

The idea in a nutshell

- The dichotomy does not exist: there is no difference between so-called relative pronouns and relative complementizers in Romance.
- There is one single class of relativizers, which is of functional nominal nature.
- Relativizers can differ with respect to the features that they are specified for.

Road map

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Provide evidence that the proposed diagnoses to differentiate between relative complementizers and relative pronouns do not hold – on the contrary, they point towards a unified treatment of relativizers:

- 1. P+que / sensitivity to animacy
- 2. Invariable pronouns in NP relatives
- 3. Agreeing complementizers in NP relatives
- 2. Unified treatment of relativizers: nominal functional category parallel to interrogative items

Criteria for the two types of REL

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The usual criteria (Klima 1964; Kayne 1975; Radford 1980) for distinguishing between complementizers and relative pronouns are:

Contrary to pronouns,

- a. complementizers are incompatible with prepositions;
- b. complementizers do not display animacy sensitivity;
- c. complementizers do not display **\phi-feature agreement**.

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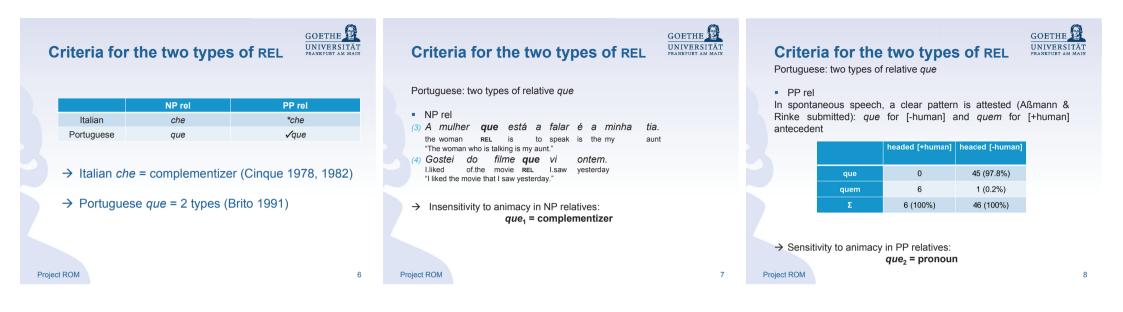
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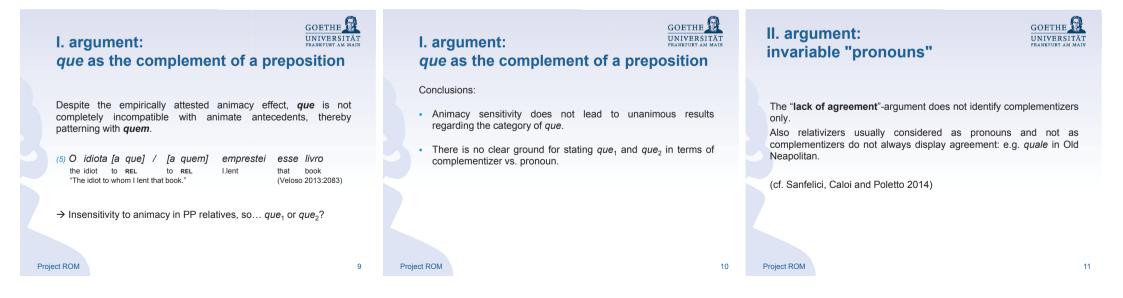
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II. argument: invariable "pronouns" GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT Quale in Old Neapolitan	III. argument: agreeing complementizers	III. argument: GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT agreeing complementizers – animacy
(6) Tutte queste parole le quale all:PL.FEM this:PL.FEM word:PL.FEM the:PL.FEM REL		In Old Piedmontese and Old Ligurian, the complementizer has a different form with respect to the animacy and case of the head noun.
<i>le disse lo re Peleo</i> CL. said the king Peleo 'All these words which the king Peleus said' (LTD, 51.17-18)	 As a counterpart to non-agreeing relative pronouns, we can find agreeing relative complementizers. We will show that elements that are usually dubbed as "relative complementizers" can indeed display gender, case and animacy features. 	(8) questa femena chi m' à spanyunto questo this:fem woman REL to_me has spread this inguento adosso unguent on_me 'This woman that spread this unguent on me.' (Passione, 28)
(7) Glora de lesu Christo et dela Vergene matre, glory of Jesus Christo and of.the Virgin mother He:PL.M REL illumenenno lu intellectu bright the mind 'Glory of Jesus Christ and of the Virgin Mother, who bright the mind' (SDM, 65.14-16)		(9) Receveyva tuto zo che era dayto a Criste. received:3sg all that REL was given to Christ 'He received all that was given to Christ." (Passione, 28)
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III. argument: agreeing complementizers – gender	Summary of the three arguments	Conclusion of the first part
In Old Neapolitan, the complementizer has a different form with respect to the gender and case of the head noun. • Masculine Head Noun > CHI (10) Lo re de Cipre chi se clamao Eneo. the king of Cyprus REL refl called Eneo 'The king of Cyprus who was named Enea.' (LTD, 153. 14-15) • Feminine Head Noun > CHE (11) Questa Medea che desiderava tanto la soa dolce partenza this Medea REL desired so.much the her sweet departure 'Medea, who really desired her sweet departure.' (LTD, 67.24)	 We showed that in PP relatives, the relativizer seems to be insensitive to animacy – just like in NP relatives. We showed that in NP relatives, supposed relative pronouns can be invariable to φ-feature agreement. On the contrary, in NP relatives, the supposed relative complementizer can exhibit nominal agreement features. 	 The usual properties distinguishing relative pronouns from relative complementizers do not necessarily go together, e.g. animacy and being selected by prepositions. Therefore, the proposed criteria do not reliably identify the categorial nature of the relativizer. What our data show, on the contrary, leads to propose that relativizers belong to one and only one category, which is of nominal nature. This nominal relativizer can be specified for different feature sets.

