



## Facultad de Filología

Trabajo de  
fin de grado

***Wh*-relative clauses in  
English and their Spanish  
and German equivalents.  
A preliminary study.**

Autora: Beatriz Couto Fontenla

Directora: María de los Ángeles Gómez  
González

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*(Firma del/la interesado/a)*

Beatriz Couto Fontenla

Visto bueno *(Firma del/la tutor/a)*

María de los Ángeles Gómez González

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables .....	v
List of Figures .....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
 <b>Introduction</b> .....	 1
 <b>PART I Review and Conceptual Framework</b> .....	 3
1. <i>Wh</i> -relative clauses and their Spanish and German equivalents: An overview .....	3
1.1. Relative markers and their antecedents.....	7
1.2. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses.....	8
1.3. <i>Wh</i> -relative constructions and their Spanish and German equivalents.....	11
1.3.1. English <i>wh</i> - relative markers.....	11
1.3.2. Spanish equivalents of <i>wh</i> -relative markers: <i>que</i> .....	16
1.3.3. German equivalents of <i>wh</i> -relative markers: <i>der, die, das</i> .....	24
2. Prepositional relative clauses.....	29
2.1. Prepositional <i>wh</i> -relatives in English.....	30
2.1.1. Preposition stranding.....	31
2.1.2. The relative pronoun <i>whom</i> .....	33
2.2. Spanish equivalents of prepositional <i>wh</i> -relatives.....	34
2.2.1. Types of prepositional relatives.....	34
2.2.2. Omission of the article in Spanish prepositional relatives.....	37

2.3. German equivalents of prepositional <i>wh</i> -relatives.....	39
2.3.1. German prepositions.....	39
2.3.1.1. Declinable prepositional relative pronouns.....	39
2.3.1.2. Indeclinable prepositional relative pronouns.....	42

## **PART II Empirical Analysis**

3. Aims and methodology.....	44
3.1. Description of the corpora.....	44
3.2. Research questions.....	46
3.3. Data extraction and analysis.....	47
4. Discussion of findings.....	49
4.1. Normalised frequencies of <i>who</i> .....	49
4.2. Spanish relative <i>que</i> versus Spanish relative <i>quien</i> .....	51
4.3. German relative pronouns <i>der</i> , <i>die</i> or <i>das</i> .....	52
4.4. <i>Who</i> versus <i>that</i> as relative markers.....	53
4.5. <i>Whom</i> and their Spanish and German equivalents.....	53
4.6. Absolute frequency of prepositions.....	54
4.7. Sequences of preposition + <i>wh</i> -relativiser.....	57
4.8. Type of prepositions: fronted versus stranded.....	58
4.9. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative constructions.....	59

<b>Conclusions and suggestions for further research.....</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Resources.....</b>	<b>64</b>
Appendix I: Spanish relative pronouns. Form.....	65
Appendix II: Criteria when choosing relativisers.....	65
Appendix III: First variety versus second variety of pronouns in German.....	67
Appendix IV: Comparison among the three languages.....	67

## List of Tables

Table 1. English relative pronouns: animacy.....	12
Table 2. English relative pronouns: gender and number.....	14
Table 3. English relative pronouns: case.....	15
Table 4. English relative pronouns: context/speech.....	16
Table 5. Spanish relative pronouns: <i>que</i> .....	17
Table 6. Spanish relative pronouns: <i>quien</i> .....	20
Table 7. Spanish relative pronouns: <i>cual</i> .....	21
Table 8. The features of <i>cuyo(s)-a(s)</i> .....	23
Table 9. German relative pronouns <i>der, die, das</i> : nominative and accusative cases.....	25
Table 10. German relative pronouns <i>der, die, das</i> : dative and genitive cases.....	25
Table 11. Prepositions and their cases in German.....	40
Table 12. The dual-preposition group.....	41
Table 13. Size and structure of SFURC.....	45
Table 14. Movies belonging to the English Review Corpus.....	45
Table 15. Movies belonging to the Spanish Review Corpus.....	46
Table 16. Movies belonging to the German Review Corpus.....	46
Table 17. Variables taken into consideration for the analysis.....	48
Table 18. Absolute frequency of <i>who</i> and their Spanish and German counterparts.....	49
Table 19. Frequency of Spanish <i>que</i> versus Spanish <i>quien</i> .....	51

Table 20. Frequency of German <i>der, die, das</i> .....	52
Table 21. <i>Who</i> versus <i>that</i> as relative markers.....	53
Table 22. English prepositions.....	54
Table 23. Spanish prepositions.....	55
Table 24. German prepositions.....	56

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Normalised frequencies of <i>who</i> relative pronoun and their Spanish and German equivalents (per text).....	50
Figure 2. English prepositions.....	55
Figure 3. Spanish prepositions.....	56
Figure 4. German prepositions.....	57
Figure 5. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses.....	59

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## Introduction

Relative clauses in English have been extensively studied (see, for instance, Biber *et al.*, 1999: 195, 602-638; Downing and Locke, 2006: 446-452; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1033-1096; Quirk *et al.*, 1999: 1239- 1275), among other reasons, because of the wide range of structural and functional capabilities they display. However, although there exist specific studies that have explored relative clauses such as Alexiadou *et al.*, (2000), Hendery (2012) or Kidd (2011), to mention but a few, very few have focused on *wh*-relatives from a contrastive perspective (Brandt *et al.*, 2008: 325-347; Whitley, 2002).

In this study I will investigate *wh*-relatives in English, Spanish and German, paying particular attention to the prepositional type, which has so far been relatively underexplored. Taking English *wh*-relatives as *tertium comparationis* (Kidd, 2011) and using a corpus-based methodology, this paper will describe whatever parallelisms and divergences emerge when comparing these constructions with their equivalents in Spanish (Bosque *et al.*, 1999: 395-522; Mackenzie and Martínez Caro, 2012) and German (Lehmann, 1984; Krenn & Volk, 1993).

I have decided to compare and contrast *wh*-relatives in English, Spanish and German because, despite having a common source as Indo-European languages, they belong to different families: English and German are Germanic languages, whereas Spanish is a Romance language. In addition, I also have a personal motivation to explore these languages. Doing a degree in English Language and Literature, with a minor in German, has picked my interest in these three languages. This paper will help me know more about them as regards the object of analysis.

