

On the Derivation of Reduced Relative Clauses

Takahiro Tozawa*

Abstract

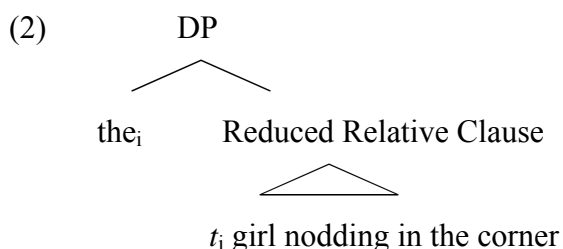
In this paper, we will argue for the promotion analysis of reduced relative clauses: the D head moves from within the reduced relative clause and projects at the landing site. Movement of the D head is selection-driven in the sense of Donati and Cecchetto (2011). Our promotion analysis of reduced relative clauses is supported by Condition C effects, availability of idiomatic interpretation, absence of object relativization, and absence of extraposed reduced relative clauses. As long as our argument is correct, even a moved element can project if it is an X^0 element, as is argued by Donati (2006), Donati and Cecchetto (2011), and Chomsky (2008).

1. Introduction

We deal with the bracketed construction in (1).

(1) Look at [the girl nodding in the corner].

This construction is called a reduced relative clause (RRC). This is a relative clause with the copula and complementizer omitted. In this paper, we will argue that RRCs are derived by the movement and projection of the D head, as shown in (2).



The D head *the* moves from within the RRC and projects at the landing site, deriving

* 北見工業大学准教授 Associate Professor, Kitami Institute of Technology

the DP. The movement and projection of the D head is selection-driven in the sense of Donati and Cecchetto (2011).

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we make theoretical assumptions concerning the labeling algorithm and movement trigger. Section 3 proposes a promotion analysis of RRCs. In section 4, we provide an account for a number of properties of reduced relative clauses on the basis of our proposed analysis. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. The Framework

In this section, we present theoretical assumptions concerning the labeling algorithm and selection-driven movement proposed by Donati and Cecchetto (2011).

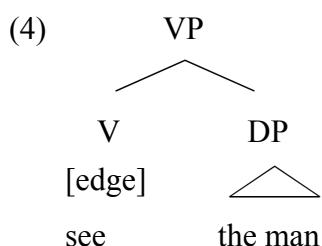
2.1. Donati and Cecchetto's (2011) Labeling Algorithm

Donati and Cecchetto (2011) propose the labeling algorithm in (3).

- (3) The label of a syntactic object $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ is the feature(s) that act(s) as a probe of the merging operation creating $\{\alpha, \beta\}$.

(Donati and Cecchetto (2011: 521))

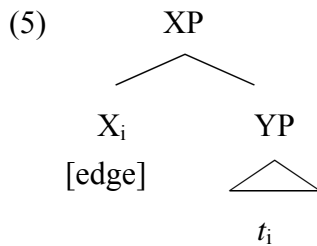
(3) states that when α and β merge, the element containing the probe feature projects. Let us illustrate this with Merge of V and DP.



Chomsky (2008) supposes that all lexical items have an edge-feature.¹ In (4), the

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that according to Chomsky (2008), not only lexical items but also projected categories have an edge-feature. In this paper, we mainly focus on the edge-feature of lexical items. I thank this anonymous reviewer for suggesting this point.

lexical item *see* has the edge feature, which is a probe.² The edge feature urges the V to merge with DP. Here, V projects in conformity with (3) since V contains the probe feature. According to (3), the moved element should be able to project as long as it is an X^0 category. Consider (5).



In (5), X is an X^0 element, carrying the edge feature. The edge feature is a probe and therefore, it can project at the landing site. In this way, the moved element can project if it is an X^0 category.

2.2. Selection-Driven Movement

Donati and Cecchetto (2011) argue that c-selection (categorical selection) is done on the basis of the probe-goal relation. For example, let us consider (6) where the verb *think* takes a clausal complement.

(6) I think that John is tall.

