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A UNIFIED ANALYSIS OF MATCHING AND NON-MATCHING
FREE RELATIVES IN CATALAN

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INTRODUCTION

In this paper we examine matching and non-matching free relatives in Catalan. A free relative must be matching if it occupies a subcategorized position, and it may be non-matching in other positions. This distribution is a natural consequence of two independent factors: 1) the analysis that treats Catalan free relatives of type (1) as headless constructions with the wh-phrase in COMP, and 2) the proposal that if a relative construction has a lexically empty antecedent, the COMP position is accessible to the subcategorization requirements of the matrix.

1. The analysis of matching and non-matching free relatives

Consider example (1):

(1) Qui diu això ment
Who says that lies

A free relative is matching (Grimshaw 1977) if the wh-phrase that is its initial constituent is of the same category as the constituent that immediately dominates the clause. By that definition, the free relative in (1) is matching because qui is an NP and the relative qui diu això occupies an NP-position. A relative is non-matching when the category of the wh-phrase is

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different from the category corresponding to the syntactic position associated with the free relative in the matrix.

Catalan seems to offer a non-homogeneous situation with respect to matching, as seen when we compare (2a-b) and (3):

- (2) a. Invito qui has invitat
I-invite who you-have invited
- b. *Invito amb qui t'en anirás
I-invite with whom you-will-leave

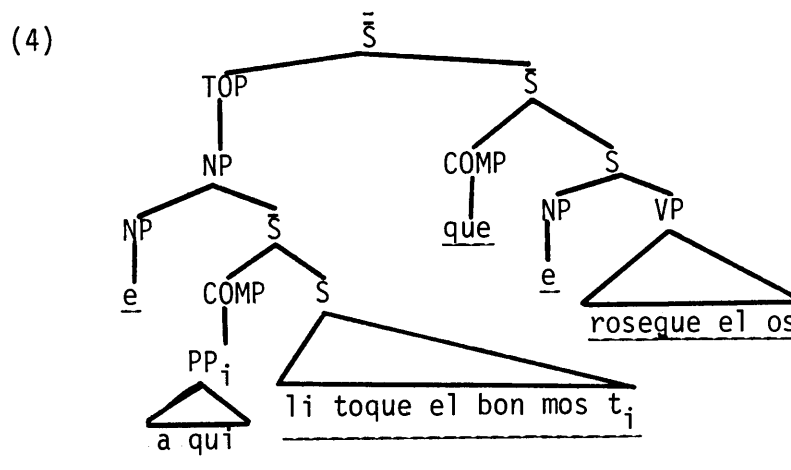
Invitar requires a direct object. In (2b) the first constituent of the relative is the PP amb qui and the structure is ungrammatical because the clause occupies an NP-position: NP[pp[amb qui] t'en anirás]. The relative in (2a) is clearly of the matching type: NP[NP[qui] has invitat]. However, there are positions where free relatives need not be matching, as seen in (3):

- (3) A qui li toque el bon mos, que rosegue el os
To who him falls the good bite, that he-chew the bone
'Let the one who gets the good bite chew the bone'
(Calveras 1930: 177)

The wh-phrase is the PP a qui, and the relative is an NP that relates to a subject position: NP[pp[a qui] li toque el bon mos].

The difference is connected to the distinction between subcategorized and non-subcategorized positions. Free relatives which occupy a subcategorized position must be matching, those which are in non-subcategorized locations need not be. Thus, in (2b) invito 'I invite' subcategorizes for an NP object, and the relative must have an NP wh-word initially. Example (3) is a left-dislocated configuration. (4) is the structure corresponding to (3), once Wh-movement applies within the relative. Notice that Catalan allows null subjects. The TOP position is not subcategorized, and the free relative need not be matching:

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Let us now consider the analysis that accounts for 1) the structure of free relatives, and 2) the distribution of the matching and non-matching types.

