che* is subject of a nominal predicate, as in (22a/b):

(22)  a. Mi sono messo a giocare a carte: **che** è sempre una distrazione. (Cinque 1988, 467)
I started playing cards: that is always a distracting thing.

b. Mi sembra di capire che tua madre ora stia bene, **che** è la cosa più importante. (Del Gobbo 2006a, fn.5)
I understand that your mother is now better, that is the most important thing.

Even this use of *che* differs nonetheless from *la qual cosa* (and *il che, cosa che, ciò che*) in not being preposable to the "antecedent". See the contrast between (23a/b) (on a requirement such preposing must meet, see Del Gobbo 2006b,fn.2):

(23)  a. \*?Da quando, **che** è sempre una distrazione, mi son messo a giocare a carte,...
Since, that is always a distracting thing, I started playing cards,...

b. Da quando, **la qual cosa** è sempre una distrazione, mi son messo a giocare a carte,...
Since, which is always a distracting thing, I started playing cards,...

### 2.3.8 Parasitic gaps

Parasitic gaps, which can appear within restrictives (see (24c)), can also marginally appear (for some speakers) within *che/cui*-nonrestrictives, but not within *il quale*-nonrestrictives. See the contrast between (24a/b):

(24)  a. ?La sola persona che i Rossi, **che** conoscono bene, hanno sempre ammirato è Gianni.
The only person that the Rossis, who (lit. that) know well, have always admired is G.

b. \*La sola persona che i Rossi, **i quali** conoscono bene, hanno sempre ammirato è Gianni.
The only person who the Rossis, who know well, have always admired is G.

c. (?)La sola persona che quelli **che** conoscono bene non possono non ammirare è Gianni. (restrictive)
The only person that those that know well cannot but admire is G.

### 2.3.9   Temporal DPs as Heads

*Che/cui*-nonrestrictives (25a) (and restrictives - (25c), but not *il quale*-nonrestrictives (25b) can have a temporal adverbial DP as Head (cf. Cinque 1988, 464):

(25)   a.   La settimana prossima, **che** sono in ferie, ti vengo a trovare.
Next week, (lit.) that I am on holidays, I will come and visit you.

   b.   *La settimana prossima, **la quale** sono in ferie, ti vengo a trovare.
Next week, which I am on holidays, I will come and visit you.
(ok: La settimana prossima, nella quale sono in ferie,…
'Next week, in which I am on holidays,…')

   c.   La settimana **che** sono in ferie ti vengo a trovare. (restrictive)
The week that I am on holidays I will come and visit you.

### 2.3.10   Coordination of the *wh*-pronoun with another DP

*Che/cui*-nonrestrictives (26a-27a) (and restrictive – (26c-27c)) also differ from *il quale*-nonrestrictives (26b-27b) in not allowing coordination with another DP:

(26)   a.   *Gianni e Mario, le rispettive consorti e **che** non si erano mai potuti soffrire,…
G. and M., the respective wives and whom (lit. that) had never been able to stand each other,…

   b.   ?Gianni e Mario, le rispettive consorti e **i quali** non si erano mai potuti soffrire,…
G. and M., the respective wives and whom had never been able to stand each other,…

   c.   *Gli unici le rispettive consorti e **che** non si erano mai potuti soffrire erano loro. (restrictive)
The only ones the respective wives and whom (lit. that) had never been able to stand each other were them.

(27)   a.   *Gianni e Mario, fra le rispettive consorti e **cui** non c'era mai stato un grande affiatamento,…
G. and M., between their respective wives and whom there never was a real understanding,…

   b.   Gianni e Mario, fra le rispettive consorti e **i quali** non c'era mai stato un grande affiatamento,…
G. and M., between their respective wives and whom there never was a real understanding,…

   c.   *Gli unici fra le rispettive consorti e **cui** non c'era mai stato un grande affiatamento erano loro. (restrictive)
The only ones between their respective wives and whom there never was a real understanding were them.

# 3 Some properties with respect to which *che/cui-* and *il quale*-nonrestrictives do not differ

## 3.1 Speech act adverbs and performative verbs

Speech act adverbs like *frankly, honestly*, etc., and performative verbs used performatively, have been claimed to occur only in nonrestrictive relatives (Thorne 1972, 552f; Vergnaud 1985, 335; Emonds 1979, 238f; Lehmann 1984, 271; Cornilescu 1996, 215; and references cited there), and thus to be able to discriminate between nonrestrictives and restrictives. One might wonder whether the two types of nonrestrictives differ with respect to this property. They don't. See (28a/b):

(28)　a.　Giorgio, **che** francamente non si sarebbe mai dovuto comportare così,…
　　　　　G., who (lit. that) frankly should never have behaved like that,…

　　(a')　Giorgio, **che** ti prometto non metterà mai più piede da noi,…
　　　　　G, who (lit. that) I promise you will never set foot again in our house,…

　　b.　Giorgio, **il quale** francamente non si sarebbe mai dovuto comportare così,…
　　　　　G., who frankly should never have behaved like that,…

　　(b')　Giorgio, **il quale** ti prometto non metterà mai più piede da noi,…
　　　　　G., who I promise you will never set foot again in our house,…

I should point out, though, that in (my) Italian such adverbs and verbs also occur unproblematically in restrictives. See (29):

(29)　a.　La sola persona **che** francamente mi sentirei di assumere è Giorgio.
　　　　　The only person that frankly I would consider employing is G.

　　b.　La sola persona **che** ti prometto di non rivedere mai più è Giorgio
　　　　　The only person that I promise you not to see any more is G.

## 3.2 Weak Crossover

While restrictive relatives give rise to Weak Crossover effects (see (30), and Safir 1986, section 2.2), both *che/cui-* and *il quale*-nonrestrictives appear to be immune from it (see 31a/b):

(30)　*?L'uomo$_i$ **che** sua$_i$ moglie pensa sia disonesto si è dimostrato una brava persona.
　　　　The man that his wife thinks is dishonest turned out to be a good guy.
　　　　(cf. L'uomo$_i$ **che** è amato da sua$_i$ moglie ha una diversa visione della vita
　　　　The man that is loved by his wife has a different view of life.)

(31)　a.　Giorgio$_i$, **che** anche sua$_i$ moglie pensa sia disonesto, si è dimostrato un vero impostore.
　　　　　G., who (lit. that) even his wife thinks is dishonest, turned out to be a real impostor.

　　b.　Giorgio$_i$, **il quale** anche sua$_i$ moglie pensa sia disonesto, si è dimostrato un vero impostore.
　　　　　G., who even his wife thinks is dishonest, turned out to be a real impostor.

## 3.3   Pronominalization

As observed in McCawley (1981) a proform can resume a nominal Head plus a restrictive relative (see 32c), but not a Head plus a nonrestrictive relative. Both *che/cui-* and *il quale*-nonrestrictives behave in this respect exactly the same. See (32a/b):

(32)  a.  Gianni ha un bellissimo appartamento, **che** da' sul Central Park, e adesso ne vuole un altro. (= bellissimo appartamento; ≠ bellissimo appartamento, che da' sul Central Park)
G. has a beautiful apartment, which (lit.that) overlooks the Central Park, and now he wants another.

   b.  Gianni ha un bellissimo appartamento, **il quale** da' sul Central Park, e adesso ne vuole un altro. (= bellissimo appartamento; ≠ bellissimo appartamento, il quale da' sul Central Park)
G. has a beautiful apartment, which overlooks the Central Park, and now he wants another.

   c.  Gianni ha un bellissimo appartamento **che** da' sul Central Park, e adesso ne vuole un altro.  (= bellissimo appartamento; or =bellissimo appartamento che da' sul Central Park) (restrictive)
G. has a beautiful apartment which overlooks the Central Park, and now he wants another.

