Case attraction in headless relatives

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Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction

The topic of this thesis is case attraction in headless relative clauses. First I talk about the role of case in language. Second I discuss regular headed relative clauses and how they handle case. Third I introduce a phenomenon called case attraction in headed relative clause. Finally, I get to headless relative clauses that show case attraction.

1.1 Explaining the basics/title

1.1.1 Case attraction

Languages can use case to mark the grammatical role of a noun phrase in a clause. Consider the two Modern German sentences in (1). In (1a), *der Lehrer* 'the teacher' is marked nominative, and it is the subject. *Den Schüler* 'the student' is marked accusative, and it is an object. In (1b), the roles are reversed: *der Schüler* 'the student' is marked nominative and it is the subject, and *den Lehrer* 'the teacher' is marked accusative and it is the object. Notice also that the subject precedes the predicate *mag* 'likes' and the object follows it.

(1) a. Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler.
         the.M.NOM teacher likes the.M.ACC student
         'The teacher likes the student.'
     b. Der   Schüler mag den   Lehrer.
         the.M.NOM student likes the.M.ACC
         'The student likes the teacher.'

Not only full noun phrases, but also other elements can be marked for case, such relative pronouns. Modern German marks relative pronouns, just like full noun phrases, for the grammatical role they have in the clause. Consider the two sentences in (2). In (2a), the relative pronoun *der* 'that.M.NOM' introduces a clause that modifies *den Schüler* 'the student'. *Der* 'that.M.NOM' is marked masculine and nominative. The relative pronoun is marked masculine, because it agrees in gender with its antecedent *den Schüler* 'the student'. It is marked nominative, because of its grammatical role: it is the subject in the relative clause. In (2b), the relative pronoun *den* 'that.M.ACC' is

marked masculine and accusative. Again, the relative pronoun is marked masculine, because it agrees in gender with its antecedent *den Schüler* 'the student'. It is marked accusative, because of its grammatical role: it is the object in the relative clause.

(2) a. Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler, der   nach draußen
         the.M.NOM teacher likes the.M.ACC student that.M.NOM to   outside
         guckt.
         looks
         'The teacher likes the student that is looking outside.'
     b. Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler, den   er beim
         the.M.NOM teacher likes the.M.ACC student that.M.ACC he at the
         Verstecktspiel   sucht.
         hide-and-seek game seeks
         'The teacher likes the student that he is looking for playing hide-and-seek.'

–from here on it still needs working out–

This pattern occurs in German, most other modern languages. In some ancient languages the relative pronoun did not take the case of the grammatical role in its own clause. Instead, it agrees in case with its antecedent. This is called case attraction. The relative pronoun is attracted to its antecedent(?).

(3) sie gedâht'   ouch maniger leide,   der   ir dâ héimé
     she thought_GEN also some.GEN sufferings.GEN which.GEN her at home
     geschach.
     happened_NOM
     'She thought about some misfortunes that happened to her at home' attraction headed relative

there is a generalization here: more complex case wins. maybe don't mention that here yet.

1.1.2 Headless relatives

So far I discussed headed relatives. Headless relatives also exist. The antecedent is missing. We also observe case attraction there. It is less easy to see because the antecedent NP is missing, but we know what's going on because of the case requirements of the predicates. So this actually means is that the relative pronoun takes the case from the main clause (where normally the antecedent was). This is called proper attraction.

(4) Aer antuurta demo   zaimo sprah.
     he   replied_DAT who.DAT to him spoke_NOM
     'He replied to the one who spoke to him.' proper attraction headless relative

1.2 Case complexity

case attraction always follows the hierarchy

1.3 Direction of attraction

case attraction can go two ways

(5)　Aer antuurta demo　　zaimo sprah.
　　　he　replied$_{\text{DAT}}$ who.DAT to him spoke$_{\text{NOM}}$
　　　'He replied to the one who spoke to him.'　proper attraction headless relative

(6)　Ich lade ein, wem　　Maria vertraut.
　　　I　invite$_{\text{ACC}}$ who.DAT also　Maria　trusts$_{\text{DAT}}$
　　　'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'　　invserse attraction headless relative

the morphology of the relative pronouns decides which one is possible

1.4 Prepositions

and r-pronouns

Chapter 2

Case complexity

2.1 The pattern

Illustrate complexity with Gothic

2.2 Background: case hierarchy theory, nano theory

also argue against scott grimm? or add to it

2.3 Analysis

No syntax of relative clauses yet, just "when one contains the other, the contained one can be deleted"

2.4 Bigger picture

Case is complex

Chapter 3

Direction of attraction

3.1 Typology

Old High German only has proper attraction. Modern German only has inverse attraction. Gothic has both proper and inverse attraction.

Table 3.1: INT vs. EXT in Modern and Old High German and Gothic

	INT>EXT inverse attraction	EXT>INT proper attraction
Modern German	✓	*
Old High German	*	✓
Gothic	✓	✓

3.1.1 Gothic

3.1.2 Old High German

(1) EXT:GEN, INT:NOM

    a.   suachit   thes   nan   sentit
        search.3.SG$_{\text{DAT}}$ D-N.SG.GEN 3.SG.M.ACC sent
        'he searched for who sent him/ der sucht die Sachen dessen der ihn
        sendet'   (Old High German, Otfrid III,16,21, **behaghel1923**)

    b.   diu habe niemer niht entuot, des   der seele schaden si
        they have not   never not do D-GEN.SG.N the soul damage is$_{\text{NOM}}$
        ' '   (Middle High German, Warn. 2490, **behaghel1923**)

