Two Types of Appositives

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1. Introduction *

Appositive relatives are usually conceived of as a unitary type of relative clause (semantically and syntactically opposed to both restrictive and "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 "third type" 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 2005), 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 example, Ross 1967,434ff; Aissen 1972; Emonds 1979, Stuurman 1983, Sells 1985; Haegeman 1988; Fabb 1990; Espinal 1991; Peterson 2004; Grosu 2005, among others).[1]

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* I thank Paola Benincà, Francesca Del Gobbo, Alexander Grosu, and Richard Kayne for their comments to an earlier draft of the article.

[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).

Elaborating on Cinque (1978,1982), I will suggest that the sentence and discourse grammar analyses proposed in the literature should not be seen as competing analyses of a single construction, but as complementary analyses for two distinct appositive constructions; what we might call the "integrated" and "non-integrated" appositive, 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, Japanese, and Persian) have just the sentence grammar, or "integrated", appositive; others (English, and Romanian) only the discourse grammar, or "non-integrated", one.

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

In Cinque (1978,1982) I discussed some evidence pointing to the existence of two separate appositive constructions, one of which virtually identical to the restrictive construction.[2] For simplicity, I will call the one identical to the restrictive construction

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[2]. This required considering the appositive construction with *il quale* as conflating two separate paradigms: one identical to the paradigm of (restrictive and appositive) *cui*, with obligatory "deletion" of subject and object pronouns, leaving the complementizer *che*, and no Pied Piping other than that of a PP; and the other distinct from the paradigm of (restrictive and appositive) *cui*, with obligatory retention of subject and object *il quale* pronouns, and Pied Piping of PPs and other phrases. See (1) through (6), where, to avoid confusion, I have used only *cui* for the appositive construction identical to the restrictive construction. For more detailed argumentation, see Cinque (1982). Smits (1988,116) and Bianchi (1999,151f) admit that that there is a residue of appositives that cannot be reduced to an "integrated" (matching or raising) analysis.

the *che/cui*-appositive, and the one distinct from the restrictive construction the *il quale*-appositive, from a fundamental difference that characterizes one of their basic properties, listed below.

2.1. The *che/cui*-appositive

a) ***subjects and direct objects are represented not by a relative pronoun but by the complementizer* che**:

(1) a. Inviterò anche Giorgio, che/*cui abita lì 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, 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)):[3]

The same analysis appears to extend to French, with additional complexities due to the *que* → *qui* phenomenology. In addition to the remarks found below, see Kayne (1976), Cinque (1982, section 2.1), and references cited there.

[3]. The relative pronoun *cui* is apparently possible even within some complex PPs (*accanto a cui* 'next to whom/which', *insieme a cui* 'together with whom/which', *senza di cui* '(lit.) without of whom/which',), but not others (**prima di cui* '(lit.) before of whom/which', **oltre* (*a*) *cui* 'in addition to 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 farete senza*? '(lit.) Of whom will you 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), which may suggest that the two types of complex PPs differ in internal structure.

(3) a. *Inviterò anche Giorgio, 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, 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, per liberarmi di cui non so proprio come fare,…
I will also invite G., to get rid of whom I don't know what to do
d. *Inviterò anche Giorgio, diversamente da cui io non serbo rancore,…
I will invite also G., differently from whom I bear no grudge,…

2.2. The *il quale*-appositive

a) ***subjects and direct objects are (obligatorily) represented by the relative pronoun* il quale:**[4]

(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, del quale/*che avete certamente sentito parlare.
I will invite also G., of whom/that you have certainly heard

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[4]. As noted in fn.2, the obligatoriness of the pronoun and the unavailability of the complementizer *che* in the *il quale* construction is not immediately obvious due to the parallel existence of the *che/cui*-appositive construction, which has *che* for subjects and objects. It can, however, be indirectly inferred from the respective properties of the two constructions reviewed below, and from the stylistically marked character of the one with *il quale*. See Cinque (1978, 1982), and the text below.
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.

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

(6) a. Inviterò anche Giorgio, 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, 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, per liberarmi del quale non so proprio come fare.
I will invite also G., to get rid of whom I don't know what to do
d. Inviterò anche Giorgio, 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).

