Light-headed relative clauses in Teramano

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Abstract: We investigate an unstudied, rich component of the relative clause system in Teramano, one of the Upper Southern Italian languages. We focus on light-headed relative clauses – relative clauses that lack a full nominal head and are introduced by only a Determiner-like or pronominal "light head". We also briefly describe headed relative clauses in Teramano since the morphosyntactic features they exhibit are relevant for the investigation of light-headed relative clauses. Last, we highlight commonalities and differences between light-headed relative clauses in Teramano and Italian. Our paper provides the first systematic in-depth description of light-headed relative clauses in an Upper Southern Italian language that we are aware of, contributes to the knowledge of Teramano, the study of light-headed relative clauses crosslinguistically, and the ongoing investigation of microvariation among Italian and Italian languages.

Keywords: headed relative clauses; light-headed relative clauses; Upper Southern Italian; Teramano, Abruzzese.

1   Introduction

Light-headed Relative Clauses (*LHRs*) are embedded clauses whose distribution and interpretation resemble those of NPs and PPs in argument or adjunct positions. Unlike fully headed relative clauses, LHRs lack a nominal head and are introduced by only a "light head" – a determiner or a pronoun (Citko 2004; de Vries 2002: Ch.2, Sec.6.3.1; Caponigro 2021, a.o.). Their structure can be schematized as in (1), with the light head in bold and the clausal component within the inner brackets and labelled as *RC* ('Relative Clause').

(1)   [LHR **Determiner/Pronoun** [RC …]]

An example of an LHR in English is given in brackets in (2a) while one in Italian is given in (3a).[1]

(2)   a. *Paola hired* [LHR ***those*** [RC *that Lea recommended*]].
       b. *Paola hired* [NP ***those applicants*** [RC *that Lea recommended*]].

(3)   a. *Rimani*   [LHR ***là***   [RC *dove*   *sei*]].
          stay.IMP.2SG   there   where   be.PRES.2SG
          'Stay where you are.'

       b. *Rimani*   [PP ***nel***   ***posto***   [RC *in*   *cui*   *sei*]].
          stay.IMP.2SG   in.the.SG.M   place.SG.M   in   which   be.PRES.2SG
          'Stay in the place where you are.'

In (2b), the bracketed LHR in (2a) has been replaced and paraphrased with the bracketed complex definite NP containing a headed relative clause. Although both bracketed embedded constructions in (2a) and (2b) are introduced by the demonstrative determiner *those*, only in (2b) the determiner is followed by the N *applicants* as the nominal head of the headed relative clause. The LHR in (2a) is interpreted as referring to individuals – the people who Lea recommended – in the same way as the definite NP in (2b).

The Italian LHR in (3a), instead, is introduced by the deictic locative pronoun *là* ('there'), without any nominal. Its distribution and interpretation resemble those of the bracketed PP in (3b). The complex PP is introduced by a P (combined with the definite determiner) followed by the N

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[1] The data are from the first author's fieldwork, unless otherwise stated.

posto, which acts as the nominal head of the headed relative clause that follows. The LHR in (3a) ends up denoting a location (where the listener is) in the same way as the PP in (3b).

This syntactic and semantic behavior is unlike that of other well-known kinds of embedded clauses. Embedded declarative or interrogative clauses in argument positions or adjunct clauses introduced by a subordinator have a different distribution from LHRs and/or convey a different meaning – some form of propositional content. As seen in (2b) and (3b), headed relative clauses – another well-studied kind of embedded clause – are associated with an overt nominal head whose meaning they restrict – a type of semantic behavior resembling that of nominal modifiers like Adjective Phrases, rather than that of full NPs or adverbial PPs. On the other hand, LHRs and headed relative clauses share the requirement for a missing constituent (which can be sometimes signaled by a resumptive pronoun).[2]

This paper investigates the main morphosyntactic and semantic properties of LHRs in Teramano, a language spoken in Italy. In doing so, we also briefly describe a related construction in Teramano – headed relative clauses, whose similarities and differences with LHRs have been mentioned above.[3] Finally, throughout the paper, we highlight similarities and differences with the closest constructions in Italian.

