1 Introduction


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(adapted from de Vries (2002), p17-18)

Numerous proposals have been provided to account for the syntax of these structures:

- Head-External
  - (Quine (1960), Ross (1967), Chomsky (1977))
- Head-Internal / Raising / Promotion
  - (Smith (1964), Vergnaud (1974), Kayne (1994))
- Matching
  - (Carlson (1977), Sauerland (1998))

Goals of the talk:

1. Empirical:
   - * provide an overview of relative marker distribution in Serbian

2. Theoretical:
   - * propose an analysis that tracks the distribution

Outline of the talk:

§2 Relative markers in Serbian

§3 Relative pronoun koji ‘which’ vs. complementizer što ‘that’

§4 Relative pronoun koji ‘which’ vs. ko ‘who’ & što ‘what’

§5 Summary

2 Relative markers in Serbian

There are three types of relative markers in Serbian, as previously examined by Browne (1986), Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990), Kordić (1995), among others:

- relative pronouns:
  - koji(god) ‘which(ever)’, ko(god) ‘who(ever)’, što(god) ‘what(ever)’
- complementizers:
  - što ‘that’, da ‘that’
- relative adverbs:
  - kada ‘when’, gde ‘where’, kako ‘how’, koliko ‘how many/much’
In this talk, I focus on the relative pronoun koji ‘which’ and the complementizer što ‘that’ and I show that koji-type RCs are nominally adjoined whereas što-type RCs are clausally adjoined.

Also, I look at the relative pronouns koji ‘which’, ko ‘who’ & što ‘what’ and show that there should be another division among them: koji-type on one hand and ko/što-type on the other.

I will have nothing to say about the complementizer da ‘that’ because it has a limited distribution and entails the interpretation ‘such that’. I will also have nothing to say about relative adverbs.

3 Relative pronoun koji ‘which’ vs. complementizer što ‘that’

* SEEMINGLY interchangeable:

(1) Profesor koji / što predaje istoriju ima veliki nos.
professor which that teach history have big nose
’The professor who / that teaches history have a big nose.’

* BUT, careful examination of their distributional patterns suggests the opposite. I will address the following in this talk:

§3.1 Restrictiveness of a relative clause
§3.2 Referentiality of a relative head
§3.3 RC as a modifier of an external relative head
§3.4 Single- / Multiple-entity readings
§3.5 Overt internal relative head
§3.6 Idiomatic interpretation
§3.7 ‘But-You-Know-That’ (clausal adjunction)

* THE PROPOSAL (in a nutshell):

- I will use a matching analysis for both koji-RCs and što-RCs

(2) the bookext.hd [which [ bookint.hd ]koji-MP] Mary is reading tk

- koji-RCs are adjoined somewhere in the extended projection of a N
  (Grimshaw (1991))

(3) Nominal adjunction

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{XP} \\
\text{XP CP}_{\text{koji-RC}} \\
\text{... where XP is in the extended projection of a N}
\end{array}
\]

- što-RCs are adjoined somewhere in the extended projection of a V

(4) Clausal adjunction

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{YP} \\
\text{YP CP}_{\text{što-RC}} \\
\text{... where YP is in the extended projection of a V}
\end{array}
\]

3.1 Restrictiveness of a Relative Clause

**Generalization:**

Koji-RCs can be either restrictive or non-restrictive; što-RCs can only be non-restrictive. (Grickat (1967))
o Data

(5) a. Jedini čovjek na svetu koji nam može pomoći živi u Rimu.  
only man in world which us can help live in Rome 

= RESTRICTIVE 
Only one man in the world is able to help us and he lives in Rome. 

