

# SYNTACTICALLY CHALLENGED RATHER THAN REDUCED: PARTICIPIAL RELATIVES REVISITED\*

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## 1. Introduction

Participial relative clauses (RCs) (see examples in (1)), can be generally characterised as a type of noun modification similar to regular RCs (Doron and Reintges 2005, among others). As to the difference between the two types of RCs, two major points have been constantly highlighted. First, as the term itself implies, participial RCs involve participles rather than verbs. Participial forms are usually viewed as hybrid categories, both nominal and verbal; accordingly, the syntax of participial RCs is normally assumed to involve a VP-like structure embedded under a nominalizing node (Doron and Reintges 2005, Hazout 2001, Siloni 1995, among others). Second, the structure of participial RCs is traditionally defined as cross-linguistically impoverished in comparison to that of regular (or ‘full’) RCs (Burzio 1981, Chomsky 1981, Hazout 2001, Siloni 1995, Stowell 1981, among others), leading to the other commonly used term, ‘reduced’ RCs.<sup>1</sup> Arguing against the second point, in the present paper, I bring certain pieces of evidence together to advance the proposal that properties traditionally taken to establish the impoverished nature of participial RCs are mere by-products of their hybrid nature, rather than intrinsic to them, and that participial RCs can exhibit full structure overtly if special (morpho-)syntactic requirements imposed on them are met. The challenge now is to articulate the proposal as to exactly what defines participial RCs and to establish why participial RCs do end up looking reduced at times.

- (1) a. *English:*  
The boy [<sub>PRC</sub> reading a book] is my brother.

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<sup>1</sup> Also, recall the *whiz-deletion* transformation rule deleting a *wh*-phrase and the auxiliary *be* assumed in the early generative research (see Doron and Reintges 2005 for a brief historical overview, and references therein).

- b. *Russian*:  
 Mal'chik [<sub>pRC</sub> chitajushhij knigu] moj brat.  
*boy reading book my brother*  
 'The boy reading a book is my brother.'
- c. *Hebrew*:  
 Ha-yeled [<sub>pRC</sub> ha-kore sefer] hu ax-i.  
*the-boy the-reading book he brother-my*  
 'The boy reading a book is my brother.'

## 2. The Traditional View

As mentioned above, participial RCs are traditionally defined through their impoverished syntax, as compared to that of regular RCs. The list of properties taken to establish the impoverished nature of participial RCs includes three principal characteristics: no (overt) complementizers, no independent temporal reference and no (overt) subjects (Siloni 1995, among many others). I will now go over each of these characteristics and illustrate them with minimal pairs of examples involving participial and regular RCs.<sup>2</sup>

I will start with the lack of complementizers. Participial RCs never license the usual CP-material (*wh*-phrases, complementizers) (2a), unlike regular RCs (2b) which do, and sometimes even require it.<sup>3</sup> As a result, it has often been concluded that participial RCs lack a particular layer present in regular RCs, the CP layer, which captures the common intuition that participial RCs involve less structure than regular RCs.

- (2) a. The boy [<sub>pRC</sub> \*that/\*who reading a book ] is clever.  
 b. The boy [<sub>rRC</sub> that/who is reading a book ] is clever.

Turning now to the lack of independent temporal reference, participial RCs are often believed to be cross-linguistically non-tensed, with temporal reference interpreted as either simultaneous (4a) or perfective (5a) with respect to some other temporal reference, usually with respect to that of the matrix. Again, this property clearly contrasts with what we observe in regular RCs, where the temporal reference is normally determined internally (4b, 5b).

- (4) a. We kick/kicked/will kick out pupils [<sub>pRC</sub> wearing jeans].  
 b. We kick/kicked/will kick out pupils [<sub>rRC</sub> that are wearing jeans].
- (5) a. We see/saw/will see leaves [<sub>pRC</sub> fallen from the tree].  
 b. We see/saw/will see leaves [<sub>rRC</sub> that have fallen from the tree].

Finally, as far as the lack of (overt) subjects is concerned, participial RCs have also been viewed as reduced due to the fact that many languages do not

<sup>2</sup> Note the abbreviations used in examples throughout the paper: pRC for participial relative clauses and rRC for regular relative clauses.

<sup>3</sup> This is a robust cross-linguistic fact (Doron and Reintges 2005, and references therein).

license participial RCs if a non-subject position is relativized (6a). Obviously, this differs from what we find in regular RCs (6b) where both subject and non-subject positions can be subject to relativization.

