

More evidence for subject accessibility (Höhle, 1994, 1995, 1997)

Course on "Locality of grammatical relations"
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Three empirical issues

- complementizer agreement in Eastern Dutch dialects
(cf. recent discussion of this phenomenon in Kathol, 2001)
- agreement in gapless relative clauses in German
- case assignment in English *for-to* infinitives

Complementizer agreement in Dutch dialects

In many Dutch dialects complementizers agree with the subject; they then generally bear the same endings as the finite verb. → Is this an agreement effect with the verb, which as head is accessible?

Some Dutch dialects have different verb forms when the verb precedes the subject (cf. also Old English, Old High German, Middle Low German, and Low German dialects). In Vriezenveen (Overijssel, Entjes, 1970, 317–319):

- (1) wii/ii/zii kiikt (uniform plural suffix *-t*)
we/you/they watch
- (2) kiik ii (inversion: 2. plur suffixless, cf. standard Dutch)
watch you
- (3) kiiken wii (inversion: 1. plur suffix *-en*)
watch we

Complementizer agreement in Dutch dialects (cont.)

In dialects with inversion forms, the complementizer bears the form of the inverted verb. In Dedemsvaart (Overijssel, Van Haeringen, 1958, p., 119):

- (4) azze wy de törf niet verkoopn kunt
that-e we the peat not sell be-able_{pl}
'That we are not able to sell the peat'
- (5) as(*ze) zy de törf niet verkoopn kunt
that they the peat not sell be-able_{pl}

- verb shows uniform plural suffix *-t*
 - inversion form in 1.pl has suffix *-e* ⇒ *-e* inflected complementizer in (4)
 - inversion form in 3.pl is suffixless ⇒ uninflected complementizer in (5)
- ⇒ Complementizer must have access to subject (agreement information, not just form of verb)

Relative clauses in German – Background

German has relative clauses with a gap in object or subject position; first or second person pronouns or vocative phrases are possible as antecedents.

- (6) a. mir, den [s ihr so gerne t besucht]
me_{1.sg, dat, here: mask} who_{mask, sg, akk} you_{2.pl, nom} so gladly visits_{2.pl}
- b. mir, der [euch so gerne besucht]
me_{1.sg, dat, here: mask} who_{mask, sg, nom} you_{2.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{3.sing (?)}
- (7) a. Ihnen, den [s wir so gerne t besuchen]
you_{3.pl, dat (hon. 2.sg)} who_{mask, sg, akk} we_{1.pl, nom} so gladly visit_{1.pl}
- b. Ihnen, der [uns so gerne besucht]
you_{3.pl, dat (hon. 2.sg)} who_{mask, sg, nom} you_{2.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{3.sing}

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Agreement in gapless relative clauses

- between antecedent and subject of relative clause: contextual indices (speaker, hearer), honorification
- between the antecedent and the relative pronoun: natural number, natural gender
- between relative pronoun and subject of relative clause: (nominative) case

⇒ The subject must be accessible from outside the sentence for a special

- empty relativizer ([RP [e S]]), or
- relative clause construction ([RP S]).

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A surprising alternative: Gapless relative clauses (Höhle, 1997)

Gapless relative clauses possible with functionally non-third-person reference nominal when it is coreferent with the *subject* in the relative clause:

- (8) euch, die [s ihr uns so gerne besucht]
you_{2.pl, dat/akk} who_{pl} you_{2.pl, nom} us_{1.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{2.pl}
- (9) mir, die [s ich euch so gerne besuche]
me_{1.sg, dat, here: fem} who_{fem, sg} I_{1.sg, nom} you_{2.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{1.sg}
- (10) liebe Freundin, die [s du uns so gerne besuchst!]
dear friend_{fem, sg} who_{fem, sg} you_{2.sg, nom} us_{1.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{2.sg}
- (11) Ihnen, der [s Sie uns so gerne besuchen]
you_{3.pl, dat (hon. 2.sg)} who_{mask, sg} you_{3.pl, nom (hon. 2.sg)} us_{1.pl, akk} so gladly visit_{3.pl}

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English *for-to* clauses

Höhle (1994, p. 5): *for* selects the case of the subject of a sentence

(12) [for [_{S-inf} her/*she [to do the ugly work]]] is pleasant for him.

⇒ Case of subject of non-finite sentence accessible from outside the sentence

Sag (1997): flat structure, no independent evidence for bare S-inf

(13) [for her/*she [to do the ugly work]] is pleasant for him.

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English *for-to* clauses (cont.)

Independent evidence for bare S-inf (as heard by Bob Levine):

- (14) What I really want is [Robin to apologize to me].
- (15) What I'm waiting for is [Leslie to admit she's wrong].
- (16) What I can't get is [this tube to fit in this slot].
- (17) The only thing that could have spoiled our evening was Robin. Him now safely asleep upstairs, the party went on in full force.

- Argument for structure assumed by Höhle
- But: without “for”, what assigns the accusative case?
 - Sag (1997, p. 450) treats PRO as accusative
 - all subjects of non-finite verbs accusative?

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Additional evidence is discussed by Bech (1955, §190) and Gert Webelhuth (HPSG list, 18. July 1995) using *als*-phrases as appositions to NPs.

- (20) a. Er hatte geplant, als Vorsitzender / *Vorsitzenden das
he had planned as chair_{nom} chair_{acc} the
Kommittee zu ernennen.
committee to nominate
'He, who is the chair, had planned to nominate the committee.'
- b. Ich habe ihn gebeten, als Vorsitzender / *Vorsitzenden die
I have him asked as chair_{nom} chair_{acc} the
Sitzung zu eröffnen.
meeting to open
'I asked him, who is the chair, to open the meeting.'
- (21) Sie lassen ihn als *Vorsitzender / Vorsitzenden immer so lange
they let him as chair_{nom} chair_{acc} always so long
reden wie er will.
talk as he likes
'They always let him, who is the chair, talk as long as he likes.'

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PRO has to be nominative (at least in German)

Using the case agreeing floating quantifier *einer nach dem anderen* one can show that the unrealized (or not overtly realized, PRO) subject of an infinitival complement of an equi verb bears nominative case (Höhle, 1983, sec. 6; Müller, 2001, ch. 8.2.3; Meurers, 2000, ch. 10.3.5):

- (18) Ich habe den Burschen geraten, im Abstand von wenigen Tagen
I have the_{acc} boys advised in distance of few days
einer / *einen nach dem anderen zu kündigen.
one_{nom} one_{acc} after the other to quit
'I advised the boys to quit their job, one after the other within a few days time.'
- (19) Der Dirigent läßt den Tenor, den Alt und den Sopran *einer / einen
the conductor lets the tenor the alto and the soprano one_{nom} one_{acc}
nach dem anderen vorsingen.
after the other sing
'The conductor asks the tenor, the alto, and the soprano to sing one after the other.'

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Höhle's (1994) answers to the guiding questions

Which properties need to be accessible?

- case, honorification, natural number, natural gender, contextual indices (speaker, hearer)

How far and when is the index visible?

- Always in the entire head domain.

Theoretical interpretation:

- Which representation and percolation mechanisms make them visible?
 - new *head* feature SMOR containing *local* value of subject
 - Head-Feature Principle
- How are the properties integrated once they are visible?
 - Stipulation in lexical entries

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