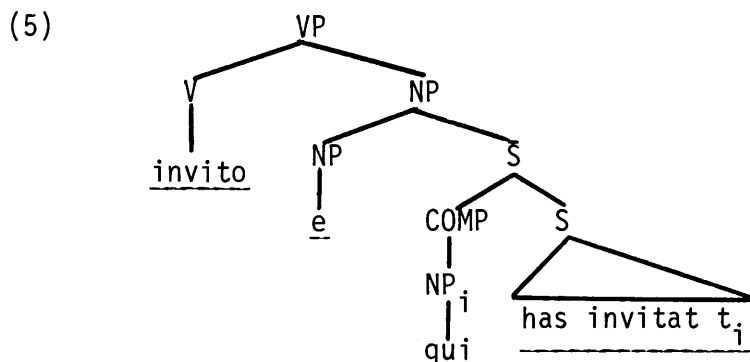
There have been two competing hypotheses for the analysis of matching free relatives: the COMP proposal, and the Head proposal. In the first analysis the wh-phrase is located in the COMP position while the antecedent is empty of lexical material, as in (4). In the second analysis the wh-phrase is in antecedent position (see Hirschbühler 1976, and Bresnan and Grimshaw 1978). If the wh-phrase is the head, the matching effect follows under the \bar{X} -theory, because the head of a phrase must be of the same category as the phrase. With respect to Catalan, the situation found in (2a-b) is the one expected under the Head proposal. On the other hand, when a free relative is non-matching, as in (3), the COMP analysis is clearly required.

It could be proposed at this point that the Catalan relatives in the previous examples are of different types. In the matching case, they have the wh-phrase in the antecedent position, and in the non-matching case the wh-phrase is in COMP. This solution leaves unexplained the distribution of non-matching free relatives. We claim instead that the wh-phrase in examples (1), (2a), and (3) is in COMP, and that the antecedent is lexically empty. This analysis is required for the non-matching free relative in (3) in any event. To account for those positions where free relatives must be matching obligatorily - (2a) - we will adopt Groos and van Riemsdijk's hypothesis (1979) that the COMP is accessible to the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb.

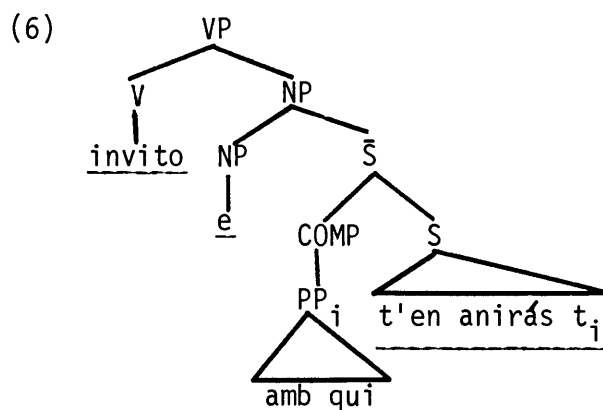
Under the COMP hypothesis the structure of (2a) is (5). The NP qui in COMP is accessible to invito and satisfies its

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subcategorization frame.



Compare (2a) and the structure of (2b) presented in (6).



The PP amb qui is accessible to the matrix V but does not satisfy its subcategorization frame. Let us now turn to (3), and its structure in (4). The NP in TOP position is not subcategorized. A qui in the COMP must only satisfy the subcategorization frame of the embedded verb toque 'befalls', and it does so via the trace t_i it binds. In conclusion, our proposal predicts that a t_i non-matching free relative can only occur in a non-subcategorized position.

Suppose that we adopt the view that free relatives in Catalan are of two structural types, i.e. with the wh-phrase in the antecedent, or with that element in COMP. In the absence of additional devices, the prediction of such an analysis is that each type should appear in both categorized, and non-subcategorized positions. In particular, a subcategorized position could contain either a matching or a non-matching free relative, an incorrect prediction in view of the ungrammaticality of (2b).