2.3. Additional differences between *che/cui*- and *il quale*-appositives

2.3.1. Illocutionary independence

Appositives (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*-appositives from *il quale*-appositives. See (8) and (9):

(8) a. Sarà Gianna, che non sopporta tipi del genere, disposta ad aiutarlo?
Will G., who does not tolerate such kind of people, willing to help him?
b. Sarà Gianna, la quale non sopporta tipi del genere, disposta ad aiutarlo?
Will G., who does not tolerate such kind of people, 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 appositive interrogative or imperative. Here *che/cui*-appositives differ from *il quale*-appositives. 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):[5]

(10) a. Tuo padre, il quale potrà mai perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?, non si sarebbe mai comportato così.
Your father, by whom will we ever be forgiven for what we have done?, would have never behaved like that

b. *?Tuo padre, che potrà mai perdonarci per quello che abbiamo fatto?, non si sarebbe mai comportato così.
Your father, by whom (lit.that) will we ever be forgiven for what we have done?, would have never behaved like that

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

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

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[5]. In fact, the matrix need not be declarative when the appositive is non-declarative. See (i), where the matrix and the appositive 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 ask for help now?, have been well disposed toward us?

Also see the English example (38a) below, where the matrix and the appositive clauses constitute two distinct imperative sentences.

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

c. *Le sole persone per cui cerca di trovare una sistemazione al più presto sono loro. (*restrictive*)
The only people for whom try to find an accommodation as soon as possible are them

2.3.2. Non adjacency

As opposed to *che/cui*-appositives (and restrictives), which must be adjacent to the Head[6], *il quale*-appositives can be separated from it within the sentence (see (12)) or across discourse (see (13) and (14), from Cinque 1978,79f):[7]

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[6]. Except for limited cases of extraposition, of the type in (i) (appositives) 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 participate

(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).

[7]. 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 observed for English by Ziv (1973) and Ziv and Cole (1974), whose nature remains largely to be understood. Also see fn. 17 below.

(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 never really intermingled with the population, there is no more peace'

b. *Da quando i russi se ne sono andati, che non si erano mai veramente integrati con la popolazione, la pace è finita.
'Since the Russians left, who (Lit. that) never really intermingled with the population, 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'
(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.
'(S)he defended her thesis almost against everyone. Which asserted the need of non intervention

b. Ha difeso la sua tesi quasi contro tutti. *Che sosteneva la necessità del non intervento.
'(S)he defended her thesis almost against everyone. That asserted the need of non intervention

c. *Ha difeso solo la tesi quasi contro tutti che sosteneva la necessità del non intervento. (*restrictive*)
'(S)he only defended the thesis almost against 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. To 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.

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-appositives, but not *che/cui*-appositives (nor restrictives), can have split antecedents. See the contrast between (15a) and (15b) (adapted from Cinque 1988,450), and (16a) and (16b):

(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. *Se il ragazzo non si trova più tanto bene con la ragazza tra cui non c'era stata una vera amicizia… (*restrictive*)

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*-appositives (but is not in *che/cui*-appositives, nor in *che/cui*-restrictives):[8]

(17) a. Questo farmaco, col quale farmaco il Ministero intende iniziare la sperimentazione, è il frutto di molti anni di lavoro.
This medicine, with wich medicine the Ministery intends to begin the experiment, is the result of many years' work

b. Giorgio riuscì a sposare la ragazza. Della quale ragazza, devo dire, ero invaghito anch'io. (cf. Cinque 1988,449)
G. managed to marry the girl. With which girl, I must say, I was also in love

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

Il quale-appositives, as opposed to *che/cui*-appositives (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 romanzo) Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini, il quale romanzo ha poi anche avuto una riduzione cinematografica.
He became famous with (the novel) Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini, which novel was then also made into a film

b. Erano venuti quaranta studenti all'appuntamento. Il qual numero non impressionò nessuno.
Forty students had come to the rendezvous. Which number impressed nobody

For a different case of non identity (where the 'external' and the 'internal Heads' differ in number features) see (19):[9]

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[8]. 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*-appositives, although precisely how many and which ones remains to be investigated more systematically. Here I will not be concerned with the restrictive constructions.

French *lequel*-appositives display the same property. They too can retain the 'internal' Head. See for example Sandfeld (1936,179), Huot (1978,119), and Togeby (1982,463).