Overall, our paper provides the first systematic in-depth description of LHRs in an Upper Southern Italian language that we are aware of, contributes to the knowledge of Teramano, the typology of LHRs, the methodology for their crosslinguistically investigation, and the study of microvariation among Italian and Italian languages (Benincà 2012, Poletto & Sanfelici 2018, a.o.).

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides some background information on Teramano, with a focus on headed relative clauses. Section 3 describes LHRs. Section 4 concludes.

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[2] See de Vries (2002: Ch. 2) for a comprehensive discussion of the typology and terminology concerning relative clauses. Also, see Cinque (2020) for a new unifying approach to all the main varieties of relative clauses.

[3] See Mantenuto & Caponigro (forthcoming) for a detailed description of free relative clauses, another kind of relative clause without a nominal head. Unlike LHRs, free relative clauses lack a light head as well and are always introduced by a *wh*-expression.

2   Teramano basics and headed relative clauses

2.1   Teramano basics

Teramano (ISO: ita) is a language[4] spoken in the province of Teramo in Abruzzo, a central eastern region in Italy on the Adriatic coast with slightly more than 300,000 inhabitants. It belongs to the Upper Southern group (Pellegrini 1977) of Italian languages, and most of its speakers are bilingual. Indeed, Italian is the official language of the area, and not all people who live in Teramo are in fact fluent speakers of Teramano, yet this language is widely used in the region.

Teramano exhibits an SVO word order and is head initial, with the specifier to the left of the head.

(4)   *Marie*[5]   *vo*   *magnà*   *lu*   *timballe.*[6]
       Marie   want.PRES.3SG   eat.INF   the.SG.M   timballo.SG.M
       'Marie wants to eat the timballo.'

In the next subsection, we briefly introduce a construction in Teramano that exhibits significant morphosyntactic and semantic similarities but also differences with LHRs: headed relative clauses.

2.2   Headed relative clauses in Teramano

In Teramano, headed relative clauses always follow their nominal head (and its determiner) and are marked by a relativizer (REL) in clause-initial position, as summarized in the schema in (5).

(5)   [NP **Determiner** [**Noun** [Headed RC REL …]]]

The relativizers are of two kinds: the complementizer *che* and a subset of the *wh*-words that are used in *wh-* interrogative clauses.

The complementizer *che* is homophonous to the *wh*-word *che* 'what'. It can introduce embedded declarative clauses like the bracketed one in (6).

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[4] We choose to refer to Teramano as a "language", although we are aware that it has also been referred to as a "dialect" or "variety".

[5] In Teramano, the last vowel of many multisyllabic words (and a few monosyllabic ones) is [ə] because of a diachronic neutralization rule (Hastings 1997). In the standard orthography, which we are using for our transcriptions, [ə] is represented with *e*, while [e] is represented by *è*.

[6] All the examples are written in Teramano orthography, which is largely based on Italian orthography.

(6) | *Nicole* | *a* | *datte* | [*ch'-a* | *cucinite* | *Marie*]. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nicole | have.PRES.3SG | say.PTCP | COMP-have.PRES.3SG | cook.PTCP | Marie |

'Nicole said that Marie cooked.'

The complementizer *che* is required in Teramano to introduce headed relative clauses that relativize the subject or the direct object, as in Italian. It is also needed for the relativization of an indirect object or a prepositional phrase, unlike in Italian. The *wh*-word *ce* 'who' is completely unacceptable in these contexts, as shown in (7).[7] In the examples that follow, headed relative clauses are represented within brackets with their relativizer (the complementizer or a *wh*-word) in bold, while their nominal head is underlined outside the brackets.

(7) | *Nen* | *me* | *piace* | *la* | <u>*gende*</u> | [*che*[8] / **ce* | *fatije* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| not | to.me | like.PRES | the.PL.F | people.PL.F | COMP/ who | work.PRES.3PL |

assì].
a.lot

'I don't like (the) people that work a lot.'

Headed relative causes that relativize the indirect object require the complementizer followed by the resumptive pronoun – the form *-i-* in the example in (8).