= NON-RESTRICTIVE 
There is only one man in the world. He can help us and he lives in Rome.

b. Jedini čovjek na svetu što nam može pomoći živi u Rimu.  
only man in world that us can help live in Rome 

≠ RESTRICTIVE 
≠ NON-RESTRICTIVE 

o Corpora Search 
Corpora of Contemporary Serbian Language confirms this finding

3.2 Referentiality of a Relative Head

Generalization 

Koji-RCs can have a non-referential external relative head (they can restrict the restrictor of a quantifier); što-RCs cannot.

o Quantifying Expression in External Relative Heads

(6) a. Dopada mi se svaki brod koji su kupili. 
like I.DAT REFLEX each ship which AUX bought 
'I like each ship that they bought.'

b. *Dopada mi se svaki brod što su ga kupili. 
like I.DAT REFLEX each ship that AUX it bought 
'I like each ship that they bought.'

(based on Bošković (2009), p5, ex15)

(7) a. ni jedan dečak kojeg smo videli... 
no one boy which AUX bought 

b. *ni jedan dečak što smo ga videli... 
no one boy that AUX him bought 

'o boy that we saw...'

o Negative Existential Constructions

(8) a. Nema lekara koji ne zna za taj slučaj. 
not.have doctor which not know for that case 
'There isn’t a doctor that doesn’t know of that case.'

b. *Nema lekara što ne zna za taj slučaj. 
not.have doctor that not know for that case 
'There isn’t a doctor that doesn’t know of that case.'

o Corpora Search 
Corpora of Contemporary Serbian Language confirms this finding

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1 The example (5a) is taken from Browne (1986), p85, ex.30.
2 Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika: http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs/korpus/.
3 An acceptability judgment study was conducted on 24 subjects and the average score the example (6b) had was 2.04. Bošković himself marks this example with two question marks and contributes its degraded status to differential object marking & specificity/definiteness/referentiality.
3.3 RC as a Modifier of an External Relative Head

**GENERALIZATION**

Time and manner adverbial expressions in which a noun appears in genitive case require the genitive case-marked noun to have a modifier. *Koji*-RCs can modify the genitive case-marked noun in time and manner adverbial expressions; *sto*-RCs cannot.\(^4\)

- **TIME ADVERBIAL RELATIVE HEAD**

\[(9)\quad \textit{*(MODIFIER)} + N_{\text{GEN}}\]

... where a modifier can be an adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, number or a relative clause

\[(10)\quad \text{Marija je otputovala } *(\text{tog}) \text{ jutra.}\]

Marija AUX left \textit{that} morning,GEN

'Marija left \textit{that} morning.'

\[(11)\quad \text{a. Marija je otputovala jutra koji} \text{ je Todor maturirao.}\]

Marija AUX left \textit{morning,GEN} which AUX Todor graduated

'Marija left the morning Todor graduated.'

\[\text{b. } \textit{*Marija je otputovala jutra } \textit{sto} \text{ ga je Todor maturirao.}\]

Marija AUX left \textit{morning,GEN} that it AUX Todor graduated

'Marija left the morning that Todor graduated.'

- **MANNER ADVERBIAL RELATIVE HEAD**

\[(12)\quad \textit{na}_{\text{PREP}} \textit{*(MODIFIER)} + \textit{na} \textit{\text{cin}}_N\]

'on' 'manner'

... where a modifier can be an adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, number or a relative clause

= ‘in an X way / manner’

\[(13)\quad \text{Marija pravi gulaš } \textit{na} \textit{*(madjarski) na} \textit{\text{cin}}.\]

Marija make goulash on Hungarian manner

'Marija makes goulash in the Hungarian way.'

\[(14)\quad \text{a. Marija kuva } \textit{na} \textit{na} \textit{\text{cin} koji najviše volimo.}\]

Marija cook on manner which the-most love-we

'Marija cooks in the manner that we love the most.'

\[\text{b. } \textit{*Marija kuva } \textit{na} \textit{na} \textit{\text{cin} } \textit{sto} \text{ ga najviše volimo.}\]

Marija cook on manner that it the-most love-we

'Marija cooks in the manner that we love the most.'

