The (ya)illi Relative Clause in Levantine Arabic:
A Case for Head -External Structure

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we present an argument based on empirical evidence from Levantine Arabic in favor of the fact that the (ya)illi relative clause (YRC) has a head-external structure (e.g., a matching). A set of state-of-the-art diagnoses that speak against the head NP raising in YRCs is fully demonstrated and analyzed in the context of some grammatical structures. As confirmed by the evidence, if the possibility of raising syntax in YRCs is ruled out in such restricted contexts, it follows that some variant of head external analysis for the YRC is in order; at least as another structure that characterizes this type of relative clauses in addition to head NP raising structure that was approved in the representative literature such as Ouhalla (2004) and Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri (2010).

Keywords: Externalanalysis, definiteness,; raising.

Introduction

Restrictive relative clauses are complex modifiers whose syntax-semantics hastwo main assumptions in the grammar. First, relative clauses are individual abstraction structures where an internal relativization site is abstracted over. Second, they involve some kind of connectivity to the head NP they modify. As way of example, consider the following.

(1) The paper which Einstein wrote *e* impressed me.

(2) aʕğbt-nil-maqāl-a   (ya)illi   Einstein   katab-ha
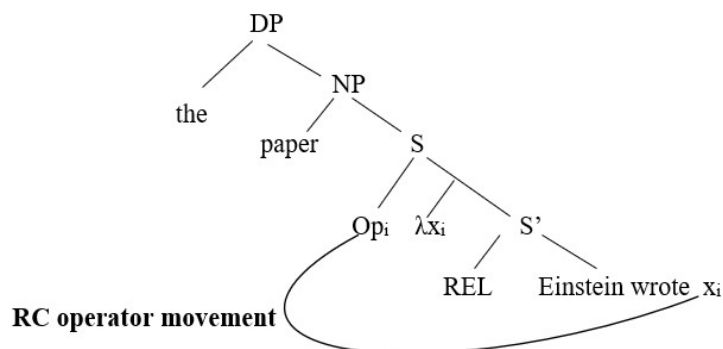   i mpressed-me   the-paper   (YA)ILLI   Einstein   wrote it

'The paper that Einstein wrote impressed me.'(Levantine Arabic LA)

On closer inspection, relative clauses posit a direct compositionality problem:the head NP ' the paper' acts as an argument that satisfies the selectional properties of the matrix and embedded predicates including the argument's thematic and Case requirements in violation of Chomsky 's (1981: 36) theta-criterion. This observation leaves open the question of how the surface head NP gets connected to its relativization site (Vergnaud 1974/ 1985,Borsley 1997, Bianchi, 2001). To address this problem,two lines of analysis have been put forth:the head-external and head NP - raising theories.

On an early variant of the head-external analysis (Chomsky 1965), the head NP is base-generated outside the relative clause and an internal representation of the head NP represented by a relative clause operator undergoes A-bar movement as in (3). The operator's movement creates a predicate of individuals that composes with the NP via predicate modification.This kind of analysis addresses the connectivity problem by postulating a kind of coreferentiality between the head NP and the internal relative operator.

(3)

```
                         DP
                       /    \
                     the     NP
                           /    \
                        paper    S
                               / | \
                            Opᵢ λxᵢ  S'
                                    /   \
                                  REL   Einstein wrote xᵢ
    RC operator movement ⟨_____
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The analysis in (3) raises the question of what kind of relation that holds between the head NP and the relative operator. One kind of answer is to assume a relation of strict identity: the internal relative operator is just a full representation of the head NP.

This relation, however, may not be the right one. As observed in Stockwell, Schachter & Partee (1973, 428), the quantificational head NPs in (4) cannot get its relative operator representation interpreted under strict identity: if so, the head NP and the relative operator in (4) gives rise to the incorrect entailment in (5) (Bianchi 2002).

(4) a. All the boys who left early missed the fun.
    b. All the boys left early.

(5) # All the boys who left early missed the fun.⇒ All the boys left early.
    (Bianchi 2002, p 198)

Despite the facts in (4) which speak against strict identity relation, the notion of referentiality/ identity between the head NP and the relative pronoun may not be relinquished altogether. Bianchi (2002: 198-199) argued that a kind of identity relation between the two elements is needed in analyzing paradigms such as (6).