(8) | *'Lla* | <u>*fammene*</u> | [(**a*) *ch'-i-a* | *arrubite* | *la* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| that.SG.F | woman.SG.F | to COMP-3SG-have.PRES.3SG | steal.PTCP | the.SG.F |

macchine	*è*	*cugine-me*].
car.SG.F	be.PRES.3SG	cousin.SG.F-POSS.1SG

'The woman from whom they have stolen the car is my cousin.'

The *wh*-words for 'where', 'when', 'how', and 'why' can all act as relativizers and introduce headed relative clauses, often in alternation with the complementizer *che*, as shown in (9)–(12).

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[7] Nowadays people also use *chi* for 'who' but it is probably borrowed from Italian. *Ce* is the historical *wh*-word for 'who' in Teramano (also reported as *ci* in Savini 1881). Note that, whenever *ce* is followed by a vowel (for example, the auxiliary for the third person singular *a*), *ce* becomes *ci'* (ex. *ce-* > *ci'-a* [t͡ʃə]->[t͡ʃa]).

[8] Unless otherwise indicated, the complementizer should always be considered obligatory when reported.

(9) *Je*   *so*   *nate*   *a   lu*   *stasse*   *pahase*   [***addu'-/du'/***
     1SG   be.PRES.1SG   born.PTCP   at the.PL.M   same   town.PL.M   where/ where/

     u'-*   /   *ch-a [9]   *nite*   *li*   *giniture*   *a*
     where / COMP-have.PRES.3SG   born.PTCP   the.PL.M   parents.PL.M   of

     mi].
     POSS.1SG

     'I was born in the (same) town where my parents were born.'

(10) *Me   ne   so*   *ijte*   *a   'llu*   *mumende*   [***ch'-***   /
     me   of.it be.PRES.1SG   go.PTCP   at   that.SG.M   moment.SG.M   COMP- /

     ***quand'-*a**   *arrivite*   *Marie*].
     when-have.PRES.3SG   arrive.PTCP   Marie

     'I left at the moment when Marie arrived.'

(11) *Lu   so*[10]   *fatte*   *a   lu*   *stasse*   *mode*   [***che*** /***'nda***
     it   be.PRES.1SG   do.PTCP   at   the.SG.M   same   way.SG.M   COMP/ how

     l-i   *fatte*   *tu*].
     it-be.PRES.2SG   do.PTCP   you

     'I did it in the (same) way you did it.'

(12) *Lu   sò*   *fatte   pe   lu*   *stasse*   *mutive*   [***pecca*/ ***che***
     it   be.PRES.1SG   do.PTCP for   the.SG.M   same   reason.SG.M   why / COMP

     l-i   *fatte*   *tu*].
     it- be.PRES.2SG   do.PTCP   you

     'I did it for the same reason why you did it.'

In conclusion, headed relative clauses in Teramano can always be introduced by the declarative complementizer *che*, unlike in Italian. They also allow for the complementizer to be replaced with a *wh*-expression only when the relativized constituent is different from the subject, the direct object, or the indirect object. The *wh*-expressions that can be used in headed relative clauses are

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[9] To the best of our knowledge, all these different *wh*-words for 'where' can be used in interrogative as well as relative clauses without syntactic or semantic differences.

[10] Teramano has a split auxiliary system, as attested in other varieties of Abruzzese (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010). The term "Abruzzese" includes every linguistic variety spoken in the Abruzzo region.

the *wh*-words for 'where', 'when', 'how', and 'why'. This contrasts with Italian, which makes use of just one *wh*-expression in headed relative clauses that is also used in interrogative clauses: the *wh*-word for 'where'.

3   Light-headed Relative Clauses in Teramano

This core section of the paper presents LHRs in Teramano in detail. The light heads introducing LHRs in Teramano can be of four kinds: (i) a specialized light head *ciò*, which can only occur in LHRs and can never be used absolutely nor followed by an N; or, (ii) a series of demonstrative pronouns that can also be used absolutely but can never be followed by an N or, (iii) quantificational determiners that can also be used absolutely or followed by an N; or, finally, (iv) two deictic adverbial pronouns that allow for an absolute use as well: a manner one and a locative one. We discuss each kind of LHR in turn in the next four sections. It will be clear from our discussion that LHRs in Teramano cannot be simply reduced to headed relative clauses with a silent nominal head.