3.4 Single / Multiple-Entity Readings

**GENERALIZATION**

If a RC contains a quantifier, the quantifier can take scope over an external relative head in *koji*-RCs but not in *sto*-RCs.\(^5\)

\(^4\)The observation is made in Browne (1986), p76.

\(^5\)I will show later in the talk that the presence / absence of a resumptive pronoun plays a crucial role in these cases.

\(^6\)The examples (15) are based on Hebrew data discussed in Doron (2011).
3.5 Overt Internal Relative Head

**Generalization**

*Koji*-RCs do not allow resumptive pronouns or internal relative head nouns containing a demonstrative, e.g. *that novel*; *sto*-RCs do.

- **Resumptive Pronoun**

  (15) a. Žena *koju* je svaki čovek pozvao na večeru woman *which* AUX each man invited on dinner zahvalila *mu se.* thanked him REFL

  ‘The woman every man invited to dinner thanked him.’

  = SINGLE-ENTITY

  There is only one woman that each man invited to dinner

  = MULTIPLE-ENTITY

  For each man, there is a (potentially) different woman that he invited to dinner

  b. Žena *sto* ju je svaki čovek pozvao na večeru woman *that* her AUX each man invited on dinner zahvalila *mu se.* thanked him REFL

  ‘The woman every man invited to dinner thanked him.’

  = SINGLE-ENTITY

  ≠ MULTIPLE-ENTITY

3.6 Idiomatic Interpretation

**Generalization**

*Koji*-RCs do not allow idiomatic interpretations; *sto*-RCs do.\(^7\)

(18) igrati *se vatrom*

play REFL fire

‘to play with fire’

(19) a. Vatra *s kojom* se igraš doći će ti glave.

fire with *which* REFL play come will you head

= LITERAL

You will pay the price for playing with fire (you will probably burn yourself).

≠ IDIOMATIC

You are playing with dangerous stuff which you will pay the price for.

b. Vatra *sto se s njom igraš doći će ti glave.

fire *that* REFL with it play come will you head

= LITERAL

= IDIOMATIC

\(^7\)The same observation holds for Russian and Polish, as noted by Szczegielniak (2006).
3.7 ‘But-You-Know-That’

**Generalization**

In the expression *but you know that*, *that* cannot refer to the proposition associated with *koji*-RC but it can refer to the proposition associated with a *sto*-RC.\(^8\)

(20) **Conjoined clauses**

\[\text{Dečak je oprao zube i ošišao se, ali ti to boy AUX brushed teeth and cut.hair REF} \text{ but you that znaš. know} \]

‘The boy brushed his teeth and had a haircut, but you know that.’

\[= \text{ You know that the boy brushed his teeth} \]

\[= \text{ You know that the boy had a haircut} \]

(21) a. \[\text{Dečak} \text{ koji se ošišao oprao je zube, ali ti to boy which REF} \text{ cut.hair brushed AUX teeth but you that znaš. know} \]

‘The boy who had a haircut brushed his teeth, but you know that.’

\[= \text{ You know that the boy brushed his teeth} \]

\[≠ \text{ You know that the boy had a haircut} \]

b. \[\text{Dečak} \text{ što se ošišao oprao je zube, ali ti to boy that REF} \text{ cut.hair brushed AUX teeth but you that know} \]

‘The boy that had a haircut brushed his teeth, but you know that.’

\[= \text{ You know that the boy brushed his teeth} \]

\[= \text{ You know that the boy had a haircut} \]

\(^8\)I thank Richard Larson, p.c., citing James Higginbotham, for this test.

3.8 Interim Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>koji-RC</th>
<th>što-RC</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>restrictive relative clauses</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-restrictive relative clauses</td>
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<td>✓</td>
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<td>referential relative head</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘but-you-know-that’</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3.9 Analysis

○ **Matching Analysis** (Sauerland (1998))

- There is both external and internal relative head
- The two heads are related by ellipsis
- An external relative head must be an antecedent of an internal one
- A relative pronoun raises from the RC internal position to the initial position of the RC
3. Condition C is observable if an (external) relative head contains an R-expression and there is a pronoun inside a RC in which c-commanding domain the (internal) relative head is.