(6) a. the book which I read
    b. the book that I read
    c. the book I read
   d. the book [S' [COMP which that] [I read t]]

(Bianchi 2002: 198)

Chomsky (1977) argued that the two relative pronouns of (6) (i.e., which and that) are in complementary distribution so that the coocurrence of both in C^0 is excluded by the ' doubly Filled Comp Filter'. To get around this problem, Chomsky proposeda deletion rulewhich deletes one or both of the relative complementizers.This deletion rule is licensed under two conditions: that the relative pronoun be non-distinctive and that such a pronoun be c-commanded by the head NP (Cinque 1983, Bianchi 2002).

On a recentvariant of the head external analysis (Sauerland 1998 and subsequent work), a relative clause may involve amatching structure (7) in which the head NP is base-generated in the left periphery of relative clause and an internal representation of the head NP is interpreted within the relative clause through an operation of ellipsis-based movement deletion under identity. Under matching the external head NP and its internal representation are not connected in a movement chain so that the external NP doesn't exhibit reconstruction effects. The external NP headis

still represented within the relative clause by a copy that is left by movement deletion. Such a copy is identical or partially similar to the external NP head (Sauerland, 1998 and subsequent work).

(7)
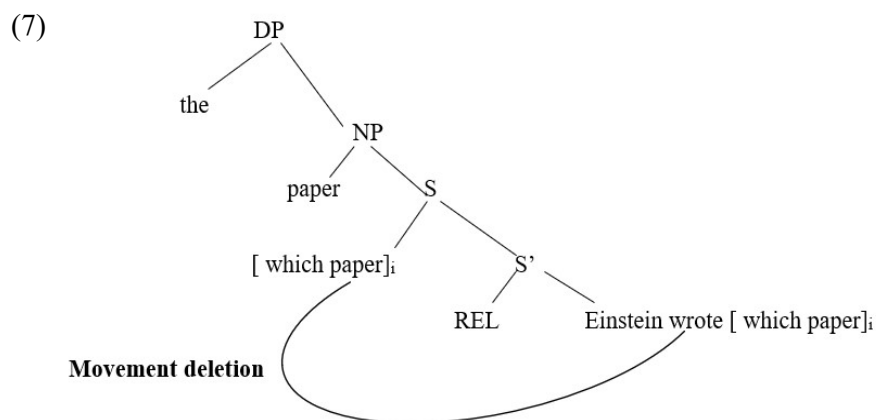
The other theory is based on the head NP raising. Accordingly, a relative clause has a raising syntax where the relativized NP undergoes A-bar movement from a relative-clause internal position into its surface landing site in the left periphery of the relative clause. Given A-bar movement, the head NP reconstructs and gets interpreted in its base-generation position within the relative clause (Schachter 1973, Verngaud 1973, Kayne 1994, Afarli 1994, Bianchi 1999, Bhatt 2002, among many others).

(8)
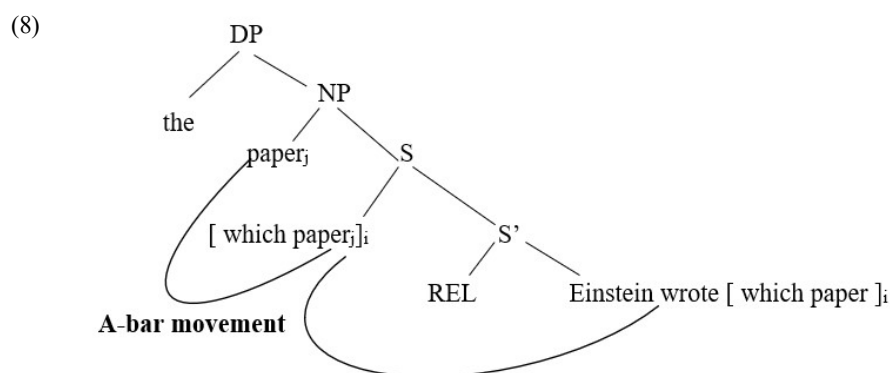
Recent syntax-semantic investigations have concludedthat relative clauses are ambiguous between a head-external and an NP-raising analysis (Sauerland 2004, Bhatt 2002, among many others): some contexts enforce head NP raising in relative clauses and other contexts support a head external structure with no raising syntax.

An example of the formersituation is the interpretation of idioms in English. As argued in Hulsey and Sauerland (2006:113), for the relative clause in (9), it should be the case that the relative clause has a raising structure since idiomatic readings have thelocality condition of interpreting idiomatic expressions as constituents.

