Chapter 17

Featuring creatures of darkness

Tilman N. Höhle

> "Pollard and Sag (1994: Chapter 5), pandering shamelessly to the GB masses, propose an analysis of English relative clauses that employs […] empty relativizers […]. […] The lexical entries for these creatures of darkness stipulate numerous ad hoc structure sharings. […]
> Their elimination would be a welcome result." Anonymous, spring 1994.
> (*pander to the N* 'dem (verwerflichen) N Vorschub leisten')

Proposition: 1

(i) The essential characteristics of the First Null Relativizer(s) (§8) are empirically welcome.

(ii) Fronted verbs (fV, i.e. V1 and V2) show the same characteristics (§§31ff.).

(iii) Hence, fV are related in specific ways to the complementizer system. Note in particular §§31 and 35.

Warning. This talk is going to appeal to analytic intuitions in a very sketchy manner. Many important details are not mentioned or/and left to future work. 2

[§] *Editors' note:* This is the previously unpublished paper version of a talk given at the IBM Wissenschaftszentrum in Heidelberg, September 7, 1994. It unifies two textual variants (of the same date) that show some minor differences. The citation style was adjusted to the conventions in this volume, and a few abbreviations in the original are systematically spelled out here (*Scandinavian* for *Scand.*, etc.).

[*] Note: The empirical aspects of the topic are also displayed in a contribution to the Heinz Vater Festschrift (Sprache im Fokus, ed. by C. Dürscheid et al., Tübingen: Niemeyer 1997).

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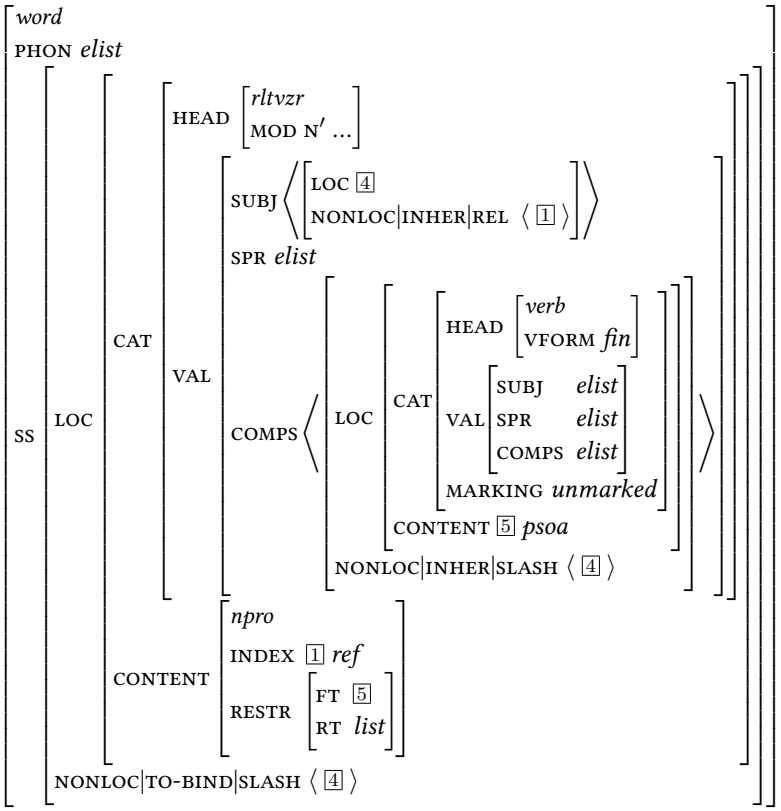
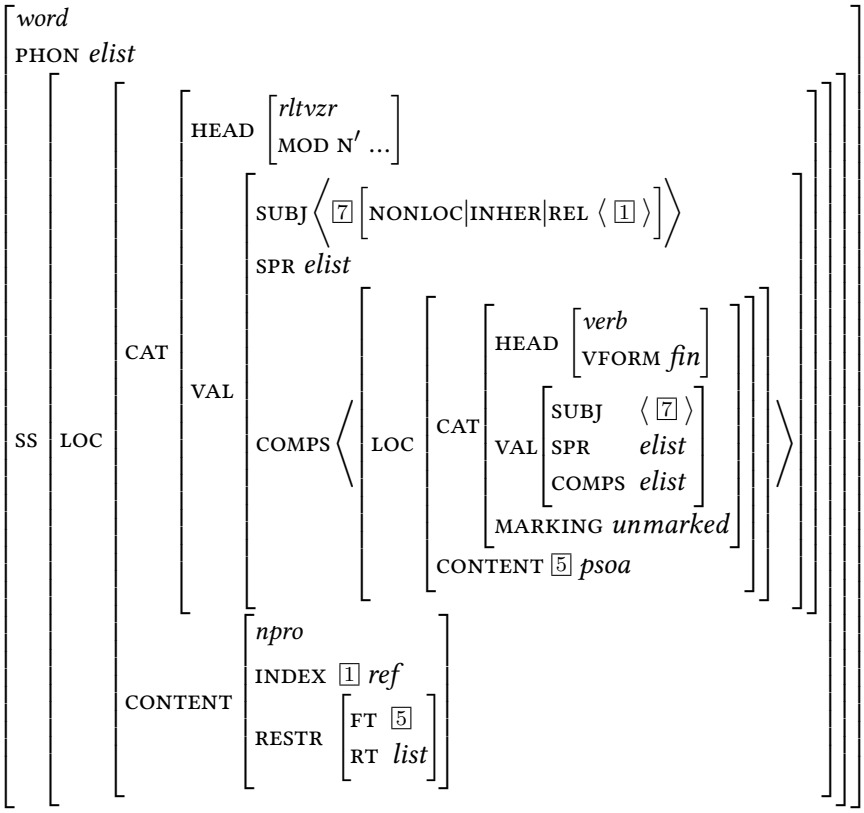
1 English FNRs