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An independent argument for our analysis can be found in Hirschbühler and Rivero 1980. There are four kinds of restrictive relatives that begin with wh-phrases in Catalan, as in (7).

- (7) a. Qui diu això ment
Who says that lies
- b. El qui diu això ment
The who says that lies
- c. Qui que digui això ment
Who that says that lies
- d. Qualsevol que digui això ment
Whoever that says that lies

Example (7c) is literary. In headed relatives the COMP position must be filled by only one element and it cannot be empty; either the complementizer que or a constituent transported by Wh-movement occupies the COMP. If we assume that 'free' relatives are identical to headed relatives in their structural properties - the null hypothesis -, the co-occurrence of a wh-phrase followed by the complementizer que 'that' in (7c) and (7d) indicates that qui 'who' and qualsevol 'whoever' are not in COMP, but in the antecedent position; otherwise the COMP would be doubly filled. Thus the restrictive relatives in (7c) and (7d) are headed, as indicated in (8):

- (8) a. NP[NP[qui] \bar{S} [COMP[que] S[digui això]]]
- b. NP[NP[qualsevol] \bar{S} [COMP[que] S[digui això]]]

These two types of relatives have not been used in the previous argumentation about matching, and they behave as headed constructions. When there is a wh-phrase and no complementizer, as in (7a) and (7b), the same assumptions lead to the analysis that places the wh-phrase in COMP, as in (9). Otherwise the COMP would be empty.

- (9) a. NP[NP[e] \bar{S} [COMP[qui] S[diu això]]]
- b. NP[NP[e] \bar{S} [COMP[el qui] S[diu això]]]

In brief, the simplest analysis of free relatives places the wh-phrase in COMP if there is no complementizer, and places

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it in antecedent position if the wh-phrase is followed by the complementizer que 'that'.

If such a proposal is correct, it predicts that the free relatives of the headed type in (8a-b), and similar sentences, will never be preceded by a preposition that is only required by the embedded verb, when they appear in a non-subcategorized position in the matrix, as in (11a-b):

(10) *Amb l'home que has parlat, el coneixem
 With the man that you-have talk, him we-know

(11) *Amb { a. qualsevol
 b. qui } que hagi parlat,
 With whoever that you-have talked,
 voldria conèixer-lo
 I-would-like know -him

In brief, there are three arguments that motivate the COMP-analysis for free relatives with no complementizer que 'that' in Catalan: 1) the parallel grammar of headed and headless relatives under such an assumption; 2) the possibility of relatives with the wh-phrase in COMP to be non-matching in non-subcategorized position; and 3) the impossibility of relatives with the wh-phrase in antecedent position to be 'non-matching' in that same environment.

2. Non-matching positions

2.0 We now examine other constructions in which non-matching free relatives are possible, and see how our hypothesis applies to them:

1) The TOP position, as in example (3). We will not deal with this case any further in the paper.

2) The subject position, as in (12):

(12) a. A qui has parlat està malalt
 To who you-have spoken is sick

b. NP^{[NP^[e] S^{[COMP[a qui] S^[has parlat]]]]} està malalt}

3) The Preverbal and postverbal positions in pseudo-cleft sentences, as in (13a) and (13b) and, in general, those two positions in sentences containing the copula esser 'to be':

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- (13) a. Amb qui vull parlar és (amb) Maria
 With who I-want talk is (with) Mary
- b. Amb qui jo vull parlar és amb qui ell vull parlar
 With who I want talk is with who he wants talk

4) Two constructions whose properties are unclear to us: a) *Hi ha* 'there is/are' structures with a list interpretation, as in (14);
 b) infinitival relatives, as in (15):

- (14) Hi ha pels que (= per els que) jo no votaria
 There are for whom I not would-vote
 'There are those I would not vote for'

- (15) La pobra no tenia amb qui parlar
 The poor not have with who talk 'The poor one did
 not have who to talk to'

5) Finally, the complement position of verbs of knowledge, and perception to be discussed in section 3:

- (16) Ja ha vist de lo que havíem parlat
 Already he-has seen of the which we-had spoken 'He
 realizes already what we had discussed'

2.1. Consider the subject position. The NP which is immediately dominated by S is not in a subcategorized position. As predicted by our hypothesis free relatives in that position may be non-matching¹.