(9) a. John was satisfied by the amount of headway that Mary made.
     b. John was satisfied by the λxthat Mary made the$_x$amount of headway.

(Hulsey and Sauerland 2006:113)

Another example is the binding structure (10)where the anaphoric bindee in the head NP external position should reconstruct within the relative clause in satisfaction of condition A of binding. This can only achieved if we assume a

head NP raising structure based on A-bar movement that triggers a reconstruction effect.It can be easily concluded that the relative clause in (10) involves a head raising structure.

(10) a. Mary liked the picture of himself that John sent.
　　 b. Mary liked the λx. John sent the picture of himself$_x$.

(Hulsey and Sauerland 2006:113)

In other contexts where the NP raising makes incorrect predictions, a head external structure (e.g., matching) is enforced. Hulsey & Sauerland (2006) discussed two contexts thatimpose a head external structure for relative clauses in English.The first piece of evidence comes from Condition C. A head NP raising analysis for (11) derives an ungrammatical structure that violates Condition C.

(11) a. which is the picture of John$_i$ thathe$_i$ likes?
　　 b. the picture of John$_i$ thathe$_i$ likesthe picture of John$_i$

(Hulsey and Sauerland 2006:113)

In addition, Hulsey & Sauerland (2006) observed that extraposition in relative clauses blocks the head NP raising. They argued that extraposition of relative clauses is inapplicable in the contexts where the head NP raising is forced. For example, since the relative clause in (12.a) involves the reconstruction of the head NP the picture of himself$_i$ under the scope of the R-expression John$_i$, the fact that the extraposition of the relative clause 'that John$_i$ liked' blocks the head NP raising renders the sentence in (12.b) ungrammatical. By contrast, extraposition in non-raising contexts are best analyzed in terms of the matching analysis as shown in (12).

(12) a. I saw the picture of himself that John liked.
　　 b. *I saw the picture of himself$_i$ yesterday that John$_i$ liked.

(Hulsey & Sauerland 2006: 115)

In this article, we argue that the YRC in Levantine Arabic (LA) has a head external analysis. We present a set of state-of-the-art diagnoses that confirm the fact that the YRCmay disallow the head NP raising analysis in some contexts. We show the YRC makes a strong case for the main finding of Hulsey & Sauerland (2006) that relative clauses are ambiguous between head NP raising and head external analysis. In section one, we briefly review the descriptive facts of *(ya)illi* relative clauses which are found in Levantine language. Section two presents an argument that supports a head external analysis for the FYR based on idiomatic expressions, definiteness, binding-theoretic facts, de re reading, and extraposition. The last section concludes the paper.

1. The Descriptive Facts of (ya)illi Relative Clause

Levantine Arabichas two forms of complementizers: the relative clause pronoun *(ya)illi*and the sentential complementizer *Ɂnno*. The two formshave different syntactic functions: while *(ya)illi*acts as a relative clause marker, *Ɂnno*is a particle that composes with the sentential complement of attitude report as exemplified in (13).

(13) a. l-maqāl-a 　(ya)illi/ *ɁnnoEinstein 　katab-ha 　mawǧud-h 　fi l-ḫuṭ-a.
　　　The article 　(YA)ILLI/ THAT 　Einstein 　wrote-it 　available 　in the syllabus
　　　'The article that Einstein wrote is available in the syllabus.'
　　 b. Ali 　Ɂālinno/ *(ya)illimaqāl-t Einstein 　mawǧud-h 　fi l-ḫuṭ-a
　　　　Ali 　said(YA)ILLI/ THAT 　article Einstein 　available 　in the syllabus

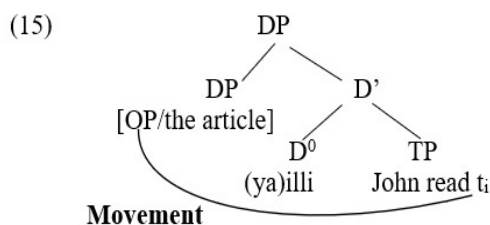'Ali said that Einstein's article is available in the syllabus.'

As claimed in Aoun & Choueiri (1997), Choueiri (2002) and Ouhalla (2004), the *(ya)illi* relative clausein Lebanese Arabic denotes a definite description with the*(ya)illi* relative pronoun being analyzed as a composite of the definite article *l* and phi-features such as number and gender.