3 Pollard & Sag's FNR, nonraising (slash-binding) variety (cf. 1994: 216 (24)) (partial):

(1)



P&S's FNR, Subject-to-Subject Raising variety (cf. 1994: 218 (28)) (partial): 4

(2)


Comment 1. Ingeniously, P&S use the SELR to characterize (28) as being regularly expected on the basis of (24). I drop this assumption for empirical reasons (e.g., (13) below). 5

Comment 2. P&S specify 7 as "NP". I drop that as it is unjustified on both formal and empirical grounds.

The nonraising FNR (identical subscripts indicate token-identical referential indices): 6

(3) a. (person$_i$) [who$_i$ e$_i$ [$_S$ I talked to t$_i$]]$_i$ (P&S (1a))
b. (person$_i$) [[whose$_i$ brother]$_j$ e$_i$ [$_S$ Kim likes t$_j$]]$_i$ (P&S (2))
c. (person$_i$) [[to whom$_i$] e$_i$ [$_S$ Kim gave a book t]]$_i$ (P&S (25))
d. (minister$_i$) [[in the middle of whose$_i$ sermon] e$_i$ [$_S$ the dog barked t]]$_i$ (P&S (11d))

7 The SSR FNR:

(4) a. (person$_i$) [who$_i$ e$_i$ [$_{VP}$ gave a book to Kim]]$_i$ (P&S (29))
b. (person$_i$) [[whose$_i$ sister] e$_i$ [$_{VP}$ gave a book to Kim]]$_i$ (P&S (3))
c. (person$_i$) [[pictures of whom$_i$] e$_i$ [$_{VP}$ were on sale]]$_i$ (P&S (9))
d. ([… parties]$_i$) [[to be admitted to one of which$_i$] e$_i$ [$_{VP}$ was a privilege]]$_i$ (P&S (23))

8 Essential characteristics. There is a natural class of 'complementizer' elements (in particular, relativizers). Some of them are SS raising and some are (nonraising) slash-binding. Their relationship is not accounted for by the SELR, but by other means (which are not yet worked out). They all take S or VP as the only element of the COMPS value. With nonraising elements, there may – but need not – be another non-empty VALENCE value (SUBJ, as with P&S, or perhaps preferably SPR). With raising elements, the SUBJ value has one element.

2 German non-3rd Null Relativizer

9 Relative clauses with (functionally) first or second person pronoun (*ich*, *wir*, *du*, *ihr*, *Sie*) or vocative antecedent and a nonsubject relative phrase are obligatorily 'normal':

(5) a. lieber Freund, den [$_S$ wir so gerne t besuchen] !
dear friend whom.MASC we so gladly visit
b. dich, den [$_S$ wir so gerne t besuchen]
you.SG whom.MASC we so gladly visit
c. ich, den [$_S$ sie so gerne t besucht]
I whom.MASC she so gladly visits
d. Ihnen, den [$_S$ wir so gerne t besuchen]
you.HONOR whom.MASC we so gladly visit

10 Expectedly, there are also 'normal' relative clauses with subject relative pronoun:

(6) a. ? lieber Freund, der [uns immer so gerne besucht hat] !
dear friend who.MASC us always so gladly visited has
b. dich, der [uns so gerne besucht]
you who.MASC us so gladly visits

c. ich, der [sie so gerne besucht]
I who.MASC her/them so gladly visits

d. Ihnen, der [uns so gerne besucht]
you.HONOR who.MASC us so gladly visits

But there is an unexpected alternative: 11

(7) a. lieber Freund, der [$_S$ Sie uns immer so gerne besucht
dear friend who.MASC you.HONOR us always so gladly visited
haben] !
have

a′. lieber Freund, der [$_S$ du uns immer so gerne besucht hast] !
dear friend who.MASC you us always so gladly visited have

b. dich, der [$_S$ du uns so gerne besuchst]
you who.MASC you us so gladly visit

c. ich, der [$_S$ ich sie so gerne besuche]
I who.MASC I her/them so gladly visit

d. Ihnen, der [$_S$ Sie uns so gerne besuchen]
you.HONOR who.MASC you.HONOR us so gladly visit

