ON A MATCHING EFFECT IN HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES
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INTRODUCTION. Croatian has two kinds of relative clauses (RCs): *koji*-RCs and *što*-RCs. The two differ in that *koji*-RCs never employ resumptive pronouns (RPs), while in *što*-RCs, RPs are (seemingly) always obligatory if the relativized element is a non-(nominative) subject (see contrast in (1)). While *koji*-RCs are sensitive to islands for all speakers (2a), *što*-RCs do not show island effects for some speakers (2b). In this paper, I discuss object *što*-RCs. Since in these a RP is obligatory, and for a subset of speakers they are insensitive to islands, it seems that for these speakers, they are derived by a non-movement strategy.

PROPOSAL. I argue that *što*-RCs can be derived both by movement and non-movement strategies, even for speakers who allow for island violations. The argument proceeds in two steps. I first show that there are cases of object *što*-RCs where an RP is optional: an RP can be “dropped” only under (morphological) case matching with the head NP. I propose that “matching” *što*-RCs in which an RP is absent are derived by movement (of a null operator), by showing that if relativization is out of an island, an RP becomes obligatory even under case matching. Finally, I present data from *što*-RCs that involve relativization of a genitive-marked object, and argue that in these cases, a *što*-RC is always derived by a non-movement strategy. This claim receives support from corresponding Free Relative (FR) constructions.

MATCHING EFFECT IN *ŠTO*-RCs AND MOVEMENT. The requirement that an object *što*-RC contain an RP is relaxed if case assignment to the head NP by the matrix predicate results in the form of the head NP that it would have if it were case-marked by the RC-predicate. This is true regardless of the gender and number features of the head NP. In (3), (4), and (6), RPs in RCs are optional. In (3), the case assigned by the matrix predicate to the head NP is accusative, formally identical to the case assigned to the RP by the embedded predicate. In (4) and (6) the two cases are not formally identical, but have syncretic forms. Crucially, in (4), syncretism (NOM/ACC) holds only for neuter nouns and feminine nouns that do not belong to –a class (hence a contrasts with (5)). In (6), syncretism (GEN/ACC) holds only for masculine nouns (hence a contrast with (7)). Under case matching, an RP can be absent even if the relativization is long-distance (8). However, when the relativization is out of an island, the RP is obligatory even under case matching (9). This is taken as evidence that “matching” object *što*-RCs in which an RP is absent are derived by movement.

RELATIVIZATION OF GENITIVE OBJECTS. If the relativized element in an object *što*-RC is a genitive object, an RP is always obligatory (10). This means that such RCs are never derived by movement. This claim is supported by the data from FRs. In FRs, the wh-phrase which introduces a FR (WHFR) reconstructs into the FR, as shown by the binding possibilities in (11a). However, if the WHFR is a genitive object, reconstruction is impossible (11b). The well-formedness of (12) shows that a FR with a genitive WHFR is possible as long as no reconstruction is required. (11) and (12) seem to argue that a FR with a genitive object is derived by externally merging genitive WHFR into its surface position (note that this position is not within the matrix clause, given that in (11b), the matrix subject Vid cannot bind the reflexive pronoun inside the WHFR). If a genitive object cannot be relativized by movement in FRs (which in other cases seem to be derived by the movement of WHFR), it might not be surprising that the same (mysterious!) constraint is at work in headed object *što*-RCs. Thus, the obligatory presence of an RP in “matching” object *što*-RCs where the relativized element is a genitive object is expected. This gives further support to the claim that those *što*-RCs that do not contain an RP are derived by movement.

