Case mismatches in Spanish free relatives: the view from clitic left dislocation

Carlos Muñoz Pérez

Universidad de Buenos Aires, CONICET & Newcastle University

North East Language and Linguistics (NELLi) Away Day
Newcastle University, June 28th

Introduction

There are roughly two main analyses for *free relatives* (FRs).

(1) Cosmo eats [$_{FR}$ what(ever) Jerry buys].

Introduction

There are roughly two main analyses for *free relatives* (FRs).

(1) Cosmo eats [$_{FR}$ what(ever) Jerry buys].

According to the *Comp analysis* (e.g., Groos & van Riemsdijk 1979, Suñer 1984), the wh-phrase occupies the Spec,C position of the embedded clause, while a null pronominal functions as the head of the relative.

(2) [$_{DP}$ *pro* [$_{CP}$ *wh-phrase* [$_{TP}$ ...]]] *Comp analysis (CA)*

Introduction

There are roughly two main analyses for *free relatives* (FRs).

(1) Cosmo eats [$_{FR}$ what(ever) Jerry buys].

According to the *Comp analysis* (e.g., Groos & van Riemsdijk 1979, Suñer 1984), the wh-phrase occupies the Spec,C position of the embedded clause, while a null pronominal functions as the head of the relative.

(2) [$_{DP}$ *pro* [$_{CP}$ *wh-phrase* [$_{TP}$ ...]]] *Comp analysis (CA)*

The *Head analysis* maintains that the head of the free relative is the wh-phrase itself (e.g., Hirschbühler 1976, Bresnan & Grimshaw 1978).

(3) [$_{DP}$ *wh-phrase* [$_{CP}$ ...]] *Head analysis (HA)*

Introduction

The basic intuition behind the *Head analysis* is that the *wh-phrase* is "shared" between the matrix and the embedded domains. Therefore, it must be able to *match* the selectional requirements of both predicates.

(4) ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$ ... [DP *wh-phrase*$_{\alpha}$ [CP ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$]] *HA*

Introduction

The basic intuition behind the *Head analysis* is that the *wh-phrase* is "shared" between the matrix and the embedded domains. Therefore, it must be able to *match* the selectional requirements of both predicates.

(4) ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$ ... [DP *wh-phrase*$_{\alpha}$ [CP ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$]] *HA*

Under the *Comp analysis*, such a matching is not straightforwardly predicted as the matrix verb selects the DP headed by *pro*.

(5) ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$ ... [DP *pro*$_{\alpha}$ [CP *wh-phrase*$_{\beta}$ [TP ... $V_{\langle\beta\rangle}$]]] *CA*

Introduction

The basic intuition behind the *Head analysis* is that the *wh-phrase* is "shared" between the matrix and the embedded domains. Therefore, it must be able to *match* the selectional requirements of both predicates.

(4) ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$ ... [DP *wh-phrase*$_{\alpha}$ [CP ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$]] *HA*

Under the *Comp analysis*, such a matching is not straightforwardly predicted as the matrix verb selects the DP headed by *pro*.

(5) ... $V_{\langle\alpha\rangle}$ ... [DP *pro*$_{\alpha}$ [CP *wh-phrase*$_{\beta}$ [TP ... $V_{\langle\beta\rangle}$]]] *CA*

These *matching effects* between the wh-phrase and the predicates allow to distinguish between both analytical possibilities.

Case matching effects

Consider as illustration the following German sentences (data from Himmelreich 2017:15).

(6) Hans mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ *wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$].
Hans likes who Maria hates
'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

Case matching effects

Consider as illustration the following German sentences (data from Himmelreich 2017:15).

(6) Hans mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ *wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$].
Hans likes who Maria hates
'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

(7) Hans mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ *wem*$_{\text{DAT}}$/**wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria vertraut$_{\langle \text{DAT} \rangle}$].
Hans likes who Maria trusts
'Hans likes whoever Maria trusts.'

Case matching effects

Consider as illustration the following German sentences (data from Himmelreich 2017:15).

(6) Hans mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ *wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria hasst$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$].
Hans likes who Maria hates
'Hans likes whoever Maria hates.'

(7) Hans mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ *wem*$_{\text{DAT}}$/**wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria vertraut$_{\langle \text{DAT} \rangle}$].
Hans likes who Maria trusts
'Hans likes whoever Maria trusts.'

(8) Hans vertraut$_{\langle \text{DAT} \rangle}$ [$_{\text{FR}}$ **wem*$_{\text{DAT}}$/**wen*$_{\text{ACC}}$ Maria mag$_{\langle \text{ACC} \rangle}$].
Hans trusts who Maria likes
'Hans trusts whoever Maria likes.'

Matching effects in Spanish

Wh-pronouns in Spanish do not manifest morphological case. Free relatives have been mostly studied from the point of view of *categorial matching*.