- (6) a. \* The book [<sub>pRC</sub> the boy reading \_\_ ] is interesting.  
 b. The book [<sub>rRC</sub> the boy is reading \_\_ ] is interesting.

In spite of the seeming straightforwardness of what is laid out above, in the next section I will demonstrate that none of the three traditional ‘defining’ properties define participial RCs cross-linguistically. As a result, we will conclude that the only remaining candidate for an adequate cross-linguistic description is the one hinging on the hybrid nature of the participial form involved in the type of RCs under discussion, the point to be taken up and developed in section 4.

### 3. Challenging the Traditional View

#### 3.1 A Different Layer rather than Reduced Structure

As mentioned, the ban on any CP-material and hence the apparent lack of the CP layer has been often taken as evidence for the reduced clausal architecture of participial RCs (Krause 2001, among many others). Yet, the other way to interpret the same property is that while participial RCs are not headed by C°, they might well be headed by some other functional category instead. If the latter is true, we expect to find languages where this hypothetical layer is filled with overt functional material. Given the nominal nature of participial RCs (such as the nominal pattern of agreement with the modifiee, inter alia) and the observation that D° and C° behave on par with each other (Szabolcsi 1994, among others), a complementizer-like D° is a natural candidate to consider. Crucially, participial RCs in languages like Arabic, Hebrew and Greek do in fact exhibit an overt D° (Siloni 1995) (7). If DP is indeed the projection involved in participial RCs cross-linguistically, the immediate corollary is that the thesis regarding the less articulated structure of participial RCs as compared to regular RCs is not justified. In other words, the architecture of participial RCs indeed lacks the CP layer, but it does not necessarily involve fewer layers than that of regular RCs.

- (7) a. *Hebrew:*  
 Ha-yeled [<sub>pRC</sub> ha-kore sefer]  
*the-boy the-reading book*  
 ‘the boy reading a book’
- b. *Arabic:*  
 al-marʔatu [<sub>pRC</sub> al-ʔaakilatu t-tuffaaha]  
*the-woman the-eating the-apples*  
 ‘the woman eating the apples’

### 3.2 Tensed Participial RCs Exist!

Elaborating on Stowell (1982), which argues for a correlation between the existence of the CP level and the presence of a tense operator in the clause, Siloni (1995) suggests that the set of legitimate complements of  $D^\circ$  is restricted to [-tense] elements. Since participial RCs are cross-linguistically DPs in her analysis (the exact point addressed above), they are immediately assumed to be by definition non-tensed. However, while it does seem to be the case that DPs generally prefer to avoid tense, it is clear that  $D^\circ$  and tense are not mutually exclusive cross-linguistically. Thus, Nordlinger and Sadler (2000) discuss a series of studies on morphology in LFG reporting that NPs in some languages inflect for the traditionally verbal categories of tense, aspect and mood. For example, in Chamicuro, clausal tense information is encoded on the definite article accompanying nominal subject and object arguments; in Pitta Pitta, case suffixes obligatorily attached to nominals encode tense information. To offer a different example, Arabic provides evidence (morphological considerations and (in)definiteness agreement facts) confirming that even regular RCs, which are by all characteristics tensed, are headed by a  $D^\circ$ -like element (Ouhalla 2004, and references therein). Moreover, in some dialects of Arabic (e.g. Lebanese Arabic) and Amharic, regular RCs behave in a DP-like fashion in the construct state, a type of possessive construction (Ouhalla 2004, and references therein).

Having said that, if DPs are not intrinsically incompatible with tense, and if we are not convinced that participial RCs should inherently lack tense for some other reason, we might expect to find languages licensing tensed participial RCs. Interestingly, such languages do in fact exist. Doron and Reintges (2005), who report Tamil, Classical Greek and Older Egyptian as examples, derive the possibility of encoding tense on the participle from the (non)detachability of the temporal morphology from verbal agreement inflection (section 4.3). Let me briefly demonstrate with examples from Russian that the temporal reference of such participial RCs is indeed independent and that the tense morphology on the participles involved does not encode aspectual distinctions.<sup>4</sup> In (8a), the teasing event, expressed with a participial form inflected for the (imperfective) past, necessarily precedes the utterance time and thus cannot be interpreted as merely preceding the future event in the matrix. Likewise, in (9a), the temporal reference of the event in the participial RC is the future, necessarily following the utterance time; that is, not merely ‘irrealis’, as the event in the participial RCs cannot be interpreted as following the past event in the matrix clause but preceding the utterance time.<sup>5,6</sup> Thus, the temporal interpretation of participial RCs in languages like Russian is analogous to the one of regular RCs in (8b) and (9b), respectively.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. the so-called ‘past’ participial RCs in English where *-ed*, the actual past tense morpheme showing up on verbs, encodes perfectivity rather than precedence with respect to the utterance time.