3.1   Light-headed Relative Clauses with a pronominal head

LHRs in Teramano can be introduced by the pronominal light head *ciò*, as schematized in (13) and exemplified in (14) and (15), with the LHR within the outer brackets and its pronominal head in bold.

(13) [LHR ***ciò*** [RC REL …]]

(14) *Nen   so   lette   [LHR **ciò**   [RC *che   m-i*
      not   be.PRES.1SG   read.PTCP   PRON.INAN   COMP   to.me-be.PRES.2SG
      mannate]].
      sent.PTCP
      'I haven't read that which you sent me.'

(15) *So   magnate   [LHR **ciò**   [RC *che   hi   cucinite*].
      be.PRES.1SG   eat.PTCP   PRON.INAN   COMP   be.PRES.2SG   cook.PTCP
      'I ate what you cooked.'

The light head *ciò* carries the features 3rd person, singular, and inanimate. It cannot be used followed by an N nor absolutely (i.e., without introducing an LHR), as shown in (16).

(16) * *So*   *magnate*   ***ciò***   (*magnà*).
          be.PRES.1SG   eat.PTCP   PRON.INAN   food.SG.M
          Intended: 'I ate this food.'

Indirect evidence that *ciò* is pronominal in nature come from the corresponding fully homophonous Italian form. Unlike in Teramano, *ciò* in Italian allows for an absolute use as well, without introducing an LHR. Even in its absolute use, *ciò* in Italian can never take a nominal complement, therefore exhibiting an exclusively pronominal behavior. This pattern is shown in (17). In its absolute use, *ciò* in Italian exhibits the same inanimacy feature as in Teramano plus the extra deictic feature of being physically close to the speaker or recently mentioned in the discourse, marked as "proximal" (PROX) in the glosses.

ITALIAN

(17) *Ho*   *parlato*   *di*   ***ciò***   (**cibo*)   *con   Maria.*
       have.PRES.1SG talk.PTCP   of   PRON.INAN.PROX   food.SG.M   with   Maria
       'I talked about this with Maria.'

When *ciò* introduces an LHR in Italian, the proximity extra feature is lost, as shown in (18), and the featural make up of Italian *ciò* and Teramano *ciò* become identical (cf. (15) in Teramano).

ITALIAN

(18) *Ho*   *parlato*   *di*   [***ciò***   *che*   *hai*
       have.PRES.1SG talk.PTCP   of   PRON.INAN   COMP   have.PRES.2SG
       cucinato].
       cook.PTCP
       'I ate what you cooked.'

When *ciò* introduces an LHR in Teramano and Italian, it triggers a maximal reading of the whole LHR, which is not the case in its absolute use in Italian. Both the LHR in Teramano in (15) and the one in Italian in (18) refer the unique maximal (plural) individual of the set of things the addressee cooked, regardless of its proximity to the speaker or its discourse status. In conclusion,

when the pronoun *ciò* introduces an LHR, it loses its anaphoricity and acquires the uniqueness/maximality semantic feature.

Finally, the absolute use of *ciò* without an LHR in Teremano is still unacceptable even if preceded by the quantifier *tutte* 'all', as shown in (19a). On the other hand, *tutte ciò* can act as the light head of an LHR, as shown in (19b).

(19) a. * *Nen   riesce   a   capì   **tutte   ciò**.*

    not be.able.PRES.1SG to understand.INF all.SG.M PRON.INAN

    Intended:'I can't understand all this.'

  b. *Nen   riesce   a capì   [**tutte   ciò**   che*

    not be.able.PRES.1SG to understand.INF all.SG.M PRON.INAN COMP

    dice].

    say.PRES.3SG

    'I can't understand everything that he says.'

3.2 Light-headed relative clauses with a demonstrative light head

In this section, we present the second kind of LHR that is attested in Teramano. It can be schematized as in (20), with the light head being realized by a demonstrative pronoun.

(20) [LHR **Demonstrative Pronoun** [RC REL …]]

As we did with *ciò* in the previous section, we pay special attention to the semantic features of these demonstrative forms in their use as light heads introducing LHRs vs. their absolute use.