The derivation is shown in (7).

- (7) {think_C ...}
- a. [CP that John is tall]
 - b. [think_C [C that John is tall]]

The verb *think* in Numeration c-selects CP as its complement, which is indicated by the subscript C. At the stage of the derivation in (7a), the selectional requirement of *think*, which is a probe, searches for its goal in the computational workspace, finding the CP.

² According to Donati and Cecchetto (2011), the edge feature searches for the element that the lexical item merges with. In this sense, the edge feature is a probe.

As in (7b), External Merger of *think* with the CP takes place, which satisfies the c-selectional property of *think*.

Donati and Cecchetto also argue that the selectional requirement of the lexical item drives movement of an element which satisfies the requirement. Consider the derivation of (8), which is indicated in (9)-(11).

- (8) the man that will laugh
 (9) {the_N}
 [_{CP} that [_N man] will laugh]
 (10) {the_N ..}
 [_{NP} man_i [_{CP} that *t*_i will laugh]]
 (11) [the_N [_{NP} man_i [_{CP} that *t*_i will laugh]]]

Suppose that the derivation has reached the stage in (9). The D head in Numeration requires an NP complement and it searches for the NP, finding the noun *man* in the computational workspace.³ The goal *man* moves and projects to satisfy the c-selectional requirement of the D *the* as shown in (10). In (11), *the* merges with *man*, satisfying the selectional requirement. In this way, movement of *man* is triggered by the selectional requirement. Donati and Cecchetto name this type of movement selection-driven movement.

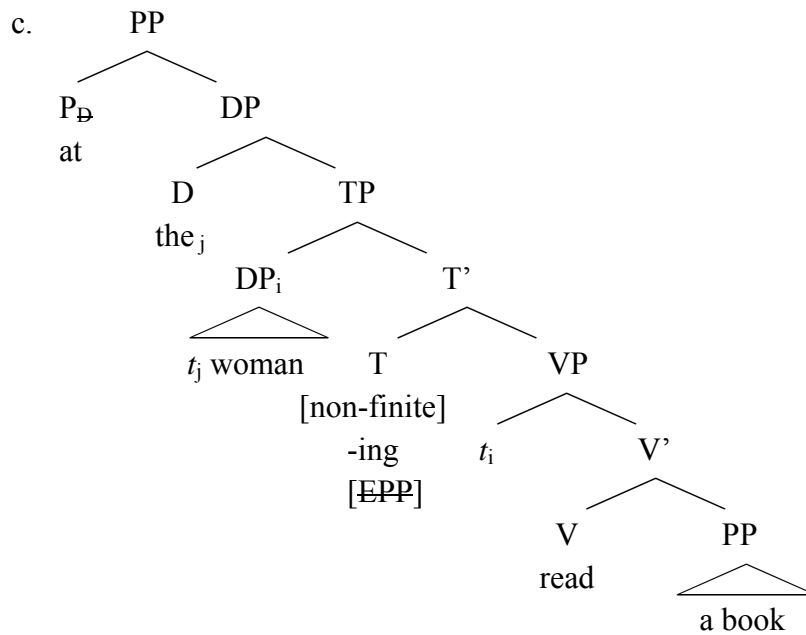
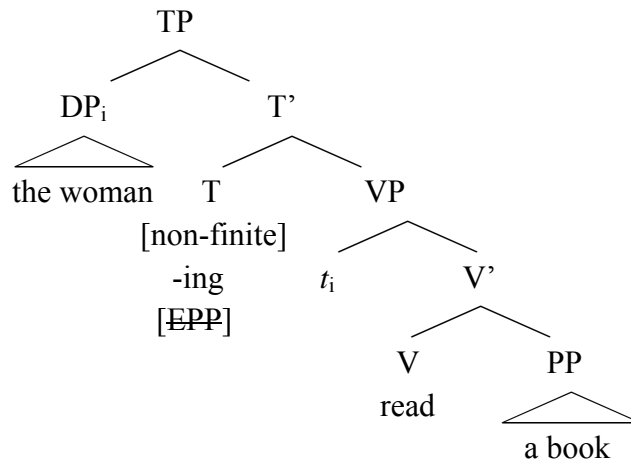
3. A Proposal

We argue that the RRCs are derived by the movement and projection of the D head. For example, the derivation of the RRC in (12a) is shown in (12b, c).

³ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) assume that selection is done by the probe-goal relation, arguing that an element in Numeration searches for a goal in the structure already built, and merges with the goal. In this way, Donati and Cecchetto regard Numeration as a part of the computational workspace. See Bobaljik (1995) for the same line of reasoning.

(12)a. Look at [the woman reading a book].

b. {at_D...}



We analyze the RRCs as non-finite TPs headed by the participial *-ing*, as shown in (12b). The subject of the RRC is base-generated in [Spec,VP] and moves to [Spec,TP] to check the EPP feature.⁴ The preposition *at* in Numeration searches for DP in the computational workspace since it requires the DP complement. In (12c), the D head *the* moves to satisfy the selectional requirement of *at*.^{5, 6} Here, the moved element *the* is an

⁴ We omit the additional projection ν P above VP, which is currently widely assumed. But the omission of the ν P projection does not affect the discussion in this paper.

⁵ In the RRC, TP occupies the complement position of the D head *the*. As for full relative

X^0 element carrying the edge feature, which is a probe feature. Thus, given (3) it can project at the landing site. Next, *at* merges with DP, satisfying the selectional requirement.⁷

As we have seen above, the RRC is TP. This is supported by distribution of sentential adverbs. Consider (13).⁸

- (13) Isaac remembered what Leon said about the person probably being a worker on the ship.

(<http://www.fanfiction.net/s/7944092/5/To-Know-the-Unknown>)

In (13), the adverb *probably* occurs in the RRC. Given that *probably* is a TP adverb, this shows that RRCs have the TP projection. The structure of the RRC in (13) is (14).

- (14) [_{DP} the_i [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i person] [_{T'} probably [_T -ing] [_{VP} be a worker...]]]]

Next, in (12b) the RRC subject moves out of VP. A piece of evidence for the subject movement comes from the floating quantifier.

- (15) The boys all playing soccer together will go home soon.

clauses, it may be that the relative clause CP is in the complement position of the D head. See Kayne (1994) for details.

⁶ An anonymous reviewer wonders whether movement of D is blocked due to the freezing effect: the ban on extraction out of moved elements. We suggest that the RRC subject DP is not Case-checked, remaining active. Therefore, the subject DP and DP-internal element is visible for further computation and can be subject to movement. I thank this anonymous reviewer for pointing out this problem.

⁷ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) argue that pseudo-relatives in Romance are derived by the movement and projection of a determiner. The pseudo-relatives are different from restrictive relatives in that the head of the pseudo-relatives is a pronoun. The example of the pseudo-relative is illustrated in (i).

- (i) Ho incontrato lui che baciava Maria.
 (I) have met him that kissed Maria
 'I met him while he was kissing Maria.'

The pseudo-relatives should be distinguished from English RRCs since the pseudo-relative in (i) has the complementizer *che*. Furthermore, the promotion analysis of pseudo-relatives is problematic since the pronoun *lui* is Case-assigned both in the relative clause and the matrix clause. On the other hand, under our promotion analysis of RRCs, the subject in English RRCs receives Case only from the matrix element, as we will see in 4.3.

⁸ I have found this datum on the Internet. My informant judged this sentence acceptable.

Sportiche (1988) argues that floating quantifiers are quantifiers stranded by movement of NP that they quantify over. Then, the RRC has the structure in (16).

(16) $[_{DP} \text{the}_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j \text{boys}]_i [_T \text{-ing}] [_{VP} \text{all } t_i \text{play soccer together...}]]]$

The RRC subject moves from $[_{Spec,VP}]$ to $[_{Spec,TP}]$, leaving the quantifier behind.

