

(1) a. *nemituapnn* ***nangl'/ms't*** *wenji'guoml* ta'n *nitap* *nemitoqopnn*
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN 5/all house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN
 'I saw (the) houses that my friend saw 5/all (of)'
 b. *nemituapnn* *wenji'guoml* ta'n *nitap* *nemitoqopnn* ***nangl'/ms't***
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN 5/all
 'I saw (the) houses that my friend saw 5/all (of)'

(2) * nemituapnn **tapugl** wenji'guoml ta'n nitap nemituqopnn **nangl**
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN two house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'-PST.PL.IN 5
 'Intended: I saw (the) 2 houses that my friend saw 5 (of)'

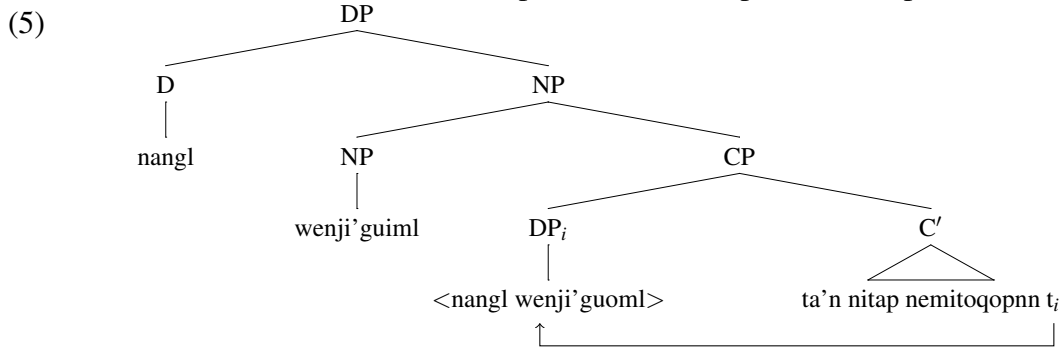
(3) a. nemituapnn wenji'guoml [ta'n nitap nemituqopnn] **nangl**
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN 5
 Intended: 'I saw the 5 houses that my friend saw.'
 b. nemituapnn wenji'guoml [ta'n nitap nemituqopnn **nangl**]
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN 5
 Intended: 'I saw houses that my friend saw 5 of.'

1

Additional evidence comes from quantifier scope. In a context where there are three boys and six houses, there are two potential readings: (i) a surface reading where there are only two houses out of the six that are liked by every boy, and the speaker saw those two houses; and (ii), an inverse reading where every boy likes two houses (but each house is only liked by one boy) and the speaker saw the houses that they saw. In (4a) where the numeral is in the matrix clause, the embedded subject quantifier is unable to take scope over the numeral, and an inverse reading is unavailable. In (4b), both readings are available. That the relative subject quantifier is able to take scope over the numeral, provides evidence that the numeral must be in a position inside the RC.

- (4) a. nemituapnn **tapugl** wenji'guoml ta'n te's lpatu'j welaptig'pn
 see.1>3PL.PST.IN two house.PL.IN COMP every boy like.3>3'PL.PST.IN
 'I saw the 2 houses that every boy liked.' $\exists > \forall$; $*\forall > \exists$
- b. nemituapnn wenji'guoml ta'n te's lpatu'j welaptig'pn **tapugl**
 see.1>3PL-PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP every boy like.3>3'PL.PST.IN two
 'I saw the houses that every boy liked 2 of.' $\exists > \forall$; $\forall > \exists$

Matching structure: I propose that RCs in Mi'gmaq require a matching structure, and crucially, there is a full internal DP inside the relative clause. Koster-Moeller (2012) proposes a full RC internal DP with the same syntactic and semantic status as the external DP, relying upon evidence from weak island effects, parasitic gaps, and scope restrictions in RCs with ACD, in English and German. Koster-Moeller proposes an amended-matching analysis (AMA) for RCs which has two full DP copies, an internal DP and an external DP. The internal DP moves from its trace position to spec-CP, while the external DP is base generated in its position. As with the standard matching structure proposed in Sauerland (1998), the two DPs must match in identity. At LF, the internal DP is reconstructed and both DPs are interpreted at their respective base positions.



I assume the structure as proposed in Koster-Moeller (2012) as the structure of RCs in Mi'gmaq. Under an AMA structure, constructions with two NQs of the same 'type', as in (2), are predicted to be ungrammatical under the matching mechanism. As both the external and internal DP must be identical in order to match, any construction with two non-identical DPs is ruled out. The AMA is able to match the interpretational facts as there are two separate DPs that are interpreted at LF, allowing for the differences in interpretations between constructions with a stranded NQ and those with an external NQ. In conclusion, I argue that in order to account for the empirical data of RCs in Mi'gmaq, where NQs may be stranded inside the RC, an amended-matching structure is required. **References:** Bhatt, R. (2002). The raising analysis of relative clauses: Evidence from adjectival modification. *Natural language semantics*, 10(1):43-90. Hulsey, S. and Sauerland, U. (2006). Sorting out relative clauses. *Natural language semantics*, 14(2):111. Koster-Moeller, J. (2012). Internal DP heads in restrictive relative clauses. *Proceedings of ConSOLE XVII*, 209:230. Sauerland, U. (1998). The meaning of chains. PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.