<sup>5</sup> For Russian verbs, non-past perfective forms are interpreted as future.

<sup>6</sup> Note the following alternations: the *-sh/-ushh-* alternation for the *-ING-* morpheme in the participial forms in (8a) and (9a), respectively, and the *-l/-v-* alternation for the past

- (8) a. My nakazh-em                      det-ej  
*we punish.PERF.[-PST]-1PL children-PL.ACC*  
 [<sub>PRC</sub> drazni-v-sh-ikh                      uchitelja].  
*tease.IMP-[+PST]-ING-PL.ACC teacher*  
 ‘We will punish children that were teasing the teacher.’
- b. My nakazh-em                      det-ej  
*we punish.PERF.[-PST]-1PL children-PL.ACC*  
 [<sub>IRC</sub> chto drazni-l-i                      uchitelja].  
*that tease.IMP-[+PST]-PL teacher*  
 ‘We will punish children that were teasing the teacher.’
- (9) a. Dva goda nazad ja priduma-l                      afer-u  
*two years ago I invent.PERF-[+PST] fraud-FEM.SG.ACC*  
 [<sub>PRC</sub> sdelay-ushh-uju                      nas bogatymi].  
*make.PERF.[-PST]-ING-FEM.SG.ACC us rich*  
 ‘Two years ago I planned a fraud that will make us rich.’
- b. Dva goda nazad ja priduma-l                      afer-u  
*two years ago I invent.PERF-[+PST] fraud-FEM.SG.ACC*  
 [<sub>IRC</sub> kotoraja sdelay-et                      nas bogatymi].  
*which make.PERF.[-PST]-3SG us rich*  
 ‘Two years ago I planned a fraud that will make us rich.’

Crucially for the main thesis of the present paper, since participial RCs are not cross-linguistically non-tensed, it is no longer justified to define them as ‘reduced’ based on the lack of tense.

### 3.3 Participial RCs with Overt Subjects Exist, too!

It has been occasionally recognized that participial RCs do allow overt subjects in some languages. For example, Krause (2001) discusses participial RCs with Genitive subjects; omitting the details of her analysis, the ability to licence overt subjects in participial RCs in languages like Turkish (10) is linked to the language specific property of licensing structural genitive Case within NPs.

- (10) [<sub>PRC</sub> Oya-nin (kendisi-ni<sub>i</sub>) tanidiğ-i                      ] kadin<sub>i</sub>  
*Oya-GEN self-ACC knowing-3SG woman.NOM*  
 ‘the woman whom Oya knows’

While the availability of structural Genitive might indeed be of relevance (section 4.4.3), Krause’s (2001) analysis as is also predicts that participial RCs are universally non-tensed, lack TP and consequently Nominative subjects (cf. Siloni 1995). However, we already saw in section 3.2 that tensed participial RCs are in fact attested; I will now also show that availability of tense and overt (Nominative)

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tense morpheme (verbs vs. participial forms). Discussion of the nature of such alternations is beyond the scope of the present paper.

subjects in participial RCs are not at all straightforwardly related. First, Russian (11) and Classical Greek (Doron and Reintges 2005), which have been argued to exhibit tense in participial RCs, do not license overt subjects.

- (11) \* Uchitel' [<sub>pRC</sub> det-i                      drazni-v-sh-ie]  
*teacher        children-PL.NOM    tease.IMP-[+PST]-ING-PL.NOM*  
 budet zhalovat'sja.  
*will    complain.INF*  
 Intended: 'The teacher whom the children were teasing will complain.'

Second, Arabic, whose participial RCs are non-tensed, do actually license overt subjects, marked with Nominative rather than with Genitive (12). Consequently, the lack of tense and the lack of (Nominative) subjects in participial relatives appear to be accidental properties that arise independently, neither of them being a defining property of participial RCs *per se*.