There is agreement between the antecedent and the subject of the relative clause as to: 12

c-inds (speaker, hearer, number), honorification;

between the antecedent and the relative pronoun (just as in (5) and (6)) as to:

natural number, natural sex;

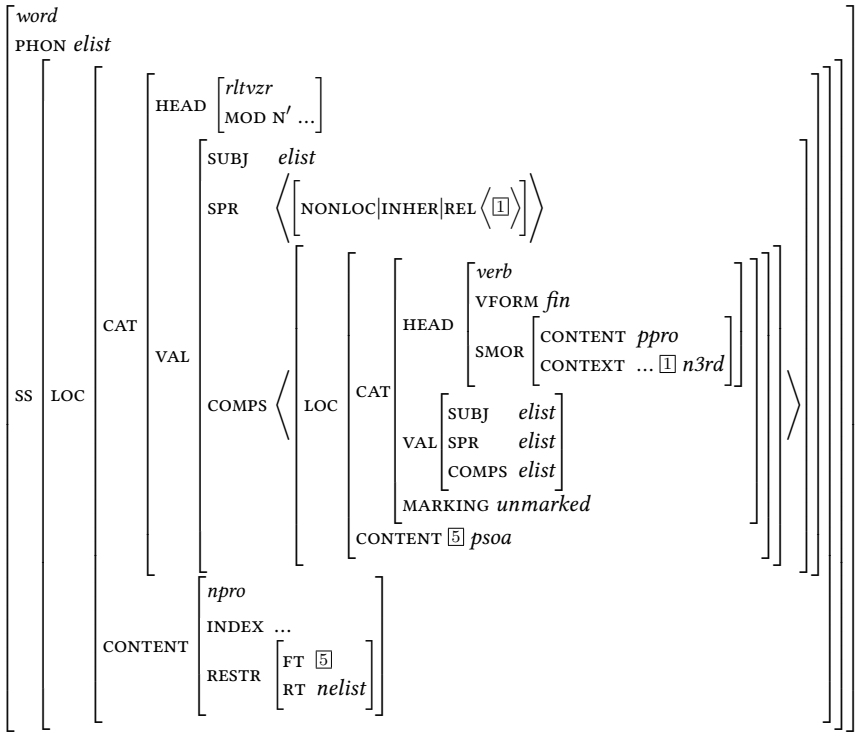
between the relative pronoun and the subject as to:

case (nominative).

No attempt is made here to develop precise agreement mechanisms and modify the properties of the sorts *index* and *c-inds* accordingly. But it can be seen that the arrangement of constituents in (7) complies with the predictions of §8. 13

14 German non-3rd Null Relativizer (roughly):

(8)



3 The attribute SMOR

15 In §14, use is made of a new head attribute SMOR. Its value is intended to be the LOCAL value of the subject, i.e., of that phrase that agrees with the finite verb as to person and number, if there is one. In this way, information about properties of a subject contained in a phrase is available to anything that selects that phrase. This attribute allows the case of the subject in *for-to* infinitives to be selected by *for*:

(9) a. [for [her to do the ugly work]] is pleasant for him
b. * [for [she to do the ugly work]] is pleasant for him

16 It provides information for 'comp-agreement' as in (10) (Eastern Dutch). Notice that the complementizer's suffix is independent of the verb's suffix.

(10) a. azze wy de törf niet verkoopn kunt (Haeringen 1958: 119)
that.1PL we the peat not sell can.1PL
b. az(*-ze) ze/zy de törf niet verkoopn kunt
that(-3PL) they the peat not sell can.3PL

And it helps accounting for VP topicalization with 'ergative' subjects in German: 17

(11) a. [der Wein ausgegangen] ist uns diesmal nicht
the.NOM.SG wine come.to.an.end is for.us this.time not

b. [die Argumente ausgegangen] sind/*ist uns diesmal
the.NOM.PL arguments come.to.an.end are/*is for.us this.time
nicht
not

4 Scandinavian *som*

In Scandinavian languages – in particular, in Norwegian – *som* functions as an introduction (i) to expressions of comparison, (ii) to relative clauses, (iii) to *wh*-interrogative clauses. (*That*-clauses are introduced by *at*, *whether*-clauses by *om*.) 18

4.1 Interrogative clauses

There is no way to predict that *som* can occur with *wh*-interrogative clauses, and it is unexpected that it is obligatory with subject interrogatives (12). With object interrogatives (13), it is possible but disprefered in Swedish and impossible in Norwegian. 19