# 4   English

As the data in the following sections will show, English appears to lack the equivalent of the Italian *che/cui*-nonrestrictive construction.  Its nonrestrictives pattern with Italian *il quale*-nonrestrictives. First, they, like Italian *il quale*-nonrestrictives (see section 2.2) obligatorily retain *wh*-pronouns in subject, object (and, in the presence of preposition stranding, oblique object) positions. See (33).[14] They also retain them with the (more formal) pied piping of a preposition. See (34). In fact, just like *il quale*-nonrestrictives, they display generalized Pied Piping. See (35).[15]

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[14]Nonrestrictives introduced by *that* are generally judged impossible in Modern English (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973,383; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985, §17.22; Rodman (1976,174); Jackendoff 1977,171; Emonds 1979,§2.3; Sag 1997,fn37; De Vries 2002,182; 2006,fn49), although they were possible in Middle English, and literary examples are attested into the nineteenth century (see Maling 1978,723 and references cited there). They are possible in a number of modern British dialects (see, e.g., Beal and Corrigan 2002,128; Peitsara 2002,172; Van den Eynden Morpeth 2002,188, and references cited there), and a few cases (with inanimate antecedents) are even attested in some registers of the modern standard.  See, for example, (ia/b), and for further exemplification Jespersen (1949, chapter VIII), Jacobsson (1963,1994), Hudson (1990,396), and Huddleston and Pullum (2002,1052).

(i)  a.  She made me swear on the family bible, **that** my aunt's poodle chewed up, that I wouldn't buy French medicines... (Bache and Jakobsen 1980,245)

   b.  I hate my untrusting mind, **that** set Parks on the watch. (Cornilescu 1981,43fn.2)

[15]Cinque (1982) suggested that non "deletion" of subject and object *wh*-pronouns and generalized Pied Piping go together.  They are shared by Italian *il quale*-nonrestrictives and (formal) *il quale*-restrictives; by French *lequel*-nonrestrictives, and by English nonrestrictives and (formal) restrictives. Conversely, obligatory 'deletion' of subject and object (actually, bare DP) *wh*-pronouns (with the con-

(33) a. John, who/*that/*Ø got the offer, will probably refuse.

    b. John, who/*that/*Ø we all know, would not have done that.

    c. John, who/*that/*Ø we are all proud of, will soon be part of the President's staff.

(34) John, [$_{PP}$ to whom] we talked yesterday, said he strongly opposed the decision.

(35) a. That woman, [$_{IP}$ compared to whom] Attila the Hun was an angel, is unfortunately my husband's favourite aunt. (Nanni and Stillings 1978,311)

    b. …delicious entertainments, [$_{CP}$ to be admitted to one of which] was a privilege,… (Jespersen 1949,194)

    c. …certain steps against his treacherous brother, [$_{AdvP}$ as to the precise nature of which] they could not be further enlightened. (Jespersen 1949,194)

In addition to the similarities just reviewed, in all of the contrasts between *che/cui*- and *il quale*-nonrestrictives discussed in section 2.3 above, English nonrestrictives side with Italian *il quale*-nonrestrictives. Compare sections 2.3.1-10 with sections 4.1-10.

## 4.1 Illocutionary independence

As with *il quale*-nonrestrictives (and differently from *che/cui*-nonrestrictives) in Italian (cf. (10)(11) above), English nonrestrictives can also be non-declarative. See (36), where the nonrestrictives are interrogative, and (37), where they are imperative (37a/b), or optative (37c):[16]

(36) a. There is then our father, by whom will we ever be forgiven for what we have done?

    b. It may clear up, in which case would you mind hanging the washing out? (= (10ii) of Huddleston and Pullum 2002,1061)

    c. She may have her parents with her, in which case where am I going to sleep? (= (10iii) of Huddleston and Pullum 2002,1061)

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sequent appearance of a complementizer), and no Pied Piping other than that of a PP also go together. They are displayed by *che/cui*-restrictives and nonrestrictives in Italian, and by English infinitival relatives (modulo the presence of PRO for the subject position and of an infinitival (for or Ø) complementizer in place of the finite complementizer *that*). See (i), and the discussion in Cinque (1982,280ff), Pesetsky and Torrego (2006), Sportiche (2008, section 3.2.2), and references cited there:

(i) a. I found someone (*who(m)) PRO to invite.

    b. *I found someone (*whom) PRO to give the book to.

    c. I was looking for someone with whom to discuss such matters.

    d. *I was looking for someone with whose help to repair my bicycle.

For the marked status of non-bare DPs containing the *wh*-phrase in English, Italian, and French, infinitival relatives, see Green (1973,18), Kayne (1976,fn22), Cinque (1982, end of section 2.2), Pesetsky (1998,352,fn17), Sportiche (2008, section 3.2.2), Koopman and Sportiche (2008).

[16]It thus appears that, differently from Emonds (1979,241), Subject-Auxiliary Inversion can apply in English nonrestrictives. On the related question of why Verb Second is unavailable in Dutch and German nonrestrictives, see Emonds (1979,fn.4). Although certain Verb Second relatives are actually possible in German, they are semantically restrictive only (see Gärtner 2001).

  d. I want to talk to that man, who who the hell is he anyway? (Andrews 1975,28)

(37)  a. Please accept my check for $3.69, which find enclosed! (Martin 1972,5)

  b. He said he'd show a few slides towards the end of his talk, at which point please remember to dim the lights!
     (= (10i) of Huddleston and Pullum 2002,1061)

  c. My friend, who God forbid you should ever meet,... (John Lyons, reported in Werth 1974,fn.4)

## 4.2   Non adjacency (cf. (12) to (14) above)

Although non-adjacency to the Head is subject to restrictions, as noted earlier for Italian *il quale*-nonrestrictives (cf. fn.9), various examples of non-adjacency are cited in works on English nonrestrictives.[17] See:

(38)  a. **John** really bothered me at the party last night, **who/*that**, by the way, I'll never invite to a party again. (cf. Ziv and Cole 1974,777)[18]

  b. **John** is coming to stay, **who** we haven't seen for ages. (Kempson 2003,302fn4)

  c. Only **the flower** is used, **which** is not poisonous and is attached to the plant with a very fine stem. (= 23i) of Huddleston and Pullum 2002,1066)

  d. I was talking to **Howard** the other day, **who/*that** tells me that you want to resign. (cf. Peterson 2004,396)

As noted above with (formal) *il quale*-nonrestrictives, sentential *which* can also begin a new sentence:

(39)  She borrowed a history book. **Which** suggests that her teacher was having some influence on her. (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1972,702)

## 4.3   Split antecedents

As was the case with Italian *il quale*- (but not *che/cui*-) nonrestrictives, English nonrestrictives also allow for split antecedents. See (41), from Arnold (2007,274):

(40)  Kim likes muffins$_i$, but Sandy prefers scones$_j$, **which$_{i+j}$/*that** they eat with jam.

According to Demirdache (1991,118) another such case is Perlmutter and Ross' (1970) celebrated split antecedent relative (41), although a restrictive reading is also possible:[19]

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[17]See Jespersen (1949, section 5.3, p.103): "Restrictive clauses are generally placed immediately after the antecedent, while non-restrictive clauses may stand at some distance". An instance of obligatory non-adjacency is represented by (47a) below (from Arnold 2007,289).