The *(ya)illi* relative pronoun also agrees in definiteness with the relativized NP. The *(ya)illi* relative clause can only relativize definite DPs. Indefinite DPs may be relativized by relative clauses with no overt *(ya)illi* pronouns.Consider (14).

(14) a kteeb (*(ya)illi)   hkyitʔann-o   laila
       book the + Agrtalked.she   about-it   Laila
       'a book that Laila has talked about.'
       b.l- kteeb *((ya)illi) hkyitʔann-o   laila
       the book   the + Agrtalked.she   about-it   Laila
       ' the book that Laila has talked about.'   (Choueiri 2002:211)

The above-cited authors have concluded that agreement in (in)definiteness between the relative clause pronoun and its NP head suggests that the *(ya)illi* relative clause has a DP categorial status. Ouhalla (2004), following Choueiri (2002), took these facts at face value and claimed that the categorial identity of the *(ya)illi* relative clause is a definite DP. For Ouhalla (2004), such a DP embedsa clause of category TP and the *(ya)illi*relativizer occupies the head of the outer DP.

In explaining the facts in (14), Ouhalla (2004) and Aoun, Benmamoun& Choueiri (2010) extended a head-raising analysis to the *(ya)illi* relative clause along the lines of (3). They postulate a raisingsyntax where the head NP raises into the Specifier of the relative head D^0 on the basis of definiteness agreement.

(15)
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                          DP
                       /     \
                  DP          D'
            [QP/the article]  /  \
                          D^0      TP
                        (ya)illi   John read t_i
              Movement
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2. Argument Against Head-NP Raising in *(ya)illi* relative

In this section, we present an argument based on empirical datathat support a head external analysis for the YRC in Levantine Arabic. More specifically, we discussa set of standard diagnoses that confirm the fact that the NP head doesn't undergo raising in some grammatical contexts. Such a discussion, as a matter of fact, leads to the conclusion that at least some variant of head external analysis (e.g., matching) is needed to explain this phenomenon in some contexts.

2.1. Idiomatic Expressions

Idiomatic expressions with indivisible large constituents can be used as a diagnosis for detecting head NP raising in relative clauses (Bhatt 2002: 47). A complex idiomatic expression should meet a locality requirement that an idiom's various parts be merged in a local enough configuration at some level of derivation (Marantz 1984, Chomsky 1993, Bhatt 2006and the references therein). Consider, for example, (16).

(16) a. We made headway.

(17) a. * (The) headway was satisfactory

    b. The headway that we made was satisfactory

<div align="right">(Bhatt, 2002: 47 as cited in Schachter 1973 and attributed to Brame 1968)</div>

The fact that the local configuration of the idiom parts in (17) is separated by a relative clause pronoun indicates that the relative clause involves A-bar movement. On the head raising analysis, the head NPreconstructs in a position that is local enough relative to the other parts of the idiom. It then moves after giving rise to the idiomatic meaning within the relative clause (Bhatt, 2002: 47). Since the reconstruction of the external head NP is not an option for the head external analyses, none of these two analyses may generate the structures in (17.c). This is because the head-external theory fail to meet the locality requirement of idioms in the external head. It follows then that the grammaticality of (17.c) supports the head-raising analysis to the exclusion of the other non-raising analyses.

Yet, The*(ya)illi*relative clause behaves differently. An idiomatic expression may not appear as a head NP with some of its parts located inside the relative clause. Consider the following Palestinian Arabic (JA) idioms.

(18) a. Ali   Ɂkal   hawa.   kul-na   ḫif-na   ʕāli-h

      Ali   ate.3.SG   air.   All of us.2PL   worried.2PL   on him

      'Ali runs into troubles. All of us are worried about him.'

      'Literally: Ali ate the air. We are worried about him.

     b. * (l)-hawa   ḫwwf-na   ʕala   Ali

      (The) air   make-us-worried.3PL   on   Ali

      'The trouble (that Ali has makes us) worried about him.

      ' Literally: The air that Ali ate makes us worried about him.'

     c. * (l)-hawa (ya)illi   Ali   Ɂkal-u   ḫwwf-naʕāli-h

      (The) air   that   Ali   ate-it   make-us-worried.3PL on him

      'The trouble that Ali run into makes us worried about him.'

      ' Literally: The air that Ali ate makes us worried about him.'