(19) Non era certo un romanziere, la prima virtù dei quali è quella di catturare l'interesse del lettore.
He 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*-appositives also differ with respect to the categorial nature of the antecedent that they can take. While *che/cui*-appositives (and restrictives) only take nominal antecedents, *il quale*-appositives 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)[10]
'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'

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[9]. 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 city of Egypt,…

[10]. 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 relative *cosa che* 'thing that' and *ciò che* 'that that'. Also see Bianchi (1999,151).

c. Carlo lavora troppo poco. *Di cui si è reso conto anche il suo principale.[11]
'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'
b. Maria è suscettibile. *Che sua sorella di certo non è.
'M. is touchy. That her sister surely 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 appositives 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

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[11]. *Cui*, when preceded by *per*, appears to be able to resume a CP (*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 (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. 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) and (23b) (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 appear within *che/cui*-appositives, but not within *il quale*-appositives. See the contrast between (24a) and (24b):

(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.
The only person that those that know well cannot but admire is G.

2.3.9. Temporal DPs as Heads

Che/cui-appositives ((25a) (and restrictives - (25c)), but not *il quale*-appositives ((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, 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-appositives also differ from *il quale*-appositives in not allowing coordination with another DP. See the contrast in (26):

(26) 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,…

2.4. Relative ordering of *che/cui*-appositives and *il quale*-appositives

For those speakers for whom the two types of appositives can cooccur, *che/cui*-appositives can either precede or follow *il quale*-appositives. See (27):[12]

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[12]. It has been claimed that appositives cannot stack (see for exampleVergnaud, 1985,334; Andrews 1975,26; Jackendoff 1977,171). This may well be true despite claims to the contrary (De Vries 2002, 190f; 2006,252f; Arnold 2005, § 4.3, among others). With appositives, the second relative only modifies the Head, not the Head plus the first relative (see: *...and Pauline, who's next to me, who you'll probably talk to in a minute,...* from the Appendix of Arnold 2005), while with restrictives, the second relative may also modify the result of the intersection of the Head and the first relative. See for example: *I like the ties (that) you wear that your sister knitted for you (not those (that) you don't wear that your sister knitted,*

(27) a. (?) Rossi, che ci ha fatto un'ottima impressione, sui meriti professionali del quale però non sappiamo nulla,…
R., who (lit. that) impressed us very positively, about whose professional merits however we know nothing,…
b. (?) Rossi, sui meriti professionali del quale non sappiamo nulla, che però ci ha fatto un'ottima impressione,…
R., about whose professional merits we know nothing, who (lit. that) however impressed us very positively,…

3. Some non-differences between *che/cui-* and *il quale-*appositives

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 appositive relatives (Thorne 1972,552f; Vergnaud 1985,335; Emonds 1979,238f; Lehmann 1984,271; Cornilescu 1996,215; and references cited there), and to be thus able to discriminate between appositive and restrictive relatives. One might wonder whether the two types of appositives 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):

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nor those (that) you wear that your sister didn't knit). Cf. Grosu (2005, section 2.1). In the case of appositives, a more appropriate term would seem to be 'iteration' (Grosu 2000,112), or asyndetic coordination.

(29) a. La sola persona che francamente mi sentirei di assumere è Giorgio.
'The only person that frankly I could 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 violations (see (30), and Safir 1986, section 2.2), both *che/cui*- and *il quale*-appositives 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 an appositive relative. Both *che/cui*- and *il quale*-appositives behave in this respect exactly the same. See (32a) and (32b):

(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 Centrtal 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; =bellissimo appartamento che da' sul Central Park) (*restrictive*)

3.4. Polarity items

While negation can license a polarity item inside a restrictive relative ((33c)), it cannot license one inside an appositive, whether of the *che/cui*- or of the *il quale*-type ((33a-b)):[13]

(33) a. ***Nessuno** di voi, che ha **mai** avuto a che fare con la giustizia, può essere sospettato.
No one of you, who (lit. that) has ever had any problems with the law, can be suspected

b. ***Nessuno** di voi, il quale ha **mai** avuto a che fare con la giustizia, può essere sospettato.
No one of you, who has ever had any problems with the law, can be suspected

c. **Nessuno (di voi)** che abbia **mai** avuto a che fare con la giustizia potrebbe essere esente da sospetti.
No one of you who has ever had anything to do with justice could be free from suspicion

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[13]. Certain polarity items, however, are not licensed even with indefinite restrictive relatives (cf. Kayne 1994,164fn.72).

4. English

As the data in the following sections will show, English appositives pattern with Italian *il quale*-appositives, lacking the equivalent of the Italian *che/cui*-appositive construction altogether. First, they, like Italian *il quale*-appositives (see section 2.2) obligatorily retain wh-pronouns in subject, object (and, in the presence of preposition stranding, oblique object) positions. See (34).[14] They also retain it with the (more formal) pied piping of a preposition. See (35). In fact, just like *il quale*-appositives, they display Pied Piping of phrases other than just PPs. See (36).[15]

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[14]. Appositives 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,fn.37; De Vries 2002,182; 2006,fn.49), 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 some cases (with non-personal antecedents) are even attested in the modern standard. See, for example, (i.a-b), and for further exemplification Jespersen (1949, chapter VIII), Jacobsson (1963, 1994), Hudson (1990,396), 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… (from Bache and Jakobsen 1980,245)

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

They seem, however, to belong to the non written register.