[18]Following Jespersen (1949 [1927], 85-115), Ziv and Cole (1974,776) make a distinction between non sentence final nonrestrictives and sentence final "continuative" nonrestrictives (which often bear a causal or temporal relation to the matrix clause, and can be non adjacent to it). Here I take the two types to be two different manifestations of the same "non-integrated" type of nonrestrictive (the non adjacent case being the most restricted).

[19]Also see the examples given in Huddleston and Pullum (2002,1066,fn.13) and De Vries (2006,fn.38). Indeed, according to my informants, replacing *who* with *that* renders such cases much worse.

(41)   A man $_i$ entered the room and a woman $_j$ went out **who $_{i,j}$** were quite similar.

which she compares to a case like (42), of anaphora across discourse:

(42)   A man $_i$ entered the room and a woman $_j$ went out. They $_{i,j}$ were quite similar.

## 4.4   Retention of the 'internal' Head

As with (formal) *il quale-* (but not *che/cui-*) nonrestrictives (cf. (17) above), in (formal) English nonrestrictives the 'internal' Head can also be retained. See (43):[20]

(43)   a.   He rode twenty miles to see her picture in the house of a stranger, **which stranger** politely insisted on his acceptance of it.  (Jespersen 1949, section 6.5, p.126)

b.   . . . a young woman with a wedding-ring and a baby, **which baby** she carried about with her when serving at the table. (Jespersen 1949, section 6.5, p.126)

c.   The French procured allies, **which allies** proved of the utmost importance. (Poutsma 1916, chapter XXXIX, §4, p.961)

## 4.5   Non identity of the 'external' and 'internal' Heads

The 'internal' Head which is retained can even be distinct from the 'external' one, as we saw above with *il quale-*nonrestrictives in Italian. Various examples are cited in the literature. See, e.g., (44) to (62) (and Jespersen 1949, pp.126-128):

(44)   a.   Mark belongs to the Knights of Columbus, **which organization** has been condemned by the Jewish Defense League. (= (33a) of McCawley 1981,118)

b.   *Mark belongs to a club **which organization** has been condemned by the Jewish Defense League. (restrictive) (= (33a') of McCawley 1981,118)

(45)   a.   An accident on the road, in **which accident** several people were hurt,. . . (Browne 1986,117)

b.   *The accident on the road in which accident several people were hurt. . . (restrictive)

(46)   a.   This book, **which masterpiece** I have read twice,. . . (Kayne 1994,165fn73)

b.   *The book which masterpiece I have read twice. . . (restrictive)

(47)   a.   There were only thirteen senators present, **which number** was too few for a quorum. (Arnold 2007,289)

b.   *These are the only thirteen senators present which number we had forgotten. (restrictive)

As with *il quale-*relatives in Italian (see (19)) the 'internal' Head of an English nonrestrictive may display non identity in number with the 'external' Head, at least for some speakers. See for example (48), from Cantrall (1972,22):

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[20]Jespersen (1949, section 6.5, p.126) says that such retention is possible "in a peculiar kind of nonrestrictive clause; very often the clause is at some distance from the antecedent, and some substantive is repeated so as to avoid any doubt as to what word is to be taken as the antecedent".

(48)   Since John is a lexicalist, **all of whom** are badly confused, I never listen to him.

## 4.6   Categorial nature of the antecedent (DP vs. XP)

As noted by many authors,[21] nonrestrictives in English differ from restrictives in allowing a wider range of antecedents (as was the case with *il quale-*, but not with *che/cui-*, nonrestrictives in Italian). See (49):

(49)   a.   Sheila was beautiful, which was too bad. (Ross 1969,357) (**CP**)
       b.   She was fond of her boy, which Theobald never was.  (Jespersen 1949,section 6.4,p.124) (**AP**)
       c.   Joe debated in high school, which Chuck did too. (Thompson 1971,84) (**VP**)
       d.   Peter put it under the table, where I had put it earlier. (Fabb 1990,60) (**PP**)[22]

## 4.7   Preposability (of sentential relatives)

With *il quale*-nonrestrictives English nonrestrictives also share the possibility of preposing the relative clause to a sentential "antecedent".  See (50), from Huddleston and Pullum (2002,1066) (also see the examples given in Poutsma 1916,chapter XXXIX, §13, p.972; Jespersen 1949,section 5.7; and Quirk et al. 1985, p.1120):

(50)   The Net will open up opportunities to exploit tax differences and – which makes it even more of an headache than globalisation – it will make it possible to dodge taxes altogether.

## 4.8   Parasitic Gaps

As noted in Safir (1986), parasitic gaps, which can appear within English restrictives (see (51a)), cannot appear in English nonrestrictives (see (51b)), just as they cannot appear in *il quale*-nonrestrictives in Italian (see (24b) above)):

(51)   a.   John is a man **who** everyone who knows admires. (Safir 1986,673)
       b.   *John is a man **who** Bill, who knows, admires. (Safir 1986,673)

## 4.9   Temporal DPs as Heads

Certain temporal DPs can head a restrictive but not a nonrestrictive in English, just as we saw they cannot head an *il quale*-nonrestrictive in Italian:[23]

(52)   *That day, **which** Clinton and I were born,… (cf. The day that Clinton and I were born…)

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[21]See, for example, Jackendoff (1977,171), Fabb (1990,60), Demirdache (1991,108), Borsley (1997,§5), De Vries (2002,185), Arnold (2007,274).

[22]On the fact that nonrestrictive *where*, but not restrictive *where*, can have the entire PP under the table as an antecedent, see the discussion in Fabb (1990,60).

[23]In English this is true also of the manner DP *way*.

## 4.10   Coordination of the *wh*-pronoun with another DP

Once again, as with *il quale*-nonrestrictives (and differently from *che/cui* nonrestrictives) in Italian (see (26b), *wh*-pronouns in English nonrestrictives can be coordinated with other DPs:

(53)   He recalled the name of the solicitor, between **whom and himself** there had been occasional correspondence. (Jespersen 1949,191)

# 5   An analysis of the two types of nonrestrictives

## 5.1   The "integrated" nonrestrictive

The analysis of the integrated nonrestrictive that I am going to propose here is a natural extension of the analysis I presented in Cinque (2003) for restrictives (also see Cinque in preparation).  There I proposed that restrictive relatives are merged as IPs in the specifier of a prenominal functional projection above the specifiers which host attributive adjectives and numerals and below the projection hosting determiners and demonstratives (i.e., the position in which restrictive relatives overtly appear in many (rigid) OV languages – see Cinque 2003, and in preparation).  Following Kayne (1999, 2000, 2002), I also proposed there that their eventual postnominal position in most VO, and non-rigid OV, languages is due to the raising of IP to a higher licensing position, followed by merger of a (finite) complementizer which attracts the internal Head, followed in the "matching" variant by merger of another complementizer which attracts the external Head. In the "raising" variant, the external Head is not raised but "deleted" in situ under identity with the raised internal Head.