(19) a. Ali   ḥāfər   bi   rāsiš   āriʕ.   zaʕǧ-ni

      Ali   excavated.3SG   in head-my   a street.   pro-annoyed.3SG.M -me

      'Ali disturbed me. He annoyed me.'

      ' Literally: Ali excavated a street in my head. He annoyed me.'

     b. * bi   rāsi   šāriʕ   zāʕǧ-ni

      in head-my   a street   pro-annoying.3SG.M -me

      'A disturbance annoyed me.'

      'Literally: In my head a street is annoying me.'

     c. ššāriʕ   ya(illi)   Aliḥāfər-u   bi rāsi   zāʕǧ-ni

      The street   that   Ali excavated.3SG-it   in head-my   pro-annoying.3SG.M-me

      'The disturbance that Ali made is annoying me.'

      'Literally: The street that Ali excavated is annoying me.'

(20) a. Ali   bilɁāb   bi damm-u.   mumkin   ītəfannaš

      Ali   plays-3.SG   with blood-his.   Possible   pro got.3SG sacked

      'Ali takes the adventure. He may get sacked.'

' Literally: Ali plays with his blood. He may get sacked.'

   b. *damm-u   mumkin   īfanniš   Ali.

        blood-his may   sack.3SG   Ali

    'Ali's taking the adventure may do lead him to be sacked.'

    ' Literally: Ali plays with his blood. He may get sacked.'

   c. damm-u   ya(illi) Ali bilʕāb bi-h   mumkin   īfannš-u

    blood-his that Ali play   with   may   get-him sacked

    'The adventure that Ali took may do harm to him.'

    ' Literally: His blood that Ali plays may lead him to get fired.'

Unlike English data in (17), the ungrammaticality of the relative idioms in (18), (19) and (20) can be accounted for under head-external analysis provided that raising is not an option for the *(ya)illi* relative. As argued in Bhatt (2002), a head-raising analysis for the *(ya)illi* relative would wrongly generate the relative clauses in these structures. On a head-external analysis, these structures can be correctly ruled out on the assumption that the locality requirement is not met: both the head external head and its internal representations are not connected via a reconstructed movement chain and hence we have no way to bring the parts of idiom into a sufficiently local configuration in the LFunder the head external analysis.

2.2. The Definiteness Effect

On the head-raising analysis of relative clauses, languages have been shown to differ in whether the raising constituent out of the relative clause is the whole DP or its NP sub-part (Schachter 1973, Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999, Bhatt 2002). When it comes to the *(ya)illi* relative clause, Ouhalla (2004) argued that it is the whole DP that raises to occupy the specifier of the outer DP of the DP structure of the *(ya)illi*relative clause. Ouhalla (2004: 289) supported this assumption by showing that the definite article does not appear in the head external position when the external DP is a name. It should be the case, then, that on a raising analysis the definite article of the relativized DP is merged with the DP itself rather than with the external head.For Ouhalla (2004), this fact suggests that the definite article cannot be inserted directly in the external head position. An advantage of this head-raising analysis is that the raising of the whole DP into the Specifier position of the outer DP accounts for (in) definiteness agreement between the *(ya)illi* relative pronoun and the relativized DP.

(21)   (*I-) paris   *(ya)iIli*   bhibba   (Lebanese Arabic)

        the-Paris   (YA)ILLI   I.love.it

        'the Paris that I love'   (Ouhalla , 2004: 289)

(22)   (*I-) paris   (ya)iIli   bhibbh-a   (Levantine Arabic)

        the-Paris   (YA)ILLI   I.love.it

        'the Paris that I love'

Assume putatively that a raising analysis is a possible structure for the *(ya)illi* relative clause. Assume further that it is the whole DP in PA that raises based on (22). Since existential structures induce the definiteness effect (Milsark 1974, 1977, among many others), we expect that any gap left by raising the external head DP will be banned from occupying the pivot position in the internal existential relative clause. This prediction is not borne out as shown in the grammaticality of Palestinian Arabic (*ya)illi* relative in (23).

(22) kell   wagbih (ya)illi   kan   fii   ʕal-menu   talb-ha   Ali
      every   meal   YA(ILLI)   was   in-it   on the menu   ordered-it Ali
      ' Every meal that there was in the menu was ordered by Ali.'