- (12) a. raʔaytu    al-marʔat-a    [<sub>pRC</sub> al-jaalis-a    walad-u-haa].  
*see.1SG.PST the-woman-ACC    the-sitting-ACC child-NOM-her*  
 'I saw the woman whose child was sitting.'
- b. ʔaraa            al-marʔat-a    [<sub>pRC</sub> al-jaalis-a    walad-u-haa].  
*see.1SG.PRSNT the-woman-ACC    the-sitting-ACC child-NOM-her*  
 'I see the woman whose child is sitting.'
- c. saʔaraa    al-marʔat-a    [<sub>pRC</sub> al-jaalis-a    walad-u-haa].  
*see.1SG.FTR the-woman-ACC    the-sitting-ACC child-NOM-her*  
 'I will see the woman whose child will be sitting.'

Taking up the main thesis of the paper again, since participial RCs do not lack overt subjects cross-linguistically, it is not justified to define them as intrinsically 'reduced' based just on that point. In section 4.4.2, I will argue that overt subjects are licensed in participial RCs if a particular syntactic requirement imposed by their derivation is met in the relevant language.

#### 4. So Why Do these RCs End up Looking Reduced at Times?

##### 4.1 Preliminary Remarks

Taking stock of section 3, none of the three 'defining' properties, traditionally taken to establish participial RCs as inherently reduced, properly define participial RCs cross-linguistically. Indeed, although participial RCs do end up looking reduced at times, many languages nevertheless allow for participial RCs to be overtly headed by a complementizer-like D° (section 3.1), tensed (section 3.2) and construed through relativization of a non-subject position (section 3.3). Preliminarily, it looks like the three properties originally understood as interrelated (DPs, or otherwise nominal, hence no tense, hence no subjects), in fact arise independently, each deriving from a separate (morpho-)syntactic condition that is

either met or not met in each language. If so, one might wonder as to the ultimate usefulness of the term ‘reduced’ since the extent to which participial RCs can end up looking ‘reduced’ seems to vary from language to language, depending on the exact set of related properties a particular language happens to have.

Three important questions should immediately be addressed. First, what are these special (morpho-)syntactic conditions that must be met for participial RCs to exhibit full structure? Second, why should such conditions apply? The answer for the second question is in a way evident but it leads to a third question which is by no means trivial. If any special (morpho-)syntactic conditions are imposed on participial RCs, this should ideally derive from particular properties of their derivation (rather than be stipulated *ad hoc*). The third question then is what is so special about the derivation of participial RCs. Crucially, if ‘being reduced’ does not define participial RCs properly, its peculiar derivation should do the job.

#### **4.2 Getting at What Does Define Participial RCs**

Taking up an important point made at the end of section 2, once the three traditional defining properties of participial RCs are compromised, the only remaining candidate for an adequate cross-linguistic description is the one hinging on the nominal characteristics of the verbal form involved in the type of RCs under discussion. This is indeed the direction I will pursue further. Recall that the hybrid (both verbal and nominal) nature of forms encoding events in participial RCs is normally captured by embedding VP under a nominalizing node, which translates into the DP layer, given the logic of this paper. The key idea then is that embedding VP under DP triggers a derivation that is unique for participial RCs and constitutes their defining property. Ideally, the three properties that occasionally render participial RCs in their ‘reduced’ looks would stem from the syntactic challenge introduced by the DP property and the derivation it triggers.

#### **4.3 Explaining the Lack of Complementizers and the Lack of Tense**

Clearly, if participial RCs are DPs, the ban on the usual CP-material is no longer a puzzle. However, the question still remains as to why certain languages would choose a phonetically null  $D^\circ$  to head participial RCs rather than an overt  $D^\circ$ . In particular, this question is relevant in the case of languages like English that do have the appropriate overt morphological inventory (e.g. *the*). A tentative explanation is offered by Siloni (1995), who discusses the following cross-linguistic correlation: the  $D^\circ$  heading participial RCs is overt in languages manifesting an adjectival  $D^\circ$  (cf. determiner spreading as in Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou and Wilder 1998), as in the Hebrew examples in (13), while the  $D^\circ$  heading participial RCs is covert in languages that have no overt  $D^\circ$  appearing with modifying adjectives, as in the English examples in (14). A possible interpretation is then that the  $D^\circ$  that heads modifiers (APs and participial RCs) is parameterized for [ $\pm$ phonetically null] across languages. Accordingly, the welcomed conclusion is that whether participial RCs fill the DP layer overtly in the language depends on the setting of a particular morphological parameter.

