

# An LFG Approach to Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses in Maltese

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Rather little attention has been focussed to date on the analysis of non-restrictive relative clauses (NRRCs) (henceforth ARCs), either in MSA or in the various Arabic vernaculars. We present an overview of the syntax of ARCs in Maltese, and an analysis in the framework of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG), building on previous LFG work including Dalrymple (2001) on RRCs, Asudeh (2004) on resumption and Arnold and Sadler (2010) on the analysis of ARCs (the Potts-style semantics adopted in Arnold and Sadler (to appear)'s LFG account of English ARCs will largely carry over to the Maltese data, but here we focus on the syntax).

Maltese is a mixed language belonging to the South Arabic branch of Central Semitic, with a Maghrebi/Siculo-Arabic stratum, a Romance (Sicilian, Italian) superstratum and an English adstratum. We are aware of no existing analysis or detailed description of the syntax of ARCs in Maltese. We hope our contribution will also lay the groundwork for a comparison to ARCs in the contemporary arabic vernaculars.

The typically salient properties distinguishing ARCs from RRCs are the following:

- they are distinguished phonologically: ARCs typically constitute a separate intonation unit
- they do not restrict the denotation of the head (host) but provide supplementary information
- semantically this information is not integrated directly into the at-issue semantics
- their syntactic analysis has been somewhat controversial

We begin by outlining and illustrating the basic characteristics of ARCs in Maltese. They are distinguished from RRCs in Maltese *interalia* by forming a separate intonational unit, represented here by commas in writing. While RRCs act as intersective modifiers functioning to identify the reference of the head, ARCs function simply to provide additional information on the anchor or head, hence the infelicity of the continuation in (1).

- (1) *Il-kotba, li xtrajthom ilbieraħ, tajbin*  
 DEF-books COMP bought.1SG.3PL.ACC yesterday good.pl  
*ħafna. #L-oħrajn mhux ħażin*  
 a lot DEF-others not bad  
 The books, which I bought yesterday are very good. #The  
 others not quite.

Because an ARC does not function to restrict the denotation of a head noun, it may take a wide range of antecedents including proper nouns:

- (2) *Pawlu, li nixtri l-ħobż mingħandu*  
Paul COMP 1SG.buy DEF-bread from.3SGM.ACC  
Paul, who I buy the bread from.

pronouns:

- (3) *Lilha, li nafha sew, ma*  
Her COMP 1SG.know.3SGF.ACC well not  
*nagħmihix thekk*  
1SG.do.3SGF.ACC of.this

As for her, who I know very well, I do not associate her with doing this

- (4) *Lili, li naf xirrid*  
Me COMP 1SG.know what.1SG.want  
As for me, who I know what I want

This contradicts the claim of Bianchi (1999) that pronouns cannot be relativised.

and temporal DP heads:

(5)

*Il-ġimgħa d-dieġla, li se tkun vaganza*  
DEF-week DEF-enter.ACT.PART COMP FUT 3SGF.be holiday

The next week, which will be a holiday

Quantifier heads are impossible, as non-referential.

- (6) \**Mhemm ħadd, li naf jien*  
NEG.exist no one COMP 1SG.know I  
There is no one, who I know

Syntactically, ARCs must be positioned after any RRCs.

(7) *It-tifel li naf jien, li joqgħod fejni,*  
DEF-boy COMP 1SG.know I COMP 3SGM.lives near.1SG  
...

The boy who I know, beside whom I live...

ARCs (unlike RRCs) can be stacked:

- (8) *It-tifel, li soltu narah l-iskola, li jkun liebes dejjem sabiħ, li nafu 'l ommu*  
DEF-boy COMP usually 1SG.see.3SGM DEF-school COMP  
3SGM.is wear.ACT.PART always nice.SGM COMP 1.know.PL  
ACC.mother.3SGM

The boy, who I usually see at school, who always dresses nicely, whose mother we know.....