onclusio	on of the fi	rst part		GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT FRANKFURT AM MAIN	Second part: parallelism to interrogatives	GOETHE ON UNIVERSITÄT FRANKFURT AM MAIN	Second part: GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT FRANKFURT AM MAIN
Latin	Old Neapolitan	Old Piedmontese / Old Ligurian	French	Old + Modern Italian / Portuguese	We propose a unified treatment of relativizers in nominal functional category parallel to interview.	From a diachronic perspective, ch/q -relativizers and interrogative determiners developed from the same indefinite * K^{wi} -, * K^{wo} - (I.E. etymology: Delbrück 1988:24,	
Case Gender	Case Gender	Case Animacy	Case		items.		1990; Hahn 1946, 1949; Fortson 2010. Syntactic development: Cohen 1990, Mattos and Silva 1993; Poletto
Number	(Animacy)	Animacy					and Sanfelici to appear).
cf. Poletto an	nd Sanfelici 2015)			18	Project ROM	19	Project ROM 2

Second part: parallelism to interrogatives

In standard Italian, interrogatives and RCs display the same elements: *che* 'what, which', *quale* 'which'.

A survey of the ASIt data base (150 dialects) has shown that the following generalizations hold:

- (G1) If a variety uses the form qual- as a determiner in interrogatives, it will display the form qual- as a relativizer as well.
- (G2) If a variety has che as a determiner in interrogatives, then it also has che as a relativizer.
- \rightarrow The form of the relativizer and the form of interrogative determiners is the same.

(cf. Poletto and Sanfelici to appear)

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Second part: parallelism to interrogatives

Example I:

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In the Friulian variety spoken in Qualso, *quale* is found as relativizer in indirect object RCs (12). Interestingly, in this variety *quale* also appears as an interrogative determiner (13).

(12) El frutat al **qual** tu volevis dà el libri al è partit. the boy to.the **REL** you wanted give the book s.cl is left 'The boy to whom you wanted to give the book left.'

(13) **Qual** libri ha-tu let? which books have-you read 'Which books have you read?' GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT

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Second part: parallelism to interrogatives

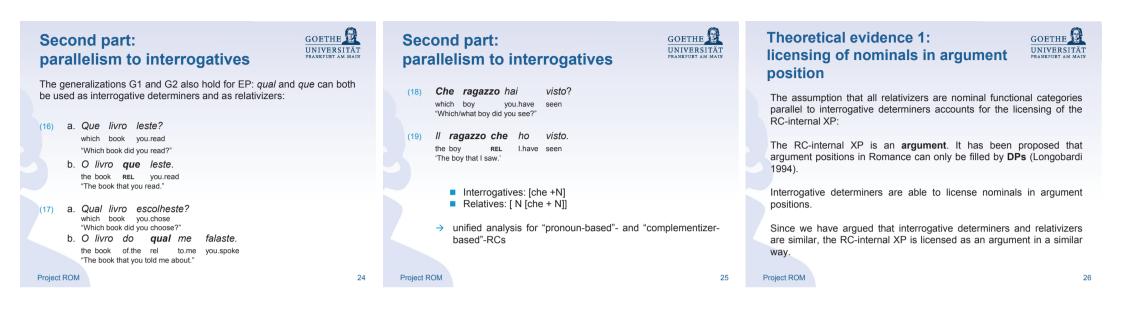
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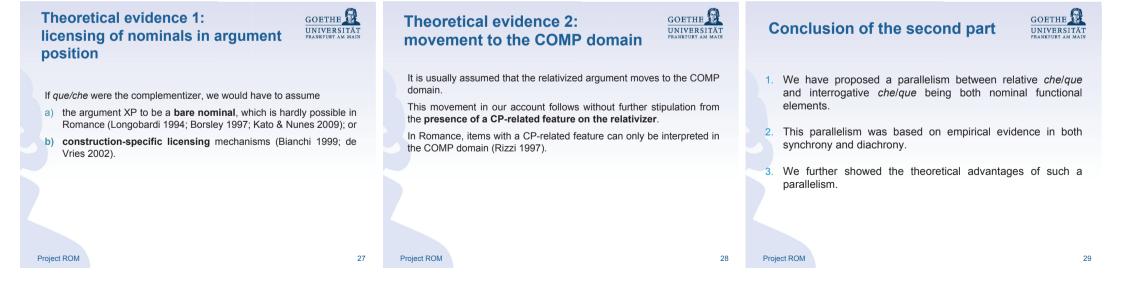
Example II: Veneto does not have *qual* in either interrogatives or relatives: (14) a. *el fio **al qual** te volevi dar(**ghe**) un libro b. el fio che te volevi dar-ghe un libro the boy REL you wanted to give-him a book 'The boy to whom you wanted to give a book' (15) a.*qual(i) libri ze che te ga leto? b. che libri ze che te qa leto? which books CL REL you have read 'Which books have you read?' Project ROM

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General conclusion



- A) Relative clauses in Italian and Portuguese are introduced by elements of one single category.
- B) Relativizers are nominal elements parallel to interrogative determiners.
- C) In different languages and in different stages of the same language, this nominal element can spell out different features.
- D) This analysis offers a unified treatment for "pronounbased" RCs and "complementizer-based" RCs in Romance.

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Thank you for your attention

Selected references



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