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 **(WH_{FR})** reconstructs into the FR, as shown by the binding possibilities in (11a). However, if the WH_{FR} is a genitive object, reconstruction is impossible (11b). The well-formedness of (12) shows that a FR with a genitive WH_{FR} 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 WH_{FR} 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 WH_{FR}). If a genitive object cannot be relativized by movement in FRs (which in other cases seem to be derived by the movement of WH_{FR}), 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.'

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3. a. Upoznao_{acc} sam čovjeka što (ga) je Jan doveo_{acc} 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_{acc} sram_{acc} 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_{acc} ima_{nom} 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_{acc} bila_{nom} 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_{acc} opljačako_{nom} je banku.   ACC: *čovjeka*
    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_{acc} bila_{nom} je jaka.   ACC: *želju*
    desire.FEM.**NOM** that Aux.1SG her.**ACC** felt been Aux.3SG strong.NOM
    'The desire that I felt was strong.'

6. a. Bojim_{gen} se čovjeka što si (ga) vidio_{acc} 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.'

7. a. Bojim_{gen} se žene što si *(je) vidio_{acc} na zabavi.   ACC: *ženu*
    fear.1SG REFL woman.FEM.**GEN** that Aux.2SG her.**ACC** seen on party
    'I fear the woman that you saw at the party.'
  b. Bojim_{gen} se djeteta što si *(ga) vidio_{acc} na zabavi.   ACC: *dijete*
    fear.1SG REFL child.NEUT.**GEN** that Aux.2SG him.**ACC** seen on party
    'I fear the child that you saw at the party.'

8. a. Znam_{acc} čovjeka što si rekao da si (ga) doveo_{acc} na zabavu.
    know.1SG man.**ACC** that Aux.2SG said that Aux.2SG him.**ACC** brought on party
    'I know the man that you said you brought to the party.'

9. Vidio_{acc} sam čovjeka što je Sanja otišla jer *(ga) mrzi_{acc}.
    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. Sjećam_{gen} se profesora što si *(ga) se bojao_{gen} na fakultetu.
    remember.1SG REFL professor.**GEN** that Aux.2SG him.**GEN** REFL feared on college
    'I remember the professor that you used to fear in college.'
  b. Vidio_{acc} sam profesora što *(ga) se bojiš_{gen}.
    seen Aux.1SG professor.**ACC/(GEN)** that him.**GEN** REFL fear.2SG
    'I saw the professor that you fear.'

11. a. Vid_i poznaje_{acc} koje god svoje_{j/*i} dijete je Jan_j doveo_{acc} na zabavu.
    Vid_i knows which.ACC ever self's.ACC_{j/*i} child.ACC Aux.3SG Jan_j brought on party
    'Vid knows whichever of his_i children Jan_i brought to the party.'
  b. *Vid_i se sjeća_{gen} kojeg god svog_{i/j} profesora se Jan_j bojao_{gen} na fakultetu.
    Vid REFL remembers which.GEN ever self's.GEN_{i/j} professor.GEN REFL Jan feared on college
    'Vid remembers whichever of his_i professors Jan_i feared in college.'

12. Vid_i se sjeća_{gen} kogagod se Jan_j bojao_{gen} na fakultetu.
    Vid REFL remembers whoever.GEN REFL Jan feared on college
    'Vid remembers whichever of his_i professors Jan_i feared in college.'