Introduction: Within the literature on relatives clauses (RC), two main structures have been proposed, the raising structure (Brame 1968; Kayne 1994; Bhatt 2002) and the matching structure (Sauerland 1998, 2003; Hulsey & Sauerland 2006). Both have been argued to be required in order to account for the empirical landscape of English RCs. In this paper, I present novel empirical data on RCs from Mi'gmaq, an Eastern Algonquian language and argue that first, numerals and quantifiers are stranded at a trace position *inside* the relative clause and second, that an amended-matching structure, as proposed in Koster-Moeller (2012), can account for Mi'gmaq RCs.

Novel empirical data: Mi'gmaq RCs are head external and have the unique property of allowing numerals and quantifiers (NQs) modifying the relative head noun to appear in stranded positions. When the relative head noun is the object of the relative clause, two syntactic patterns may arise with NQs: (i) the NQs appear in direct proximity to the relative head noun (1a); or (ii) the NQs are stranded from the head noun as in (1b). From either syntactic position, the NQ can only modify or have scope over the relative head noun and never the RC subject.

- (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)'

When a NQ is stranded phrase-final, there cannot be a NQ of the same 'type' on the head relative, these constructions are considered to be ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality holds regardless of the linear order of quantifiers or numerals i.e. * 'ms't 'all' ... ta'sijig 'some'; * ta'sijig ... 'ms't.

* nemituapnn tapugl wenji'guoml ta'n nitap nemitoqopnn 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)'

Internal stranding: There are two potential structures for the utterance in (1b), one where the numeral *nangl* 'five' is syntactically part of the matrix clause (3a), the other where the numeral is syntactically internal to the RC (3b). I argue that these stranded NQs are syntactically internal to the RC, based first on evidence from interpretation facts and then from quantifier scope.

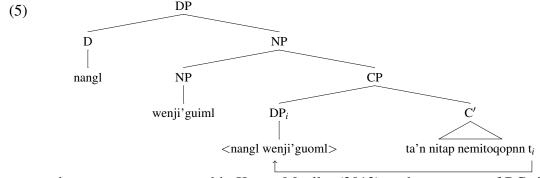
- (3) a. nemituapnn wenji'guoml [ta'n nitap nemitoqopnn] nangl see.1>3PL.PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN 5 Intended: 'I saw the 5 houses that my friend saw.'
 - b. nemituapnn wenji'guoml [ta'n nitap nemitoqopnn nangl] see.1>3PL.PST.IN house.PL.IN COMP 1.friend see.3>3'.PST.PL.IN 5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

If a stranded NQ syntactically belonged to the matrix clause and not the relative clause, then one would expect no interpretational differences between constructions with an NQ proximate to the head noun as in (1a), or in a stranded position as in (1b). However, this is not the case, the two utterances do not have equivalent interpretations. In a context with only five houses, when the numeral appears with the head noun, the matrix subject must have seen 5/5 of the houses while the RC subject had to have seen at least 2 houses, not necessarily 5. In the same context, when the numeral appears in a stranded position, the RC subject has to have seen 5/5 houses while the matrix subject has to have seen at least 2 houses, not necessarily 5. This difference in interpretations provides significant evidence for a RC internal position for the stranded NQs.

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** <u>wenji'guoml</u> 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 <u>wenji'guoml</u> 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.