They show syntactic characteristics of embedded, integrated clauses

(9) a. *Rajtu*

saw.1SG.3SGM

I saw him

b. *It-tifel, li rajtu lbieraħ/int*

DEF-boy that saw.2SG.3SGM yesterday/you

The boy, who you saw yesterday

a bound pronoun cannot be the final element in a RC construction

Similar to RRCs they can be introduced by *li* and a restricted set of *wh*-pronouns *min* 'who', *'l min*, 'whom', *xiex* 'what', *fejn* 'where, and may involve a gap or a (true) resumptive pronoun

The form *li* may be derived from the MSA *allađi* but is not pronominal and serves widely as a complementiser in Maltese.

(10) a. *Naħseb li nafu*

1SG.think that 1SG.know.3SGM  
I think that I know him

b. *Qaluli li waslu*

said.3PL.DAT.1SG that arrived.3PL  
They told me that they arrived

c. *Il-fatt li wasalna tard ma*

DEF-fact that arrived.1PL late NOT  
*jħabbatnix*

3SGM.bother.1SG.NEG

The fact that we arrived late does not bother me

- (11) a. *Li l-ġimgħa d-dieħla se*  
That DEF-week DEF-entering.PROG.SGF FUT.part  
*tkun vaganza hija stqarrija sorprendenti*  
be.3SGF holiday COP.3SGF statement surprising  
That the coming week will be a holiday is a surprising  
statement

*li* may be used in relativization on all clause internal grammatical functions, and is used in combination with both gaps and resumptive pronouns.

## SUBJ

Both gap and RP are possible in LDD but *only* gap is permitted in the highest subject position, suggesting that Maltese is subject to the familiar HSR (Highest Subject Restriction).

- (12) *Carl, li jġi ħija*  
Carl, COMP 3SGM.comes brother  
Carl, who is my brother GAP ONLY
- (13) *It-tifel, li Ø/\*hu rani lbieraħ*  
DEF-boy COMP \*he saw.1SG.ACC yesterday  
The boy, who saw me yesterday GAP ONLY

## SUBJ

- (14) *It-tifel, li qaluli li Ø/hu kien*  
DEF-boy COMP said.DAT.1SG COMP he was.3SGM  
*raham*  
saw.3SGM.3PL  
The boy, whom they told me that saw them LDD: RP/GAP

## OBJ: Definite Antecedent

Both gap and RP are possible in LDD but *only* RP is permitted in the highest object position when the antecedent is definite. Note that periphrastic verbal constructions count as long distance dependencies.

(15) *Marija, li nafha sew*  
 Mary COMP 1SG.know.ACC.3SGF well  
 Mary, whom I know very well RP

(16) *Il-frott, li xtrajnie\*(h) mingħand tal-ħaxix*  
 DEF-fruit COMP bought.1PL.3SGM.ACC from.3SGM.SCC  
 of.DEF-vegetables  
 The fruit, which we bought from the vegetable vendor

## OBJ: Definite Antecedent

(17) *It-tifel, li kont għadni kemm rajt(u)*  
DEF-boy COMP was.1SG still.1SG just saw.1SG.(3SGM)

*ilbieraħ*

yesterday

The boy, who I had just seen

RP/GAP

## OBJ: Indefinite Antecedent

Both gap and RP are possible in local and long distance dependencies.

- (18) *Qed*                      *nistenna tifel li*              *dari nara(h)*  
PROG.PART.SG 1SG.wait boy COMP often 1SG.see.(3SGM)  
*dan-naħat*  
DEM.DEF.areas  
I am waiting for a boy, whom I frequently see in these areas  
RP/GAP

## Dative OBJ

Only an RP is possible. The recipient is a dative-marked NP. There is independent evidence for distinguishing DAT from ACC for these cases. We treat it as an additional DAT-OBJ function.

