

## Extrapolation of Relative Clauses in the History of Portuguese

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**A.** There is a large number of competing analyses of extrapolation in the literature. Generally speaking, the different analyses can be divided into three main groups: extrapolation as right-hand adjunction (Culicover & Rochemont 1990); extrapolation as VP-internal stranding (Kayne 1994); extrapolation as specifying coordination (Koster 2000; De Vries 2002).

**B.** The different syntactic theories on extrapolation are usually seen as competing analysis, each one trying to provide a unified account of extrapolation across languages. In this talk I will explore the hypothesis that there is no unified account of extrapolation to be offered across languages. Moreover, I will argue that, from a diachronic point of view, different syntactic analyses seem to be necessary to explain the changes affecting extrapolation of relative clauses in different stages of the same language.

**C.** Focusing on empirical evidence from European Portuguese, I will show that Modern Portuguese (MP) contrasts with Old Portuguese (OP)<sup>1</sup> w.r.t. the properties of relative clause extrapolation, and I will provide an explanation for the observed contrasts.

**D.** In MP, extrapolation of restrictive relative clauses displays the following cluster of properties:

**a.** Extrapolation from the subject is only possible with: (i) indefinite subjects (see (1a)); post-verbal subjects (cf. (1a-b)); (iii) subject of all types of verb, except transitive-direct and ditransitive verbs.

- (1) a. *Ontem explodiu uma / \*a bomba em Israel que causou 5 mortos.*  
yesterday exploded a / the bomb in Israel that caused 5 dead  
b. *\*Uma bomba explodiu ontem em Israel que causou 5 mortos.*  
a bomb exploded yesterday in Israel that caused 5 dead

**b.** Extrapolation from the direct object is only possible with indefinite objects (see (2)).

- (2) *Encontrei uma / \*a pessoa ontem que estava à tua procura.*  
I.met a the person yesterday that was waiting.for.you

**c.** Extrapolation from a prepositional argument of the verb is not allowed (see (3)).

- (3) *\*O João candidatou-se a uma câmara nesse ano que ficano distrito de Bragança.*  
the John applied.SE to a town.council that year that stays in district of Bragança

If we consider the information structure of these constructions, another generalization emerges: the antecedent has to be interpreted as information focus (see Guéron 1980), or has to be a preposed-focus (identificational/contrastive focus or a *wh*-constituent).

As for appositive relatives, although it is generally assumed that extrapolation is not allowed (Brito 2004), some speakers do accept it, specially when the relative clause is introduced by the pronoun *o qual* 'lit. the which' (see (4)).

- (4) *?O carro despistou-se, projectando o passageiro pelo ar, o qual foi embater contra um poste*  
the car crashed.SE projecting the passenger by.the air the which clashed with a lamposte

**E.** In OP the extrapolation of relative clause obeys to fewer restrictions. The main differences between extrapolation in MP and OP are:

**a.** In OP the extrapolation of restrictive relatives is possible: (i) with post-verbal and pre-verbal subjects (see (5)); (ii) with indefinite and definite objects (see (6)); (iii) from the prepositional argument of the verb.

- (5) *se Algẽ A eles veer que diga que llj eu Alguna cousa diuía* (Martins 2000, year 1275)  
if someone to them come that says that him.CL I some thing owed  
(6) *E pera todas as cousas e cada hũa delas ffaser que uerdadeyro e líjdemo*  
and to all.the things and each one of.them do that real and legitimate  
*procurador pode e deue ffaser* (Martins 2000, year 1317)  
proxy can and should make

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<sup>1</sup> For Old Portuguese, the *data* considered in this paper were drawn from the *corpus* of notarial documents (from 13<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century (first half)), edited by Martins (2000).

**b.** In OP the extraposition of appositive relatives is allowed (in the *corpus* considered the total of extraposed appositive relatives amounts to 91%).

Additionally, one of the most striking differences between MP and OP concerns the number and heaviness of constituents that may intervene between the head and the relative clause. Contrary to what happens in MP, in OP different kinds of constituents (verb, arguments, embedded/coordinated clauses, textual fragments) may break the adjacency between the head and the relative clause. This typically happens with appositive relative clauses introduced by the pronoun *o qual* ‘the which’ (optionally followed by an *internal head*, cf. **H.**).

**F.** In this talk I will argue that the properties of extraposition in OP suggest that: (i) there are two different types of appositive relatives in OP: one introduced by the complementizer *que* ‘that’ and other introduced by the relative *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ (Cinque 2008); (ii) appositive relatives introduced by *que* ‘that’ have the same syntax as restrictive relatives, whereas appositive relatives introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ have a different syntactic structure. As for restrictive relatives and appositive relatives introduced by *que* ‘that’, I will claim that they are generated by the *raising analysis* of relative clauses (Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999) and that extraposition results from VP-internal stranding (Kayne 1994). By contrast, appositive relatives introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ are generated by *specifying coordination* (De Vries 2006) and extraposition is derived by the possibility of attaching the second conjunct (containing the appositive relative) to different clausal and discourse levels.

**G.** Moreover, I will claim that the differences between OP and MP w.r.t. extraposition of restrictive relatives (namely, the restriction on the position of the antecedent) can be explained by the loss of IP-scrambling in MP (Martins 2002). While in OP the relative head could move from a relative clause internal position to the IP domain of the matrix (cf. Grewendorf & Sabel 1999), stranding the relative clause, in MP the head cannot move to a position above vP, since IP-scrambling is not an option.

**H.** Finally, I will put forward that in MP appositive relative clauses introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ are no longer generated by specifying coordination and are instead generated by head raising, just like their restrictive (and appositive) counterparts. Clear evidence supporting this hypothesis is offered by the strong restrictions on the possibilities of extraposition observed in MP and the concomitant loss in MP of the internal head in appositives (cf. (7) and (8)), which is taken by De Vries (2006) as an argument in favor of the specifying coordination analysis of appositives.

(7) \* *Comprei um livro, ao qual livro foi atribuído um prémio.* [MP]  
I.bought a book, to.the which book was awarded a prize.

(8) *aqueste prazo fizi e en testemoyo destas cousas en elle meu sinal pusi* [OP]  
this contract I.did and as testimony of.these things in it my sign I.put  
*o qual sinal tal este.* (Martins 2000, year 1279)  
the which sign this is.

## References

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