2.2. We now turn to pseudo-cleft constructions of the type of (13a-b) and sentences with the copula *esser* in general. Assuming that the phrase-structure rules of Catalan assign an NP category to pre-copula node, treating it like a regular subject (i.e. $S \rightarrow NP VP$), non-matching in that position is expected for the reasons given in the previous section. In view of (13b), we conclude that free relatives in pseudo-cleft constructions may be generated both in pre and postcopula position, and that the last location also allows non-matching; in effect, the postverbal relative in (13b) receives the same NP interpretation as the headed relative in (17):

- (17) Amb qui jo vull parlar és la noia amb qui ell vol
 With who I want talk is the girl with who he wants
parlar
 talk

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The verb esser 'to be' can take many types of complements, as is well-known; in pseudo-cleft constructions, in particular, the copula can be followed by tensed and infinitival S_S , NPs, PPs, and APs, which is not necessarily an exhaustive inventory of categories. Therefore, we propose that the verb esser 'to be' in general does not subcategorize for any specific complement.

Pseudo-cleft constructions in Catalan, like in English, are of two semantic and syntactic types, specificational and predicational (Akmajian 1970, Higgins 1976). In the specificational type, the phrase following the matrix copula is related semantically to the gap in the embedded clause, as in What John is is proud, which is similar to John is proud. Clearly, in such a case the postverbal element in the matrix is not subcategorized by the main copula, but fulfills the requirements of the embedded structure, however this is to be implemented in the analysis of specificational pseudo-clefts. In the predicational type, the phrase after the main copula denotes a property of the matrix subject as in What John is is worthwhile, in the sense of, for instance, John's occupation is worthwhile. One may suggest that esser or to be in the predicational construction subcategorize for certain elements, i.e. APs as a possible example; however, this implies that there are two verbs esser (or to be) in pseudo-cleft structures, depending on whether they are specificational, or predicational. Under this view, it is an accident that the copula in the two constructions is identical, not only in Catalan, but also in the wide variety of languages that exhibit pseudo-clefts. Also, elements which are subcategorized are interpreted as arguments (in the logical sense) of the category that subcategorizes them, and assigned a thematic role. The position after esser does not seem to receive its thematic role from the copula. In brief, there is no reason to assume that the postverbal position in all types of sentences involving esser is a subcategorized one, and we may take the fact that free relatives are non-matching in that position as additional evidence for this conclusion.

2.3. Let us now consider the free relative in (14). Hi ha is normally followed by an NP. (Hi ha els candidats pels que jo no votaria 'There are the candidates for whom I would not vote' vs. *Hi ha pels candidats que jo no votaria 'There are for the candidates I would not vote'), so we must conclude that the free relative in (14) is non-matching: Hi ha NP[... pp[per els que]...] ...]. We think that the NP that follows hi ha is not subcategorized in the way other direct objects of transitive verbs are; for example, no thematic role seems to be assigned by ha to the NP, and no semantic relationship appears to be established between the matrix verb and the complement. However, we propose

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no concrete analysis for this case, and simply conclude tentatively that it does not look like a counterexample to our hypothesis.

2.4. Finally, we turn to infinitival relatives and examples such as (15). The free relative in that structure occupies the object position of *tener* 'to have', and it cannot be adduced that this verb does not subcategorize for an NP-object. However, in this case the problem does not pertain to the matching properties of Catalan, and the distinction between subcategorized and non-subcategorized positions alone. Rather, the question that must be solved is why infinitival relatives can be non-matching even in languages that do not exhibit this type of free relatives such as French:

(18) Il n'a avec qui parler
He not has with who talk

(19) a. *J'ai acheté où il habite
I have bought where he lives

b. Il n'a où dormir
He not has where sleep

Although we have no explanation for this state of affairs, the comparison between Catalan and French indicates that a separate account of infinitival relatives is required, in addition to our proposal.

