

Case Attraction in Modern Greek Free Relative Clauses

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Case matching effects in relative clauses occurs when the case of the relative pronoun introducing relative clauses matches the case requirements of the verb of the matrix clause and not those of the relative clause verb. Nominal Modern Greek Relative Clauses (henceforth FRCs), such as *ópjos*-FRCs in (1), display matching effects, as the free relative pronoun usually takes matrix rather than subordinate case:

- (1) *Voithises* **ópjos* / *ópjon* *irthe*.
 helped._{2SG} whoever._{MSG·NOM} whoever._{MSG·ACC} came._{3SG}
 ‘You helped whoever came.’

When FRCs are fronted, however, case matching is not required and the free relative pronoun can receive either matrix or subordinate case as in (2a), an observation referred in the classical literature as *forward attraction of case* (Tzartzanos, 1996: 169). The presence of a doubling clitic is necessary, demonstrated by the unavailability of the nominative case in (2b):

- (2) a. *Ópjos* / *Ópjon* *irthe*, *ton* *voithises*
 whoever._{MSG·NOM} whoever._{MSG·ACC} came._{3SG} him._{MSG·ACC} helped._{2SG}
 ‘Whoever came, you helped him.’
 b. **Ópjos* / *Ópjon* *irthe*, — *voithises*
 whoever._{MSG·NOM} whoever._{MSG·ACC} came._{3SG} helped._{2SG}
 ‘Whoever came, you helped him.’

Case attraction seems quite robust and independent from the thematic role of the free relative pronoun in the matrix and the FRC, as illustrated in (3):

- (3) a. *Voithises* *ópjon* / **ópju* *i* *Maria tu* *edose* *ena doro*
 helped._{2SG} whoever._{MSG·ACC} whoever._{MSG·GEN} the Mary him._{MSG·GEN} gave._{3SG} a gift
 ‘You helped whoever Mary gave a gift to’
 b. *ópjon* / *ópju* *i* *Maria tu* *edose* *ena doro*,
 whoever._{MSG·ACC} whoever._{MSG·GEN} the Mary him._{MSG·GEN} gave._{3SG} a gift
ton *voithises*.
 him._{MSG·ACC} helped._{2SG}
 ‘Whoever Mary gave a gift to, you helped him’

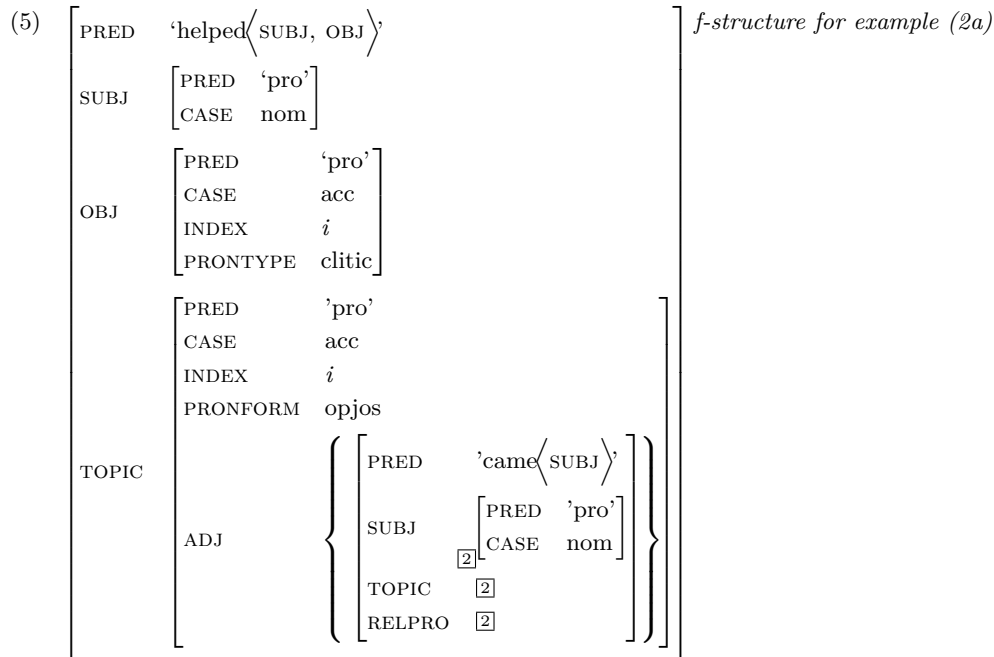
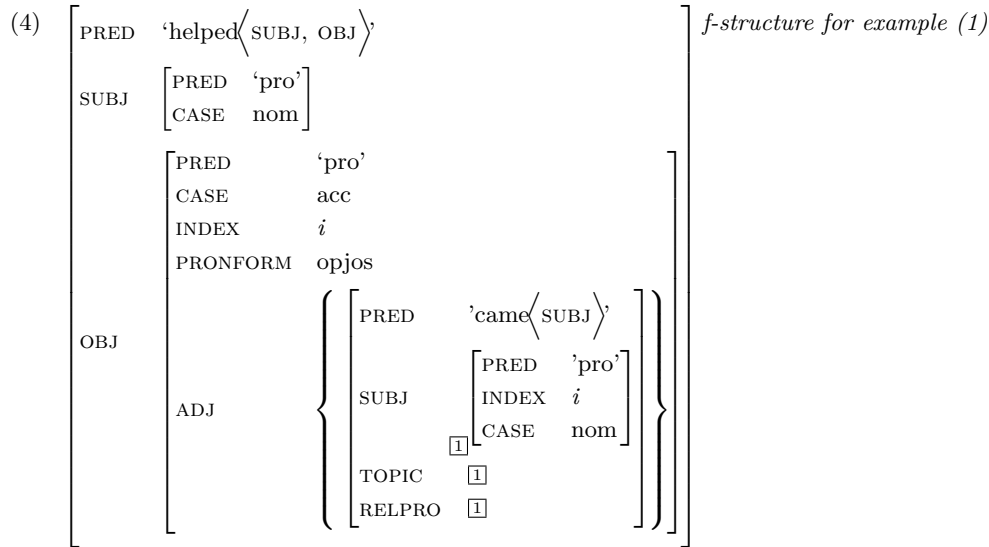
In fronted FRCs, the free relative pronoun alternatively fulfils the case requirements of the matrix clause or the FRC. This could pose a challenge for unification-based frameworks like LFG, since in certain environments, the value of a feature of a single f-structure (the CASE feature of the free relative pronoun f-structure) can alternatively realise the CASE of the FRC or the matrix clause grammatical function.

Previous LFG analyses will be discussed and it will be shown that the Modern Greek data cannot be accommodated using proposals previously put forward for case mismatching phenomena in other languages, such as indeterminacy (Dalrymple & Kaplan, 2000), underspecification (Dalrymple, King & Sadler, 2009) or lexical sharing (Wescoat, 2005).

I propose an LFG analysis which treats the Free relative pronoun as the head of the FRC’s f-structure and the rest of the relative clause as an adjunct to the free relative pronoun, a treatment similar to that of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Building on Echevarría & Ralli’s (2000) observations on the role of the doubling clitic in facilitating case alternation in clitic left dislocating constructions, I propose an alternative solution that uses anaphoric binding and relies on the use of an additional feature on the f-structures of the doubling clitic, the free relative pronoun

and the within FRC thematic role. This feature is used to constraint case alternation on the relative pronoun introducing a fronted FRC and to ensure either matrix or FRC case is allowed.

Examples of the f-structures of a non-topicalised (1) and a topicalised FRC (2a) are shown in (4) and (5):



References

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