(12) a. vi vet hvem som [snakker med Marit] (Taraldsen 1986: (7))
we know who som talks with Mary

b. * vi vet hvem [snakker med Marit] (8)
we know who talks with Mary

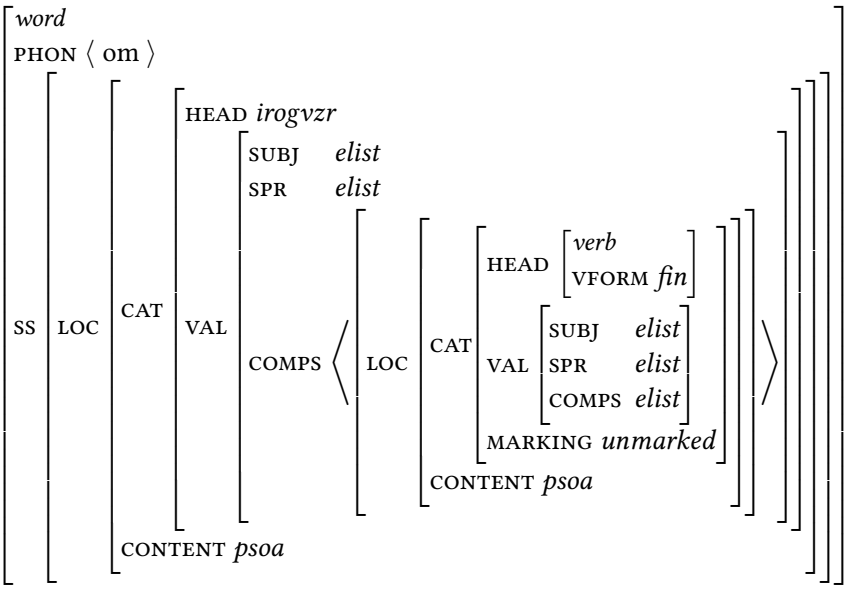
(13) a. % vi vet hvem som [$_S$ Marit snakker med t] (10)
we know who som Mary talks with

b. vi vet hvem [$_S$ Marit snakker med t] (9)
we know who Mary talks with

A natural account is to postulate for Norwegian and Swedish (i) *om* as an interrogativizer that is neither slash-binding nor raising, (ii) *som* as a raising irogvzr, (iii) a null slash-binding irogvzr; and for Swedish (iv) another *som* irogvzr that is slash-binding. Thus, the Swedish *som* irogvzrs overtly show just the essential properties of the English FNRs. 20

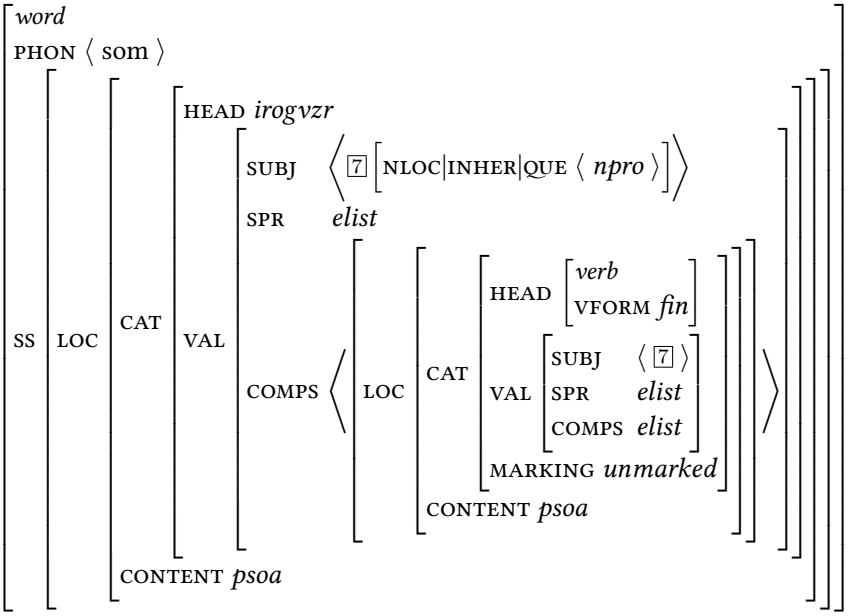
21 Scandinavian *om* interrogativizer (partial):

(14)



22 Scandinavian *som* raising irogvzr (partial):

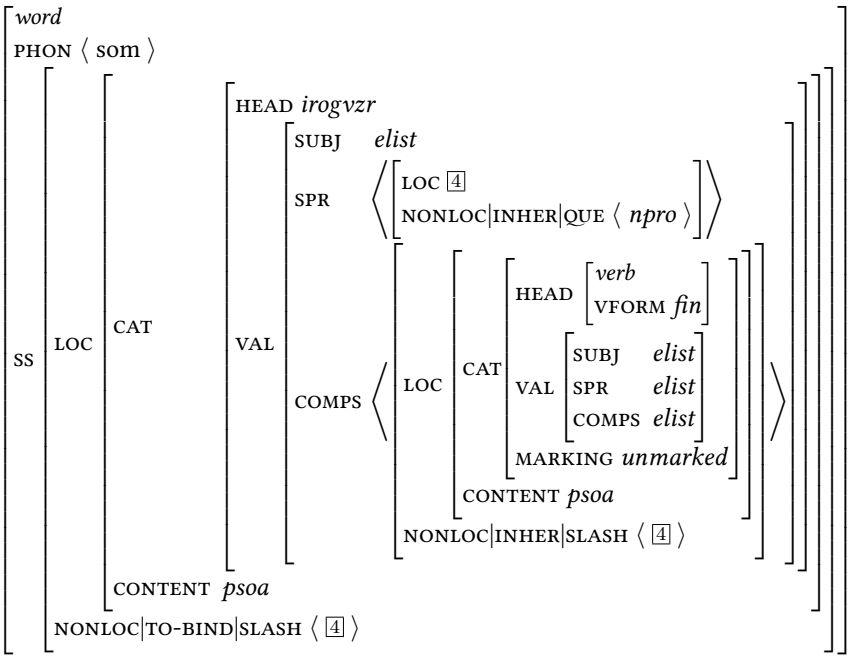
(15)