Part 1 presents an overview of *wh*-relative clauses in English, Spanish and German, offering a revision of the relevant theoretical notions. The first chapter begins with the explanation of relatives as subordinate clauses and their corresponding types. Section 1.1. offers an introductory description of the relationship maintained between relative markers and their corresponding antecedents. In section 1.2 a distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive clauses is provided. Section 1.3, in turn, focuses on the relation maintained between relative pronoun and their antecedents in English (Section

1.3.1), Spanish (Section 1.3.2.) and German (Section 1.3.3.). The second chapter concentrates on prepositional *wh*-relatives, paying special attention to the relative pronoun *whom* (and their Spanish and German equivalents), as they are generally considered to be difficult for Spanish EFL students (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 626; Brucart, 1999: 473).

Part 2, on the other hand, offers an empirical analysis based on the tokens of *wh*-relative clauses found in my corpus. Chapter 3 provides a description of the corpus on which this investigation is based: the *Simon Fraser University review corpus* (SFURC). The SFURC consists of 400 written reviews extracted from the platform Epinions.com in 2004, where people gave their opinions about movies and books in an informal style (Section 3.1.). Section 3.2. presents a set of nine research questions, that will be pursued in this study, whereas Section 3.3. explains the process of data extraction and the parameters of analysis. Finally, chapter 4 focuses on the discussion of findings, which is followed by a summary of the major findings and the conclusions to be drawn from this investigation, offering suggestions for further research.

## Part I Review and Conceptual Framework

### 1. *Wh*-relative clauses and their Spanish and German equivalents: An overview

A relative clause is a special kind of subordinate clause whose primary function is as modifier to a noun or nominal (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 604; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 183; Downing and Locke, 2006: 447). It generally functions as a Postmodifier in an NG, serving to expand the meaning and specify the reference of the Head noun, which is called its *antecedent* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 195; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449; Gómez González, 2016; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1245), *head noun* (Kidd, 2011: 15) or *correlative element* (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2000: 54) as in (1).

- (1) a. The film **which** I needed is unobtainable (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 183)  
b. ‘La película **que** necesitaba es inasequible’  
c. ‘Der Film, **den** ich brauchte, ist unerreichbar’

As can be seen in (1a), (1b) and (1c) relative clauses in English, Spanish and German are introduced by a relative word, also known as *relativiser*, which can be a pronoun, a determiner or an adverb, and which can have a connective function and a specific syntactic function in the sub-clause or in a group or phrase within the sub-clause (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2000: 50; Biber *et al.*, 1999: 608; Bosque *et al.*, 1999: 398 ; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449; Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 164; Kidd, 2011: 16; Lehmann, 1984: 44; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1246; Real Academia Española, 2011: 243).

Relative clauses have been analysed resorting to *relational* and /or *formal* criteria, which are relevant in terms of language processing, typology and function (Kidd 2011; Gómez González 2016). From a relational point of view, four types of relative clauses may be distinguished –illustrated in (2)– according to the relation maintained between the relative subclause and the larger construction containing it (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2000: 2; Gómez González 2006, Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034): *restrictive* or *integrated relative* –in (2a)–, *non-restrictive* or *supplementary relative* –in (2b)–, *supplementary cleft relative* –in (2c)– and *fused relative* –in (2d)–.

- (2) a. The boys who defaced the statue were expelled [integrated relative]  
b. My father, who retired last year, now lives in Florida [supplementary relative]  
c. It was Kim who wanted Pat as treasurer [cleft relative]  
d. What you say is quite right. [fused relative]

(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034)

The integrated relative clause (Downing and Locke, 2006: 446; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034-1035; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 187) is the most central and most frequent type of relative construction. It usually functions as a modifier within a nominal constituent as in (2a), for example, where *who defaced the statue* modifies *boys*, which is the antecedent for the pronoun *who*. Integrated relative clauses are so called because they are integrated into the construction containing them, both prosodically and in terms of their informational content. The prototypical integrated relative serves to restrict the denotation of the head nominal it modifies, and is often referred to by the term ‘restrictive relative’ or ‘defining relative’. (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 602; Kidd, 2011: 84,142,151; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034-1035; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1239).

A supplementary relative clause, on the other hand, adds extra information about the antecedent. The information is not fully integrated into the structure of the containing clause and not needed to delimit the set denoted by the antecedent (Downing and Locke, 2006: 446, 451; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035). For example, in (2b), the antecedent of *who* is not the nominal *father*, but the NP *my father*, which refers to a unique person: the clause *who retired last year* thus plays no role in identifying the referent, but adds further information about him. Both integrated and supplementary relative clauses are dealt with in section 1.1.

Now, turning to *it*-cleft construction, the fore-grounded element (underlined in (3)) is called a *cleft relative clause*.

- (3) a. Kim wanted Pat as a treasurer [non-cleft]  
b. It was Kim who wanted Pat as a treasurer [cleft]  
c. It was Pat that Kim wanted as a treasurer [cleft]

(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035)

Considering the above examples, (3a) is an ordinary, non-cleft, clause, while (3b) and (3c) are its cleft counterparts. The underlined clauses are the cleft relatives, differing in function and, in certain respects, their internal structure from integrated relatives. Cleft constructions are described as a special kind of *identificational-specifying constructions* in that they divide the more elementary construction into two parts, one of which is fore-grounded and the other back-grounded. In (3b) *Kim* is fore-grounded, and *who wanted Pat as a treasurer* back-grounded, whereas in (3c) the fore-grounded element is *Pat*, and the back-grounded element is *that Kim wanted as treasurer* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 155; Downing and Locke, 2006: 249-252; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035; Quirk *et al.*, 1985:89).

Lastly, fused relatives are the most complex of the four relative constructions from a syntactic point of view. While in the other three types the relative pronoun can be separated from its antecedent, this is not possible in the case of fused relatives, illustrated in (2d) above and (4b) below.

- (4) a. It would mean abandoning that which we hold most dear [antecedent+clause]  
b. It would mean abandoning what we hold most dear [fused relative]

( Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035)

In (4a) its antecedent, *that*, is post-modified by *which we hold most dear*, an integrated relative clause, but in (4b), *what* corresponds to *that* and *which* combined, so that it is not possible to separately identify antecedent and relative clause- hence the term ‘fused’ (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 583; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035) or ‘nominal’ (Downing and Locke, 2006: 100-101; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1246).

Turning now to formal criteria, the type of the verb present in the relative clause, has also been used to differentiate finite relative clauses from non-finite relative clauses, as shown in (5) (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1173). Relative clauses tend to be finite, with a tensed verb in a past or present form (or irrealis *were*), but they may also have a non-finite infinitival, present or past participial verbal form, in which case we speak about *infinitival*, *gerund-participial*, and *past-participial* relative clauses illustrated in (6a), (6b) and (6c) extracted from Huddleston & Pullum, (2002: 1173), respectively (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 604; Downing and Locke, 2006: 448; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1173; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1239).