[15]. Cinque (1982) suggested that non "deletion" of subject and object wh-pronouns and Pied Piping other than that of PPs go together. They are shared by Italian *il quale*-appositives and *il quale*-restrictives; by French *lequel*-appositives, and by English appositives and (formal) restrictives. Conversely, obligatory 'deletion' of subject and object (actually, bare DP) wh-pronouns (with the consequent 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 appositives in Italian, and by English infinitival relatives (modulo the presence of PRO for the subject position and of an infinitival (*for* or 0) complementizer in place of the finite complementizer *that*). See (i), and the discussion in Cinque (1982,280ff), Pesetsky and Torrego (to appear), and references cited there:

(34) a. John, who/*that/*0 got the offer, will probably refuse.
b. John, who/*that/*0 we all know, would not have done that.
c. John, who/*that/*0 we are all proud of, will soon be part of the President's staff.

(35) John, to whom we talked yesterday, said he strongly opposes the decision.

(36) a. That woman, compared to whom Attila the Hun was an angel, is unfortunately my husband's favourite aunt. (Nanni and Stillings 1978,311)
b. delicious entertainments, to be admitted to one of which was a privilege,… (Jespersen 1949,194)
c. certain steps against his treacherous brother, 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*-appositives discussed in section 2.3 above, English appositives side with Italian *il quale*-appositives. Compare sections 2.3.1-10 with sections 4.1-10.

4.1. Illocutionary independence

As with *il quale*-appositives (and differently from *che/cui*-appositives) in Italian (cf. (10)-(11) above), English appositives can also be non-declarative. See (37), where the appositives are interrogative and (38), where they are imperative ((38a-b)), or optative ((38c)):[16]

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

Green (1973,18) however gives a sentence like *I bought a book the cover of which to decorate with crayons* as grammatical.

[16]. It thus appears that differently from Emonds (1979,241) Subject-Auxiliary Inversion can apply in English appositives. On the related question of why Verb Second is unavailable in Dutch and German

(37) 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)

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

(38) 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*-appositives (cf. fn.7), various examples of non-adjacency are cited in works on English appositives.[17] See:

(39) 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]

---

appositives, see Emonds (1979,fn.4). Although certain Verb Second relatives are actually possible in German, they are semantically restrictive only (see Gärtner 2001).

[17]. "Restrictive clauses are generally placed immediately after the antecedent, while non-restrictive clauses may stand at some distance" (Jespersen 1949, section 5.3, p.103). An instance of obligatory non-adjacency is represented by (48a) below (from Arnold 2005, section 4.3).

[18]. Following Jespersen (1949 [1927], 85-115), Ziv and Cole (1974,776) make a distinction between non sentence final appositives and sentence final "continuative" appositives (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

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*-appositives, sentential *which* can also begin a new sentence:

(40) 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*-) appositives, English appositives also allow for split antecedents. See (41), from Arnold (2005,section 2):

(41) The Queen serves muffins$_i$, and Prince Charles serves scones$_j$, which$_{i+j}$/*that they buy at Harrods.

According to Demirdache (1991,118) another such case is Perlmutter and Ross' (1970) celebrated split antecedent relative (42), although a restrictive reading is also possible:[19]

(42) 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 (43), of anaphora across discourse:

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different manifestations of the same "non-integrated" type of appositive (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.

(43) 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*-) appositives (cf. (17) above), in (formal) English appositives the 'internal Head' can also be retained. See (44):[20]

(44) 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*-appositives in Italian. Various examples are cited in the literature. See, e.g., (45) to (63) (and Jespersen 1949, pp.126-128):

(45) 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)

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

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

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[20]. Jespersen (1949, section 6.5, p.126) says that such retention is possible "in a peculiar kind of appositive 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".

(47) a. this book, which masterpiece I have read twice,…
(=(ii) of Kayne 1994,165fn73)
b. *the book which masterpiece I have read twice… (*restrictive*)

(48) a. There were only thirteen senators present, which number was too few for a quorum. (Arnold 2005, section 4.3)
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 appositive may display non identity in number with the external Head, at least for some speakers. See for example (49), from Cantrall (1972,22):

(49) 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 a number of authors,[21] appositives in English differ from restrictives in allowing a wider range of antecedents (as was the case with *il quale*-, but not with *che/cui*-, appositives in Italian). See (50):

(50) 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]

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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 (2005,§2).