- (19) a. *Pawlu, li bgħattnie\*(lu) l-ittra*  
 Paul COMP sent.1PL.3SGM.DAT DEF-letter  
 Paul, to whom we sent the letter RP
- b. *Aħna bgħattna ittra 'l Pawlu*  
 We sent.1PL letter DAT.Paul  
 We sent a letter to Paul

## OBL OBJ

- (20) *Il-forn, li ħmejna l-ħobż fi\*(h)*  
DEF-oven COMP baked.1PL DEF-bread in.3SGM.ACC  
The oven, in which we baked the bread RP

## POSS/GEN

- (21) *It-tarbija, li naf l omm\*(ha)*  
DEF-baby COMP 1SG.know ACC.mother.3SGF  
The baby, whom I know his mother

RP

## Summary on li Relatives

Ant	GF	IDD Strategy	LDD Strategy
DEF INDEF	SUBJ	Gap	Gap/RP
	OBJ	RP	Gap/RP
	OBJ	Gap/RP	Gap/RP
	DAT OBJ	RP	RP
	OBL OBJ	RP	RP
	POSS	RP	RP

All of these involve a gap. The fronted position may contain either a *wh*-NP or some larger PP containing a *wh*-NP. Four pronouns occur in *wh*-introduced ARCs: *min* 'who' (SUBJ), *'l min* 'whom' (OBJ, DAT OBJ), *fejn* 'where'(locative OBJ), and *xiex* 'what'. The first three pronouns are limited to non-preposition-fronted *wh*-NRRCs. The antecedent must be definite. A variety of PPs including *wh*-pronouns may occur in this construction, which obligatorily involves an RC-internal gap.

## SUBJ

- (22) *Ir-raġel, min għidtli li fetaħ*  
DEF-man who told.2SG.DAT.1SG COMP opened.3SGM  
*il-bieb*  
DEF-door  
The man, who you told me that opened the door

## OBJ

- (23) *Pawlu, 'l min kellim-t*  
Paul, ACC.who spoke-1SG  
Paul, whom I spoke to
- (24) *Pawlu, 'l min għidtli li kellimt*  
Paul, ACC.who told.2SG.DAT.1SG COMP spoke.2SG  
Paul, who you told me that you spoke to
- (25) *Il-Mosta, fejn noqgħod jien*  
DEF-Mosta where 1SG.stay I  
Mosta, where I live

## DAT OBJ

- (26) *It-tifel, 'l min bgħatt l-ittra*  
DEF-boy ACC.who sent.1SG DEF-letter  
The boy, to whom I sent the letter
- (27) *It-tifel, 'l min naħseb li bgħatt l-ittra*  
DEF-boy ACC.who 1SG.think COMP sent.1SG DEF-letter  
The boy, to whom I think I sent the letter

## OBL/ADJ Cases

- (28) *Franco u Carl, ħdejn min poġġejt huma ħuti*  
Franco and Carl near who sat.1SG COP.PL siblings.1SG  
Franco and Carl, next to whom I sat, are my brothers OBL
- (29) *Marija, ma min noqgħod fil-brejk*  
Mary, with who 1SG.stay in.DEF-break  
Mary, with whom I stay during breaktime OBL

## OBL/ADJ Cases

- (30) *It-triq, minn fejn ngħaddi għax-xogħol*  
DEF-road, from where 1SG.pass for.DEF-work  
The road, from where I pass to go to work OBL
- (31) *Il-barmil, bxiex soltu ntella l-ilma*  
DEF-bucket with.what usually 1SG.get.up DEF-water  
*mill-bir*  
from.DEF-well  
The bucket, with which I usually get the water from the well  
ADJ

## OBL/ADJ Cases

The *wh*-NP may be more deeply embedded within the fronted PP.