- (5) a. The pictures which Jane took yesterday [finite relative ] <sup>1</sup>  
       b. The best person to write such a book [non-finite relative ]
- (6) a. The book to be written by Jane (infinitive) [infinitival form]  
       b. The book being written by Jane (ing-) [gerund-participial form]  
       c. The book written by Jane (ed-) [past-participial form]

An additional criterion is to classify relative clauses according to the whether or not they contain one of the special relative words or *relativisers* such as *who*, *which*, etc., or *that*, or simply a *gap*, i.e. a missing constituent. Relative clauses are so called because they are related by their form to an antecedent. They contain within their structure an anaphoric element whose interpretation is determined by the antecedent. This anaphoric element may be overt or covert. In the overt case the relative clause is marked by the presence of one of the relative words *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which*, etc., as or within the initial constituent: clauses of this type we call *wh* -relative clauses. The class of non-*wh* relatives is subdivided into *that* relatives and bare relatives depending on the presence or absence of *that*, respectively, as shown in (7).

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<sup>1</sup> Examples (5) and (6) have been extracted from Gómez González, M. A. G. 2016. Syntax and Semantics Class Notes: Relative clauses. Unpublished manuscript.

- (7) a. *Wh*- relative: The film **which** I needed is not obtainable
- b. Non- *wh* relative:
- b.1. *That* relative: The film **that** I needed is not obtainable
- b.2 Bare relative: The film (Ø) I needed is not obtainable (Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 184)

In what follows corresponding sections are devoted to characterize in more detail: (i) the relation between the relative pronoun and its antecedent (Section 1.1), (ii) restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses (Section 1.2), and (iii) the differences and similarities that emerge when contrasting *wh*-relatives in English, Spanish and German (Section 1.3).

### 1.1. Relative markers and their antecedents

Part of the importance of relative clauses lies in the specifying power of the relative form. The *relative form*, also known as *relative pronoun* or *relative adverb*, shows concord with its antecedent, to which it anaphorically refers. Furthermore, it indicates its function within the relative clause either as an element of clause structure (S, OD, C, A), or as a constituent of an element in the relative clause. (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 608; Quirk *et al.*, 1999: 1245). The *antecedent* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 195; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1245), which is the constituent of the matrix clause that is post-modified by the relative clause, is also called the *head noun* (Kidd, 2011: 15), or *correlative element* (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2000: 54). The former label emphasises the licensing role of that constituent in the relative construction while the latter stresses the postposition of the relative element with respect to the noun it modifies. The relationship maintained between the relative clause and its antecedent is the basis of all relative constructions and the first feature that should be analyzed. As illustrations, let us consider (8) and (9):

- (8) *A 1953 subversive art teacher from UCLA **who** goes to the east coast to teach a group of overachieving students to find alternatives to marriage.*
- < SFURC: no1.txt >

- (9) *Walter*, **who is on the naughty list**, is a ruthless publisher by day and an inattentive father to Michael (Daniel Tay) and husband to Emily (Mary Steenburgen) by night. < SFURC: no5.txt >

Focusing on the concept of the antecedent, in the example (8) two parts can be differentiated: the relative element is usually fronted at the beginning of the dependent clause, and the correlative element may also be fronted in the main clause.

In (8) the antecedent (in italics), *A 1953 subversive art teacher from UCLA*, is post-modified by a restrictive relative clause headed (underlined), headed by *who* (in bold type), **who is on the naughty list**, thereby helping us to identify the referent of the antecedent that is referred to by the relative pronoun. In (9) the antecedent, *Walter*, is post-modified by the non-restrictive *who*-headed relative clause, which provides additional information (**who is on the naughty list**) about the antecedent. These and the aforementioned examples show that relative constructions require the presence of an antecedent to interpret the reference of the relative form. This is an anaphoric element that may be overt or covert. In the overt case the relative clause is marked by the presence of one of the relative words *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which*, etc., as or within the initial constituent. Clauses of this type are known as *wh*-relatives. In non-*wh* relatives the anaphoric element, in contrast, is covert. This class can be subdivided into *that* relatives and bare relatives depending on the presence or absence of *that*. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002:1034, 1047).

## 1.2. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses

In English, Spanish and German relative clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive relative clauses (Kidd, 2011: 84, 142, 151; Lehmann, 1984: 183-186; Real Academia Española, 2011: 242-245). As already noted, the former, also described as *defining* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 602; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1239) or *integrated* (Bosque *et al.*, 1999: 408; Downing and Locke, 2006: 446) ; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1034; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 187; Krenn & Volk, 1993: see Resources; Lehmann, 1984: 183-184) are used to restrict the reference of the Head noun they modify. This type of clauses is

not separated from the preceding NG by commas, and as a result, they are always integrated or embedded, as shown from (10) to (12).

- (10) *A 1953 subversive art teacher from UCLA **who** goes to the east coast to teach a group of overachieving students to find alternatives to marriage* <SFURC:En no1.txt><sup>2</sup>

- (11) Entre todos convencen a *los malvados* **que** ayudaban a Encantador para que se vuelvan buenos y los dejen libres < SFURC: Sp no\_2\_8.txt>

‘Among all they convince *the evil ones* **who** helped Prince Charming to become good and leave them free’

- (12) Dass er nun unbedingt *eine Frau* sucht, **die** die Nacht mit ihm verbringt  
<SFURC:Gm ja\_1\_5.txt>

‘That he is now urgently looking for *a woman* **who** spends the night with him’

The relative pronoun *who* in example (10) identifies the person that performs the action. From all possible teachers from UCLA, it is only the one who goes to the East Coast. Furthermore, the relative pronoun is not separated from the preceding NG (*a subversive art teacher from UCLA*). In (11) the Spanish relative pronoun *que* in example identifies the person that performs the action. From all possible evil characters in the film, they are only the ones who helped Prince Charming. The relative pronoun is not separated by commas from the preceding NG *los malvados*. And in (12) the German relative pronoun *die* in example (12) identifies the person that performs the action. From all possible women, he is looking for one who spends the night with him. The relative pronoun in this case is separated by commas from the preceding NG *eine Frau*. This is an exceptional case as German relative clauses always appear between commas.