- (13) a. ha-yalda ha-yafa  
*the-girl the-beautiful*  
 ‘the beautiful girl’
- b. ha-yalda ha-koret sefer  
*the-girl the-reading book*  
 ‘the girl reading a book’
- (14) a. the beautiful (\*the) girl  
 b. the girl (\*the) reading a book

Turning now to tense, as briefly mentioned above, Doron and Reintges (2005) derive the possibility of encoding tense on the participle from the (non)detachability of the temporal morphology from verbal agreement inflection (often the property of agglutinative languages, but also of languages like Russian and Classical Greek), a morphological parameter, too, under their account. The idea is that in order for participial RCs to determine their temporal reference internally, the participial form needs to be able to bear tense inflection. However, the latter is possible only if the dedicated tense inflection does not also carry features that are presumably incompatible with the nominal properties of the participial form, such as *nominal* agreement inflection. It seems straightforward then that if a particular morpheme in the language encodes both tense and *verbal* agreement (i.e. the temporal morphology is not detachable from verbal agreement inflection), it cannot show up on participial forms. Putting any detailed discussion of this parameter aside, the relevant point to be made is as follows. The lack of tense in participial RCs in a range of familiar languages is obviously not a defining property of such RCs generally, but is rather an accidental property which is due to the nominal nature of participial RCs and results from a particular setting of a morphological parameter.

#### 4.4 Explaining the Ban on Overt Subjects

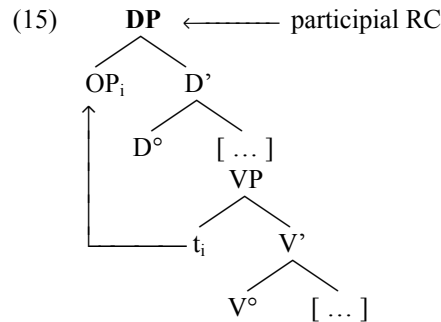
##### 4.4.1 Certain Assumptions to be Made

As with the lack of complementizers and the lack of tense, the ban on overt subjects will be shown to be an accidental property of participial RCs in a range of familiar languages. It has been already argued that the availability of (overt) subjects and the availability of tense are not related in participial RCs (section 3.3), but instead arise independently. Developing this idea further, I will in fact maintain that the availability of (overt) subjects crucially depends on whether or not resumption is licensed in a particular language. The exact details of the derivation of participial RCs (triggered by embedding VP under DP) are responsible for this seemingly implausible dependence (cf. Hazout 2001).

Before I proceed further, let me lay out certain relevant assumptions I make regarding the derivation of participial RCs. First, based on Siloni (1995), the derivation of participial RCs involves OP, such as in (15), in a manner similar to regular RCs (but see, for example, Burzio 1981, Chomsky 1981,

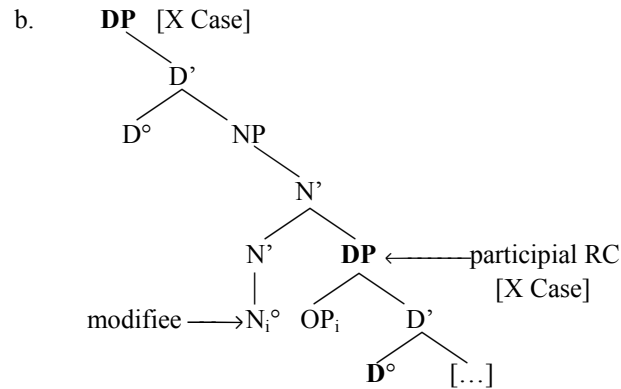


Doron and Reintges 2005, Hazout 2001, Stowell 1981, among others, for different positions). Due to space limitations, I will refrain from laying out arguments to justify why this exact position is taken rather than any other; most of the relevant discussion can be found in Siloni (1995), which includes, inter alia, certain subjacency facts (to argue against PRO and versions of *small-clause* analyses).



Second, I maintain the idea that every nominal head, and in particular  $D^\circ$ , bears a set of nominal features that includes the Case feature, which has to be checked. In a nutshell, if  $D^\circ$  embeds an element bearing the same Case feature (e.g. a noun, an adjective, a participial form), they enter in an agreement relation (for example, through a head movement, either overt or covert, with the exact details worked out in one's favourite syntactic approach) such that if the Case feature on  $D^\circ$  gets licensed, the Case feature on the embedded element is considered properly checked, too. The next assumption is that the Case feature of  $D^\circ$  percolates up to the DP where it can indeed be checked once the DP is in the Spec of an appropriate functional head; alternatively (if the DP functions as a modifier), this Case feature can enter in an agreement relation with the Case feature of an embedding nominal projection. Crucially, none of the above ideas are particularly new; every comprehensive syntactic theory should feature something along the same lines to account for familiar empirical facts, such as case agreement overtly observed between determiners and nouns, adjectives and their modifyees, inter alia. Illustrating the case of participial RCs with (16a), the participial DP 'wearing jeans' presumably agrees in its Case feature with the Case feature on the noun it modifies; the latter gets checked in a more familiar way (as against the Accusative of the verb, or in the Spec of  $\text{Agr}_c\text{P}$ ). The corresponding tree structure is presented in (16b).