A head raising analysis for the *(ya)illi* relative clause cannot be correct: ahead raising analysis would wrongly rule out (22). As observed in Aoun, Benmamoun, Choueiri (2010: 168), the relativized position in (22) (i.e., the pivot of the existential) is a gap with no resumption. This position lacks a null subject pronoun (i.e., pro) due to the absence of necessary agreement features. The grammaticality of (22) is problematic for the raising analysis since it would violate the definiteness restriction that bans strong quantifiers from occupying the pivot of existential structures.

2.3. Binding-Theoretic Facts

One of the strongest arguments adduced in favor of the head external matching analysis comes from the Condition C effect (Sauerland 1998; subsequent work). This paper finds that unlike wh-movement, the *(ya)illi* relative clause bleeds Condition C.

(23) a. *ʔya   maqāl-a   l-Einstein$_i$ pro$_i$ -ʔara-ha?
      which   article   of Einstein   he$_i$-read-it
      '*Which article of Einstein$_i$ did he$_i$read-it.
   b. maqāl-u   l-Einstein$_i$ (YA)illi   pro$_i$ -ʔara-ha
      article-his   of-Einstein   (YA)ILLI   pro$_i$ read-it
      ' The Einstein's article that he read.'

The data in (23) indicate that wh-movement and relativationdiffer with respect to Condition C. As argued in Sauerland (2004), the discrepancy between (24.a) and (24.b) has a straightforward explanation if we assume that the wh-structure and the *(ya)illi* relative clause involve different kind of movement. Since the wh-structure in (24.b) involves A-bar movement, the *(ya)illi* relative clause should be taken to involve matching, but not head NP raising. In this way, the asymmetry between the wh-structure and the relative clause in (24) is well predicted. The A-bar movement in the wh-structure requires a strict lexical identity of its copies. As a result, the lower copy of A-bar movement, which contains the R-expression, gets reconstructed under the scope of its co-referential pronoun.

On the assumption that the sentence (23.b) has a head-external structure based on matching, it then involves movement deletion. Such a kind of movement is subject to vehicle change (Fiengo& May 1994: 218) which allows for the selection of a pronominal correlate of an NP in the reconstruction site of the ellipsis (i.e., movement deletion). Since movement deletion does not require a strict lexical identity with its antecedent and hence its nominal copy can be made pronominal in the relative clause by vehicle change, a Condition C bleeding effect is expected in (23.b).

Other binding –theoretic facts point to the conclusion that the *(ya)illi* relative has a head-external structure.

(24) a. Ali$_i$ ʕālʔ   sura la ḥalu$_i$ fi l-maktab
      Ali$_i$ hanged   a picture ofhimselfi   in the office
      ' Ali hanged a picture of himself in the office.'
   b. * ššuft   sura   la ḥalu$_i$ *(ya)illi*   Ali$_i$ ʕālʔ-ha   fi l-maktab
      saw-I   a picture of himselfi (YA)ILLI   Ali   hanged-it   in the office
      ' I saw a picture of himself$_i$ (YA)ILLI Ali hanged-it in the office.'

Again, a head NP raising structure would incorrectly rule in the structure in (24.b). A head external structure makes the correct prediction in accounting for the ungrammaticality of (24.b).

2.4. De Re Reading

In English, the following relative clause is ambiguous between the de re and de dicto readings

(25) The book that Jim thought that he bought turned out to be a magazine.

The de dicto reading is predicted on the assumption that the world argument of external NP is bound by an internal world binder within the relative clause. If binding takes place under c-command, this amounts to saying that the de dicto reading in (26) involves the reconstruction of the external NP under the intensional operator. The surface form then is derived by head NP raising.

(26) the λw [**CP** that Jim thought (w) λw' that he bought [the book(w')]

The *ya(illi)* relative, on the other hand, lacks the de dicto reading in the context of intensionalized relative clauses. Consider for example (27).

(27)   l-ktāb   (ya)illi   Ali   fakkar   ʔnno   ištara-h   tˤ ilʕ-t   majalih
        the book   YA(ILLI)   Ali   thought   that   bought-it   turned out to be a magazine
   'The book that Jamal thought that he bought turned out to be a magazine.'