23 There is a question as to how the propagation of the nonempty QUE value is to be regulated. Since this involves general questions concerning the function and location of TO-BIND, these questions are not discussed here.

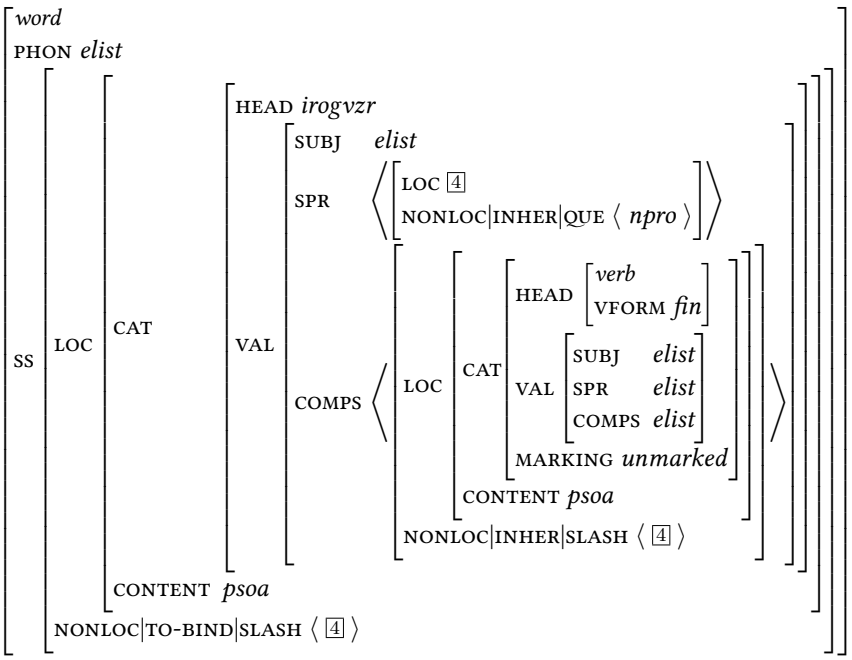
Swedish *som* slash-binding irogvzr (partial): 24

(16)



Scandinavian null slash-binding irogvzr (partial) (just like §24): 25

(17)



4.2 Relative clauses

26 Relative clause introducing *som* is distributed just like the interrogativizer *som* is in Swedish, except that there is no (overt) relative phrase. Hence, there are two *som* rltvzrs and one null rltvzr that are all similar to the Second Null Relativizer of Pollard & Sag (1994: 222 (36)). Note that *som* in Scandinavian, as opposed to *that* in English, does not occur as an 'unmarked' complementizer, hence *som* in relative clauses cannot be treated like P&S attempt to treat *that* in their §5.2.3.

(18) a. vi kjenner den mannen som [snakker med Marit] (Taraldsen: (1))
we know the man som talks with Mary