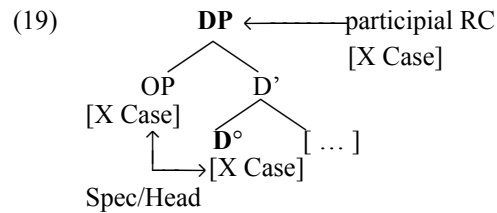
- (16) a. We will kick out  $\begin{matrix} \text{ACC} \\ [\text{DP pupils} \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} \text{ACC} \\ [\text{DP}=\text{pRC wearing jeans} \end{matrix}$  ]].



Obviously, one would want to prove the assumptions illustrated in (16) empirically. Importantly, the relevant evidence is readily available, in languages like Russian (17) and Arabic (18) where participles involved in RCs under discussion have to agree in case with the nouns they modify.

- (17) a. Mal'chik <sub>[p<sub>RC</sub> drazni-v-sh-ij</sub>  
*boy.MASC.SG.NOM tease.IMP-[+PST]-ING-MASC.SG.NOM*  
 uchitelja] moj brat.  
*teacher my brother*  
 'The boy that teased the teacher is my brother.'
- b. Ja vizhu mal'chik-a  
*I see boy-MASC.SG.ACC*  
<sub>[p<sub>RC</sub> drazni-v-sh-ego</sub> uchitelja].  
*tease.IMP-[+PST]-ING-MASC.SG.ACC teacher*  
 'I see the boy that teased the teacher.'
- c. Ja peredala zapisku mal'chik-u  
*I passed note boy-MASC.SG.DAT*  
<sub>[p<sub>RC</sub> drazni-v-sh-emu</sub> uchitelja].  
*tease.IMP-[+PST]-ING-MASC.SG.DAT teacher*  
 'I handed a note to the boy that teased/was teasing the teacher.'
- (18) (Hazout 2001)
- a. ar-rajul-u <sub>[p<sub>RC</sub> s-saariq-u</sub> l-qalam-a]  
*the-man-NOM the-stealing-NOM the-pen-ACC*  
 'the man stealing the pen'
- b. ?ijtama?tu bi-l-rajul-i <sub>[p<sub>RC</sub> as-saariq-i</sub> qalam-an]  
*meet.1SG.PST with-the-man-GEN the-stealing-GEN pen-ACC*  
 'I met the man stealing a pen.'

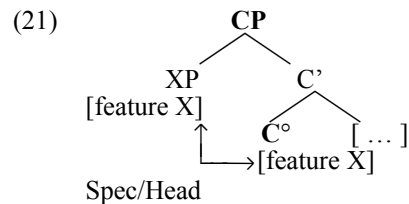
Finally, I will assume that in participial RCs, the operator in [Spec,DP] and the complementizer-like D° have to agree in Case, as shown in (19).



This assumption is not uncontroversial, so I will lay out certain considerations motivating it. It has been argued that participles are hybrid categories combining both verbal and nominal properties. Likewise, the participial DPs are hybrid phrasal categories whose status is intermediate between clauses and DPs, implying that they can be characterized by both particular clausal properties and particular DP properties. Accordingly, although it is obviously not the case for DPs in general that the element in [Spec,DP] and D° (or the projected DP) have to share the same Case feature (see (20)), the specific requirement for participial DPs illustrated in (19) might still hold and in fact stem from their clausal status.



If (19) stems from some clausal property of participial DPs, we should be looking for a similar requirement in CPs, something along the lines of (21).