- (32) *Il-ġnien, ta ħejn fejn noqgħod*  
DEF-garden of near where 1SG.stay  
The garden, next to which I live

OBL

## OBL/ADJ Cases

The following are LDD examples (OBL and ADJ respectively):

- (33) *Franco u Carl, hdejn min spjegajtli li*  
Franco and Carl near who explained.2SG.DAT.1SG COMP  
*pogġejt*  
sat.1SG  
Franco and Carl, next to whom you explained to me that you  
sat
- (34) *Il-barmil, bxiex soltu jidhirli ttella*  
DEF-bucket with.what usually seems.DAT.1SG 2SG.get.up  
*l-ilma*  
DEF-water  
The bucket, with which it seems to me that you usually get  
the water with

# POSS

Accessing the POSS within a fronted element may be possible but is very unnatural.

(35) *Marija, ma omm min qgħadt*

Mary with mother who stayed.1SG.....

Marija, with the mother of who /with whose mother I stayed,.....

## Summary on wh Relatives

Ant	GF	IDD Strategy	LDD Strategy
DEF	SUBJ	Gap	Gap
DEF	OBJ	Gap	Gap
DEF	DAT OBJ	Gap	Gap
DEF	OBL	Gap	Gap
DEF	ADJ	Gap	Gap

- 1 Head : [li internal head ... RP]  
**Internal Head pronoun: no constraint on DEF of external head**  
**Internal Head haġa bħal din: external head DEF**
- 2 Head: [liema internal head .... RP/gap]  
**In this one the external head is always DEF.**  
**The internal head is indefinite**

## Li-Internally Headed

(36) *It-tifel, li lilu rajtu lbieraħ,*  
DEF-boy COMP him saw.1SG.3SGM yesterday  
*nafu*

1SG.know.3SGM

Lit: The boy, whom I saw saw yesterday, I know him  
[+Pronominal Internal Head]

(37) *It-tifel, li lilu fakkartni li kelli*  
DEF-boy COMP him reminded.2SG.1SG COMP had.1SG  
*nċempillu lbieraħ*

1SG.phone.DAT.3SGM yesterday

The boy that him, you reminded me to phone him yesterday

## Li-Internally Headed

- (38) *L-qtil*                      *tat-tifel*    *li*    *ħaġa*    *bħal*  
DEF-murder.SGM of.DEF-boy COMP thing.SGF like  
*din*      *ma stennejniha*    *qatt*  
this.SGF not wait.1PL.3SGF never  
The murder of the boy, which something-like-this we never  
expected

## Li-Internally Headed

- Note that the internal TOPIC is identified with the ARC-internal GF and shares AGR features with it. These do not necessarily match those of the external NP to which the ARC is in apposition.
- If the external head is -DEF then RP is obligatory, whereas it is **optional** in cases of non-internally headed ARCs. So this means that while OBJ relativisation can otherwise control the gap strategy (in -wh ARCs), here they cannot
- It seems that the internal head can only be an OBJ|DAT OBJ. This is natural with *lilu* which is a strong OBJ pronoun, but extends to other cases.

## Li-Internally Headed

- This distribution patterns closely topicalisation constructions in Maltese as understood in Fabri and Borg (2002), which are essentially clitic-left-dilocation constructions (CLLDs).
- Hypothesis: these are li-relatives with internal topicalisation. Possibly the constraints on what can be fronted are information structure theoretic constraints, ie. they follow from the communicative rationale for the use of the structure in question

## Summary on Internally-Headed li Relatives

	IDD	LDD
GF	Strategy	Strategy
SUBJ	Not poss	Not poss
OBJ	RP	RP
DAT OBJ	RP	RP

## Wh-Internally Headed

The internal head is required to be nonpronominal and indefinite, it may be a PP (controlling a gap) or an NP (controlling either a gap or an RP).