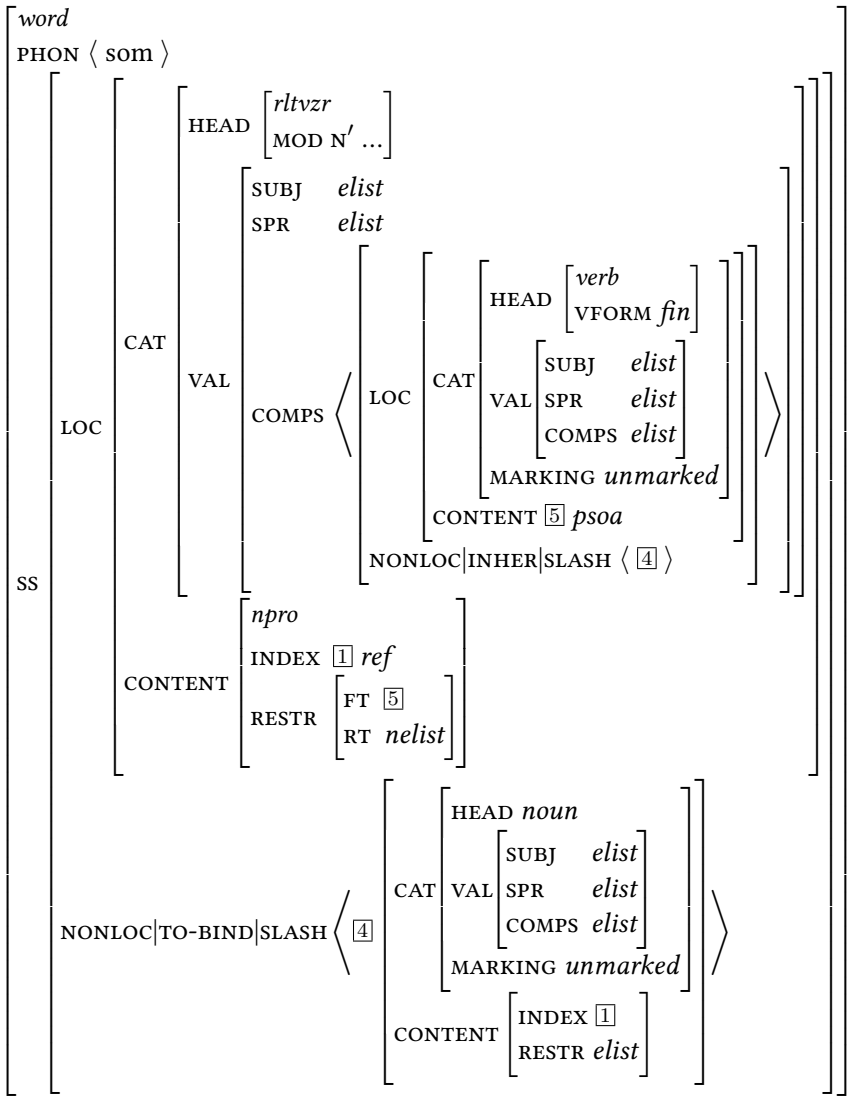
b. * vi kjenner den mannen [snakker med Marit] (2)
we know the man talks with Mary

(19) a. vi kjenner den mannen som [$_S$ Marit snakker med t] (3)
we know the man som Mary talks with

b. vi kjenner den mannen [$_S$ Marit snakker med t] (4)
we know the man Mary talks with

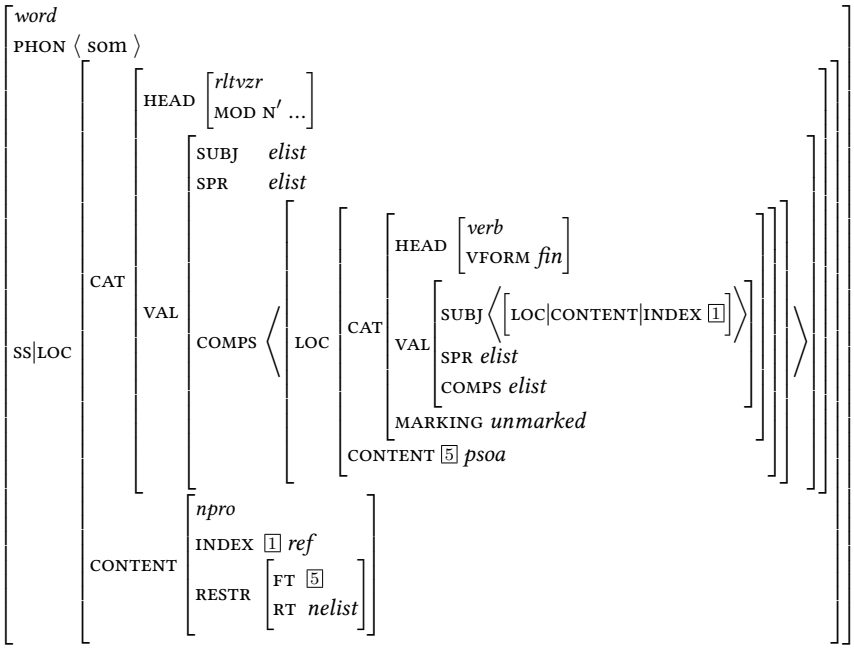
Scandinavian slash-binding *som* relativizer: 27

(20)