1. a. Čovjek kojeg sam (*ga) vidio b. Čovjek što sam *(ga) vidio
   man.NOM which.ACC Aux.1SG him.ACC seen man.NOM that Aux.1SG him.ACC seen
   ‘(The) man whom I saw.’ ‘(The) man whom/that I saw.’
2. a. *Ovo je čovjek kojeg je Sanja plakala jer voli. Koji-RC: Adjunct island
   this is man.NOM which.ACC Aux.3SG Sanja.NOM cried because loves
   *I saw the man whom Sanja cried because she loves.’
b. Ovo je čovjek što je Sanja plakala jer ga voli. Što-RC: Adjunct island
   this is man.NOM that Aux.3SG Sanja.NOM cried because him.ACC loves
   *I saw the man that Sanja cried because she loves him.’
3. a. Upoznao sam čovjeka što (ga) je Jan doveo na zabavu.  
   met Aux.1SG man. ACC that him. ACC Aux.3SG Jan.NOM brought on party  
   ‘I met the man that you brought to the party.’  
   b. Čovjeka što sam (ga) upoznao sram je vlastitih postupaka.  
   man. ACC that Aux.1SG him. ACC met ashamed Aux.3SG own.GEN.PL actions.GEN.PL  
   ‘The man I met is ashamed of his own actions.’

4. a. Dijete što sam (ga) vidio ima dugu kosu.  
   child.NEUT. NOM/(ACC) that Aux.1SG him. ACC seen has long.ACC hair.ACC  
   ‘The child that I saw has long hair.’  
   b. Ljubav što sam (je) osjetio je jaka.  
   love.FEM. NOM/(ACC) that Aux.1SG her. ACC felt been.PART.F Aux.3SG strong.NOM  
   ‘The love that I felt was strong.’

5. a. Čovjek što sam (ga) vidio je banku.  
   man.MASC. NOM that Aux.1SG him. ACC seen robbed Aux.3SG bank.ACC  
   ‘The man that I saw has robbed a bank.’  
   b. Želja što sam (je) osjetio je jaka.  
   desire.FEM. NOM/(ACC) that Aux.1SG her. ACC felt been Aux.3SG strong.NOM  
   ‘The desire that I felt was strong.’

6. a. Bojim se čovjeka što si (ga) vidio na zabavi.  
   fear.1SG REFL man.MASC. GEN/(ACC) that Aux.2SG him. ACC seen on party  
   ‘I fear the man that you saw at the party.’  
   b. Vidio sam profesora što si (je) bojio.  
   seen Aux.1SG professor. ACC/(GEN) that Aux.2SG him. ACC fear.2SG  
   ‘I saw the professor that you fear.’

7. a. Znam čovjeka što je Sanja otišla jer mrzi.  
   know.1SG man. ACC that Aux.3SG Sanja.NOM left because him. ACC hates  
   ‘I saw the man that Sanja left because she hates him.’

8. a. Sjećam se profesora što si bojao na fakultetu.  
   remember.1SG REFL professor. GEN that Aux.2SG him. GEN REFL feared on college  
   ‘I remember the professor that you feared in college.’  
   b. Vidio sam profesora što se boji.  
   seen Aux.1SG professor. ACC/(GEN) that him. GEN REFL fear.2SG  
   ‘I saw the professor that you fear.’

9. Vidio sam čovjeka što je Sanja otišla jer (ga) mrzi.  
   seen Aux.1SG man. ACC that Aux.3SG Sanja.NOM left because him. ACC hates  
   ‘I saw the man that Sanja left because she hates him.’

10. a. Vid je poznao koje god svoje dijete je Jan doveo na zabavu.  
    Vid knows which.ACC ever self’s.child.ACC Aux.3SG Jan.NOM brought on party  
    ‘Vid knows whichever of his children Jan brought to the party.’  
    b. Vid se sjeća kojeg god svog profesora se Jan bojao na fakultetu.  
    Vid REFL remembers which.GEN ever self’s.GEN professor.GEN REFL Jan feared on college  
    ‘Vid remembers whichever of his professors Jan feared in college.’

11. a. Vid se sjeća kog god svog profesora se Jan bojao na fakultetu.  
    Vid REFL remembers whoever.GEN REFL Jan feared on college  
    ‘Vid remembers whichever of his, professors Jan, feared in college.’