4. Predictions

In this section, we test a number of predictions that follow from the promotion analysis of RRCs showing that predictions are born out.

4.1. Reduced Relatives Lack the CP Projection

4.1.1. The Ban on an Overt Relative Operator

We argue for the promotion analysis of RRCs: the D head directly moves from within the RRC to the matrix clause as indicated in (17).

(17) $[_{DP} \text{the}_i [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]$

As shown in (17), an operator movement is not involved in the derivation of RRCs. Then, we predict that an operator does not appear overtly in the RRCs. This prediction is born out in (18).

(18) A man (*who) working for John visited us yesterday. (cf. Krause (2001: 27))

There is no position for the operator to occupy. Therefore, the operator cannot appear overtly.

4.1.2. The Ban on an Overt Complementizer

We claim that RRCs are TPs, lacking the CP projection. Then, we predict that the complementizer cannot be realized. This prediction is correct.

(19) A man (*that) working for John visited us yesterday. (cf. Krause (2001: 27))

There is no structural position for the relative complementizer. Therefore, *that* cannot occur overtly in the RRC.

4.1.3. CP Adverbs

We assume with Cinque (1999) that *evidently*, *unfortunately*, and *honestly* are CP adverbs. Since we analyze the RRCs as TPs, we make a prediction that these adverbs cannot occur in RRCs. This prediction is correct.

- (20)a. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Evidently,} \\ \text{Unfortunately,} \\ \text{Honestly,} \end{array} \right\} \text{the boy was reading the book.}$
- b. A fire crew extinguished blazing roadside car which evidently contained a bomb. (<http://articles.cnn.com/keyword/belfast>)
- c. *I met the boy $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{evidently} \\ \text{unfortunately} \\ \text{honestly} \end{array} \right\} \text{reading the book.}$

The CP adverbs can occur in the full clause and the full relative clause, as illustrated in (20a-b), while they cannot in the RRC as illustrated in (20c). This contrast supports that the RRC does not have a CP projection.

4.2. Idiom Chunks

Idiom chunks receive an idiomatic interpretation if they form a constituent at some stage of the derivation (see Chomsky (1993)). As we have argued above, the RRC is derived by the movement and projection of the RRC head. Given the promotion analysis of RRCs, we predict that a part of the idiom can be the head of the RRC. This is born out.

- (21) The picture being taken by Mary will be for sale.


The RRC in (21) permits the idiomatic interpretation of *take the picture*. The RRC in (21) has the structure in (22).


(22) $[_{DP} \text{the}_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j \text{ picture}]_i [_{T} \text{-ing}] [_{VP} \text{be taken} [\text{the picture}]_i \dots]]]$

In (22), the lower copy of *the picture* forms a constituent with *take*. Therefore, the RRC permits the idiomatic interpretation.

4.3. The Subject and Object Asymmetry

Let us turn to the Case licensing of DPs in the RRC. We claim that the subject DP is assigned a Case by the matrix element, while the object DP is assigned a Case by the verb in the RRC. This is shown in (23).

(23)a. $[_{VP} V [_{DP} \text{the} [_{TP} [_{DP} t_i \text{ man}] [_{T} \text{-ing}] [_{VP} \dots]]]]]$

 Case

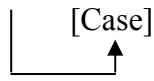
b. $[_{TP} \text{Subject} [_{T} \text{-ing}] [_{VP} V [_{DP} \text{the man}]]]$

 Case

In (23a), the T head of the RRC is non-finite and therefore, it cannot assign a nominative Case to the subject DP. After the movement and projection of D, the subject receives a Case from the matrix element. In (23b), the object DP gets an accusative Case from V of the RRC, being frozen in the position. Then, the prediction is that subject relativization is allowed, while object relativization is not. This prediction is correct, as illustrated in (24a, b).

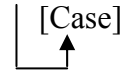
- (24)a. Do you know the guy wearing the green suit?
 b. *I bought the gift giving e to him.
 (cf. I bought the gift to give e to him.)