(25) *[Portret Josipa Broza Tita] k koji je on, portrait Josip Broz Tito which aux he
    naslikao t_k visi na zidu. painted hang on wall
*‘The portrait of Josip Broz Tito, which he, painted is hanging on the wall.’

- Arguments for RC-adjunction to the extended projection of a N (Grimshaw (1991))

(26) NOMINAL ADJUNCTION
    \[ \begin{array}{c}
    \text{XP} \\
    \text{XP CP}_{\text{koji-RC}} \\
    \end{array} \]
    ... where XP is in the extended projection of a N

1. Koji-RCs can modify an external relative head:
   a. They allow a non-referential external relative head; they can restrict the restrictor argument of a quantifier (non-referential external relative heads (6a, 7a, 8a))
   b. They can modify the genitive case-marked noun in time (11a) and manner (14a) adverbial external relative heads
   c. They do not allow idiomatic readings (19a)
   d. In the expression *but you know that, that cannot refer to the proposition associated with koji-RC (21a)

2. Koji-RCs can attach to a projection other than an N within a nominal domain such as, possessive adjectives:

- Arguments for the presence of an internal relative head
  1. koji-RC can have an overt internal relative head:9

    (23) [roman o ratu] koji [roman] čitam... novel about war which novel read-I
    'novel about war which novel I am reading...'

  2. koji-RC can contain a quantifier, which can take scope over an (external) relative head ((15a), repeated below as (24)):

    (24) Žena koji je svaki čovek pozvao na večeru woman which aux each man invited on dinner
    zahvalila mu se. thanked him REFL
    = SINGLE-ENTITY
    = MULTIPLE-ENTITY

- koji-RC

9The example is taken from Browne (1986), p79 (ex15).
'They burned the house of the headman who gave away the partisans to the Germans.'
(from Corbett (1987), p312, ex39)

Note:
If there is an alternation overt/empty resumptive pronoun, multiple-entity readings arise in the latter case only.
To account for this contrast, I use Montalbetti’s Overt Pronoun Constraint:
(29) Overt pronouns cannot link to formal variable iff the alternation overt/empty obtains.
(Montalbetti (1984), p94).10
I assume that there is a formal variable in a $sto$-RC, which pronouns link to.
If there is no alternation available, the resumptive pronoun allows for both single- and multiple-entity readings.

3. Condition C is obviated in $sto$-RCs due to the presence of a resumptive pronoun (Vehicle change (Fiengo and May (1994)))

(30) Nedavno je ukraden [portret Josipa Broza Tita] $sto ga$ je on, poklonio muzeju.
'The recently stolen portrait of Josip Broz Tito that he had given to the museum.'

Arguments for RC-adjunction to the extended projection of a V

(31) Clausal adjunction

... where YP is in the extended projection of a V

1. $sto$-RCs cannot modify an external relative head
   a. They do not allow a non-referential external relative head; they cannot restrict the restrictor argument of a quantifier (6b, 7b, 8b)

10 Formal variable x is a formal variable iff (i) x is an empty category in an argument position; and (ii) x is linked to a lexical operator in a non-argument position. (Montalbetti (1984), p48)
b. They cannot modify a genitive case-marked noun in time (11b) and manner (14b) adverbial external relative heads

c. They allow internal relative heads to appear in the form of a noun preceded by a demonstrative or a resumptive pronoun (referential to an external relative head)

d. They allow idiomatic readings (19b)

e. In the expression *but you know that, that* can refer to the proposition associated with *sto*-RC (21b)

2. *sto*-RCs are similar to correlatives

Correlative is a term used to refer ‘to combinations of a relative clause and a possibly non-adjacent nominal expression linked to it.’ (Lipták (2009), p1.) The most well-known and most cited example of a correlative comes from Hindi (taken from Srivastav (1991))(32)

(32) [jo laRkii kharii hai] vo lambii hai.
REL girl standing is that tall is
lit. ‘Which girl is standing, that is tall.’