The "matching" derivation for a restrictive relative clause like *The two nice books that I read* is given in (54):[24]

(54)   a.   [ IP$_{rel}$ [ Num [ A NP]]] (merge of C$_0$ and attraction of IP) $\longrightarrow$

     b.   IP$_{rel\,j}$ C$_0$ [ t$_j$ [ Num [ A NP]]]
       (merge of C$_1$ (*that*) and attraction of the *wh*-pronoun/ 'internal Head')) $\longrightarrow$

     c.   *wh*$_i$- [ *that* [ [ $_{IP_{rel}}$ …t$_i$ ]$_j$C$_0$ [ t$_j$ [ Num [ A NP]]]]]
       (merge of C$_2$ and attraction of the 'external Head') $\longrightarrow$

     d.   [ Num [ A NP]]$_k$ C$_2$ *wh*$_i$- [ *that* [ [ $_{IP_{rel}}$ t$_i$ ]$_j$ C$_0$ [ t$_j$ [ t$_k$ ]]]]
       (merge of the determiner) $\longrightarrow$

     e.   Det [Num [A     NP]]$_k$ C$_2$ *wh*$_i$- [*that* [[ $_{IP_{rel}}$     t$_i$ ]$_j$C$_0$ [ t$_j$ [ t$_k$ ]]]
       the two    nice books       that    I read

---

[24]Here I ignore various complexities and alternatives and will not address the question of "raising" vs. "matching". If relative clauses are merged prenominally, both derivations are in principle available within Antisymmetry.  See Cinque (2003, and in preparation).  Different languages provide overt evidence for one or more of the three C heads postulated in (54) in addition to the wh-pronoun, with some displaying up to three such elements simultaneously. See, for example, (i), from Buli (Niger-Congo):

(1)   kpàr$^w$à-wā:y$_i$ [ālī e$_i$ tà     nā:b        lá]        (Hiraiwa 2003,46)
      farmer-REL   C     have cow(indef.) Subord.Particle
      'The farmer who has the cow'

"Integrated" nonrestrictives minimally differ in that the IP is merged in the specifier of a nominal projection dominating DP; i.e., outside the scope of the determiner or the demonstrative, as is generally assumed (Lehmann 1984,261f; Kayne 1994,112).[25]

(55)    a.    $[IP_{rel}\ [_{DP}$ Dem [ Num [ A NP ]]]] (merge of $C_0$ and attraction of IP) $\longrightarrow$

       b.    $IP_{rel\ j}\ C_0\ [\ t_j\ [_{DP}$ Dem [ Num [ A NP]]]]
          (merge of $C_1$ and attraction of the wh-pronoun/ 'internal Head') $\longrightarrow$

       c.    *wh*$_i$- [ $C_1$ [$_{IP_{rel}}$ t ]$_j$ $C_0$ [ t$_j$ [$_{DP}$ Dem [ Num [ A NP]]]]]
          (merge of $C_2$ and attraction of the 'external Head') $\longrightarrow$

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[25]So, for example, in languages in which restrictives remain inside the demonstrative, nonrestrictives are found outside. This is the case of Vietnamese ("When the RC precedes the demonstrative, the RC restricts the meaning of the noun; when the RC follows the demonstrative, the phrase has a non-restrictive meaning" Nguyen 2004,61f - see (i)), Indonesian (see (ii) "[ii](a) ist restriktiv, [ii](b) appositiv" Lehmann 1984,282), Javanese ("the *séng* RC preceding a demonstrative are restrictive RC, whereas the *séng* RC following a demonstrative are non-restrictive RC" - Ishizuka 2007, section 2), and Louisiana Creole (see (iii), from Gadelii 1997,128):

(i)    a.   Tôi thích cái đâm $_{RC}$[ mà cô   ây chọn ]        $_{Dem}$[ **này**] (restrictive)
        I    like   CLF dress    that aunt    that choose     this
        'I like this dress that the aunt has chosen'

       b.   Tôi thích cái đâm $_{Dem}$[ **này**] $_{RC}$[ mà cô   ây   chọn    ] (nonrestrictive)
        I    like   CLF dress      this      that aunt that choose
        'I like this dress, which the aunt has chosen'

(ii)    a.   lelaki yang sedang tidor **itu**   (restrictive)
        man   Rel   Prog    sleep that
        'That man that is sleeping...'

      b.   lelaki **itu**   yang sedang tidor (nonrestrictive)
        man   that Rel   Prog    sleep
        'That man, who is sleeping,...'

(iii)    a.   sa     ben zen    zom katolik [ki Mari kôtâ] **la**    pe     vini   (restrictive)
        DEM PL   young man catholic that M.    loves DET PROG come
        'Those young catholic men that M. loves are coming'

      b.   sa     ben zen    zom katolik **la**    [ki Mari kôtâ] pe     vini   (nonrestrictive)
        DEM PL   young man catholic DET   that M.    loves PROG come
        'Those young catholic men, who M. loves, are coming'

According to Kim (1997, section 4.3) Korean relative clauses appearing between the determiner (or demonstrative) and the N also receive a restrictive interpretation, while those appearing outside the determiner (or demonstrative) receive a nonrestrictive interpretation. According to Kameshima (1989, section 4.3.3.1) and Ishizuka (2006,2008), Japanese minimally differs from Korean in that relatives appearing inside a demonstrative have just a restrictive interpretation whereas those appearing outside demonstratives may receive either a restrictive or a nonrestrictive interpretation. All of this suggests that the Merge position of nonrestrictives is outside the demonstrative and that of restrictives inside the demonstrative, even though restrictives, in languages like Japanese, can optionally raise past the demonstrative (cf. Kameshima 1989,215), to a position lower than the Merge position of nonrestrictives (given that the fronted restrictive must follow the nonrestrictive - Kameshima 1989,233ff).

The fact, also noted in Kameshima (1989,210f), that Japanese relatives following the quantifier 'all' only receive a restrictive interpretation suggests that nonrestrictives are merged even higher than the position of universal quantifiers (which are themselves merged higher than the position of demonstratives):

(iv)    $[IP_{nonrestr}$ [ $Q_{all}$ [ Dem [ $IP_{restr}$ [ Num [ A NP]]]]]]

d. [$_{DP}$ Dem [Num [A NP ]]]$_k$ C$_2$ *wh*$_i$- [C$_1$ [$_{IP_{rel}}$ t$_i$ ]$_j$ C$_0$ t$_j$ [ t$_k$ ]]]
   quei dieci bei gattini, che io amo
   'those ten nice kittens, which I love'

## 5.2 The "non-integrated" nonrestrictive

The analysis to be proposed for the "non-integrated" nonrestrictive is more tentative. As mentioned at the outset, the construction appears to belong to what Williams (1977) calls Discourse Grammar, whose basic properties, distinguishing it from Sentence Grammar, are the ability to apply "across utterance boundaries", and to be immune to island constraints (Williams 1977,101f). We have already seen that *il quale*-nonrestrictives in Italian and *which/(who)*-nonrestrictives in English can relate to an antecedent across discourse. They also appear to be able to do so across islands. So, for example, in such pied piping cases as (56) and (57) the pronoun can relate to its antecedent (the relation called R-binding in Safir 1986) in spite of the adjunct, sentential subject, or complex NP, island boundary between them:[26]

(56) a. Questa macchina, [per comprare la quale] Giorgio si è indebitato fino al collo,...
      This car, to buy which G. is up to his ears with debts,...

---

[26]The more formal cases of "double dependence" in (i) (see Cinque 1988,473, and references cited there) show the same thing. The *wh*-pronoun is fronted to the left edge of the island (possibly into the Spec of a TopicP above the subordinator, if any).

(i) a. (?)Una tale ipoteca, *della quale se voi vi liberaste* sareste certamente più felici, non l'ho mai veduta.
      Such a mortgage, of which if you could get rid you would certainly be happier, I have never seen.

   b. (?)Un circolo, *al quale essere ammessi a tali condizioni* è senza dubbio un privilegio,...
      A club, to which to be admitted under such conditions is certainly a privilege,...

   c. (?)Un impegno, *dal quale chi mai riuscirà a liberarsi* si sentirà di sicuro più leggero,...
      A commitment, from which whoever will manage to free himself will certainly feel lighter,...