The structures of the RRCs in (24a, b) are (25a, b).

(25)a. know [DP the_j [TP [DP t_j guy]_i [T -ing] [VP t_i wear the green suit]]]



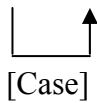
b. bought [DP the_j [TP [DP t_j gift]_i [TP PRO [T -ing] give t_i to him]]]



After the D head moves and projects, the RRC subject in (25a) is Case-assigned by the matrix verb *know*. There is no problem with this derivation, resulting in the grammaticality of (24a). In (25b), the object is assigned an accusative Case twice: once by the RRC verb *give* and a second time by the matrix verb *bought*. This derivation is illicit. Therefore, (24b) is ungrammatical.

We further predict that object relativization is permitted if the RRC verb is passivized and unable to assign an accusative Case to the object, as indicated in (26).

(26) [VP V [DP the [TP [DP t_i N]_j [T -ing] [VP...be V-en t_j]]]]



This prediction is also born out.

(27)a. the suspects being examined by the police (Quirk, et al. (1985: 153))

b. Reports being written by my colleague will be discussed tomorrow.

(Quirk, et al. (1985: 1263))

c. the man being questioned by the police was my brother.

(Quirk, et al. (1985: 1264))

For example, the RRC in (27a) has the structure in (28).

(28) [DP the_j [TP [DP t_j suspects]_i [T -ing] [VP be examined t_i by...]]]

[Case]

The RRC object *the suspects* is not assigned a Case at the base position, being

computationally active. After the object DP moves to [Spec,TP], the D head moves and projects, deriving the RRC. Here the DP is Case-assigned by the matrix element and the derivation converges.^{9, 10}

4.4. Binding Principle C

Let us consider (29).

(29) Which picture that John_i took did he_i like *t*? (Lebeaux (2009: 44))

In (29), *he* can corefer with *John*. This shows that the restrictive relative clause cannot be reconstructed into VP, which avoids a Condition C violation. Lebeaux (2009) accounts for the lack of the Condition C effect on the basis of the proposal that the relative clause can be late-merged.¹¹ The derivation of the sentence in (29) is shown in (30).

- (30)a. [which picture]_i he like *t*_i
 b. [[which picture]_i [that John_i took]] he_i like *t*_i

In (30a), the *wh*-phrase moves to the sentence initial position. Then, the relative clause merges with the *wh*-phrase in the matrix [Spec,CP] counter-cyclically as shown in (30b). In this structure, *he* does not c-command *John*. Therefore, the Condition C does not block coreference between *he* and *John*.

⁹ Donati and Cecchetto (2011) propose the promotion analysis of full relative clauses based on selection-driven movement. However, an obvious problem with the analysis is that the head NP of the full relative clause is Case-assigned not only in the relative clause, but also in the matrix clause. On the other hand, our promotion analysis of RRCs is free from such a problem since the head of the RRC is Case-assigned only in the matrix clause. In this sense, it is our promotion analysis of the RRCs that supports selection-driven movement proposed by Donati and Cecchetto. I thank Nobuhiro Miyoshi for suggesting this point.

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer suggests that the present analysis predicts that object relativization is possible if the RRC is in a Case-less position.

(i) *It is believed [the book giving *e* to him] to be expensive.

In (i), the passivized verb *believed* loses the ability of assigning an Accusative Case to the RRC *the book giving to him* in non-finite [Spec,TP]. Then, we incorrectly predict that (i) is grammatical since the D head *the* is assigned a Case only in the RRC. For the moment, we leave this problem open.

¹¹ The proposal is made in Lebeaux (1991).

Let us return to the RRCs. According to the promotion analysis of the RRC, the head of the RRC directly moves to the head position of the RRC as in (31).

(31) [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i [NP N]]_j ..t_j..]]

As long as the promotion analysis of RRCs is on the right track, the RRCs cannot be late-merged. This is because the RRC head is base-generated in the RRCs. Let us illustrate this with the derivation in (32).