3. Verbs of knowledge and non-matching

We now turn to the complement position of verbs of knowledge and perception, in examples of the type of (16). Verbs such as *veure* 'to see' are transitive, and take NP objects as in (20a), \bar{S} complements that are either propositional (20b), or indirect questions (20c), and two types of free relatives that differ as to their interpretation, (20d-e):

(20) a. Veuràs el llibre que hem comprat
You-will-see the book that we-have bought

b. Veuràs que treballa molt bé
You-will-see that he-works very well

c. Veuràs de què hem parlat
You-will-see of-what we have spoken

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- d. Veuràs el que hem comprat dins la caixa
You-will-see what we-have bought in the box
- e. Veuràs del que (= de el que) hem parlat
You-will-see of what we-have spoken
'You will realize what we discussed'

Example (20c) has a complement structure that is an indirect question, and què 'what' is one of the wh-forms in the interrogative paradigm. In (20d), the relative is the direct object, and the sentence is interpreted as 'You will see a certain object in the closet'; el que is a wh-form in the relative paradigm. In (20e), the complement de is interpreted as an indirect question, but the structure cannot be analyzed as containing an embedded interrogative clause, since el que is not a question word because it cannot be used in direct questions. Also, it is not possible to have an interrogative wh-phrase inside a free relative with el que, as in (21a). On the other hand, when the initial phrase in the clause is a question word, as in (21b), it is possible to have additional interrogative words within the interrogative clause:

- (21) a. *Veuràs del que hem parlat amb qui
You-will-see of - the which we-have spoken with who
- b. Veuràs de què hem parlat amb qui
You will-see of what we-have spoken with whom

If we assume that veure is a transitive verb that subcategorizes an NP object, the free relative in (20e) is non-matching, and appears to be a counter-example to our hypothesis. However, the example is grammatical only if interpreted as a question, and ungrammatical when the relative is interpreted as a possible referential expression. In other words, free relatives in the object position in (20e) and similar structures must be matching in order to be interpretable as potential referential NP-complements-the 'usual' reading for a relative clause. Example (22), where the question interpretation is not possible, is ungrammatical:

- (22) *Veuràs del que hem parlat dins la caixa
You-will-see of what we-have spoken in the box 'You
will see the object under discussion inside the box'

Thus, we can maintain our hypothesis that free relatives in subcategorized position must be matching, unless they receive a question interpretation.

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Let us now turn to the question interpretation and non-matching. Intuitively, the non-matching free relative in (20e) is given the Logical Form of a question, and since the material in COMP can belong to any category in that type of structure, the relative escapes the matching requirement through its logical form. Thus the question interpretation seems to play a role when subcategorization is checked:

- (23) You will see \bar{S} [for which x, x a thing, you will speak of x]

In this case, the subcategorization requirements are satisfied by \bar{S} , and the issue of matching does not arise. This approach implies that subcategorization requirements have to be met at the LF level, a question whose consequences need to be explored.

4. Conclusions

In this study we have proposed that Catalan free relatives must be matching when in subcategorized position, and can be non-matching otherwise. In section 1 we have shown that the free relatives examined for matching phenomena have the wh-phrase in COMP. The distribution of matching and non-matching relatives follows from the hypothesis that subcategorization has access to COMP. Section 2 has considered a range of non-subcategorized positions with relation to matching. In section 3, we have tentatively concluded that subcategorization requirements must be checked at the level of Logical Form; thus free relatives with a question interpretation that appear to be non-matching escape the matching requirements through the \bar{S} -subcategorization of the verb.

FOOTNOTE

¹ Each verb is paired with a subcategorization frame to be satisfied by sister nodes, i.e. by nodes governed by V (for government see, for example, Chomsky 1980). The subject position is not governed by V.

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