Also see the quite formal English cases in (ii) from Jespersen (1949,183f):

(ii) a. Until the divinity of Jesus became a dogma, *which to dispute* was death, *which to doubt* was infamy... (Jespersen 1949,183)

   b. The most piteous tale [...] *which in recounting* this grief grew puissant... (Jespersen 1949,184)

   c. ...to understand a little more of the thoughts of others, *which so soon as you try to do honestly,* you will discover... (Jespersen 1949,202)

That the *wh*-pronouns are still within the island is indicated by the ungrammaticality of the corresponding cases in which the *wh*-pronoun is extracted (is no longer contiguous to the island). The "double-dependence" construction was apparently quite common in Latin (see Maurel 1989 and references cited there). One example is also given in Ehrenkranz and Hirschland (1972,26). See (iii), which they take (unnecessarily, if we are right) to violate the Complex NP Constraint:

(iii) non politus iis artibus quas qui tenent eruditi appellantur (Cic. Fin. 1,7,26)
      not polished in those arts the possessors of which (lit. which those who have) are called erudite.

b.  Questa macchina, [comprare la quale] voleva dire per lui rinunciare a tante
    altre cose,...
    This car, to buy which meant for him to give up many other things,...

c.  Giorgio, [le ragioni per non invitare il quale] erano davvero tante,...
    G., the reasons for not inviting whom were really many,...

(57)  a.  The lecture [(in order) to attend which] Sally drove 50 miles,...(Nanni and
          Stillings 1978,312)

      b.  ...delicious entertainments, [to be admitted to one of which] was a privi-
          lege,...(Jespersen 1949,194)

      c.  John, [the many reasons for not inviting whom] you are old enough to un-
          derstand...(adapted from Jespersen 1949,194)

If we assume Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) to hold of Discourse
Grammar as well (the null hypothesis), linear precedence in a discourse must also re-
flect asymmetric c-command. One way to achieve this is to merge the linearly preced-
ing sentence in the specifier of an (empty) head, which takes the following sentence as
a complement. Concretely, the discourse fragment in (58) would have the structural
representation in (59):

(58)  John is no longer here. He left at noon.

(59)
```
            HP
          /    \
        CP      HP
               /  \
              H    CP
```
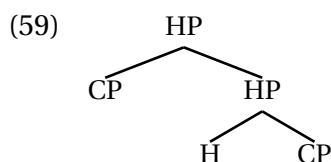
Discourse fragments do not consist of just concatenations of CPs. Other categories
can apparently be concatenated; for example, DPs and CPs (*A pink shirt? I will never
wear any such thing in my life!*), which would yield the structural representation in
(60):[27]

(60)
```
            HP
          /    \
        DP      HP
               /  \
              H    CP
```
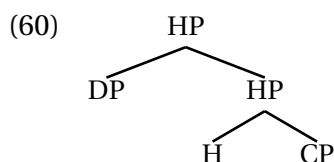
I will take the configurations in (59) and (60) to underlie the "non-integrated" non-
restrictive, (59) for the across discourse cases, and (60) for the cases in which the non-
restrictive is adjacent to its Head. In both cases, the movement internal to the "non-
integrated" nonrestrictive CP is likely to be different in target from that of "integrated"

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[27]The configuration in (60) possibly also underlies English-type Left Dislocation, and the Romance
Hanging Topic construction, where the relation between the left dislocated phrase and the following CP
appears to be one of Discourse Grammar (root character, no island sensitivity, no reconstruction, etc.;
see Cinque 1990, chapter 2).

nonrestrictives (and restrictives). If the target were a CP initial TOP position, as occasionally suggested, one could perhaps make sense of certain properties typical of the "non-integrated" construction, namely the fact that objects cannot easily be relativized with *il quale*-pronouns in Italian (cf. Cinque 1978, 3.7), except in those cases where no clitic is required in the corresponding topicalization case (Cinque 1978,fn.71).[28]

Differently from (English-type) Left Dislocation, and the (Romance) Hanging Topic construction, which are only possible at the Root, presumably due to the discourse head which concatenates DP with CP, "non-integrated" nonrestrictives can be subordinate clauses. This can be obtained from the same structure if, in the nonrestrictive case, like in unbalanced coordination (Johannessen 1998), the features of the phrase in specifier position (here the categorial features of DP) are able to percolate up and determine the categorial features of the dominating category (rendering HP non-distinct from DP). Cf. Rebuschi (2005,§3.2).

In the spirit of Williams (1977), we must also assume that the 'Discourse Grammar' head H, as is the general rule for sentences in a discourse, blocks every 'Sentence Grammar' relation between its specifier and complement (internal Merge, Agree, Binding, etc.), despite the asymmetric c-command relation existing between the two under the extension of the LCA to Discourse Grammar.

## 5.3 Deriving the properties of the two types of nonrestrictives

Let us start from the differences between the two types of constructions noted in 2.3.1 to 2.3.10, beginning with the "non-integrated" type.

The fact that *il quale*- (but not *che/cui*-) nonrestrictives can have illocutionary independence (2.3.1), can be separated from the Head (also across discourse) (2.3.2), can have split antecedents (whereby at least one of the antecedents is not adjacent to the relative clause) (2.3.3), can have non-nominal antecedents (2.3.6), and cannot host a parasitic gap licensed by an operator binding a variable in the matrix (2.3.7), appears to directly depend on the nonrestrictive CP being, in both (59) and (60), an independent sentence at the Discourse level, connected to the antecedent by the same kind of (abstract) heads which concatenate discourse fragments.

The impossibility for *il quale*-nonrestrictives to have as Head a nominal temporal

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[28]Given that "non-integrated" nonrestrictives can also be adjacent to a Head internal to an island (*The Ferrari which Pietro, who Sofia adores, bought from me cost him a bundle* - Ross 1967,174), an analysis in terms of extraction (from the island) followed by remnant movement does not seem a plausible alternative. The present analysis is reminiscent of the "ColonP" analysis advanced in Koster (2000) for both restrictive and nonrestrictive relatives, to the ParatacticP analysis which Gärtner (2001,§2) suggests for V2 relatives in German, and to the analyses proposed in Rebuschi (2005) and Frascarelli and Puglielli (2005) (except that we would limit it here to the "non-integrated" nonrestrictive). De Vries (2002; 2006) proposes modifying Koster's analysis to one of balanced coordination of the Head with a Headless false (or light) free relative in apposition to the Head ($[_{\&}P$ Ann$_i$ [& $[_{DP}$ she$_i$ [ t$_i$ who t$_i$ is our manager]]]] − De Vries 2006,248), even though he also has to admit the availability of unbalanced coordination for the cases of non-nominal antecedents (De Vries 2006,fn25 and K of section 5.2). This modification however implies, contrary to fact, that *il quale*-pronouns in Italian should be found in false (or light) free relatives, which are taken to be a necessary component of nonrestrictives. See *\*Quella/una la quale è di là è mia sorella* '(Lit.) That/one which is in the other room is my sister', *\*Ciò il quale mi hanno detto è falso* 'that which they told me is false' (a comparable problem is raised by French *lequel*). For further critical remarks concerning De Vries's analysis, see Del Gobbo (2003,§4.4.1) and Citko (2008).

adverbial (2.3.9) may instead be attributed to the particular relation (Safir's R-binding) that is established between the *wh*-pronoun and the Head. In the "non-integrated" nonrestrictive with *il quale* the pronoun is a kind of E-type pronoun requiring coreference with some object(s) (Evans 1980, 340); hence requiring that the antecedent be independently capable of referring (something that nominal temporal adverbials are not).[29]