Teramano presents two sets of non-homophonous demonstratives, unlike Italian, which only has one multi-functional set. One set of demonstratives in Teramano is formed by demonstrative pronouns that are disyllabic and cannot occur with a nominal complement. The other set consists of demonstratives determiners, which are monosyllabic and have to be followed by an N.[11] Each set exhibit a three-way semantic distinction between proximal, medial, and distal forms, on top of number and gender specifications. This pattern is summarized in Table 1.

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[11] Monosyllabic demonstrative determiners can sometimes be disyllabic due to phonological reasons (see Mantenuto 2017).

Table 1. Demonstrative pronouns and determiners in Teramano

| | PROXIMAL | | MEDIAL | | DISTAL | |
| | Close to the speaker | | Close to the hearer | | Far from both hearer and speaker | |
	DET	**PRO**	**DET**	**PRO**	**DET**	**PRO**
SG.M.	*stu*	*quaste*	*ssu*	*quasse*	*llu*	*qualle*
SG.F.	*sta*	*caste*	*ssa*	*casse*	*lla*	*calle*
PL.M.	*sti*	*cheste*	*ssi*	*chesse*	*lli*	*chelle*
PL.F.	*sti*	*cheste*	*ssi*	*chesse*	*lli*	*chelle*

All demonstrative pronouns, but no demonstrative determiners can act as light heads and introduce LHRs, as shown in (21)–(23). In (21), the LHRs introduced by the distal, the medial, or the proximal demonstrative pronoun refer to an inanimate object. In (22), instead, the LHRs introduced by the same kinds of demonstratives (but different in gender and number) refer to humans. Finally, the example in (23) shows that a demonstrative determiner cannot introduce an LHR.

(21) *Je magne*   [***qualle***   / ***quaste***   /
      I   eat.PRES.3SG   PRON.~~DEM~~.~~DIST~~.SG.M   / PRON.~~DEM~~.PROX.SG.M /

      quasse   *che*   *sti*   *cucinì*].
      PRON.~~DEM~~.MED.SG.M[12]   COMP   stay.PRES.3SG   cook.INF

      'I eat {the stuff}/{the stuff near me}/{the stuff near you} you are cooking.'

(22) *Nen   me   pjace*   [***chelle***   / ***cheste***
      not   to.me   like.PRES   PRON.~~DEM~~.~~DIST~~.PL.F   / PRON.~~DEM~~.PROX.PL.F

      / ***chesse***   *che*   / **ce*   *pjace*   *a   ta*].
      / PRON.~~DEM~~.MED.PL.F   COMP / who   like.PRES   to you

      'I don't like {those}/{those near me}/{those near you} who you like.'

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[12] Features with a strikethrough (e.g., "~~DIST~~" and "~~DEM~~") indicate that the glossed item exhibits such features in other uses but not in the use that is exemplified in the given example.

(23) * *Je magne*   [*'stu*   *che*   *sti*   *cucinì*].

         I   eat.PRES.1SG   DET.DEM.PROX.SG.M   COMP   stay.2SG   cook.INF

         Intended: 'I'll eat that which you are cooking.'

When a demonstrative pronoun is used on its own without introducing an LHR, it carries two kinds of semantic features: deictic and distal/medial/proximal. The deictic feature marks the property of a demonstrative to refer to something that the speaker is physically or anaphorically pointing at. The distal/medial/proximal feature marks the property of a demonstrative to express the location of the object that the speakers is pointing at in relation to the location of the speaker and/or the listener. When used on their own without introducing an LHR, the demonstrative pronouns *quaste* 'this', *quasse* 'that' and *qualle* 'that over there' convey deictic and proximal/medial/distal requirements without imposing uniqueness/maximality, as shown in (24).

(24) *So*   *magnate*   **qualle**.

      be.PRES.1SG   eat.PTCP   PRON.DEM.DIST.SG.M

      'I ate that one.'

The demonstrative pronoun in (24) requires the speaker to point at some specific piece/kind of food that is physically present or had been previously mentioned in the discourse (deictic feature). It also requires that piece/kind of food to be far from the speaker and the hearer (distal feature). Finally, the speaker can use the demonstrative in (24) to point at just one among the many edible things that could be present in the surroundings (lack of uniqueness/maximality).