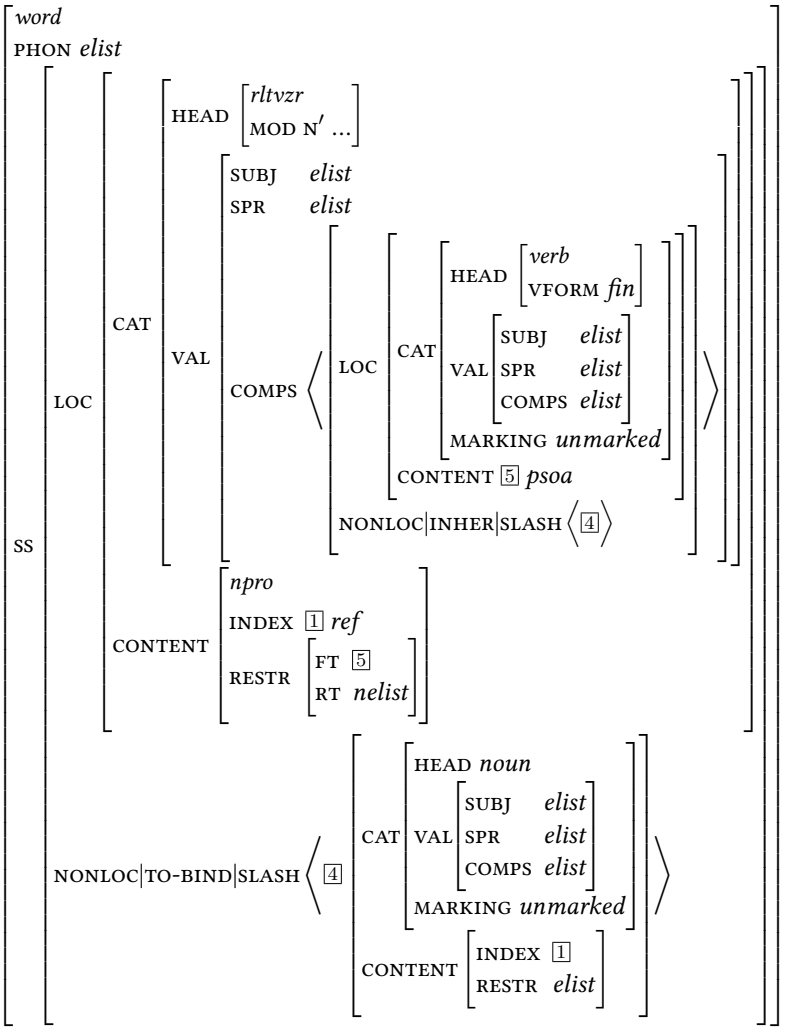
28 Scandinavian raising *som* relativizer:

(21)



Scandinavian slash-binding null relativizer (just like §27): 29

(22)



5 English *that*-relativizers

English non-*wh*-relative clauses pattern exactly like the Scandinavian ones. Cf. (23) and (24) to (18) and (19). Hence, I drop P&S's assumption that there is a nominative relative pronoun *that* (1994: 220 (33)). Instead, there are two *that*-relativizers and one null relativizer corresponding exactly to the Scandinavian ones (§§27–29). 30

(23) a. (student) that [was telling you about cell structure] (P&S: (32c))
b. * (student) [was telling you about cell structure] (cf. P&S: (38))

(24) a. (student) that [$_S$ I was telling you about t] (P&S: (32a))
b. (student) [$_S$ I was telling you about t] (P&S: (32b))

6 fV with and without 'subject inversion'

31 Fronted finite verbs (fV, i.e. V1 and V2) in most Germanic languages show exactly the same inflexional morphophonemics as their non-fronted counterparts (uV). (One celebrated exception in Modern English is Hudson's 1977 *aren't I*.) Therefore, many attempts to understand 'verb movement' proceed from the assumption that fronted and unfronted verbs are in an important sense 'the same' (and tend to get stuck someplace). This assumption is partially correct for fV (V2) that follow their subject (S-fV); it is incorrect for 'inverted' fV that precede their subject (fV-S). At the same time, (projections of) S-fV and fV-S share well-known properties that set them apart from (projections of) uV.

32 In Old English and in Middle Low German, a 1PL or 2PL fV-S can or must bear special inflexional properties different from the inflexion of S-fV and uV (Brunner 1965, Lasch 1974, Sarauw 1924). Probably, the same pattern underlies the variation in Tatian (Old High German) of 1PL *-mes* and *-n*, although the figures are too small to be conclusive (Eggenberger 1961). In Middle High German, 1PL *-e* and *-(e)n* alternate accordingly (Paul 1989).

33 Standard Dutch is well-known for its obligatory 2SG alternation:

(25) a. dat jij misschien ziek bent/*ben
that you perhaps sick are
b. jij bent/*ben misschien ziek
you are perhaps sick
c. (misschien) ben(*-t) jij ziek
perhaps are you sick

34 Since the fV-S here is characterized by the absence of *-t*, some unusual kind of deletion rule might be invoked. Nothing like that is possible in dialectal data like (26) from Eastern Dutch:

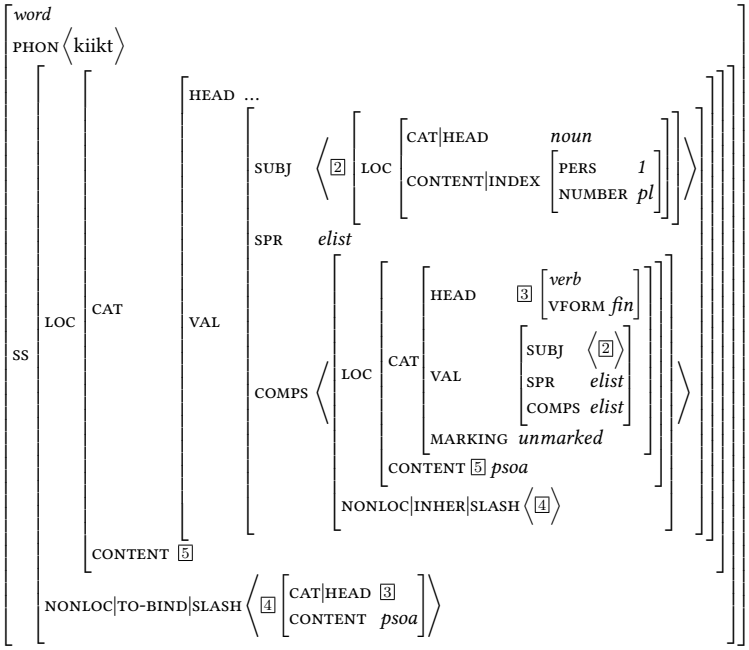
(26) a. dat wii kiikt (Entjes 1970: 318)
that we look
b. wii kiikt
c. (XP) kiiken wii

There is a broad spectrum of alternations throughout different dialects of Dutch.

It is apparent that S-fV and fV-S correspond to raising and nonraising complementizers such as seen in §22 and §§21, 24, respectively. 35

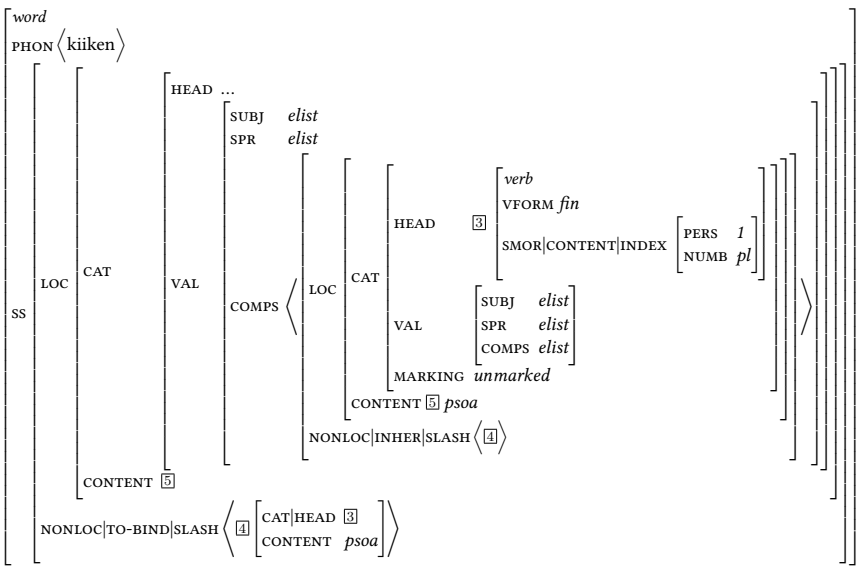
Raising S-fV *kiikt* (partial); cf. §22: 36

(27)



Nonraising fV-S (V1) *kiiken* (partial); cf. §§14 and 21: 37

(28)



38 Naturally, an fV-S gets its agreement information from the SMOR value of its complement. Significantly, van Haeringen (1958) has observed that in those dialects that show inflexion on complementizers as in (10), the complementizer inflexion is modelled on the inflexion of fV-S, not S-fV/uV. (Zwart 1993: Chapter III.3 provides 'minimalist' discussion.)

39 The accounts for 'raising' complementizers and S-fV presented here entail that the complement's subject cannot undergo 'short movement'. This restriction applies in particular to Norwegian and Dutch, two languages that are known to be very liberal wrt. 'Comp-trace' effects. One may interpret this as a contribution to the growing evidence that those effects are far from being understood.

7 Non-finite fV

40 In several (geographically scattered) dialects of Low German, Dutch and Old Frisian a version of asymmetric coordination of non-finite verb projections can be found where the non-finite verb in a non-first conjunct is fronted:

(29) a. dann wollte ich mir eine Stube mieten und [verheiraten mich]
then wished I for.me a flat rent and get.married.INF myself
(Teuchert 1921: 76)

b. moust es komen en [zain ons vooltje] (Veldman 1991: (101c))
must.you once come and see our foal

c. ik zoo noo hous goon en [nemme(n) ze mei] (Bont 1962: 465)
I should to home go and take.INF them with

41 In Modern Frisian, the non-finite verb, when fronted, takes the form of the imperative:

(30) a. de plysje soe bij him komme en [syn papieren mei nimme/*nim]
the police will to him come and his papers with take
(Haan 1990: (8))

b. de plysje soe bij him komme en [nim/*nimme syn papieren mei]
the police will to him come and take.IPV his papers with
(Haan 1990: (9))

42 Evidently, being fronted has been sufficient for non-finite verbs to assimilate to a form (imperative) with a totally different meaning. This seems to indicate that 'verb movement' involves something much deeper than mere temporal precedence.

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