Properties 2.3.4 (possible retention of the 'internal' Head), 2.3.5 (possible non iden- tity of the 'internal' and 'external' Heads), 2.3.10 (the possibility for *il quale*-pronouns to be coordinated with other DPs), and the property of such pronouns to allow for generalized Pied Piping (2.2), also appear related to the E-type character of *il quale*- pronouns. In that, they behave just like demonstrative pronouns (and adjectives) which can resume an antecedent across discourse, can be followed by an identical or non- identical copy of the antecedent, can be coordinated with other like categories, and can be freely embedded in other phrases:[30]

The non 'deletability' of *il quale* pronouns instead may possibly be related to the fact that their deletion is unrecoverable given that the pronoun cannot enter into any relation (except for the one characteristic of E-type anaphora) with its antecedent (cf. Cinque 1982, 260).[31]

On the other hand, the strictly complementary behavior of the *che/cui*-nonrestric- tives appears related to their being an integral part of the DP containing their an- tecedent. As a consequence of that they lack illocutionary independence (2.3.1), they must be adjacent to the Head (except for the limited cases where extraposition is al- lowed) and cannot have split antecedents (2.3.2 and 2.3.3). Being merged within the DP that contains their Head (an extended projection of NP), they can take only a nom- inal antecedent (2.3.6), and are c-commanded by whatever c-commands their Head, thus allowing a parasitic gap to be licensed (for some speakers) by an operator binding another variable in the matrix (2.3.8). Not being E-type pronouns, which require an au- tonomously referential antecedent (with the provisos of fn.29) they can also relativize nominal temporal adverbials (2.3.9).

The remaining properties (2.3.4, 2.3.5, 2.3.10) may instead be related to whatever properties force the *wh*-pronoun *cui* to 'delete' and be separated from the Head by at most one PP boundary. In Cinque (1978,1982), I took these properties to follow from a principle of obligatory deletion up to recoverability and from the anaphoric status of *cui*, which imposes a strong locality condition on the distance between the Head and the *wh*-pronoun.

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[29]The notion of reference appropriate for E-type pronouns should be somewhat qualified given the possibility for such pronouns to have indefinite antecedents under the scope of a quantifier ((ia), and even a negative quantifier if certain pragmatic conditions hold ((ib) (for discussion see Authier and Reed 2005,641 and references cited there):

  (i)   a.  Every guest will bring a bottle. It/Which will almost certainly be a bottle of wine.

        b.  The professor saw no students in class Thursday. They/ Who had all gone to the beach in- stead.

[30]Cf. Jackendoff (1977,175): "relative pronouns in nonrestrictives can be anaphoric to the same con- stituents as ordinary demonstrative pronouns can."

[31]In Cinque (1982, 275 and fn.43) I also conjectured that non-anaphoric *wh*-pronouns must have in- dependent uses in the language (e.g., as interrogative pronouns).

Today, I have nothing more interesting to contribute to this aspect of the syntax of *che/cui-* nonrestrictives (and restrictives), which still awaits to be properly understood.[32]

As to the similarities between the two types of nonrestrictives reviewed in section 3, speech act adverbs and performative verbs, as noted, are possible (at least for me) with *che/cui*-restrictives; hence unsurprisingly also with *che/cui*-nonrestrictives (as well as with *il quale*-nonrestrictives). Concerning Weak Crossover, I noted that both types of nonrestrictives (as opposed to restrictives) are immune to it. This seems to be due to the fact that the Head of *il quale*-nonrestrictives necessarily has, and that of *che/cui*-nonrestrictives can have, independent reference, so that the possessive may directly relate to the Head rather than to the relative clause internal trace. Finally the fact that a pronominal can resume a Head plus a restrictive relative but not the Head plus a non-restrictive relative (whether of the *il quale-* or the *che/cui*-type) may be related to the level of attachment of the nonrestrictive, which is above DP/QP in the "integrated" option, and independent of the DP/QP in the "non-integrated" one (differently in either case from the restrictive, which is below D/Q). If the pronominal is the (possibly elliptical) constituent following D/Q (He wants to buy that <u>one</u>/ another (<u>one</u>)/ two <u>....</u>), then only a restrictive can be included in that constituent.

# 6   Some comparative remarks

An in-depth typological study of nonrestrictives is not available. The few observations that are found in the literature are sketchy and not even always converging, as the following quotes illustrate:

(A)   "The properties of nonrestrictive RC's are quite different from those of restrictive RC's across languages. Some languages apparently have no nonrestrictive RC's; in others they are syntactically quite distinct; in others restrictive and non-restrictive RC's are syntactically indistinguishable" (Downing 1978,380)

(B)   "Formal distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives is found sporadically across languages[...]" (Comrie 1981,132).

(C)   "[...] the syntax of non-restrictives in a language will be largely similar to that of restrictives, modulo some small differences, [...]" (Keenan 1985,169).[33]

The remarks that follow thus cannot be but highly selective and tentative. As noted in the quote from Downing (1978), not all languages have nonrestrictives. In fact Jeng (1977,195), Lehmann (1984,268), Berg (1989,231), Carlson (1994,487) and Aboh (2005, fn.2) explicitly claim this to be the case of Bunun, Dagbani, Muna, Supyire and Gungbe, respectively.[34] Andrews (1975,73) and Aygen's (2003,199) mention Navajo as another

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[32]For interesting recent alternatives to the deletion analysis, see Pesetsky and Torrego (2006), Sportiche (2008), and Koopman and Sportiche (2008).

[33]Also see Mallinson and Blake (1981, section 5.5), Andrews (1995,27f, 2007,207), and De Vries (2005,chapter 6).

[34]Aboh (p.c.) points out that Gungbe (perhaps all Gbe) resorts to overt or covert coordination instead, as does Bunun (Jeng 1977,195). Another strategy, utilized in Yoruba (Sadat-Tehrani 2004,§5), as well as in a number of Mixtecan languages (see Bradley and Hollenbach 1992), consists in inserting a generic noun like 'person' in apposition, followed by a restrictive clause ('*John, a person that no woman would*

language lacking nonrestrictives.[35]

   Most languages however do have nonrestrictives, although the question now arises whether they have one, the other, or both, of the two nonrestrictive constructions isolated above. Apparently, it so happens that in addition to languages with both types, there are languages which only have one: either the "integrated" or the "non-integrated" nonrestrictive. The disagreement concerning nonrestrictive relative clauses illustrated in the quotes above is possibly due to the fact that where "restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs are syntactically indistinguishable" only the "integrated" type is present, which we saw is virtually identical to the restrictive construction (in Italian), while in those languages in which restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses are syntactically distinct it is tempting to think that just the "non-integrated", Discourse Grammar, type of nonrestrictives is present, which was seen above to pattern quite differently from restrictives (and "integrated" nonrestrictives).

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*like to marry,…'*- possibly a sort of false or light free relative).