      However, similarly to *ciò* (see Section 3.1), when demonstrative pronouns introduce LHRs, they lose their deictic feature. Distal demonstrative pronouns lose their distal feature too, while proximal and medial demonstrative pronouns retain their proximal or medial feature. This pattern is shown in (21) and (22) above, where the feature "DEM" is reported with a strikethrough in the glosses of all demonstrative forms, while only the feature "DIST" is reported with a strikethrough among "DIST" , "MED" and "PROX".

      Another similarity with *ciò* is that all demonstrative pronouns acting as light heads trigger a maximal interpretation of their LHR. For instance, in (25), the demonstrative pronoun *qualle* introducing an LHR loses its deictic and distal features, as it can be used out of the blue regardless of the context and the pointing. At the same time, it imposes a maximality requirement: if the set

of things that the hearer cooked contains more than one individual, then the LHR in (25) has to refer to the unique maximal plural individual of that set.

(25) *So*   *magnate*   [***qualle***   *ch'-i*
      be.PRES.1SG   eat.PTCP   PRON.~~DEM.DIST~~.SG.M   COMP-have.PRES.2SG
      cucinite].
      cook.PTCP
      'I ate the stuff you cooked.'

Uniqueness/maximality is the same semantic property that is triggered by the definite determiner in Teramano and other languages with a definite determiner, as highlighted by the English translation of (25), which renders the LHR in Teramano by means of a definite NP introduced by the definite determiner *the*.

Teramano also has a reduced (monosyllabic) proximal demonstrative pronoun inflecting by gender and number (Mantenuto 2017) that cannot be followed by an N (26a), can occur on its own (26b), and can also be used as a deictic reinforcement in postnominal position (27).

(26) a.**So*   *cumbrate*   ***qua***   *libbre*.
        be.PRES.1SG   buy.PTCP   PRON.DEM.PROX.SG.M   book.SG.M
        Intended: 'I bought this book.'

      b. *So*   *cumbrate*   ***qua***.
        be.PRES.1SG   buy.PTCP   PRON.DEM.PROX.SG.M
        'I bought this one.'

(27) *So*   *cumbrate*   ***stu***   *libbre*   *qua*.
      be.PRES.1SG   buy.PTCP   DET.DEM.PROX.SG.M   book.SG.M   PRON.DEM.PROX.SG.M
      'I bought this book here.'

Like the full (disyllabic) demonstrative pronouns, the reduced demonstrative pronouns can introduce LHRs. When it does so, it loses its deictic feature to acquire maximality, while it retains its proximal feature, as shown in (28).

(28) *Je   magne   [**qua**   che   sti   cucinì].*

    I   eat.PRES.1SG   PRON.~~DEM~~.PROX.SG.M   COMP   stay.2SG   cook.INF

    'I eat the stuff that you are cooking (which is close to me).'

Both the disyllabic and the monosyllabic demonstrative forms carry further restrictions when they are inflected in a form other than the default masculine singular. In particular, they presuppose a contextually salient nominal that matches their number and gender features. For instance, in (29), both the monosyllabic and the disyllabic feminine singular demonstratives trigger the presupposition that the hearer is cooking something that is discourse salient and can be labeled by means of a feminine singular noun, e.g. *minastre* ('soup').

(29) *Je   magne   [**ca**(**ste**)   che   sti   cucinì].*

    I   eat.PRES.1SG   PRON.~~DEM~~.PROX.SG.F   COMP   stay.PRES.2SG   cook.INF

    'I eat the stuff you are cooking (which is close to me and labelled with a feminine noun).'

LHRs introduced by demonstrative pronouns can relativize arguments others than subjects or objects. The example in (30) shows an LHR with a demonstrative pronoun that relativizes the locative complement by means of locative *wh*-expressions.

(30) *Vuje   [**quaste**   addu'-/du'-/u'-a   so*

    want.PRES.1SG   PRON.~~DEM~~.PROX.SG.M   where-   a   be.PRES.1SG

    messe   li   male].

    put.PTCP   the.PL.M   apple.PL.M

    'I want this one where I put the apples.'