## NP fronted

- (39) *Pawlu u Salvu, liema rġiel ittellgħu*  
Paul and Salvu which men PASS.part.raised.3PL  
*I-Qorti*  
DEF-court  
Paul and Salvu, which men were taken to Court
- (40) *Pawlu u Salvu, liema rġiel qalu li*  
Paul and Salvu which men said.3PL COMP  
*ttellgħu I-Qorti*  
PASS.raised.3PL DEF-Court  
Paul and Salvu, which men they said that were taken to Court

## NP fronted

- (41) *Pawlu u Salvu, liema rġiel rajt\*(hom) ilbieraħ*  
Paul and Salvu which men saw.3PL yesterday  
Paul and Salvu, which men I saw yesterday
- (42) *Pawlu u Salvu, liema rġiel xi nies raw*  
Paul and Salvu which men some people saw.3SG  
*ilbieraħ*  
yesterday  
Paul and Salvu, which men some people saw yesterday
- (43) *Pawlu, liema mistieden ma bgħattnielux*  
Paul which guest.SGM NEG sent.1PL.DAT.3SGM.NEG  
*invit formali*  
invitation formal  
Paul, which guest we did not send a formal invitation

## PP fronted

(44) *Il-martell, bliema biċċa għodda*

DEF-hammer with.which piece tool

*irnexxieli*

3SG.succeeded.DAT.1SG

The hammer, with which piece of tool I managed (ADJ)

(45) *Il-Palazz, fliema post tlaqqgħu l-mistednin*

DEF-palace in.which place PASS.gathered.3PL DEF-guests

The palace, in which place the guests were gathered

## PP fronted

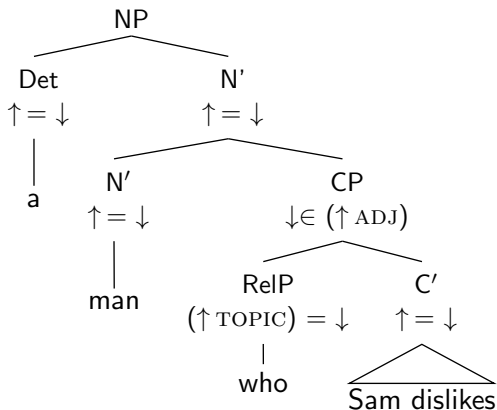
- (46) *Il-palazz, fliem post beħsiebhom ilaqgħu*  
DEF-palace in.which place think.3PL gather.3PL  
*l-mistednin*  
DEF-guest.PL  
The palace, in which place they are thinking of gathering the  
guests
- (47) *It-triq, minn liem (waħda) ngħaddi kuljum*  
DEF-road from which one 1SG.pass everyday  
The road from which one I pass everyday

## Summary on Internally Headed wh-relatives

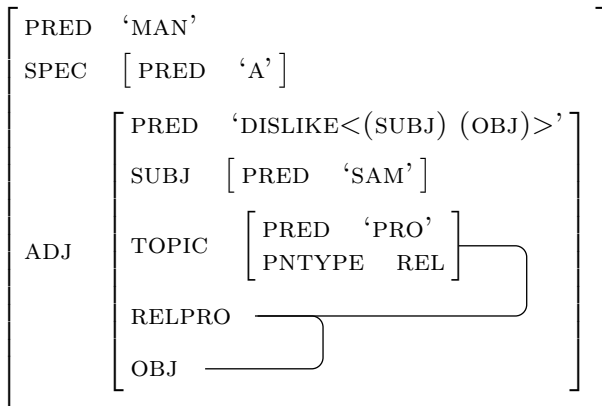
GF	IDD Strategy	LDD Strategy
SUBJ	Gap	Gap
OBJ	Gap/RP	Gap/RP
DAT OBJ	RP	RP
OBL	Gap	Gap
ADJ	Gap	Gap

# Dalrymple (2001) Analysis of wh-RRCs

(48)