[35]Also see De Vries (2005,10f; 2006,266). His, as well as Citko's (2008), and others' claim that prenominal and internally headed relatives cannot be nonrestrictive may be correct for the "non-integrated" construction (apparently, languages with exclusively prenominal nonrestrictive relatives cannot relativize a sentence, which is something that only "non-integrated" nonrestrictives can do - see section 6.2 below). It may, however, be wrong for the "integrated" construction. And in fact prenominal and internally headed nonrestrictive relatives are documented in the literature. Setting aside those languages where prenominal nonrestrictives are of the reduced (participial) type, possibly comparable to English *the recently arrived newspapers* (e.g. the Marathi ones according to Pandharipande's 1977,80f description), some genuine cases of full finite prenominal nonrestrictives seem to exist. This is apparently the case of Basque (De Rijk 1972,134), of Korean and Japanese (Tagashira 1972,217; Kuno 1973,235; Krause 2001a, chapt. IV,§7 and b,§6;Yuasa 2005,§6.3; and references cited there) and of Amharic, Quechua and Turkish (Wu 2008, section 2.2.2.1); this possibility for Turkish, pace Aygen 2003, was confirmed to me by Jaklin Kornfilt. De Vries's (2006,265) second way to reinterpret "prenominal nonrestrictives", namely as "(definite) free relatives followed by an apposition" ('(the one) who I love, Jean, lives in Paris') also appears dubious if Downing (1978,392) and Keenan (1985,149) are right in claiming that no language with prenominal relative clauses displays genuine (initial) *wh*-pronouns. One of the two classes of internally headed relatives isolated in Basilico (1996) and Grosu and Landman (1998) (those that do not display an indefinite restriction) can also apparently be nonrestrictive. See (i):

(1)   a.   Taroo-wa [0 rooka-o    isoide      aruitekita] Hanako-ni deatta (Japanese - Itô 1986,109)
           T.-Top    corridor-Acc hurriedly walked      H.-Dat    met
           'Taro happened to meet Hanako, who was hurriedly walking through the corridor'

      b.   [Kim-ssi-ka  pang-eyse naonun      kes]-lul manasse (Korean – Jung 1995,241)
           K.-Mr.-Nom  room-from coming.out kes-Acc met
           'I met Mr.Kim, who was coming out of the room'

      c.   (ded)  Edwin wayazaka ki  he  (ded) thi      (Dakota – Alboiu 1997,267)
           (here) E.       3sg.sick   the that (here) house
           'Edwin, who is sick, lives here'

      d.   [tuut-ee-raa qung-ee  7ij-aa-n]-raaga  'la      7waa-gaa-n   (Haida – Enrico 2003,570)
           box-DF-in    moon-DF be-EVID-PST-for 3PERS do-EVID-PST
           'He did it for the moon, which was in the box'

Jung (1995,section3) argues in fact that Korean internally headed relatives can only be nonrestrictive (though see Kim 2004,273f); Prost (1969), cited in Culy (1990,251), claims the same thing for Togo Kā. On nonrestrictive internally headed relatives, see the discussion in Culy (1990,chapter 5,§2.4).

## 6.1   Languages with both integrated and non-integrated nonrestrictives

As seen, Italian possesses both types. And so does French (see the discussion above and Cinque 1982, section 2.1). Spanish, Catalan and (European) Portuguese, which can use either the complementizer or a *wh*-pronoun, plausibly also display both types (see Brucart 1999, Solà 2002, and Brito 1991, respectively).

Germanic languages, except for Nynorsk and modern spoken Faroese and Icelandic (and certain dialects of Swedish – Karlsson and Sullivan 2002,103), which only use the relative complementizer *som/sum/sem,* possibly have both types too (Platzack 2002). They employ either *wh*-pronouns, like English, or *d*-pronouns. Since only *d*-pronouns appear compatible with raising of the Head (only *d*-pronouns can relativize amounts and idiom chunks - Prinzhorn and Schmitt 2005,498fn2; Salzmann 2006,chapter 2), it is plausible that when they appear in the nonrestrictive construction, they instantiate the "integrated" type (while *wh*-pronouns presumably enter the "non-integrated" one).[36] To judge from Sotiri (2006), Albanian (but not Arberesh, the Albanian spoken in Central and Southern Italy), also displays both types of nonrestrictives.[37]

## 6.2   Languages with only "integrated" nonrestrictives

As originally pointed out to me by Paola Benincà, Northern Italian dialects lack *il quale*-nonrestrictives altogether.[38] Hence, they plausibly have just the "integrated" construction.

The same is possibly true of Chinese. As shown in great detail in Del Gobbo (2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2008), Chinese relatives receiving a "nonrestrictive" interpretation behave with respect to many of the properties reviewed above like English restrictives (and *che/cui*-nonrestrictives in Italian) rather than like English nonrestrictives (and *il quale*-nonrestrictives in Italian). For example, they can only have nominal antecedents, and allow a long-distance anaphor to be bound by an antecedent outside of the nonrestrictive.[39] All of this suggests that (possibly in addition to reduced relatives, which share properties of nonrestrictive adjectives – Del Gobbo 2004,2005) the only type available in Chinese is the "integrated" nonrestrictive (see, in fact, the conclusion in Del Gobbo 2006c, 2008).

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[36]This implies that a restrictive relative like *Ich kenne nicht den Mann der da ist* 'I do not know the man who is there' involves some kind of doubling. Both the Head (*den Mann*) and the *d*-pronoun raise to (two adjacent) COMP(s), possibly as in the so-called Contrastive Left Dislocation construction (*Den Mann, den kenne ich nicht* 'the man, him I do not know'), except that in the former case one has to assume that the Case assigned to the Head within the relative clause is overridden by the Case assigned to the big DP from outside (cf. Kayne 1994,155,fn.15). Alternatively, the *d*-pronoun is actually an agreeing complementizer, much as Pesetsky and Torrego (2006) argue for for the corresponding *d*-pronouns of Dutch.

[37]Like Italian, Albanian can utilize either the finite complementizer (*që*) or a *wh*-pronoun (*cil-in* 'which-the'). See Kallulli (2000,359f) and Sotiri (2006).

[38]In fact, they utilize no wh-pronoun (except for *dove* 'where'), but just the complementizer of finite complement clauses and either a gap or a pronominal (clitic, where possible) within the relative clause, depending on the complement position being relativized.

[39]Tong Wu also tells me that they can only be declarative, cannot have split antecedents, have to be strictly adjacent to the Head, and never show full retention of the internal Head.

To judge from Kuno (1973,235), Andrews (1975,48f), Emonds (1979,fn4), and Kameshima (1989,4.3.3), Japanese nonrestrictives, which are identical syntactically to restrictives (pace Yuasa 2005), may also just be of the "integrated" type (for example, the language lacks sentential relatives, like Italian *che/cui*-nonrestrictives).[40] Similarly, Basque and Yoruba nonrestrictives (de Rijk 1972,134; and Sadat-Tehrani 2004) cannot have a whole sentence as antecedent, again suggesting that those languages may have only nonrestrictives of the "integrated" type (de Rijk 1972 also notes that "Japanese, Tamil, and Turkish do not allow sentential relatives, either." (p.135), and connects it to the SOV character of all these languages). Following Kayne (1994, 174,fn71), I will rather take this to be related to the fact that all these languages have prenominal relative clauses, which as noted in fn.35 above lack wh-pronouns, which alone can enter the "non-integrated" type of nonrestrictives, given their demonstrative-like character and related use as E-type pronouns.

## 6.3   Languages with only "non-integrated" nonrestrictives

As argued above, English has just the "non-integrated" nonrestrictive construction. Another language that appears to be like English is (modern standard) Romanian, in which nonrestrictives (and restrictives) only employ wh-pronouns of the *care* paradigm (also used in interrogatives), and never show the presence of the finite indicative complementizer *că* (Dobrovie Sorin 1994,213; Grosu 1994,212):

(61)    *Ioana, că mi-au prezentat(-o) ieri, nu mi-a plăcut (cf. Grosu 1994,212)
        I., that they introduced (her) to me yesterday, did not appeal to me.