On the other hand, non-restrictive relative clauses, also known as *non-defining* relatives (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 602; Bosque *et al.*, 1999: 408; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1240) or appositive clauses (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2000: 30; Kidd, 2011: 84; Lehmann, 1984: 184), provide further information about the preceding NG, but this information is not

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<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise specified all examples are extracted from my corpus.

necessary to identify the reference expressed by the Head noun they post-modify. Unlike the restrictive type, non-restrictive relatives are separated from the NG they post-modify by commas in supplementary constructs (Downing and Locke, 2006: 446, 451; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1035), as in (13) to (15).

(13) *Walter, who is on the naughty list, is a ruthless publisher by day and an inattentive father to Michael (Daniel Tay) and husband to Emily (Mary Steenburger) by night* <SFURC: En no5.txt>

(14) *Se convirtió en personaje famoso gracias a *la serie Mr. Bean* (1989), la cual fue llevada a la gran pantalla con el título Bean, the ultimate disaster movie (1997)* <SFURC: En yes\_4\_19.txt>

“He became a famous character thanks to *the TV series Mr. Bean* (1989), which was brought to the big screen entitled Bean, the ultimate disaster movie (1997)”

(15) *Dazu der Coen typische subtile Humor, die Extravaganten Charaktere und nicht zuletzt *eine logische Story*, die mit Schauspielern kongenial umgesetzt wurde* <SFURC: Gm ja\_5\_5.txt>

‘Ignoring the Coen’s typical ingenious humor, the extravagant characters and finally *an illogical story*, which has been mildly implemented due to the actors’.

In (13), the relative pronoun *who* is separated from the NG by commas. The reference of the head noun has already been identified, the function of the relative pronoun is to provide further and additional information about the antecedent: ‘Walter, who by the way is on the naughty list’.

In example (14), the Spanish relative pronoun *el cual* is separated from the NG by a comma. The reference of the head noun has already been identified, the function of this relative pronoun is to provide additional information about the antecedent. ‘The TV series entitled Mr. Bean, which by the way was brought to the big screen’.

In the final example, the German relative pronoun *die* is separated from the NG by commas. The reference of the head noun has already been identified, the function of this relative pronoun *die* is to provide further information about its antecedent. The story directed by Coen, which by the way has been mildly implemented due to the actors of the film.

### 1.3. *Wh*-relative constructions and their Spanish and German equivalents

This section focuses on English *wh*-relative constructions and their Spanish and German equivalents in order to narrow down the research and to be able to shed light upon this area which, to my knowledge, has not yet been tackled from an English-Spanish-German contrastive perspective. Furthermore, as the label *wh*-relatives is used as a cover-term to refer to several relative markers in English, the scope of our study is further limited to relative constructions headed by *who*, *which*, *whom* and *whose* and to their Spanish and German equivalents. First, attention is centered on English (Section 1.2.2.1.) to provide a *tertium comparationis* for the comparison and contrast with their Spanish and German equivalents (Sections 1.2.2.2. and 1.2.2.3., respectively).

#### 1.3.1 *English wh*-relative markers

In English *wh*-relative markers can be classified according to the following parameters: (i) *gender or animacy*, (ii) *gender and number*, (iii) *case*, (iv) *syntax* and (v) *context or speech*. (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 612- 616; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449-450; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1048; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 188; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1245-1252). Considering parameter (i), the gender or animacy of the antecedent, others such as Quirk *et al.* (1999: 1245-1247) classify relative pronouns in terms of gender, others such as Huddleston & Pullum (2005: 190), Biber *et al.* (1999: 612-615) and Kidd (2011:12) prefer the term '*animacy*' in order to classify them (see Table 1). These authors suggest that relative markers in English agree with the head noun they modify in terms of animacy. Thus, depending on whether their antecedent has human (animate) or non-human (inanimate) reference, the *wh*-relativiser will vary accordingly having *personal* (*who*, *whom*, *whose*) or *non-personal* form (*which*, *whose*), thereby constituting a two-term '*gender*' system that is associated with the phenomenon of *personality*

(Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 188; Quirk *et al.*, 1985:1245). Compare the examples below containing *who* and *which*-relatives (extracted from Quirk *et al.* 1999: 1245-1246):

**Table 1. English relative pronouns: animacy**

Relative Pronouns	Who	Which	Whom	Whose
Animacy	Human antecedent (person)	Non-human antecedent (animal/object)	Human (person)	Human (person) + Non-human antecedent (animal/object)

(16) Joan *who*...

The boy/ people *who*...

The human being *who*....

The fairy *who*...

(17) London, *which*...

The fox/ animals *which*...

The human body *which*...

The unicorn *which*

(18) a. *The people **who** were outside* [Personal antecedent]

b. *The thing **which** matter most* [Non-personal antecedent]

When there is a human antecedent, that is to say, when the relative pronoun makes reference to a person, as in example (16), the *wh*-relative pronoun that must be used is *who*. However, if there is a non-human antecedent (an animal or an object), *which* must be used, as in example (17). The examples also show that animacy is not exclusively ascribed to human beings but also to creatures in the supernatural world (*angels, elves, etc.*), which are thought of as having human characteristics such as speech. Furthermore, (18) shows that the pronoun *who* contrasts in gender with *which*, depending on whether

the antecedent has personal (masculine or feminine) and non-personal (neutral) reference, respectively (Quirk *et al.*, 1999: 1245-1246).

However, there are a number of precisions that need to be made (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 612-621; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002:1048; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1245-1247). The first concerns the relativisers *who* and *which* when they postmodify antecedents that denote animals. In this case both *who* and *which* are possible, as shown in (19), although *who* occurs predominantly with human antecedents:

- (19) a. A dog **who** was licking my face [Personal antecedent]  
b. A dog **which** is always barking [Non- Personal antecedent]  
(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1048)

In example (19a) *which* is the default choice, but *who* is by no means uncommon. *Who* conveys a greater degree of empathy or personal interest and involvement. The most obvious cases where *who* is used are in references to pets, but it is also found with other creatures (or even collections of creatures), as in these set of examples:

Likewise, although it is generally used with inanimate antecedents, *which* can also be used with human antecedents. One such case occurs when *which* is complement of auxiliary *be* in a supplementary relative clause, as in (20a) below:

- (20) a. They accused him of being *a traitor*, **which**, he undoubtedly was  
b. It turned out that he wasn't *the person* **who** I'd thought he was  
(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1048)

Example (20a) illustrates the relativisation of the complement of the auxiliary verb. The relativised predicative in the supplementive *which*-relative clause is generally of ascriptive type, rather than of the identifying kind: the relative clause is concerned with the person's properties, what kind of person he was, not his identity. *Who* would be ungrammatical here, but it could be used in the integrated relative counterpart exemplified in (20b), in which case the relative clause will have a specifying function: the issue is the identity of the person (I thought he was person x, but he turned out not to be).