To sum up so far, LHRs introduced by demonstrative pronouns in Teramano show an interesting pattern. Unlike Italian, Teramano morphologically distinguishes between demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative determiners. Also, only demonstrative pronouns can introduce LHRs. When this happens, all demonstrative light heads lose their deictic features. Distal demonstratives lose their distal features as well, when introducing LHRs, while the proximal demonstratives and the medial demonstratives retain their proximal and medial features, respectively. Therefore, LHRs

introduced by demonstrative pronouns in Teramano are a construction on its own that cannot be simply reduced to a headed relative clause with a silent N head without *ad hoc* stipulations.

3.3   Light-headed Relative Clauses with a quantificational light head

The third kind of LHR in Teramano is introduced by a quantificational determiner without an N or a quantificational pronoun as the light head. This kind can be schematized as in (31).

(31)   [LHR **Quantificational Determiner/Pronoun** [RC REL …]]

All the positive quantificational determiners in Teramano must be followed by an N when they do not introduce an LHR, as shown in (32a–b). In other words, none of them can behave as a pronoun.

(32) a. *So*   *cumbrate*   ***paracchie*/ *tinde*** / {***nu***   ***sacche***   ***de***}/
        be.PRES.1SG   buy.PTCP   several/   many/   a.SG.M sack.SG.M of /

        {***na***   ***frache*** ***de***}   *(*cose*).
        a.SG.F   lot   of   thing.PL.M

        'I bought a lot of things.'

    b. *So*   *cumbrate*   ***assì***   *(*robbe*).
        be.PRES.1SG   buy.PTCP   a.lot   stuff.M

        'I bought a lot of stuff.'

All the positive quantificational determiners can introduce an LHR in direct object position, without an N, as shown in (33), although our consultants find them slightly degraded.

(33) *So*   *'ncuntride* ?***paricchie*** / ?***tinde*** / ?***assì*** / ?{***nu***   ***sacche***}   /
      be.PRES.1SG   met.PTCP   several   / many / a.lot /   a.SG.M sack.SG.M /

    ?{***na***   ***frache***} *che*   *se*   *cumporte*   *accuscì.*
      a.SG.F   lot   COMP   REFL   behave.PRES.3PL   like.this

    'I met many who behave like this.'

Negative quantifiers behave somehow differently. The animate negative quantifier *nisciene* 'nobody/no + N' can be followed by an N or behave like a pronominal, as shown in (34) and (35),

while the inanimate negative quantifier *ninde* 'nothing' can only be used as pronominal (36), regardless of whether they occur in subject or object position.

(34) *Nen   so   viste   **nisciene**   / {**niscien-a**   fammene}*.
     Not   be.PRES.1SG   see.PTCP   nobody   / no-SG.F   woman.SG.F
     'I didn't see anyone/{any woman}.'

(35) ***Nisciene***   / {***niscien-a***   fammene}   parlesse   accuscì.
     nobody   / no-SG.F   woman.SG.F   speak.COND.3SG   like.this
     'Nobody/{No woman} would speak like this.'

(36) *Nen   so   viste   **ninde**   /*{**ninde**   cose}*.
     not   be.PRES.1SG   see.PTCP   nothing   / nothing thing.PL.M
     'I didn't see anything.'

Both negative quantifiers can introduce LHRs, regardless of their syntactic position, as shown in (37)–(39).

(37) *Nen   so   viste   [**nisciene**   che   cucinave]*.
     not   be.PRES.1SG   see.PTCP   no/nobody   COMP   cooked
     'I didn't see anyone who cooked.'

(38) *[**Nisciene**   ch'-è   bbone]   parlesse   accuscì.*
      no/nobody   COMP-be.PRES.1SG   good   speak.COND.3SG like.this
     'Nobody that is good would speak like this.'

(39) *Nen   so   viste   [**ninde**   che   cascave]*.
     not   be.PRES.1SG   see.PTCP   nothing   COMP   fell
     'I didn't see anything fall.'

To sum up, LHRs may be introduced by positive quantificational determiners, but can – for sure – be introduced by negative quantificational pronouns in either subject or object position in Teramano. Therefore, the emerging picture argues against reducing this kind of LHR to a headed relative clause with an overt quantificational determiner and a silent N head since there are clear

cases in which the quantificational element is exclusively a pronoun that can never combine with an N.