Indeed, Romanian nonrestrictives display the typical properties of English nonrestrictives and of *il quale*-nonrestrictives of Italian. They admit generalized Pied Piping (see (62)), show illocutionary independence (see (63)), possible non adjacency to the Head (see (64)), split antecedents (see (65)), retention of the 'internal' Head (see (66)), which may also be non strictly identical to the 'external' Head (see (67)); furthermore they may take non-nominal antecedents (see (68)), and may be preposed to a sentential antecedent (see (69)):[41]

### 6.3.1   Pied Piping of phrases other than PPs

(62)    a.  D. maior E.B., **grație amabilității căruia** opera filantropică avusese concursul gratis,... (Caragiale, quoted in Nilsson 1969,19)
            'D. major E.B., thanks to the amiability of whom the philanthropic deeds had a free competition,...'

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[40]Andrews (1975,49 and 62), Emonds (1979,fn.4), and Fukui (1986,235) take the fact that nonrestrictives can stack in Japanese and Korean (while they cannot in English) as further indication that nonrestrictives in these languages are like restrictives. More generally Andrews claims (p.63) that languages with exclusively prenominal relatives do not mark the restrictive/nonrestrictive distinction; i.e. have only "integrated" nonrestrictives, in our terms (also see Kuno 1973,235; Keenan 1985,169; and Kayne 1994,111).

[41]Coordination of the wh-pronoun with another DP, however, was not accepted by my informants.

    b. Îi cunosc bine pe fraţii tăi, **cel mai înalt dintre care** e fără îndoială Ion. (Grosu 2005, §3.3.2.1)
       I am acquainted with your brothers, the tallest of whom is undoubtedly I.

    c. Am făcut de curând cunoştinţa unui mare savant, **a discuta în mod serios cu care** mi-ar cere cunoştinţe pe care nu le am. (Grosu 2005, § 3.3.2.1)
       I have recently made the acquaintance of a great scholar, to carry out serious discussions with whom would require knowledge I do not possess.

### 6.3.2 Illocutionary independence

(63)  a. Ion, **pe care nu uita să-l inviţi la nuntă**!, te-a căutat ieri. (Grosu 2005, §2.1)
       I., who do not forget to invite to the wedding!, looked for you yesterday.

    b. Ion, **pe care cine s-ar gândi să-l invite**?,…
       Ion, whom who would think of inviting?,…

### 6.3.3 Non adjacency

(64)  a. Întreba pe cei dimprejur: - Joci? **Care** la rândul lor răspundeau într-un glas: - Se poate. (Nilsson 1969,52)
       (He) was asking those around : - Will you play ? Who in turn answered unanimously: - Maybe.

    b. Peste două ore vine trenul de Predeal – **Care** trece pe la Sinaia. (Nilsson 1969,130)
       In two hours the Predeal train arrives – Which passes through Sinaia.

    c. Îmi oferea premii de încurajare pentru răspândirea săpunului în Ţara Româneascşi pe cât se poate pentru uzul batistei. **La care** răspundeam. (Nilsson 1969,130)
       (He) was offering me prizes of encouragement for the promotion of soap in Valachia and as far as possible for the use of the handkerchief. To which I replied.

### 6.3.4 Split antecedents

(65)  ?Dacă Ion$_i$ n-o mai iubeşte pe Maria$_j$, **care copii$_{i+j}$** de altfel nu s-au iubit niciodată cu adevărat,…
    If I. is no longer in love with M., which young people in any event never really loved each other,…

### 6.3.5 Retention of the 'internal' Head

(66)  Guvernul a făcut o propunere cu ramificaţii multiple şi complexe, **care propunere** fusese deja făcută de opoziţie cu mulţi ani în urmă. (Grosu 2005, §3.3.2.1)
    The government made a proposal with multiple and complex ramifications, which proposal had already been made by the opposition many years ago.

### 6.3.6   Non identity of the 'external' and 'internal' Heads

(67)   a.   Un Micul, **care nume** îi trădează originea vlahă,... (Nilsson 1969,12)
             A guy named M., which name betrays his Valachian origin,...

     b.   E posibil ca guvernul să demisioneze în curând, **în care caz** va urma o lungă
             perioadă de incertitudine politică. (Grosu 2005, §3.3.2.1)
             It is possible for the government to fall soon, in which case a long period of
             political uncertainty will follow.

### 6.3.7   Categorial nature of the antecedent (CP)

(68)   a.   În patruzeci şi nouă de lupte crâncene nu-şi pierduse niciodată sângele
             rece, salvase situaţia de multe ori, **drept care** fusese de atâtea ori lăudat,
             decorat, îmbrăţişat (Nilsson 1969,48) (CP)
             In forty nine cruel fights he never lost his cold blood, he had saved the sit-
             uation many times, in virtue of which he had been praised, decorated, em-
             braced.

     b.   Lelu le-a prezentat-o pe Geta, **după care** au mers în casă
             (Gheorghe 2004,149) (CP)
             L. introduced G. to her, after which they went into the house.

### 6.3.8   Preposability (of the sentential relative)

(69)   Ne umplu, cu vârf, farfuriile, cu ciorbă, ne aşeză frumos şerveţelele şi – **lucru
       la care** nu gândeam – ne întinse şi câte o ceaşcă dolofană cu prăştină (Nilsson
       1969,51) (He) filled up the plates with broth, nicely laid the napkins and – some-
       thing which I had not thought of – (he) also served us a fat cup with prăştină.

Archaic literary Romanian appears to have another relative construction, headed by *ce*
(lit. 'what'), also used in free relatives (*eu spun ce am auzit* 'I say what I heard'; *fericit
de tot ce vedea* 'pleased of all that I saw'). See Nilsson (1969, chapter 3), Dobrovie-Sorin
(1994, §6.1.4.2), Grosu (1994,§8.3). Grosu (1994,212ff) discusses evidence that while
the *ce* of free relatives is a wh-pronoun or -adjective, the *ce* which introduces (non
neuter) headed relatives is a complementizer. Given the possibility of nonrestrictives
like (70a/b) in archaic literary Romanian, one may hypothesize that that language also
has the "integrated" construction:

(70)   a.   Când trecurăm print-un sat, **ce** Hidveg îi zicea,... (Nilsson 1969,25)
             When we passed through a village, which (lit. what) they call it Hidveg,...

     b.   Cuconu Costache Bănescu, **ce** fusese numit şef de poştă aci,...
             (Nilsson 1969,57)
             Master C.B., who (lit. what) had been appointed head of the post office
             here,...

Colloquial (substandard) Romanian may have reanalysed *care* as a complementizer
(so that one could argue that that variety of Romanian also has both types of nonre-
strictive constructions) (cf. Grosu 1994,212):

(71)  a.  A venit la noi un elveţian, care proiectul lui l-a interesat pe director. (Gheorghe 2004,279)
          A Swiss came to us, who his project interested the director.
      b.  Ion, care l-am văzut pe el ieri,...
          Ion, who I saw him yesterday,...

## 6.4  Conclusion

On the basis of some comparative evidence I have argued for the existence of two distinct nonrestrictive relative constructions; one essentially identical to the ordinary restrictive construction (as such part of sentence grammar); the other distinct from the ordinary restrictive construction (with characteristics of the grammar of discourse). Italian and other Romance languages display both constructions; English and Romanian only the discourse grammar construction; Northern Italian dialects only the sentence grammar one; and other languages neither. It thus appears that earlier focus on English, which, as noted, possesses just the discourse grammar construction, has had the effect of biasing the theoretical analyses proposed in the literature for the nonrestrictive construction.

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