- (21) They've got *a chief executive* who can provide strong leadership, which we certainly haven't got at the moment. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1049)

Example (21), on the other hand, illustrates the identifying type: the relative clause is concerned with the identity of the antecedent (It is not that we have not got the same chief executive, but the same kind of chief executive). This construction can be only found with supplementary relatives, but it differs from the first exception explained (ascriptive predicative complement of *be*) in that *which* is not a complement of an auxiliary verb.

The contrast between personal *who* and non-personal *which* is neutralised in the genitive case because English has only one form: *whose*, which therefore occurs with both personal and non-personal antecedents. *Whose* is considered a shorter alternative to *of which* + *determiner*, having a syntactic role comparable to the possessive determiners (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 617; Downing and Locke, 2006: 450; Quirk *et al.*, 1985:1249):

- (22) a. She started a home for *women* whose husbands were in prison  
(Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 1049) [personal]  
b. Imagine *a book* whose main purpose is to explore a culture < SFURC:  
yes6.txt> [non-personal]

In formal registers *whom* may be found instead of *who*, which is the predominant form in informal usage (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 615; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005: 190; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1251). In addition, as it is in the objective case, *whom* is normally resorted to when it functions as the object of a verb or a preposition in a PP, and therefore it plays a major role with the prepositional type of relatives in English, as will be further explained in chapter 2 (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 614-615).

Now, considering the gender and number, English relative pronouns do not agree in neither gender, considering gender as the distinction between masculine and feminine, nor number with the head noun they modify. Therefore, they always present an invariable form, as it can be seen in Table 2.

**Table 2. English relative pronouns: gender and number**

Relative Pronouns	Who	Which	Whom	Whose
Gender and number	Invariable	Invariable	Invariable	Invariable

English relative pronouns do not take the factor of case into account, there is no case agreement except in the formal English speech, where a contrast between the relative pronouns *who* and *whom* can be appreciated, considering the latter as the more formal relative between the two (see Table 3). Both relative pronouns work as human antecedents in relative clauses. The relative pronoun *who* presents a subjective case form, playing the role of the subject in the relative clause, whereas the relative pronoun *whom* in formal usage presents an objective case form, functioning as object of the verb or preposition within the relative clause. Nevertheless, in informal usage *whom* is often replaced by *who* (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1249).

**Table 3. English relative pronouns: case**

Relative Pronouns	Who	Which	Whom	Whose
Case	Subjective Objective	No case agreement (indeclinable)	Objective	Possessive relative pronoun (genitive)

Furthermore, *whom* can be also substituted by *who* when the latter works as a complement within the relative clause: They lived in America and had one child, a girl *whom/ who* they idolized (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 614; Downing and Locke, 2006: 449).

When the relative pronoun does not function as the subject within the relative clause, it can be substituted by a gap, a missing relativiser, that is to say, it can be removed. It is common practice when *whom* or *which* function as object in the relative clause and it is the preferred choice in both spoken and written registers. This latter type of relatives is known as bare relatives or zero relativiser (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 614-615; Downing and Locke, 2006: 450; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1251-1252)

(23) This is *the dress* **which** *Mary gave me* = This is *the dress* ( $\emptyset$ )*Mary gave me*

In (23), extracted from Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1052), the relative pronoun *which*, whose function is direct object (*OD*), can be removed because there is already a constituent which is playing the role of Subject within the relative clause (*Mary*).

Another factor we must take into account is whether the clause is restrictive or not and the role that the relative pronoun plays in the relative clause (Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object, etcetera). Furthermore, in English, relative clauses follow the noun they modify and it is generally indicated by a relative pronoun at the start of the clause.

In terms of formality, the relative pronoun *that*, which is more commonly used by English speakers, does not vary in terms of animacy. This pronoun can make both reference to animals and objects or humans. Therefore, it is considered as more informal than *who* or *which*.

Paying particular attention to the contrastive relationship between *who* and *whom*, the latter plays a major role in the formal usage of the language as object of the verb or being combined with prepositions. But in informal usage, it is often replaced by *who* (see Table 4).

**Table 4. English relative pronouns: context / speech**

Relative Pronouns	Who	Which	Whom	Whose	That
Context/ speech	Formal (compared to <i>that</i> )	Formal	Formal	Formal	Informal

### 1.3.2. Spanish equivalents of *wh*-relative markers: *que*

Spanish relative clauses, also denominated *oraciones subordinadas de relativo*, *oraciones relativas* or simply *relativas*, are clauses which are headed by a relative pronoun, adverb or determiner, or by the syntactic groups formed with these

expressions. (Real Academia Española, 2011: 242). Although there exist three types of relative markers (i.e. pronouns, adverbs and determiners), as already noted this study focuses on the Spanish equivalents of English *who*, *which*, *whom* and *whose*, that is to say: the pronominal forms *que* (often preceded by the definite article), *quien* and the determinative adjectives *cual* (always preceded by the definite article) and *cuyo*. (Brucart, 1999: 398). As in the case of English, these pronouns have been studied according to such categories as *animacy*, *case*, *gender* and *number* attending to their internal structure and their nature itself (Brucart, 1999: 435-445; Romero, 2014: see Resources).

Concerning *que* (from Latin *qui*), it covers *that*, *which*, *who*, *whom* and the null pronoun in their functions of subject and direct object relative pronouns, in both integrated and supplementive constructions, as shown in (24):

- (24) a. *Luis, que estaba en desacuerdo con la propuesta*, fue destituido fulminantemente (Brucart, 1999: 411)  
 ‘*Luis, who disagreed with the proposal*, was summarily fired’
- b. *El libro que Luis te regaló* es muy interesante (Brucart, 1999: 398)  
 ‘*The book which Luis gave you* is very interesting’

In (24a), the relative pronoun *que* introduces the subordinate clause. The function that the relative pronoun is playing is independent from the action that the NG containing it plays within the main clause. Therefore, in (24b), *El libro que Luis te regaló* would be the Subject of the attributive clause, whereas the relative pronoun would function as the Direct Object of the verb *regular* (Brucart 1999: 398).

**Table 5. Spanish relative pronouns: *que***

Type of relative pronoun	Relative pronoun <i>que</i>	
Animacy	Human antecedent (person) + Non-human antecedent (animal/object)	
Case	Subjective/Objective	
Gender and number	Invariable	
Context/Speech	The most common variety	
Additional information	Equivalent: <i>that</i> , <i>which</i> , <i>who</i> , <i>whom</i>	

*Que* is a relative pronoun which can be used in order to make reference to people, objects or animals. Therefore, it can post-modify human antecedents (personal) or non-human antecedents (non-personal), as shown in (25): in (25a) the relative pronoun makes reference to a person (a writer called Isabel Allende), while in (25b) *que* refers to an object (a book).