(32)a. [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i [NP N]]_j ..t_j..]]

b. [VP V [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i [NP N]]_j ..t_j..]]]

c. [VP Subject V [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i [NP N]]_j ..t_j..]]]

In (32a), the D head in [Spec,TP] moves and projects, deriving the RRC. Next, the matrix V merges with the DP as in (32b) and then the subject merges with the VP as in (32c). From (32c), we see that under the promotion analysis, the RRC occurs in the base position of the RRC head. Then, our prediction is that unlike the full relative clauses, the RRC ought to exhibit reconstruction effects with respect to the condition C. This prediction is born out by (33).

(33)a. Which student who was reading Chomsky's_{s_i} book did he_i say was smart?

b. *Which student reading Chomsky's_{s_i} book did he_i say was smart?

(Thompson (2001: 308))

While *Chomsky* in the restrictive relative clause can corefer with *he* in (33a), *Chomsky* in the RRC cannot corefer with *he* in (33b). The derivation of (33b) is shown in (34).

(34)a. [DP which_j [TP [DP t_j student]_i [T -ing] [VP t_i read Chomsky's book]]]

b. [CP [DP which_j [TP [DP t_j student]_i [T -ing] [VP t_i read Chomsky's book]]] was smart]

c. [VP he_i say [CP [DP which_j [TP [DP t_j student]_i [T -ing] [VP t_i read Chomsky's_{s_i} book]]] was smart]]]

The RRC is derived by the movement and projection of *which* in (34a). Then, the RRC is merged in the embedded clause in (34b). The pronoun *he* binds *Chomsky* at the stage of the derivation of (34c), where the matrix subject *he* is merged. This yields a Condition C violation. Therefore, (33b) is ungrammatical.

4.5. Reduced Relative Clauses and Perception Verb Complements

Let us consider the derivation of the RRC again.

- (35)a. [TP DP [T -ing] [VP V DP]]
 b. [VP V_D [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i N] [T -ing] [VP V DP]]]]

The non-finite TP in (35a) is the participial clause headed by *-ing*. The selectional requirement of the matrix element triggers the movement and projection of the D head, deriving the RRC.

Now we are in a position to consider the case in which a matrix element c-selects either DPs or non-finite TPs. This is shown in (36).

- (36)a. [XP X_± [TP [DP the N] [T -ing] [VP V DP]]]
 b. [XP X_D [DP the_i [TP [DP t_i N] [T -ing] [VP V DP]]]]

If the matrix element c-selects non-finite TPs, the D head remains in [Spec,TP] as in (36a). On the other hand, if the matrix element c-selects DP, the D head moves and projects in order to satisfy the selectional requirement of the matrix element as in (36b). Thus, we predict that if the matrix element c-selects either non-finite TP or DP, its complement is ambiguous between two categories: TP and DP. This predication is born out by (37).

- (37) I saw [the boy running to the station].

The section in brackets in (37) is structurally ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as a perception verb complement or as a RRC. The perception verb complement has an interpretation in (38a), while the RRC has an interpretation in (38b).

- (38)a. I saw the boy's action of running which is in progress.
 b. I saw the boy who is running to the station.

This ambiguity follows from whether the movement and projection of the D head takes place or not. The structure of the section in brackets is shown in (39a, b).

- (39)a. [_{VP} see_± [_{TP} [_{DP} the boy]_i [_T -ing] [_{VP} t_i run to the station]]]
 b. [_{VP} see_± [_{DP} the_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j boy]_i [_T -ing] [_{VP} t_i run to...]]]]

If the verb *see* c-selects TP, movement of the D head does not occur as in (39a). On the other hand, if it c-selects DP, the D head moves and projects, satisfying the c-selection of the verb *see*. In this way, the ambiguity of the sentence in (37) is accounted for in terms of the movement and projection of the D head.