‘The girl who is standing is tall.’

*Sto*-RCs might not share all the properties of typical correlatives but, they might be a ‘subtype’ of correlatives. The similarities that we can observe between the *sto*-RCs in Serbian and correlatives are the following:

a. it is possible to spell out the nominal head both in the relative clause and in the correlate

b. there is a demonstrative requirement on the correlate (not a requirement, but a possibility in *sto*-RCs)

c. stacking is not allowed whereas it is possible with headed RCs (McCawley (2004))

There are properties of correlatives that *sto*-RCs do not share:

a. correlatives are in a peripheral position of the relative clause (predominantly left periphery)

b. correlatives allow multiple relative phrases

3.9.1 Comments on positioning of the complementizer *sto*

A concern one must address if the idea that *sto*-RCs are clausal adjuncts is to be further pursued is the linear positioning of *sto*-RCs.

If *sto*-RCs are indeed clausal adjuncts, why must they appear linearly following the external relative head (not necessarily adjacent to it)?

(33) a. *Mara pomaže dečaku* [što ga boli glava].
Mara help boy that him hurt head
‘Mara is helping the boy that has a headache.’

b. *[Što ga boli glava] Mara pomaže dečaku.*
that him hurt head Mara help boy
‘Mara is helping the boy that has a headache.’

Is this linear requirement due to the presence of a resumptive pronoun in a RC that must have its antecedent preceding it?

Hale (1976) argues that Complementizer-introduced RCs in Walbiri are syntactically adjoined to the main clauses but they are semantically embedded in the NP:

|an interpretive rule which embeds the semantic reading of an adjoined relative clause into NP, in the main clause, where this noun phrase has a coreferential partner NP| [resumptive pronoun or internal head] in the subordinate clause.’ (p104)

4 Relative pronouns koji ‘which’ vs. ko ‘who’ & što ‘what’

* Relative pronouns are NOT used interchangeably

(34) a. Profesor koji / *ko predaje istoriju ima veliki nos.
professor which / who teach history have big nose
‘The professor who teaches history has a big nose.’

b. Javio se neko ko / *koji zna odgovor.
called refl someone who / which know answer
‘Someone who knows the answer called.’
c. Rekao je nešto što / *koje nije smeо.
  said AUX something what / which not-AUX can
  'He said something that he should not have.'

* The PROPOSAL (to be developed)
  - Koji-RCs and ko/što-RCs adjoin to external relative heads that
    have a ‘matching’ noun phrase

4.1 Relative Head Type

Koji and ko/što relative pronouns appear with different relative head types. Koji-relative pronoun appears with certain types of relative heads, none of which appear with ko/što and vice versa.

4.1.1 Koji-Relative Pronoun

○ NOUN

(35) a. ANIMATE: HUMAN

  **Profesor koji** predaje istoriju ima veliki nos.
  professor which teach history have big nose
  'The professor who teaches history has a big nose.'

  a'. ANIMATE: HUMAN\(^{11}\)

  Ako je Hegel, koji je tada bio, rekao bi, if AUX Hegel which AUX then been said would
  na čelu evropskoj filozofiji...
  on lead European philosophy
  'If Hegel, who was, I’d say, the leading figure in European philosophy at that time...'

  b. ANIMATE: NON-HUMAN

  **Mačak koji** leži predeo.
  tomcat which lie purr
  'The tomcat which is lying down is purring.'

  c. INANIMATE

  **Sto koji** je na terasi jako je star.
  table which AUX on balcony very AUX old
  'The table which is at the balcony is quite old.'