3.4   Light-headed Relative Clauses with an adverbial light head

The last kind of LHR that is attested in Teramano is introduced by two deictic adverbial pronouns. One is the deictic distal locative pronoun *lla* ('there'), the other is the deictic manner pronoun *accuscì* ('like this'), as schematized in (40) and exemplified in (41) and (42) (the pronominal light heads are in bold and the *wh*-relativizers are underlined).

(40)   [LHR **lla/accuscì** [RC REL …]]

(41)   *Va*   [***lla***   <u>*addu'-/du'-/u'-a*</u>   *fa*   *lu*   *cace*].
       go.IMP.2SG there   where-a   do.PRES.3SG the.SG.M   cheese.SG.M
       'Go there where he does the cheese.'

(42)   *Lu*   *so*   *fatte*   [***accuscì***   <u>*'nda*</u>   *l'-ha*   *fatte*
       it   be.PRES.1SG   do.PTCP   like.this   how   it-have.PRES.3SG   do.PTCP
       asse].
       he
       'I did it in the way he has done it.'

The distribution and the interpretation of the bracketed LHRs in (41) and (42) resemble those of locative and manner PPs/AdvPs, respectively. Neither adverbial pronoun allows for a nominal complement (*lla pahase 'there town', *accuscì mode 'like this way'), while both allow for an absolute use without introducing an LHR, as shown in (43) and (44). This is why we have been assuming that they are pronouns.

(43)   *Va*   ***lla***.
       go.IMP.2SG   there
       'Go there.'

(44) *Lu　　so　　　　fatte　　**accuscì**.*

　　　it　　be.PRES.1SG　do.PTCP　like.this

　　　'I did it in this way.'

In their absolute use, *lla* and *accuscì* exhibit deictic features: they require an overt act of physical or discourse pointing, as shown by their glosses and translation in (43) and (44). They lose these deictic requirements in their use as light heads of LHRs, as exemplified in (41) and (42).

4　Conclusion

We have shown that Teramano has a productive and articulated system of LHRs. Four patterns of LHRs are attested in the language: LHRs introduced by a specialized light head *ciò*, LHRs introduced by demonstrative pronouns, LHRs introduced by quantificational determiners and pronouns, and, finally, LHRs introduced by a manner or a locative deictic adverbial pronoun.

　　We have shown that these four constructions are all cases of LHRs, rather than headed relative clauses with a silent nominal, since the vast majorities of the light heads introducing these constructions behave like exclusively pronominal forms that can never take an overt nominal complement. We have shown that, despite being full clauses, LHRs behave like NPs or PPs, distributionally and semantically. This contrasts with the behavior of nominal modifiers that characterizes headed relative clauses. It also differs from the behavior of argument or adjunct clauses conveying propositional content.

　　Teramano LHRs introduced by a pronominal demonstrative as their light head exhibit features that, to the best of our knowledge, have not been described in the typological literature yet. LHRs in Teramano can be introduced by a distal demonstrative pronoun, which loses its demonstrative and distal features when used as a light head. This pattern is attested in Italian and English as well. On the other hand, Teramano also allows for LHRs introduced by proximal and medial demonstrative pronouns. When used as light heads, these forms lose their deictic features, but retain their proximal or medial features. To the best of our knowledge, these two further kinds of LHRs and the semantic behavior of demonstrative pronouns introducing them have not been described before within the (still limited) typological literature on LHRs.

　　All three kinds of demonstrative pronouns trigger the semantic properties of uniqueness/maximality, when used as light heads of LHRs – the same property that is triggered by

the definite determiner in Teramano (and many other languages, including Italian and English). It would be interesting to investigate whether other Italian languages or Romance languages or any other languages exhibit a similar pattern.

We hope that our study will encourage others to pursue a similar investigation across Italian languages and beyond by providing a detailed case study, a methodology, and crosslinguistic and typological patterns and motivations.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

1	first person	INF	infinitival
2	second person	M	masculine
3	third person	MED	medial
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
COND	conditional	POSS	possessive
DEM	demonstrative	PRES	present
DET	determiner	PRON	pronominal
DIST	distal	PROX	proximal
F	feminine	PTCP	participle
FC	free choice	QUANT	quantifier
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive
INAN	inanimate	SG	singular
INF	infinitive		

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