- (25) a. *Isabel Allende es un autora popular **que** es de Chile*  
           ‘*Isabel Allende is a popular writer **who** comes from Chile*’
- b. *El libro **que** quiero es La casa de los espíritus*  
       ‘*The book **which I want** is La casa de los espíritus*’  
       (Rodríguez, 2013: see Resources)

Turning to the parameter of case, it should be noted that *que* can be found in the subjective case when it acts as Subject, or in the objective case when it functions as Direct Object. Let us consider again (25a) and (25b) above:

In (25a) it can be seen that the NG *una autora popular que es de Chile* functions as Complement of the Subject within the main or matrix clause. Within this Complement of the Subject, the relative clause *que es de Chile* acts as a Postmodifier of *una autora popular*. This can be characterised as a regular relative clause consisting of: (i),- a relative pronoun *que*, that functions as Subject and therefore occurs in the subjective or nominative case, referring to the antecedent *Isabel Allende*, which is also in the nominative form and plays the function of Subject in the main clause; (ii),- *es*, that is the Predicator ; and (iii),- *de Chile* that fulfils the function of Circumstantial.

Turning to (25b), *El libro que quiero* is a NG that functions as Subject within the matrix clause. *El libro* is postmodified by the relative clause, *que quiero*, where the relative pronoun *que* function as OD and therefore is in the objective case, an implicit *yo* (elliptical ‘I’) would be the Subject, and, finally, *quiero* is the Predicator.

In terms of gender, the examples in (26) illustrate that the relative pronoun *que* presents an invariable form that may refer to either a masculine or a feminine antecedent, as it occurs to its English equivalent, *who*.

- (26) a. *El actor **que** interpreta al profesor Arthur Seldom*  
 <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_12.txt>  
 ‘The actor **who** plays the role of professor Arthur Seldom’
- b. *El personaje principal Juno, **que** se nos presenta como una chica descarada*  
 <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_13.txt>  
 ‘The main character Juno, **who** is introduced to us as an insolent girl’

In (26a) *que* refers to masculine nouns *actor* and *profesor*, whereas in (26b) *que* postmodifies *Juno*, which is the name of a girl, thereby showing that. *Que* can be used with both masculine and feminine antecedents.

Considering the category of number, *que* is an invariable form that can be used with both singular and plural antecedents in Spanish. This is illustrated in (27):

- (27) a. *Se introduce una historia de amor **que** ya se rozó en la segunda parte entre Davy Jones y una mujer* <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_20.txt>  
 ‘A love story between Davy Jones and one woman, **which** has already been touched in the second part, is introduced’
- b. *Ni bomberos ni policía, **que** se supone que saben (o deberían) hacerse respetar* <SFURC: Sp no\_1\_15.txt>  
 ‘Neither firemen nor policemen, **who** are supposed to know (or at least they should) how to win respect’

In (27a) the relative pronoun postmodifies a single entity or a singular noun (*una historia de amor*), while in (27b), the same pronoun refers to two entities that have plural reference (*bomberos* and *policía*) and agree in number with their corresponding predicators that also have a plural form (*saben* and *deberían*).

Turning now to the next marker, *quien* (from Latin *quem*, the accusative form of *qui* (= ‘*who*’)). It is the Spanish equivalent of *whom*. It can also be replaced by (*el*) *que* in non-restrictive relative clauses. Like *who* and *whom*, *quien* can only be used to refer to people, and is invariable for gender. Although it was originally invariable for number, the plural form. *Quienes* emerged by analogy with other plural form so that *quien* as a plural form has survived as an archaism and is now considered a non-standard form. This is expressed in table format in Table 6 and exemplified in (28) and (29).

**Table 6. Spanish relative pronouns: *quien***

Type of relative pronoun	Relative pronoun <i>quien</i>
Animacy	Human antecedent (person)
Case	Subjective/ Objective
Gender and number	Invariable in gender , not in number
Context/ Speech	It often appears after prepositions
Additional information	Plural form: <i>quienes</i> . Equivalent: <i>who</i>

- (28) Quizá la ironía de que *Juno*, **quien** supuestamente debería ser la adolescente irresponsable, sea finalmente una tía supermadura, <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_13.txt>

‘Maybe the irony that *Juno*, **who** should be supposedly an irresponsible teenager, is in the end a very mature guy’

In (28) *quien* makes reference to *Juno*, which is the name of a girl.

- (29) *Productores Dino y Martha De Laurentiis quienes ya adaptaron la primera novela de Harris, "El dragón rojo"* <SFURC: Sp yes\_4\_18.txt>

‘Producers *Dino and Martha De Laurentiis* **who** already adapted Harris’ first novel, *The red dragon*’

In example (28) *quien* refers to a singular human antecedent (*Juno*), whereas in (29) *quienes* refers to plural human antecedents (*Dino and Martha*).

As shown in Table 6 above, the Spanish relative pronoun *quien(es)* often appears after prepositions, as illustrated in (30) to (32), but this type of prepositional *wh*-relatives will be further described in chapter 2.

- (30) *La persona a **quien** me refiero no está aquí*  
 ‘The person to **whom** I am referring is not here’  
 (Brucart, 1999: 398)

- (31) *Necesito alguien con **quien** sincerarme*  
 ‘I need *someone* with **whom** I can open up’  
 (Brucart, 1999: 402)

- (32) *Ellos, para **quienes** nada valía el dinero, nos ofrecían de nuevo un ejemplo de desprendida generosidad*  
 ‘They, for **whom** money did not worth, offered a new example of detached generosity’ (Brucart, 1999: 442)

Let us consider *cual*, which refers to both human and non-human antecedents, distinguishes three grammatical cases and presents four variants in gender and number, as represented in Table 7 (Brucart, 1999: 498; Romero, 2014). Examples (33) and (34) extracted from (Romero, 2014), as well as examples (35) to (37) illustrate these features.