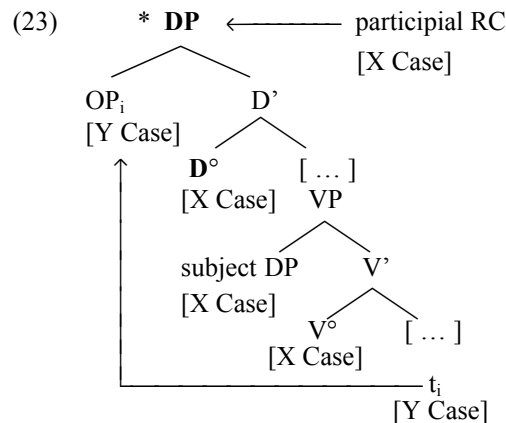
Interestingly, something along the lines of (21) has been indeed proposed by Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) for matrix questions. Accounting for the absence of *do*-support in subject questions, as in (22), they argued that I-to-C is not needed in subject questions, since the tense feature of C° is already checked against the Nominative of the *wh*-phrase in [Spec,CP] (recall that Case is an instance of a tense feature on a DP, in their account). Projecting that onto participial RCs, there is no operation parallel to *do*-support in the participial domain, the relative operator in [Spec,DP] might have to always bear the same Case feature as the complementizer-like D°. In short, the proposed motivation for the requirement in (19) is certainly subject to further refinement and investigation, with some obvious questions remaining open, but I will assume that it is largely on the right track.

- (22) a. Who sees the car?  
b. \* Who does see the car?

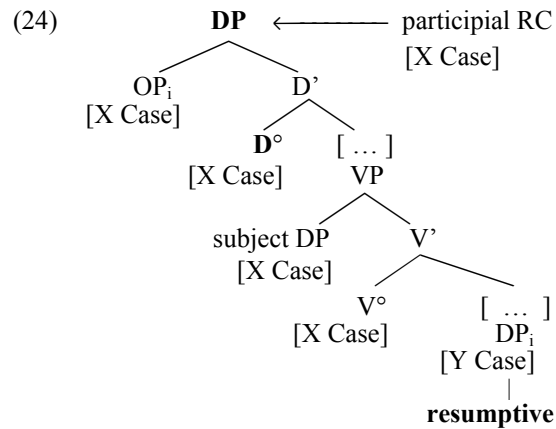
#### 4.4.2 Resumption as a Prerequisite for Overt Subjects

Keeping the assumptions laid out in section 4.4.1 in mind, consider the following three derivation options for participial RCs.

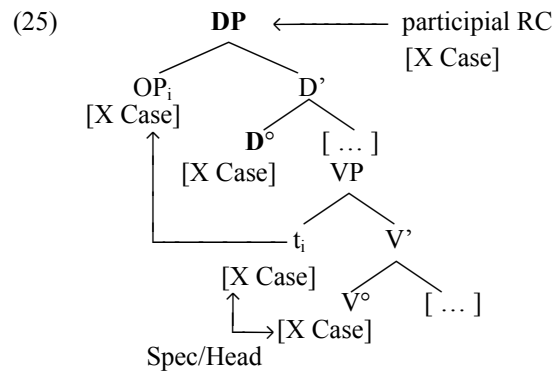
First, let us consider a scenario where the relative operator starts out in a non-subject position. Case licensing of the subject DP is not problematic under the present account, since it can be carried out directly in [Spec,VP], against the Case feature of the participial form. As for the Case of the participial form, it is licensed through V-to-D movement, while the Case on D° is ultimately licensed through Case agreement with the modified noun, as suggested above in section 4.4.1. Moving on further, the operator is Case licensed against a relevant head; for example, if it starts out as a direct object, its Case will be checked as against the Accusative of the verb, or in [Spec,Agr,P]. In the course of derivation, the operator should move to [Spec,DP], from where it would bind the variable left behind as a trace. However, once the operator is in [Spec,DP], a mismatch in Case features results (23); crucially for us, an operator starting out in a non-subject position is Case licensed against a head bearing a Case feature different from the one on the D°. In other words, the configuration in (19) is not respected, and as a result, the derivation crashes.



Second, let us again consider a scenario where a non-subject position is relativized, but instead of moving, the operator is base-generated in [Spec,DP] and is co-indexed with a resumptive pronoun in a position lower in the clause. Crucially, co-indexation requires that the two DPs agree in  $\phi$ -features (number and gender), but not necessarily in Case (24). Consequently, the operator can be Case licensed in [Spec,DP] against the Case feature of the D°, while the resumptive is Case licensed against a relevant head lower in the clause. Crucially, the configuration in (19) is respected, and Case licensing of the subject DP is not problematic either, as already discussed above. Thus, whether or not a language allows for overt subjects in participial RCs depends on whether or not it licenses resumption, a welcomed result (cf. the analysis in Hazout 2001).



To conclude the discussion, let me finally go through the most common derivation option for participial RCs, the one where the relative operator starts out in the subject position (see (25)). The operator is Case licensed in [Spec,VP], against the Case feature of the participial form; this is noteworthy as the Case feature of the participial form should match the one on the D<sup>o</sup>, as discussed above. In the course of derivation, the operator moves to [Spec,DP], where it naturally matches the Case feature of the D<sup>o</sup>, in accordance with the configuration in (19).