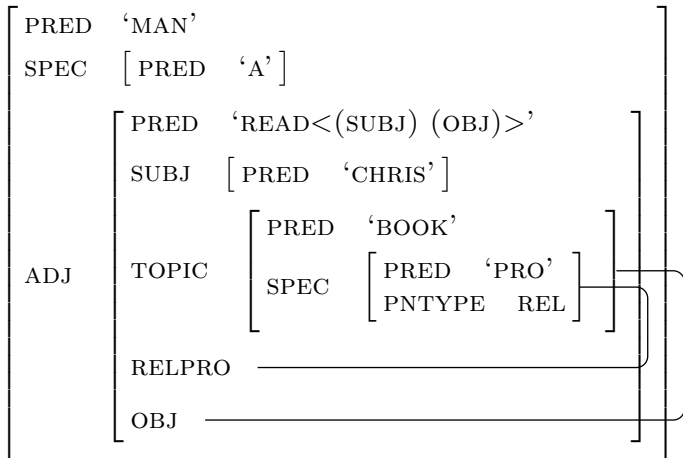


(49)



(50) a man whose book Chris read

(51)



(52)  $N' \rightarrow$   $N'$   $CP$   
 $\uparrow = \downarrow$   $\downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ})$

(53) CP  $\longrightarrow$  RelP  $C'$   
 $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow$   $\uparrow = \downarrow$   
 $(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RTOPICPATH})$   
 $(\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC RELPATH})$   
 $(\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRNTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}$

The definition of the categorial variable:

(54)  $\text{RelP} \equiv \{ \text{NP} \mid \text{PP} \mid \text{AP} \mid \text{AdvP} \}$

RTOPICPATH is the path relating the fronted constituent to the within RC grammatical function (this is the “extraction” path).  
 The path for English is as follows:

(55) RTOPICPATH  $\equiv$

$$\{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{COMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \}^* \{ (\text{ADJ} \in) \mid (\text{GF} \mid \text{GF}) \}$$

$$(\rightarrow \text{LDD} \neq - \mid \rightarrow \text{TNS}) \quad \neg(\rightarrow \text{TNS})$$

The RELPN may be embedded *within* the TOPIC:  
RELPATH is the path inside the TOPIC to the wh-pronoun.

$$(56) \text{ RELPATH} \equiv \{ \text{SPEC}^* \mid [(\text{OBL}_\theta) \text{OBJ}]^* \}$$



## ARCs (Arnold and Sadler 2010)

Extending the essence of this RRC analysis to ARCs is straightforward as discussed in Arnold and Sadler (2010) (see also Chatsiou (2009)).

The meaning constructor which puts the meaning of the relative clause together can, for each type of relative clause, be associated with the CP node. The special semantic contribution, following Potts (2005), is provided by the **[comma]** meaning constructor (which contributes the propositional content of the relative clause to the *ci*-domain).

$$(59) \text{ NP} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \uparrow = \downarrow \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \text{CP} \\ \downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{ADJ}) \\ \mathbf{[rel]} \\ \mathbf{[comma]} \end{array}$$

## Resumptive Pronouns (Asudeh 2004)

(True) resumptive pronouns are to be distinguished from gaps and from 'false' resumptives (that is, intrusive pronouns). Resumptive pronouns are grammatically licensed while intrusive pronouns are not - they are a processing or performance phenomenon. RPs are bound pronouns whereas gaps are bound variables: both are bound elements.

Syntactically, however, true resumptives do not all behave in the same way and in the terminology of Asudeh (2004) they may be **syntactically active** or **syntactically inactive**. In the former case, they are also treated as f-structure pronominals. The evidence is that Maltese RPs are syntactically active (and hence represented at f-structure and subject to anaphoric identification/linking).

	Syn Active:	Syn Inactive
(60) Island Sensitive	No	Yes
Weak Crossover Violations	No	Yes
Reconstruction licensed	No	Yes
ATB extraction licensed	No	Yes
Parasitic gaps licensed	No	Yes

## li Relatives

an ARC introduced by *li* has a null ( $\epsilon$ ) TOPIC. The TOPIC can be functionally or anaphorically identified with the within clause function.