The interpretation of the sentence in (27) in Palestinian Arabic has an unambiguous de re reading with a scare-quote intonation:there is an actual book x in some place that Ali mistakenly thought that he bought, and that book turned out to be an actual magazine. The de dicto reading is unavailable. It cannot mean that Ali thought that he bought the book and that book turned out to be an actual magazine. The absence of the de dicto reading indicates that the external NP is not bound by the internal intensional operator.On the assumption that the raising structure is necessary for the de-dicto reading to arise (since de-dicto requires world-binding by "think", and binding requires c-command), the unavailability of de-dicto in (27) indicates that the raising structure is unavailable.

This observation again enhances the impression that the external relativized NP is base-generated in the external position without getting the external NP raised from a reconstructed position under the c-command domain of the internal intensional operator. This explains the absence of the de dicto reading and the default emergence of the de re reading.

2.5. Extraposition

Let us finally consider extrapositionin *(ya)illi*relative clauses. Before that, some technical background is in order.

It has been observed that complements and adjuncts behave differently with respect to the interaction between Condition C and A-bar movement (Lebeaux 1990, Chomsky 1993, Fox 1999). When an adjunct that contains an R-expression modifies a moved wh-phrase, the Condition C effect is circumvented as shown in the grammaticality of the sentence in (28.b) which seems to violate condition C on the surface. On the other hand, when the relevant R-expression is within a complement modifier as in (30.a), a condition C effect arises since the R-expression is interpreted in the c-command domain of its co-referential pronoun.

(28)   a. *Which argument [that John$_i$ is a genius] did he$_i$ believe?
        b. Which argument [that John$_i$ made] did he$_i$ believe?

                                        (Fox 1999: 164)

To explain the pattern in (28), Lebeaux (1988) suggested that adjuncts undergo countercyclic merge (i.e., late

merge). In the case of (28.b), the adjunct is externally merged with the wh-phrase after it undergoes wh-movement so that the adjunct that contains the R-expression *John* is not interpreted in the c-command domain of its c-referential pronoun as shown in (29).

(29) [[which argument [that John$_i$ made]] did he$_i$ believe [which argument]?

On the other hand, the fact that (28.a) is ungrammatical indicates that complements cannot merge countercyclically. That late merger is not an option for complements is predicted under the projection principle (Chomsky 1981). This principle requires that a complement phrase (e.g., 'thatJohn$_i$ is a genius' in (28.a)) merge with its subcategorizing lexical item (e.g., the wh-phrase 'which argument') before wh-movement. This is the case because the subcategorization requirement of the wh-phrase must be met throughout the derivation. Given this mode of derivation, a condition C effect is inevitable in (28.a).

Regardless of the complement-adjunct asymmetry, Fox (1999, 2002) argued that late merger is applicable as long as the output is interpretable in the LF. Accordingly, the ungrammaticality of (28.a) follows from the fact that the late merger of the complement results in an un interpretable output in the semantics. The later merger of adjuncts (e.g., 28.b), on the other hand, produces an element that can be interpreted in the semantics. This explains the complement-adjunct asymmetry in (28).

On the LF interpretability approach (Fox 1999, 2002), interesting facts about Condition C bleeding in adjunct extraposition can be accounted for in a straightforward way. As claimed in Fox and Nissenbaum (1999), the reason why an adjunct can bleed Condition C under extraposition (e.g., 30.a) is that the phrase a *picture* undergoes rightward Quantifier Raising (QR) across the adverbial *yesterday* and then the adjunct composes with the QRed via late merger. In this way, the pronoun *him* does not c-command the co-referential R-expression *John.*

(30) a. I gave him$_i$ a picture yesterday from [John$_i$'s collection]
    b. *I gave him$_i$ a picture from [John$_i$'s collection] yesterday

(Fox and Nissenbaum1999 : 139)

Further, Fox and Nissenbaum (1999) observed that complement extraposition may not proceed via the Late Merger. An extraposed complement should first merge with its subcategorizing lexical item and then it extraposes via movement. In this way, complement extraposition as derived by movement cannot bleed Condition C and the fact that the constituent containing the R-expression *of John$_i$'s mother* , even after extraposition, would be interpreted under the c-command domain of its co-referring pronoun *him* stands behind the ungrammaticality of (31) as violation to Condition A.

(31) * I gave him$_i$ a picture yesterday [of John$_i$'s mother]

(Fox and Nissenbaum1999 : 139)

In light of the late-merger analysis of adjuncts, the observation made by Hulsey & Sauerland (2006) that the extraposition of relative clauses incompatible with the head NP raising of the relative clause is well predicted. Consider the data in (28) repeated as (32).