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

4.7. Preposability (of sentential relatives)

With *il quale*-appositives English appositives also share the possibility of preposing the relative clause to a sentential "antecedent". See (51), 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):

(51) 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 (52a)), cannot appear in English appositives (see (52b)), just as they cannot appear in *il quale*-appositives in Italian (see (24b) above)):

(52) 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 an appositive, in English, just as we saw they cannot head an *il quale*-appositive in Italian:[23]

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

[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*-appositives (and differently from *che/cui* appositives) in Italian, wh-pronouns in English appositives can be coordinated with other DPs:

(54) 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 appositives

5.1. The "integrated" appositive

The analysis of the integrated appositive that I am going to propose here is a natural extension of the analysis I presented in Cinque (2003) for restrictive relatives (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 2005, 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.

The "matching" derivation for a (restrictive) relative clause like *The two nice books that I read* is given in (55):[24]

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[24]. I do not address here 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 (55) in addition to the *wh*-pronoun, with some displaying up to three such elements simultaneously. See, for example, (i), from Buli (Niger-Congo):

(55) a. [IP_{rel} [Num [A NP]]]] (merge of $C_{(0)}$ and attraction of IP)→
b. IP_{relj} $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [Num [A NP]]]] (merge of $C_{(1)}$ (*that*) and attraction of the *wh*-pronoun/ 'internal Head')) →
c. wh_i- [*that* [[$_{IPrel}$ t_i]$_j$ $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [Num [A NP]]]]] (merge of $C_{(2)}$ and attraction of the 'external Head') →
d. [Num [A NP]]$_k$ $C_{(2)}$ wh_i- [*that* [[$_{IPrel}$ t_i]$_j$ $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [t_k]]] (merge of the determiner) →
e. Det [Num [A NP]]$_k$ $C_{(2)}$ wh_i- [*that* [[$_{IPrel}$ t_i]$_j$ $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [t_k]]]
the two nice books that I read

"Integrated" appositives 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]

(56) a. [IP_{rel} [$_{DP}$ Dem [Num [A NP]]]] (merge of $C_{(0)}$ and attraction of IP)→

(i) 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'

[25]. So, for example, in languages in which restrictives remain inside the demonstrative, appositives are found outside. This is the case of Vietnamese (see (i)): "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) and Indonesian (see (ii) "(a) ist restriktiv, (b) appositiv" Lehmann 1984,282):

(i) a. Tôi thích cái đâm $_{RC}$[mà cô ây chọn] $_{Dem}$[**này**]
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]
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**
man that Prog sleep that
'That man that is sleeping…'

b. IP_{relj} $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [$_{DP}$ Dem [Num [A NP]]]] (merge of $C_{(1)}$ and attraction of the *wh*-pronoun/ 'internal Head')) →

c. wh_i- [$C_{(1)}$ [$_{IPrel}$ t_i]$_j$ $C_{(0)}$ [t_j [$_{DP}$ Dem [Num [A NP]]]] (merge of $C_{(2)}$ and attraction of the 'external Head') →

d. [$_{DP}$ Dem [Num [A NP]]]$_k$ $C_{(2)}$ wh_i- [$C_{(1)}$ [$_{IPrel}$ 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" appositive

The analysis to be proposed for the "non-integrated" appositive 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*-appositives in Italian and *which/(who)*-appositives 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 (57) and (58) 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]

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b. lelaki **itu** yang sedang tidor
man that that Prog sleep
'That man, who is sleeping,…'

[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,…

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

b. Questa macchina, **[**comprar la quale**]** significa per Giorgio rinunciare a tante altre cose,…
This car, to buy which means for G. 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,…

(58) 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 privilege,…
(Jespersen 1949,194)

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

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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 t houghts of others, *which so soon as you try to do honestly*, you will discover… (Jespersen 1949,202)

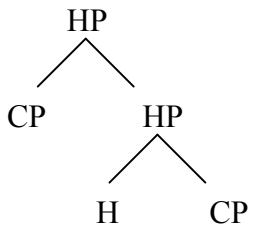
That the wh-pronouns are still within the island is indicated by the ungrammaticality of the corresponding cases in which the wh-pronoun is extracted (is no longer contiguous to the island).
The construction was apparently more common in Latin (see Maurel 1989 and references cited there). One example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

(i) 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

If we assume Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) to hold of Discourse Grammar as well (the null hypothesis), linear precedence in a (one speaker) discourse must also reflect asymmetric c-command. One way to achieve this is to merge the linearly preceding sentence in the specifier of an (empty) head, which takes the following sentence as a complement. Concretely, the discourse fragment in (59) would have the structural representation in (60):

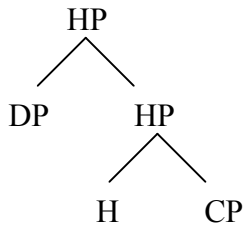
(59) John is no longer here. He left at noon.