○ PRONOUN\(^{12}\)

(36) a. PERSONAL

  **Ti koja** ništa ne radi zasuci sad rukave.
  you which nothing not do roll-up now sleeves
  'You who are not doing anything roll up your sleeves.'

  b. POSSESSIVE

  **Naši koji** uvek gube neće ni sada pobediti.
  our which always lose not-AUX even now win
  'Our (team) who is always losing will not win now.'

  c. ADJECTIVAL DEMONSTRATIVE

  **On se pravi važan zbog onih koji** ga he REFL make important because those which him
  slušaju.
  listen-to
  'He is showing off because of those who are listening to him.'

  d. ADJECTIVAL INDEFINITE

  **Neki koji** uvek kasne ništa ne donesu.
  some which always late nothing not bring
  'Some, who are always late, never bring anything.'

○ ADJECTIVE

(37) Context:

A person X has many cats in the house. X’s friends visits and the two talk about the cats that X owns. X says:

  **Crni koji** sedi na prozoru je druželjubiv.
  black which sit on window AUX friendly
  'The black one which is sitting on the window sill is friendly.'

---

\(^{11}\)The example is taken from Kordić (1995), p66, ex3.

\(^{12}\)The examples (36a, 36b & 36c) are taken from Mrazović and Vukadinović (1990), p557.
4.1.2 Ko & Što-Relative Pronouns

○ Demonstrative pronoun

(38) a. KO

Onaj ko vežba brže će naučiti.
that one who practice faster will learn
'The one who practices will learn faster.'

b. ŠTO

Napisao je ono što je znao.
written AUX that thing AUX known
'He wrote down what he knew.'

○ Quantificational pronoun

(39) a. KO

Javio se neko ko je znao odgovor.
called refl someone who AUX known answer
'Someone who knew the answer called.'

b. ŠTO

Rekao je nešto što nije smeо.
said AUX something AUX can
'He said something that he should not have.'

TABLE 1:

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<td>sve</td>
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4.2 ϕ-Feature Agreement

Koji and ko / što relative pronouns show differences in ϕ-feature agreement. Koji-relative pronoun agrees in ϕ-features with a noun it appears with and shows no restrictions. Ko / Što-relative pronouns trigger a default agreement: masculine and neuter singular respectively.

4.2.1 Koji-Relative Pronoun

○ No restrictions

(40) a. Masculine, Singular

Profesor koji predaje istoriju ima veliki nos.
professor.M.SG which.M.SG teach history have big nose
'The professor who teaches history has a big nose.'

b. Feminine, Plural

Aleksa posmatra veverice koje veselo skakaju.
Aleksa observe squirrels.F.PL which.F.PL joyfully jump
'Aleksa is observing the squirrels which are jumping joyfully.'

---

13There are a few other quantificational pronouns that I did not include in the table: ista ‘anything at all’, ponešto ‘something/a bit’, štošta ‘all kinds of things’, as reported in van de Auwera and Kučand (1985), p921. These pronouns are not included in the table because they are variants of anything, something and all.

14Note also that van de Auwera and Kučand (1985) report that there are ‘no differences in frequency or geographical spread of the forms što and šta [...]’ (p922).
4.2.2 Ko & Što-Relative Pronouns

- KO: MASCULINE, SINGULAR, ANIMATE

(41) Javio se neko ko je znao odgovor.
.called REFL someone.M.SG who.M.SG AUX known answer
'Someone who knew the answer called.'

- ŠTO: NEUTER, SINGULAR, INANIMATE

(42) Rekao je nešto što nije smeо.
said AUX something.N.SG what.N.SG not-AUX can
'He said something that he should not have.'

4.3 Interim Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATIVE PRONOUN</th>
<th>RELATIVE HEAD</th>
<th>Φ-FEATURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koji</td>
<td>noun, pronoun: personal, possessive, adjectival demonstrative and quantificational adjective</td>
<td>no restrictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun, quantificational pronoun</td>
<td>masculine singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>što</td>
<td>demonstrative pronoun, quantificational pronoun</td>
<td>neuter singular</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Some Noteworthy Correlations

- In English, the possessive adjective *my* must appear with a noun; the possessive pronoun *mine* must not.