(32) a. I saw the picture of himself that John liked.
    b. *I saw the picture of himself$_i$ yesterday that John$_i$liked.

A relative clause with a raising syntax cannot be extraposed as shown in the ungrammaticality of (33.b). This is the case because the relative clause cannot be extraposed via late merger and therefore it induces a Condition A effect.

According to Hulsey & Sauerland (2006), the relative clause with a raising structure cannot be extraposed not because it is not an adjunct, but because on the head NP raising analysis), the NP [picture] is first merged inside the relative clause. By the time [picture] is moved into the specifier of CP leaving the relative clause *that John liked* , the entire CP has already introduced into the structure and thus it could never undergo merger later than the NP.

Hulsey & Sauerland (2006) did not exclude the possibility of extraposing relative clauses altogether. They assumed that extraposition is licit provided that the relative clause has a matching structure as exemplified in (33).

(33) I bought the book last week that John read

(Hulsey & Sauerland 2006: 120)

Under matching, the Fox- Nissenbaum late merger analysis applies straightforwardlywith an LF rightward QRing of the externally merged head NP followed by the late merger of the relative clause which has a matching structure as in (34).

(34)   I bought the book$_i$ last week ~~the book$_i$~~   [book$_i$ that John read   t$_i$]

rightwardQRing   Movement Deletion

Let us now consider the extraposed *(ya)illi* relative in PA clause in (35).

(35) *ʔara-t   maqālt-hu$_i$ imbāriḥ   ya(illi)   kullwaḥid$_i$ rah yqadim-ha
       read-I   his article   yesterday   YA(ILLI) everyone   will- present- it
       'I read the article of himself that everyone read it.'

As predicted by Hulsey& Sauerland (2006), a head external analysis is not an option for an extraposed relative clause in (35) since the structure requires raising to satisfy the binding theoretic requirement (i.e., the fact that the bound reading of (36) requires the co-reference relation between the pronoun and the quantifier phrase necessitate that the pronoun be within the c-command domain of the quantifier phrase). One may assume that it is extraposition that blocks the head NP raising in the *(ya)illi* relative clause in (37).

Now consider the case where the *(ya)illi* relative clause is not extraposed in (38).

(38) *ʔara-t   maqālt-hu$_i$ ya(illi)   kullwaḥid$_i$ rah yqadim-ha
       read-I   his article   YA(ILLI)   everyone   will- present- it
       'I read the article of himself that everyone read it.'

The structure is still ungrammatical because it lacks the reading where the quantifier binds the pronoun. Quite unexpectedly under Hulsey & Sauerland (2006), if the raising structure was an option for the *(ya)illi* relative, the structure in (38) would be grammatical. Contrary to the expectation, the binding relation doesn't hold due to the absence of raising. We can conclude that while extraposition may block raising in those relative clauses that are ambiguous between a raising and matching structure, the fact that (38) is also ungrammatical shows that the *(ya)illi* relative is unambiguously a head-external structure.

Conclusion

In this article, we argued for the availability head external analysis in the *(ya)illi* relative clause. We discussed a set of contextsthat rule out the possibility of the head NP raising in the *(ya)illi* relative clause. More specifically, we discussed the following facts that suffice to support a head external analysis in PA *(ya)illi* relative clauses: (i) the

(ya)illi relative is sensitive to the constituency condition in idiomatic expressions. (ii) The *(ya)illi*relative doesn't trigger the definiteness effect in existential clauses. (iii) It doesn't exhibit reconstruction effects inbinding-theoretic facts. (iv) it never gives rise a de dicto reading in interaction with intensional operators internal to the relative clause and finally(v) extraposition is not a factor that accidently enforces head external structures given that the (ya)illi relative clause is inherently a head external structure.

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جملة صلة (يللي) بالعربية المشرقية

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ملخص

نناقش في هذه الورقة أمكانية تحليل جملة الصلة دون فرض أي قواعد تحويلية في التركيب حيث قدمت الورقة أدلة من تحول بتسة الكينونة والألفاظ المركبة وتحول البار يؤيد أن اسم الصلة يتم دمجه خارج جنلة الصلة، إذْ يرتبط اسم الصفة داخل جملته بالحذف، وليس التحول.

الكلمات الدالة: تحول، تعريف، تحليل-خارجي.