#### 4.4.3 Facing Predictions

The approach described so far makes certain predictions, and it is imperative that we check whether they are borne out.

First, if the approach to the derivation of participial RCs adopted here is on the right track, we should not expect languages that do not license resumption to allow for participial RCs with overt subjects. This prediction is borne out so far: languages like English, French and Russian that do not employ resumptive pronouns also do not license participial RCs with non-subject positions relativized.

Second, languages that do employ resumptive pronouns are expected to allow for participial RCs with overt subjects. This prediction is only partially

borne out. On one hand, languages like Arabic and Turkish employ resumptive pronouns and also allow for participial RCs with non-subject positions relativized. Crucially, in Arabic, where object drop is not generally allowed, resumptives are optional in regular RCs if the direct object position is relativized (26b), but they have to surface in corresponding participial RCs (26a). This is an important piece of evidence for the unavailability of the operator movement option in the case of participial RCs (see the configuration in (23)).

(26) (drawing on an example from Hazout 2001)

- a. as-sayyaarat-u [<sub>PRC</sub> l-mushtabah-u [<sub>CP</sub> ?anna-hu sarak'a\*(-ha)]]  
*the-car-NOM the-suspected-NOM that-he stole(-it)*  
 'the car such that it is suspected that he stole it'
- b. as-sayyaarat-u [<sub>PRC</sub> allati-yushtabahu [<sub>CP</sub> ?anna-hu sarak'a\*(-ha)]]  
*the-car-NOM that-(it is)suspected that-he stole(-it)*  
 'the car such that it is suspected that he stole it'

On the other hand, some languages that exhibit resumption (Ukrainian, Hebrew) still ban participial RCs with overt subjects. If the approach adopted in this paper is on the right track, this unexpected behaviour should stem from an independent factor (subject to further investigation).

The last prediction I will address here is as follows. Given the details of the proposed analysis, if subjects of participial RCs are indeed Case licensed in [Spec,VP], against the Case feature of the participial form, they are expected to be marked with the same morphological case as the participial form and the modifiee are. This prediction is not borne out so far: for example, overt subjects in participial RCs are obligatorily marked with Nominative in Arabic (see (12)) and with Genitive in Turkish (see (10)). Rather than giving up the approach defended here, let me offer a way of how it can be reconciled with these data. As far as Arabic is concerned, one can rely on the common idea that abstract Case (and licensing matters) and morphological case should not be equated. Given that Nominative is the default morphological case in Arabic (Ouhalla 1994), it would be sensible to speculate that the abstract Case of the subject checked against the participial form is indeed the one that we observe on the participle and the modifiee, while the Nominative which we observe on subjects of participial RCs is a morphological case. Ideally, if the approach defended in the present paper is on the right track, we should expect to find languages where subjects of participial RCs are indeed marked with the same morphological case as the one observed on the participial form and the modifiee.

Turning now to the case of Turkish, Genitive subjects of participial RCs could be indeed explained, hinging on Krause's (2001) proposal that languages that exhibit Genitive subjects in participial RCs are those that license structural Genitive within NPs. While Krause (2001) adopts a version of a raising analysis of RCs in her account, I will now briefly explain why we do not have to resort to it. It has been argued independently that at least in some languages, RCs could be located in [Spec,NP] (Ouhalla 2004). If that is true of languages like Turkish, the Case of

Turkish participial DPs will be checked against structural Genitive of the N°. The rest of the proposed derivation and the rationale laid out in section 4.4.2 are still at work, with the welcomed result of subjects being licensed with Genitive.

## 5. Taking Stock

Taking stock of the present paper, it has been argued that Participial RCs are (morpho-)syntactically challenged rather than *inherently* reduced. Indeed, none of the three ‘defining’ properties of participial RCs (the lack of complementizers, tense and subjects), traditionally taken to establish their ‘reduced’ nature, define such RCs cross-linguistically. I bring certain pieces of evidence together to maintain the proposal that such properties are accidental by-products of the hybrid nature (both nominal and verbal) of the type of RCs under discussion, and that participial RCs can exhibit full structure overtly if special (morpho-)syntactic requirements imposed on them are met. I then argue that this hybrid nature is what in fact properly defines participial RCs cross-linguistically, and discuss their derivation as well as the exact conditions that force participial RCs to look ‘reduced’ to an extent in some languages.

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