**Table 7. Spanish relative pronouns: *cual***

Type of relative pronoun	Relative pronoun <i>cual</i>
Animacy	Human antecedent (person) + Non-human antecedent (animal/object)
Case	Subjective/ Objective (+ prepositions)
Gender and number	Gender and number distinctions: masculine/ feminine --- singular/ plural
Context/ Speech	Equivalents: <i>who, which</i>
Additional information	<i>El cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales</i>

- (33) *El libro sobre **el cual** discutimos ayer es muy interesante*  
 ‘The book about **which** we discussed yesterday is very interesting’

- (34) *Velázquez, el cual pintó grandes obras maestras, era sevillano*  
 ‘*Velázquez, who painted great masterpieces, came from Seville*’
- (35) *Madame Bovary, a la cual se le han dedicado numerosos estudios literarios debería ser leída por todos los franceses*  
 ‘*Madame Bovary, to which many literary studies have been dedicated, should be read by all the French*’
- (36) *Para ver como se ha llegado a esta situación, se nos muestra a través de *flash backs*, los cuales no son excesivamente numerosos.* <SFURC: Sp yes\_4\_25.txt>  
 ‘In order to show how they have reached this point, they show it to us through *flash backs*, which are not too numerous’
- (37) *Aparecieron las hijas del director, a las cuales saludé.*  
 ‘*The Chairman’s daughters whom I greeted appeared*’

In both (33) and (34) the antecedents of *el cual* have a singular reference, but they differ in gender: the former has a masculine, singular non-personal antecedent (*libro*), whereas the latter post-modifies a masculine, singular antecedent that refers to a person (*Velázquez*).

In example (35), the relative pronoun *la cual* is feminine and singular. Therefore, it concords in gender and number with its antecedent *Madame Bovary*, which, by the way, is a feminine noun referring to a single entity. In (36) the relative pronoun *los cuales* agrees in gender and number with *flash backs*, which is presented as a masculine antecedent referring to a plural entity. Finally, in (37), *las cuales* refer to *the Chairman’s daughters*, a feminine plural antecedent.

To summarise, this relative marker may have four different forms in Spanish resulting from gender and number variation: *-el cual, la cual, los cuales, las cuales-*. In terms of animacy, it can refer to both personal (34 and 37) and non-personal antecedents (33, 35, 36), and it may be the Subject of the relative subclause as in (34 and 36), or it may

fulfill other functions such as OD, as in (37), OI, as in (35), or Prepositional Object (OP), as in (33).

Finally, Table 8 and examples (38) to (41) summarise the defining characteristics of the relative marker *cuyo* and its variants *cuya*, *cuyos*, *cuyas*. It can be seen that this relative possessive pronoun has gender and number inflections. However, it should be stressed that, unlike other relative markers, *cuyo(s)-a(s)* do not concord with their antecedents, indicating the owner or possessor, but rather with ‘what is owned’ (the word which comes after the relativiser in bold), which is the head of the NG in which they behave as possessive relative determiners.

**Table 8. The features of *cuyo(s)-a(s)***

Type of relative pronoun	Relative pronoun <i>cuyo</i>
Animacy	Human antecedent (person) + Non-human antecedent (animal/object)
Case	Genitive case (possessive pronoun)
Gender and number	Gender and number: 4 distinctions Masculine/ feminine ---- singular/ plural
Context/ Speech	
Additional information	<i>Cuyo, cuya, cuyos, cuyas</i> . Equivalent to <i>whose</i>

- (38) *Ángela*.- la reportera del programa, **cuyo** mayor interés es obtener en imágenes todo lo que va sucediendo. <SFURC: Sp no\_1\_5.txt>

*‘Ángela, the reporter of the TV programme, **whose** major interest is to get pictures of what is happening’*

- (39) ‘Mientras usted duerme’ es el nombre del programa televisivo para el que trabajan *Ángela y Pablo*, **y cuya** misión del día es hacer un reportaje de la vida nocturna en un parque de bomberos <SFURC: Sp no\_1\_5.txt>

*‘Mientras usted duerme is the name of a TV programme for which *Ángela and Pablo* work, and **whose** mission of the day is to do a story about night life in a fire station’*

- (40) Linguini se convertirá en *un gran chef* cuyos platos pedirán todos los clientes del restaurante, sin que nadie sepa que el auténtico genio es Remy <SFURC: Sp yes\_5\_7.txt>

‘Linguini will become *a great chef* whose dishes will be ordered by all the clients, without knowing that Remy is the actual genius’

- (41) un signo diferente en cada ocasión que, muerte a muerte, va dando forma a *una serie* cuyas respuestas deberían descifrar los protagonistas. <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_12>

‘A different sign for each occasion, which death after death, shapes *a series* whose answers should be deciphered by the protagonists’

The previous examples illustrate the four distinctions of *cuyo* concerning gender and number. Whereas examples (38) and (39) reveal that the relativiser *whose* refers to singular varieties, in examples (40) and (41) *whose* alludes to the plural ones. Concerning gender, the four variants of *whose* can be classified as masculine, in the case of (38) and (40) or as feminine, in the case of examples (39) and (41).

### 1.3.3. German equivalents of *wh*-relative markers: *der*, *die*, *das*

German, unlike English or Spanish, presents a list of highly inflected relative pronouns, that result from case inflections that are heavily influenced by Latin. In addition, German pronouns can be divided into two different varieties in terms of definiteness, depending on whether they allude to referents or entities which are not (indefinite noun phrases). However, German relative clauses can only be constructed with definite pronouns (Brand *et al.*, 2008: 327; Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013:10,34; Lehmann,1984 :36; Krenn & Volk, 1993.). It can thus be concluded that definiteness is the most relevant classification criterion that works across the three languages under analysis. In German , the most common variety of relative pronouns, *der*, *die* and *das* (=‘*who*’), is based on the definite articles, but with distinctive forms in the genitive (*dessen,deren*) and in the dative plural (*denen*), as shown in Tables 9 and 10 and examples (42) to (47). According to Duden (1880: see Resources), a German dictionary covering different aspects such as loanwords, etymology, pronunciation or synonyms,

the 85% of all German relative clauses are constructed on the basis of definite articles (*der, die, das*). Historically this specific variety of definite relative pronouns are related to the English relative pronoun *that*.