(60)



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 (61):[27]

(61)



I will take the configurations in (60) and (61) to underlie the "non-integrated" appositive, (60) for the across discourse cases, and (61) for the cases in which the appositive is adjacent to its Head. In both cases, the movement internal to the "non-integrated" appositive CP is likely to be different in target from that of "integrated" appositives (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

[27]. The configuration in (61) also plausibly underlies English-type Left Dislocation, and the Romance Hanging Topic construction, where the relation between the left dislocated phrase and the following CP is one of Discourse Grammar (no island sensitivity, no reconstruction, etc.; see Cinque 1990, chapter 2).

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" appositives can be subordinate clauses. This can be obtained from the same structure if, in the appositive 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.

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[28]. Given that "non-integrated" appositives 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 appositive 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 limited it here to the "non-integrated" appositive). De Vries (2002; 2006) proposes modifying Koster's analysis to one of balanced coordination of the Head with a Headless false (or semi-) free relative in apposition to the Head ([$_{\&P}$Anni [& [$_{DP}$ 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,fn.25 and K of section 5.2). This modification however implies, contrary to fact, that *il quale*-pronouns in Italian should be found in false free relatives, which are taken to be a necessary component of appositives. 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'. As noted by Alexander Grosu (p.c.), French *lequel* provides a similar problem. For further critical remarks, see Del Gobbo (2003,§4.4.1)

5.3. Deriving the properties of the two types of appositives

Let us start from the differences between the two types of constructions noted in 2.3.1 to 2.3.10.

The fact that *il quale*- (but not *che/cui*-) appositives 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 appositive CP being, in both (60) and (61), 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*-appositives to have as Head a nominal temporal 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" appositive 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 identity 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 Pied Piping of phrases other than PPs (2.2), also appear related to the E-type character of *il quale*-pronouns. In that, they behave just like demonstrative pronouns (an 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]

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[29]. The notion of reference appropriate for E-type pronouns should be qualified given the possibility for such pronouns to have indefinite antecedents under the scope of a quantifier:

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

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

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 with its antecedent (cf. Cinque 1982,260).[31]

On the other hand, the strictly complementary behavior of the *che/cui*-appositives appears related to their being an integral part of the DP containing their antecedent. As a consequence of that they lack illocutionary independence (2.3.1), they must be adjacent to the Head (except for the limited cases of extraposition allowed) 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 nominal antecedent (2.3.6), and are c-commanded by whatever c-commands their Head, thus allowing a parasitic gap to be licensed by an operator binding another variable in the matrix (2.3.8). Not being E-type pronouns requiring an autonomously referential antecedent they appear to also be able to 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 to 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.

Today, I have nothing more interesting to contribute to this aspect of the syntax of *che/cui*-appositives (and restrictives), which still awaits to be properly understood.[32]
Concerning the fact that for some speakers *che/cui*-appositives can either precede or follow *il quale*-appositives (§2.4), the reason may reside in the fact that percolation of the D features of the Head of the "non-integrated" appositive renders HP non-distinct from DP.

As to the non-differences between the two types of appositives reviewed in section 3, speech act adverbs and performative verbs, as noted, are possible (at least for me) with both *il quale*-appositive and *che/cui*-restrictives; hence unsurprisingly also with *che/cui*-appositives.

Concerning Weak Crossover, I noted that both types of appositives (as opposed to restrictives) are immune to it. This seems to be due to the fact that the Head of *il quale*-

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

[32]. For a recent alternative to the deletion analysis, see Pesetsky and Torrego (to appear).

appositives necessarily has, and that of *che/cui*-appositives can have, independent reference, so that the possessive may directly relate to the Head rather than to the relative clause internal trace.