- Also, English question word *which* must appear with a noun; *who* and *what* do not.

- Relative clauses introduced by *koji* relative pronoun attach to external relative heads containing a noun; relative clauses introduced by *ko/sto* relative pronouns do not

4.5 Analysis

- For *koji*-RC, the matching relative head can be any phrase but *ko* or *što*

- For *ko/sto*-RCs, the matching relative head must be either *ko* or *što* respectively

4.5.1 Koji-Relative Pronoun

- Empirical Observations:
  a. Internal relative head can be pronounced (contra Relative Deletion Rule (Sauerland (1999), p362))
  b. *Koji* exhibits the behavior of adjectives (AP): agrees in number, case and gender with a noun it modifies
  c. The internal relative head N does not need to be elided (23)

- Proposal:
  a. Relative pronoun *koji* is not a D(eterminer) that takes an internal relative head NP as its complement
  b. Relative pronoun *koji* ‘which’ is in a Specifier position of an internal head NP
  c. As a wh-element, it checks the [wh]-feature on the RC CP
  d. It mediates the semantic relation between an internal and external relative head (modification)
4.5.2 Ko & Što-Relative Pronouns

- Empirical Observations:
  
a. Relative pronouns ko & što trigger a default agreement with a verb:
     ko - masculine singular, što - neuter singular
  
b. The internal relative head (relative pronoun) cannot be elided: Ser-
     brian does not allow contact relatives:

\[ (44) \text{*Poznajem nekog Marija voli.} \]
\[ \text{know-I someone Marija love} \]
\[ 'I know someone Marija loves.' \]

- Proposal:
  
a. Relative pronouns ko ‘who’ & što ‘what’ are internal head NPs
     (Fiengo (1980))
  
b. As wh-elements, they check the [wh]-feature on the RC CP\(^{15}\)
  
c. They mediate the semantic relation between an internal and exter-
     nal relative head (modification)

\(^{15}\)Citko (2004) calls relative clauses introduced by ko and što in Polish as Light-Headed Relatives.

\(^{16}\)Note that for Citko (2004), p102 demonstrative pronouns are morphologically analyzed as interrogative pronouns that are prefixed by ‘t-’, followed by a consonant cluster simplification. Also, both demonstrative and quantificational pronouns are analyzed as D heads for Polish.

\(^{17}\)The raising of the indefinite pronoun N to Q is usually argued to be further supported by the fact that a prenominal adjective appears postnominally with quantificational pronouns (Abney (1987), Kishimoto (2000), Citko (2004)). Larson and Marušić (2004), however, question this assumption based on the observation that ‘adjectives in the indefinite pronoun construction pattern uniformly like underlying postnominal adjectives, and not like prenominal adjectives.’ (p269) These issues are certainly very puzzling but settling the debate is beyond the scope of the work presented here and I will leave it for future research.
(47) An affix must be lexically supported at PF.

(48)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{D} \\
on-/ov-/t(aj) \\
on-/ov-/t(o) \\
\text{QP} \\
\text{Q} \\
sva-/ni-/ne-/bilo \\
\text{NP} \\
\end{array}
\]

(49) **LBE**

\[
(*)?? \text{Visokog nije video nikog / tog.} \\
tall \text{not.aux seen noone / that.one} \\
\text{He didn’t see anyone tall / that tall one.}'
\]

(50) **Adjunct Extraction**

\[
(*)?? \text{Iz kojeg grada je Ivan sreo nekog / tog?} \\
\text{from which city aux Ivan met someone / that.one} \\
\text{‘From which city did Ivan meet someone / that one?’}
\]

(51) **Long-Distance Scrambling**

\[
(*)?? \text{Ivan se nada veselog da će Una upoznati} \\
\text{Ivan refl hope cheerful that aux Una meet} \\
\text{nekog / tog.} \\
someone / that.one \\
\text{‘Ivan hopes that Una will meet someone cheerful / that cheerful one.’}
\]

**References**