(9) Gerardo piensa$_{\langle \text{PP} \rangle}$ *en quien* conoció$_{\langle \text{DP} \rangle}$ recientemente.
Gerardo thinks.3SG in who met.3SG recently
'Gerardo thinks of whom he met recently.'

Matching effects in Spanish

Wh-pronouns in Spanish do not manifest morphological case. Free relatives have been mostly studied from the point of view of *categorial matching*.

(9) Gerardo piensa$_{\langle \text{PP} \rangle}$ *en quien* conoció$_{\langle \text{DP} \rangle}$ recientemente.
Gerardo thinks.3SG in who met.3SG recently
'Gerardo thinks of whom he met recently.'

Patterns like (9) can be accounted for both under both approaches.

(10) ... V$_{\langle \text{PP} \rangle}$ [PP *en* [DP *quien*$_{\text{DP}}$ [CP ... V$_{\langle \text{DP} \rangle}$ ...]]] *HA*

(11) ... V$_{\langle \text{PP} \rangle}$ [PP *en* [DP *pro* [CP *quien*$_{\text{DP}}$ [TP ... V$_{\langle \text{DP} \rangle}$ ...]]]] *CA*

Proposal

Question

Case matching effects seem to offer the most straightforward way to compare HA and CA. Is it possible at all to find these patterns in languages like Spanish?

Proposal

Question

Case matching effects seem to offer the most straightforward way to compare HA and CA. Is it possible at all to find these patterns in languages like Spanish?

Answer

Case matching effects can be detected in languages that lack morphological case distinctions in wh-elements but have clitic left dislocation (CLLD).

Clitic left dislocation

CLLD has two properties that are interesting for us now. The first one is known as *connectivity*: the dislocated constituent is required to match the clitic (e.g., Cinque 1977).

(12) a. [$_{DO}$ A Cosmo], (lo$_{ACC}$/*le$_{DAT}$) vi hoy.
DOM Cosmo him saw.1SG today
'I saw Cosmo today.'

b. [$_{IO}$ A Eliana], (*la$_{ACC}$/le$_{DAT}$) di un regalo.
to Eliana her gave.1SG a present
'I gave a present to Eliana.'

Notice that the connectivity requirement applies despite of the syncretism between accusative DOM and the IO preposition *a* 'to'.

Clitic left dislocation

The second property is that *wh-phrases* can undergo CLLD.

(13) a. ¿[$_{\text{DO}}$ *A quién*], (lo_{ACC}/*le_{DAT}) viste hoy?
DOM who him saw.2SG today
'Who did you see today?'

b. ¿[$_{\text{IO}}$ *A quién*], (*lo_{ACC}/le_{DAT}) diste un regalo.
to who him gave.2SG a present
'To whom did you give a present?'

Notice that the connectivity requirement still holds, i.e. DO$\leftrightharpoons$*lo* and IO$\leftrightharpoons$*le*.

CLLD and free relatives

In free relatives, the *wh-phrase* can be doubled by a clitic within the embedded clause. Moreover, if the whole free relative is left dislocated, its head can be further doubled by a clitic in the matrix clause.

(14) a. [FR *A quien* le$_{\text{DAT}}$ ofrecí el dinero], se$_{\text{DAT}}$ lo di.
to who him/her offered.1SG the money him/her it gave.1SG
'I gave the money to whoever I offered it'.

b. [FR *A quien* lo$_{\text{ACC}}$ vi], lo$_{\text{ACC}}$ saludé.
DOM who him saw.1SG him greeted.1SG
'I greeted whoever I saw'.

CLLD and free relatives

The connectivity requirement holding between clitic and dislocated constituent vanishes in contexts of free relatives, as the clitics may manifest distinct cases.

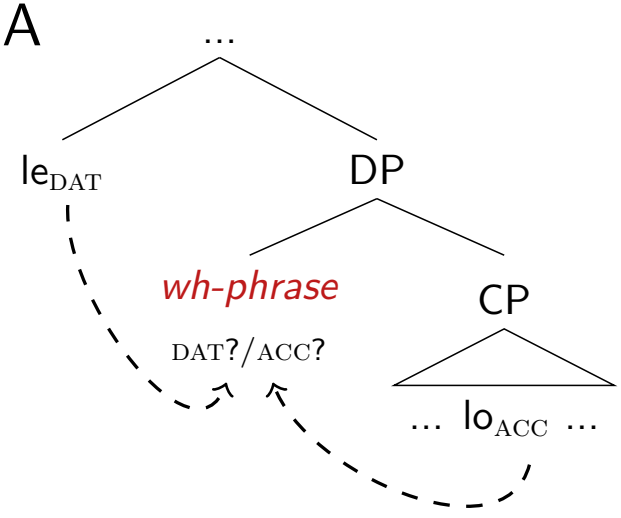
(15) a. [FR *A quien* lo_{ACC} insulté], le_{DAT} pido una disculpa.
DOM/to who him insulted.1SG him ask.1SG a apology
'I offer my apologies to whoever I insulted'.

b. [FR *A quienes* no les_{DAT} diste entradas], los_{ACC} invité yo.
DOM/to who not them gave.2SG tickets them invite.1SG I
'I invited whoever you didn't give tickets to'.