The fact that a pronominal can resume a Head plus a restrictive relative but not the Head plus an appositive relative, whether of the *il quale*- or the *che/cui*-type, may be related to the level of attachment of the appositive, which is above DP/QP in the "integrated" option, and independent of the DP/QP in the "non-integrated" option (in either case differently from the restrictive, which is below D/Q).

If the pronominal is the (possibly elliptical) constituent following D/Q (*He wants to buy that one/ another (one)/ two___*), then only a restrictive can be comprised in that constituent.

Finally, the non licensing of a polarity item in *il quale*-appositives should follow from the impermeability of the appositive to elements found outside. Not clear (to me) is the analogous impossibility of licensing a polarity item inside a *che/cui*-appositive given the possible c-command relation between the antecedent and the polarity item. I leave this as an open question, and perhaps as a problem for the present analysis.

6. Some comparative remarks

An in-depth typological study of appositives is missing. The few observations that are found in the literature are sketchy and not even always converging.[33] The remarks that follow thus cannot but be highly selective and tentative.

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[33]. Compare the following passages:

(i) "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 nonrestrictive RC's are syntactically indistinguishable." (Downing 1978,380)

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

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

As noted in the quote from Downing (1978) in fn.33, not all languages have appositives. In fact Jeng (1977,195), Lehmann (1984,268), Carlson (1994,487) and Aboh (2005, fn.2) explicitly claim this to be the case of Bunun, Dagbani, Supyire and Gungbe, respectively.[34] Andrews (1975,73), and Aygen's (2003,199), mention Navajo as another language not having appositives.[35]

Also see Mallinson and Blake (1981, section 5.5), Andrews (1995,2004), and De Vries (2005).

[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 (possibly a sort of pseudo-free relative).

[35]. Also see De Vries (2005,10f; 2006,266), whose claim that prenominal and internally headed relatives cannot be appositive may be correct for the "non-integrated" appositive construction; apparently, languages with exclusively prenominal appositive relatives cannot relativize a sentence, which is one of the hallmarks of the "non-integrated" appositive (see section 6.2 below). It may, however, be wrong for the "integrated" construction. And in fact prenominal and internally headed appositive relatives are documented in the literature. Setting aside those languages where prenominal appositives are of the reduced (participial) type, possibly comparable to English *the recently renovated museum* (e.g. the Marathi ones in Pandharipande's 1977,80f description), some genuine cases of full finite prenominal appositives seem to exist. See the case of Basque (De Rijk 1972,134), and that 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). De Vries's (2006,265) second way to reinterpret "prenominal appositives", namely as "(definite) free relatives followed by an apposition" ('(the one) who I love, Jean, lives in Paris') also appears dubious given Downing's (1978,392) and Keenan's (1985,149) observations that no language with prenominal relatives 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 appositive. See (i):

(i) 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'

Most languages however do have appositives, although the question now arises whether they have one, or the other, or both, of the appositive types singled out 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" appositive. This latter fact may be at the basis of the other observations of Downing's (1978) cited in fn.33. Perhaps, in those languages where "restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs are syntactically indistinguishable" only the "integrated" type is present, which we saw differs minimally from restrictives (in Italian). In those in which "they [restrictive and nonrestrictive RCs, G.C.] are syntactically quite distinct" it is tempting to think that just the "non-integrated", Discourse Grammar, type of appositive is present, which was seen above to pattern quite differently from restrictives (and "integrated" appositives).

6.1. Languages with both "integrated" and "non-integrated" appositives

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 1988, 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 2005,498fn.2; Salzmann 2006,chapter 2), they

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

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

must enter an "integrated" relative.[36] This suggests that when they appear in the appositive construction, they also enter the "integrated" type (while wh-pronouns presumably enter the "non-integrated" one).

To judge from Sotiri (2006), Albanian, but not Arberesh (the Albanian spoken in Central and Southern Italy), also displays both types of appositives.[37] And so do apparently Slavic languages, which utilize either an invariant complementizer (*čto*, *co*, *deto*,..), or a wh-paradigm (*który*, *kotoryi*, *koito*,..).

6.2. Languages with only "integrated" appositives

As originally noted by Paola Benincà (p.c.), Northern Italian dialects lack *il quale*-appositives altogether.[38]

The same is possibly true of Chinese. As shown in great detail in Del Gobbo (2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a), Chinese relatives receiving an "appositive" interpretation behave with respect to many of the properties reviewed above like English restrictives (and *che/cui*-appositives in Italian) rather than like English appositives (and *il quale*-appositives in Italian). For example, they can only have nominal antecedents, and allow

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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, 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 landing site from outside (cf. Kayne 1994,155,fn.15). Alternatively, the d-pronoun is actually an agreeing complementizer, much as Pesetsky and Torrego (to appear) argue for for the corresponding d-pronouns of Dutch.