(2) EXT:DAT, INT:NOM

    a.   Aer antuurta demo   zaimo sprah.
        he   replied$_{\text{DAT}}$ D-M.SG.DAT to him spoke$_{\text{NOM}}$
        'He replied to the one who spoke to him.'   (Old High German, Monsee
        Fragments 7,24, **behaghel1923**)

    b.   gebe   themo   ni eigi
        give$_{\text{DAT}}$ D−M.SG.DAT not posses$_{\text{NOM}}$
        'give to whom that does not have' gebe dem der nicht hat   (Old High
        German, Otfrid I,24,77, Schrodt,175)

(3)   EXT:ACC, INT:NOM

(4)   EXT:GEN, INT:ACC

    a.   der bewiset   in des   er suochte
        he directed$_{\text{GEN}}$ him D-N.SG.GEN he sought$_{\text{ACC}}$
        'He directed him to what he sought.' (Middle High German, Iwein 988,
        behaghel1923), trans. Hartmann von Aue-Portal

    b.   giwisso ni birut   ir   thero   ih irwellu   zi mir
        bestimmt not belong$_{\text{GEN}}$ 2.PL.NOM D-GEN.PL I   choose$_{\text{ACC}}$ to me
        'you surely do not belong to those that I choose for myself //sicherlich
        gehört ihr nicht zu denen die ich mir erwähle'   (Old High German,
        Otfrid III,22,20, Schrodt,p.175)

(5)   EXT:DAT, INT:ACC

    a.   istû   furira   Abrâhame, ouh thên   man hiar nû
        are you bigger than$_{\text{DAT}}$ Abraham   also D-D.PL one here now
        zalta?
        mentioned$_{\text{ACC}}$
        'are you bigger than Abraham and those people named just now?' (Old
        High German, Otfrid III,18,33, **behaghel1923**)

(6)   EXT:GEN, INT:DAT

   Don't know:

(7)   Old High German

    a.   gaat uz diu halt za dem iz forchaufent

       ''   (Old High German, Monsee Fragments 20,14, **behaghel1923**)
    b.   thisiu fon thiu, iru wan ist, siu alla iru libnara santa (ex eo, quod)

       'hæc autem ex eo quod deest illi, totum victum suum quem habuit misit.'
       (Old High German, Tatian 118,1, **behaghel1923**)
    c.   thaz iru thiu sin guati nirzigi, thes siu bati

       ''   (Old High German, Otfrid II,8,24, **behaghel1923**)
    d.   thia laz ih themo iz lisit thar

       ''   (Old High German, Otfrid I,19,25, **behaghel1923**)
    e.   noh so neduohti in gnuoge des si habetin

       ''   (Old High German, Notker I,63,29, **behaghel1923**)

f. tannoh pito ih tes noh fore ist (id quod)

    ' '   (Old High German, Notker 193,19, **behaghel1923**)

g. ih bibringu fona Juda dhen   mina berga
    I educate von Juda D-M/N/F.PL.DAT/M.SG.ACC my? mountain
    chisetzit
    order/put
    ' '   (Old High German, Isidor 34,3, **behaghel1923**)

So, to sum up:

Table 3.2: Case attraction in headless relatives in Old High German

EXT \ INT	V_NOM	V_ACC	V_DAT	V_GEN
V_NOM	NOM	*ACC / *NOM	*DAT / *NOM	*GEN / *NOM
V_ACC	*NOM / ACC	ACC	*DAT / *ACC	*GEN / *ACC
V_DAT	*NOM / DAT	*ACC / DAT	DAT	*GEN / *DAT
V_GEN	*NOM / GEN	*ACC / GEN	*DAT / GEN	GEN

3.1.3 Modern German

3.2 Background: relative clause theory

Standard raising, probably Cinque's double-headed structures

3.3 Shape of relative pronoun

Old High German has a d-pronoun. Modern German has a wh-pronoun. Gothic has a d-pronoun plus a caseless relativizer.

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Old High German

In Old High German, proper attraction in headless relatives can be derived from headed relatives. The relative pronoun is the determiner from the main clause. Under a double-headed Cinque-analysis, it is the internal DP that is deleted.

(8)   ACC instead of NOM

Table 3.3: INT vs. EXT in Modern and Old High German and Gothic

SG	M	N	F
NOM	dëse, dësēr	diz	dësiu, disiu (thisu)
ACC	dësan	diz	dësa
DAT	dësemu, dësemo	dësemu, dësemo	dëseru
GEN	dësses	dësses	dësera

PL	M	N	F
NOM	dëse	dësiu, disiu (thisu)	dëso
ACC	dëse	dësiu, disiu (thisu)	dëso
DAT	dësēm, dësen	dësēm, dësen	dësēm, dësen
GEN	dësero	dësero	dësero

    a.   unde ne wolden níet besên den mort   den   dô   was
           and   not wanted not see   the murder.ACC that.ACC there had
           geschên
           happened
           'and they didn't want to see the murder that had happened.' (Middle High German, Nibelungenlied 1391,14, **behaghel1923**, glosses and translation by **pittner1995**)

3.4.2 Modern German

In German, inverse attraction in headed relatives can be shown to be very different from inverse attraction in headless relatives. I am not set on an analysis yet. Under a double-headed Cinque-analysis, it is the external DP that is deleted. Grafting is also still an option.

3.4.3 Gothic

In Gothic, ?

3.5 No attraction

Italian has none. Italian uses its free relative pronoun also in light-headed relative pronouns.

3.6 Bigger picture

Relative pronoun is a descriptive term. What we analyze as relative pronouns are sometimes wh-elements, sometimes determiners.

    Case attraction is also a descriptive term. The constructions are underlyingly very different.

Chapter 4

Prepositions

4.1 Headless relatives and prepositions

What happens if we analyze prepositions as expressions of case? (And what happens if we do not?)

4.2 R-pronouns

Paper on *waarmee*

4.3 Bigger picture

?

Chapter 5

Conclusion

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