CLLD and free relatives

Can CA and HA deal with these mismatches?

(16) HA



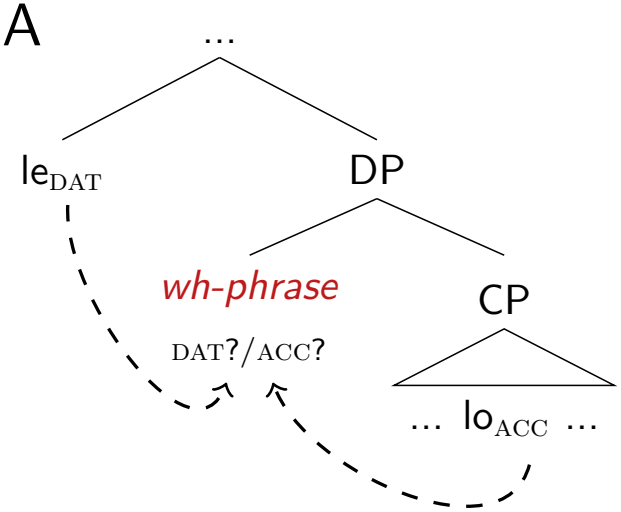
The connectivity requirement in CLLD can be preserved only under the Comp analysis: the matrix clitic may be taken to match the case of the null pronoun heading the free relative.

CLLD and free relatives

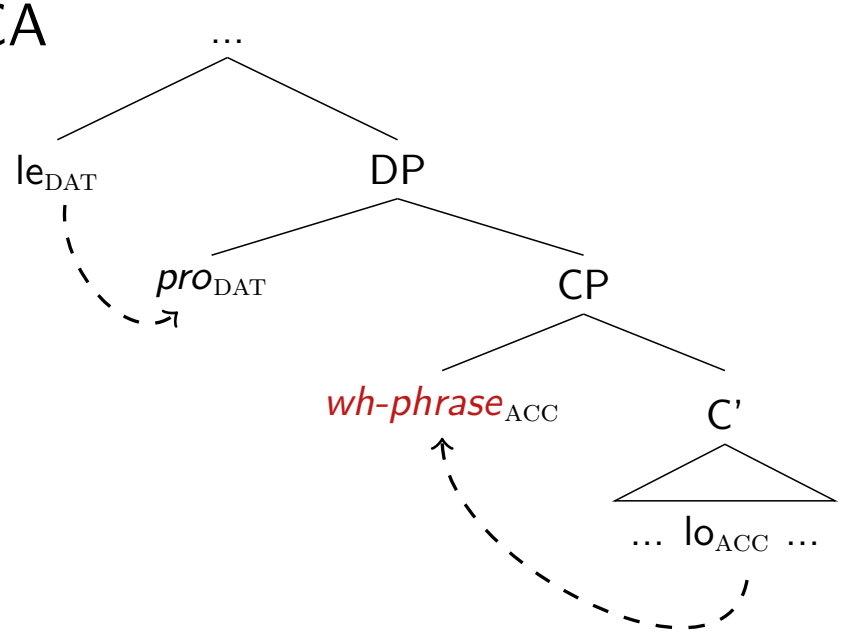
Can CA and HA deal with these mismatches?

(16)

HA



CA



The connectivity requirement in CLLD can be preserved only under the Comp analysis: the matrix clitic may be taken to match the case of the null pronoun heading the free relative.

Concluding remarks

- The Comp and Head analyses of free relatives make distinct predictions with respect to matching effects.
- Case mismatches can still be detected in languages that lack morphological distinctions in wh-pronouns if they have CLLD constructions.
- The Spanish patterns of CLLD in context of free relatives support the Comp analysis.

References

Bresnan, Joan & Jane Grimshaw. 1978. The syntax of free relatives in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 9(3). 331–391.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1977. The movement nature of left dislocation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(2). 397–412.

Groos, Anneke & Henk van Riemsdijk. 1979. The matching effects in free relatives: a parameter of core grammar. In Adriana Belletti, Luciana Brandi & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *Theory of markedness in generative grammar*, 171–216. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore.

Himmelreich, Anke. 2017. *Case matching effects in free relatives and parasitic gaps*. Leipzig: Universität Leipzig dissertation.

Hirschbühler, Paul. 1976. Two analyses of free relatives in French. In Alan Ford, John Reighard & Rajendra Singh (eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society 6*. 137–152. Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal.

Suñer, Margarita. 1984. Free relatives and the matching parameter. *The Linguistic Review* 3(4). 363–387. doi:10.1515/tlir.1984.3.4.363.

¡Thanks!