[37]. Like Italian, it can utilize either the finite complementizer (*që*) or a wh-pronoun (*cil-in* 'which-the'). In fact, like Italian, Albanian also seems to display two types of restrictives as it employs either the complementizer or wh-pronouns for them too. See Kallulli (2000,359f) and the article by Sotiri quoted in the text.

[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, or tonic) within the relative clause, depending on the complement position being relativized.

a long-distance anaphor to be bound by an antecedent outside of the appositive. This suggests that (possibly in addition to reduced relatives, which share properties of appositive adjectives – Del Gobbo 2004,2005) the only type available in Chinese is the "integrated" appositive (see, in fact, the conclusion in Del Gobbo 2006c).

To judge from Kuno (1973,235), Andrews (1975,48f), Emonds (1979,fn4), and Kameshima (1989,4.3.3), Japanese appositives, 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*-appositives).[39]

Similarly, Basque and Yoruba appositives (de Rijk 1972,134; and Sadat-Tehrani 2004) cannot have a whole sentence as antecedent, again suggesting that the language may have only appositives 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 characteristically lack wh-pronouns (which alone can enter the "non-integrated" type of appositives, we have assumed).

Persian appositives can only be introduced by the same complementizer that introduces finite restrictive (and complement) clauses, *ke*, which again suggests that it may only have the "integrated" appositive (cf. Mahootian 1997,33f).

6.3. Languages with only "non-integrated" appositives

As argued above, English has just the "non-integrated" appositive construction.

Another language that appears to be like English is (modern standard) Romanian, whose appositives (and restrictives) only employ *wh*-pronouns (also used in interrogatives), and never show the presence of the finite indicative complementizer *că* (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994,213; Grosu 1994,212):

(62) *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

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[39]. Andrews (1975,49 and 62) and Emonds (1979,fn.4) take the fact that appositives can stack in Japanese (and Korean) as a further indication that appositives in these languages are like restrictives. More generally Andrews claims that languages with exclusively prenominal relative clauses do not mark the restrictive/nonrestrictive distinction (p.63).

Indeed, Romanian appositives display the typical properties of English appositives and of *il quale*-appositives in Italian.

They allow for the Pied Piping of phrases other than PPs (see (63)), show illocutionary independence (see (64)), possible non adjacency to the Head (see (65)), split antecedents (see (66)), retention of the 'internal Head' (see (67)), which may also be non strictly identical to the 'external Head' (see (68)); furthermore they may take non-nominal antecedents (see (69)), and may prepose the appositive in front of a sentential antecedent (see (70)):[40]

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

Older stages of the language and (archaic) literary Romanian possess 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 appositives like (ia-b) in (archaic) literary Romanian one may hypothesize that that language also has the "integrated" construction:

(i) 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 appears to have reanalysed *care* as a complementizer (so that one could argue that that variety of Romanian also has both types of appositive constructions) (cf. Grosu 1994,212):

(i) 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,…

Pied Piping of phrases other than PPs

(63) a D. maior E. B., **grație amabilită ții 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,…'

b. Ii cunosc bine pe frații 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 cunoştința unui mare savant, **a discuta în mod serios cu care** mi-ar cere cunoştințe 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'

Illocutionary independence

(64) a. Ion, **pe care nu uita să-l inviți 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?,…

Non adjacency

(65) a. întreba pe cei dinprejur: - 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 Țara Românească şi pe cât se poate pentru uzul betistei. **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'

Split antecedents

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

Retention of the 'internal Head'

(67) Guvernul a făcut o propunere cu ramificații multiple şi complexe, **care propunere** fusese deja făcută de opoziție cu mulți 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'

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

(68) 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'

Categorial nature of the antecedent (DP vs. XP)

(69) a. In patruzeci şi nouă de lupte crâncene nu-şi pierduse niciodată sângele rece, salvase situația de multe ori, **drept care** fusese de atâtea ori lăudat, decorat, îmbrățişat. (Nilsson 1969,48) (CP)

'In forty nine cruel fights he never lost his cold blood, he had saved the situation many times, in virtue of which he had been praised, decorated, embraced'

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'

Preposability (of the sentential relative)

(70) Ne umplu, cu vârf, farfuriile, cu ciorbă, ne aşeză frumos şervețelele 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 – something which I had not thought of – (he) also served us a fat cup with prăştină'

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