(61)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{CP} & \longrightarrow & \begin{array}{c} \epsilon \\ (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow \\ (\text{ADJ} \in \uparrow) \\ (\uparrow \text{TOPIC PRED}) = \text{'PRO'} \\ \{(\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RGAPPATH}) \mid \\ (\uparrow \text{TOPIC})_{\sigma} = (\uparrow \text{RRPPATH}_{\sigma}) \} \end{array} & & \begin{array}{c} \text{C}' \\ \uparrow = \downarrow \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

## li Relatives

Now we need to define the two paths (the RP Path will be subject to the Highest Subject Position Restriction). (An additional inside out constraint can be added to ensure that the head is definite when the OBJ is an RP)

- $RGAPATH \equiv \{ XCOMP \mid OBJ \} * SUBJ \mid OBJ$
- $RRPPATH \equiv \{ XCOMP \mid OBJ \} * GF$
- Anti-Locality Condition:  
 $(\uparrow_{\sigma} ANTECEDENT) \neq ((SUBJ) TOPIC)_{\sigma}$

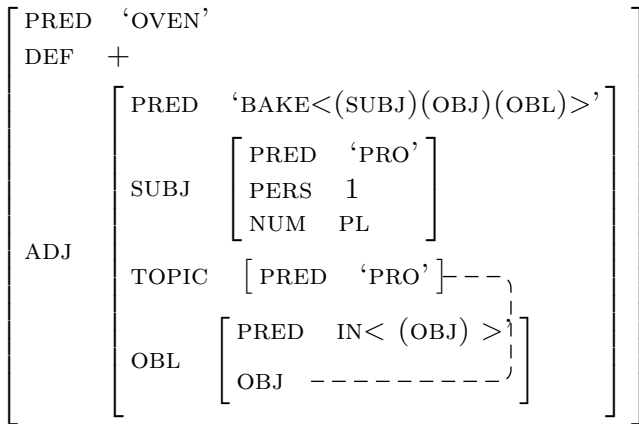
## li Relatives

- (62) *Il-forn, li ħmejna l-ħobż fi\*(h)*  
DEF-oven COMP baked.1PL DEF-bread in.3SGM.ACC  
The oven, in which we baked the bread

RP

# li Relatives

(63)



## Wh Relatives

We consider first the standard (non-internally headed) cases. For presentational purposes we separate out NP and PP extraction.

(64)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{CP} & \longrightarrow & \text{PP} & & \text{C}' \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow & & \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RPP-PATH}) & & \\
 (\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC (OBL) OBJ}) & & & & \\
 ((\text{ADJ} \in \uparrow) \text{DEF}) =_c + & & & & \\
 (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRNTYPE}) =_c \text{REL} & & & & 
 \end{array}$$

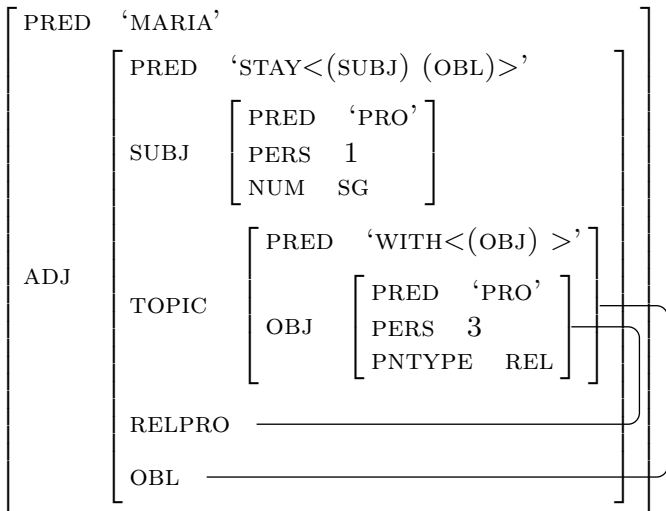
(65)  $\text{RPP-PATH} \equiv \{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \} * \text{OBL} \mid \text{ADJ} \in$