We have seen that the complements of the verb *see* in (39a, b) are different in their categorical status. There is another difference between (39a, b): the constituency of *the* and *boy*. In (39a), *the* forms a constituent with *boy*, while the moved *the* no longer forms a constituent with *boy* in (39b). Then, we predict that if *the boy* is moved, the observed ambiguity is resolved: the complement is only interpreted as a perception verb complement. This is because *the* and *boy* form a constituent in (39a), allowing movement of *the boy*, while they do not form a constituent in (39b), disallowing movement of *the boy*. Our prediction is correct.

- (40) Which boy did you see running to the station?

The complement of *see* is unambiguous, only interpreted as a perception verb complement.¹²

The structure of the complement of *see* in (40) would be (41a), but not (41b).

¹² An anonymous reviewer notes that our analysis predicts that the *wh*-phrase cannot move, stranding a participial clause. This prediction is correct as illustrated in the contrast between (ia) and (ib).

- (i)a. Which boy playing soccer do you respect?
 b. *Which boy do you respect *t* playing soccer?

In (ib), *which boy* cannot move since *which* and *boy* do not form a constituent as shown in (ii).

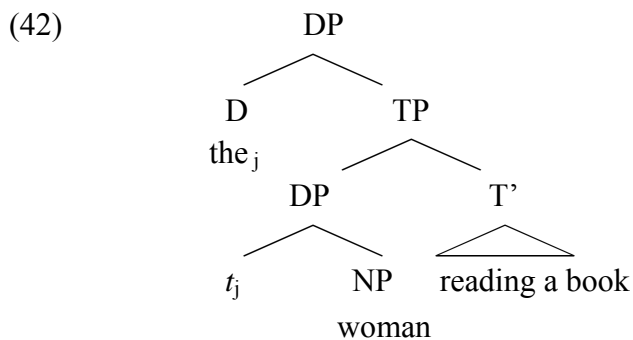
- (ii) [_{DP} which_j [_{TP} [_{DP} t_j boy]_i [_T -ing] [_{VP} t_i play soccer]]]

- (41)a. [TP [DP which boy]_i [T -ing] [VP *t_i* run to the station]]
 b. [DP which_j [TP [DP *t_j* boy]_i [T -ing] [VP *t_i* run to the station]]]

In (41a), the complement of *see* is a perception verb complement. In this structure, *which* and *boy* form a constituent. Therefore, movement of *which boy* can take place. On the other hand, in (41b), the verb complement is the RRC, and *which* and *boy* do not form a constituent. Thus, movement of *which boy* is prohibited. This is why (40) only has the interpretation of the perception verb complement.

4.6. Extraposition of Reduced Relative Clauses

Note that the NP inside the subject of the RRC remains in [Spec,TP] although the D head moves outside the RRC as in (42).



Then, if the extraposition is applied to the RRC, the T' would move rightward. Given that an intermediate projection cannot move, we predict that the extraposition of the RRC is impossible. This prediction is correct.

- (43)a. A man said hello to me who was wearing a fedora.
 b. *A man said hello to me wearing a fedora.

(Thompson (2001: 309))

The full relative clause can be extraposed as in (43a), while the RRC cannot as in (43b). The structure of (43b) is (44).

- (44) [DP A [TP man *t_i*]] said hello to me [T' wearing a fedora]_i

In (44), the intermediate projection moves, which is not allowed. Therefore, (43b) is ungrammatical.¹³

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued for the promotion analysis of the RRCs: the D head moves from within the RRC and projects at the landing site. This argument is supported by an idiom chunk, a subject and object asymmetry in relativization, the Condition C effect, and the prohibition of the extraposition of the reduced relative clause. As long as our analysis is on the right track, it supports the theory that the moved element can project if it is a head, as is proposed by Donati (2006), Donati and Cecchetto (2011), and Chomsky (2008).

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¹³ Our promotion analysis of RRCs is compatible with Hulsey and Sauerland's (2006) argument that a raising structure of restrictive relative clauses prevents the extraposition of the relative clause.

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