## Wh Relatives

- (66) *Marija, ma min noqgħod fil-brejk*  
Mary, with who 1SG.stay in.DEF-break  
Mary, with whom I stay during breaktime

OBL

(67)

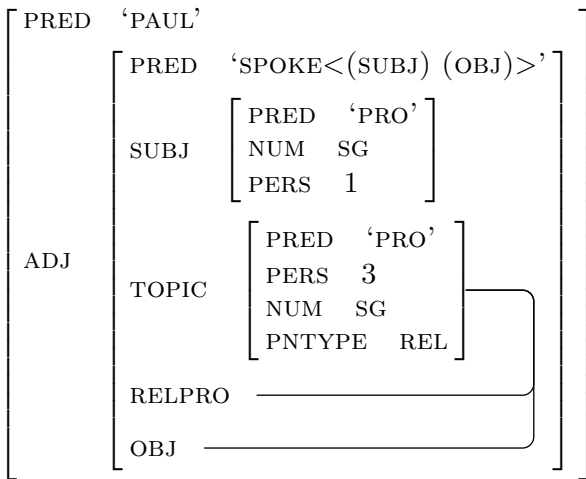




## Wh Relatives

- (70) *Pawlu, 'l min kellim-t*  
Paul, ACC.who spoke-1SG  
Paul, whom I spoke to

(71)



# Wh Relatives

These two can be combined together and stated alongside the  $\epsilon$  case (for *li* relatives).

## Internally Headed Wh Relatives

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (72) \quad \text{CP} \longrightarrow \qquad \qquad \text{NP} \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{C}' \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow \qquad \qquad \qquad \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC})_{\sigma} = (\uparrow \text{RRPPATH2})_{\sigma} \mid \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RGAPPATH4}) \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad (\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC SPEC}) \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad ((\text{ADJ} \in \uparrow) \text{DEF}) =_c + \\
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRNTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}
 \end{array}$$

$\text{RPPATH2} \equiv \{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \} * \text{OBJ} \mid \text{DATOBJ}$

$\text{RGAPPATH4} \equiv \{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \} * \text{SUBJ} \mid \text{OBJ}$

## Internally Headed Wh Relatives

(73)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \text{CP} & \longrightarrow & \text{PP} & & \text{C}' \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow & & \uparrow = \downarrow \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RGAPPATH5}) & & \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC OBJ SPEC}) & & \\
 & & ((\text{ADJ} \in \uparrow) \text{DEF}) =_c + & & \\
 & & (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRNTYPE}) =_c \text{REL} & & 
 \end{array}$$

$$\text{RGAPPATH5} \equiv \{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \} * \text{OBL} \mid \text{ADJ} \in$$

Note that this is the same as in PP-wh relatives. If this is so, then collapsing these two rules is completely straightforward.

$$(74) \text{ RPP-PATH} \equiv \{ \text{XCOMP} \mid \text{OBJ} \} * \text{OBL} \mid \text{ADJ} \in$$

The unified rule would be:

$$(75) \quad \text{CP} \longrightarrow \quad \text{PP} \quad \quad \quad \text{C}'$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = \downarrow \quad \quad \quad \uparrow = \downarrow$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{TOPIC}) = (\uparrow \text{RPPPATH})$$

$$(\uparrow \text{RELPRO}) = (\uparrow \text{TOPIC} (\text{OBL}) \text{OBJ} \mid \text{OBJ SPEC})$$

$$\quad \quad \quad ((\text{ADJ} \in \uparrow) \text{DEF}) =_c +$$

$$\quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{RELPRO PRNTYPE}) =_c \text{REL}$$

## Internally Headed Li Cases

One possibility is that these should be viewed as bare relative clauses involving internal topicalisation, along the following lines. The obligatory selection of the RP strategy follows from internal topic-comment structure.



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