**Table 9. German relative pronouns *der, die, das*: nominative and accusative cases**

Kasus	Maskulin	Feminin	Neutrum	Plural
Nominativ	der	die	das	die
Akkusativ	den	die	das	die

**Table 10. German relative pronouns *der, die, das* : dative and genitive cases**

Kasus	Maskulin	Feminin	Neutrum	Plural
Dativ	dem	der	dem	den
Genitiv	dessen	deren	dessen	deren

(42) *Ein Mitarbeiter, **der** einen Führerschein hat.*

‘A worker **who** has driving license’

(43) *Wir suchen *eine Stylistin*, **die** kreativ ist.*

‘We are looking for *a stylist* **who** is creative’

(44) *Wir sind *ein internationales Unternehmen*, **das** für seinen technischen Vorsprung bekannt ist (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 165)*

‘We are *an international company* **which** is known because of its technical projection’

(45) *Im Nachbarbett liegt der Obdachlose *Lucas* (Paul Dano, “Little Miss Sunshine”), **dessen** Selbstmordversuch gerade gescheitert ist [genitive-*dessen*] <SFURC: Gm ja\_25\_5.txt>*

‘*Lucas*, **whose** suicide attempt has just failed, is in the neighbouring bed’

(46) *Eine Rede, **deren** Sinn keiner recht versteht* <SFURC: Gm nein\_17\_2.txt>  
[genitive-deren]

‘A voice, **whose** meaning no one understands’

(47) *Sequenzen, in **denen** Nina sich tatsächlich in einen schwarzen Schwan zu verwandeln schein*

‘Sequences in **which** Nina actually turns into a black swan’

The second variety, on the other hand, is considered as more literary and it is used for mere emphasis. The German relative pronouns belonging to this second variety are *welcher*, *welche* and *welches* (= *which* or *who*), as follows:

(48) *Er traf den Mann, **welcher** der Erfinder des Gummibärchens ist.*

‘He met *the man* **who** is the inventor of gummy bears’

(Krenn & Volk, 1993)

Moving on the next criterion, *animacy*, unlike in English and Spanish, in German the same relative pronouns can be used with either human or non-human antecedents, as shown in (49) and (50) where *das* is used to postmodify a human (*das Kind* ‘the kid’) and a non-human antecedent (Das Kleid ‘the dress’), respectively.

(49) *Du bist das Kind, **das** ich gern habe* (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013:164)

‘You are *the kid* **whom** I like’

(50) *Das Kleid, **das** ich dem Mädchen gab, ist hübsch* (Lehmann, 1984: 111)

‘The dress **which** I gave to the girl is beautiful’

Turning to gender, in contrast with English, in which grammatical gender cannot be found, there are several Indo-European languages such as Spanish, Russian, Hindi or German whose relative pronouns have different forms according to gender. In German there are three different grammatical gender distinctions: masculine, feminine and neuter (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013:8-17).

Masculine gender *der* is applied to nouns that denote specifically male persons (or animals), as in (51) and (57); female gender *die* is used with those nouns that denote specifically female persons (or animals) that are normally attributed a feminine gender, as in (52) and (56); the neuter form (*das*) is employed to denote mainly non-human entities as in (53) and words inherited from other languages such as Latin or French, as in (54). There are certain exceptional nouns whose gender does not follow the denoted sex. For instance, this is the case of *Mädchen* “girl”-in (55)-, which is a diminutive of *Magd*, and all diminutive forms are neuter in German (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 8-17).

(51) *Der Mann, **der** im Keller singt, ist mein Vater*

*‘The man **who** sings in the cellar is my father’*

(52) *Auf seinem Arbeitsplatz bekommt Greg Besuch von *der attraktiven Andi Garcia*, **die** ihn unbedingt gewinnen will.* < SFURC: Gm ja\_8\_4.txt >

*‘At his workplace receives Greg the visit of *the attractive Andie Garcia*, **who** wants to convince him’.*

(53) *Im O-Ton hat er zudem einen *extrem britischen Akzent*, **das** kommt in der deutschen Version dann nicht so klar heraus* < SFURC: Gm ja\_3\_5.txt >

*‘In the original version he also has *a very British accent*, **which** in the German version comes not so clear out’*

(54) *Das Faktum , **das** nicht zutrifft* (Lehmann, 1984: 46)

*‘The fact **which** is not applied’*

(55) *Das Mädchen, **das** klein ist, lacht* (Lehmann, 1984: 195)

*‘The girl **who** is short laughs’*

(56) *Die Frau, **die** den Reis für die Kinder kaufte* (Lehmann, 1984: 242)

*‘The woman **who** bought rice for the children’*

(57) *Der Mann, **der** Peter geholfen hat* (Brand *et al.*, 2008: 332)

‘The man who has helped Peter’

As regards the second variety of relative pronouns in German, *welcher* (who, which, que or *quien*) corresponds to masculine grammatical gender, *welche* (who, which, que or *quien*) would be feminine and finally *welches* (who, which, que or *quien*) would belong to the neuter division. According to Krenn & Volk (1993: see Resources) *der- die- das* can often be substituted by this second variety of relative markers, as shown in (58), where *welcher* occupies the same position as *der* within the clause. *Welcher* also possesses masculine gender and singular number and it can be also translated as ‘who’. In addition, this second variety of relative pronouns is employed in order to avoid the clash of homonymous words, as in (58b), where *der* appears twice within the clause.

(58) a. Er traf *den Mann*, **welcher** der Erfinder des Gummibäarchens ist.

b. Er traf *den Mann*, **der** der Erfinder des Gummibäarchens ist.

‘He met *the man* **who** was the inventor of gummy bears’

Considering the category of number, German relative pronouns have variants to agree in number with their corresponding antecedents, as illustrated in (59) and (60).

(59) *Der Mann*, **der** im Keller singt, ist mein Vater (SG) (Krenn & Volk, 1993)

‘The man **who** sings in the cellar is my father’

(60) *Die Männer*, **die** er sah, kannte er gut. (PL) (Krenn & Volk, 1993)

‘The men **who** he saw are well known to him’

As regards the previous examples concerning number agreement, in (59) both antecedent and relativiser are singular words, expressing that the referent is only one man. On the other hand, example (60) presents the opposite case: both the antecedent and the relativiser are plural, indicating that the referent was not one man, but many. Comparing German and English structures concerning number agreement, we can highlight that while English *who* is invariable, referring to a singular entity or to several, in German there are different variants to distinguish between singular and plural.

Turning to the category of *case*, unlike English and Spanish, German relative pronouns may adopt five different grammatical cases, i.e. nominative (Subject) -as in (61)-, accusative (OD)-as in (62)-, dative (OI)-as in (63)- and genitive or the possessive case-as in (64)-, depending on the syntactic function they fulfill in the relative clause (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 164)

(61) *Der Hut, der alt ist* [Nominativ] (Lehmann, 1984: 189)

*'The hat which is old'*

(62) *Der Mann, den ich sehe* [Akkusativ] (Lehmann, 1984: 242)

*'The man whom I see'*

(63) *Du bist *der Mann*, dem ich mein Herz schenke* [Dativ] (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 164)

*'You are *the man* to whom I give my heart'*

(64) *Ein Junge, dessen Mutter krank ist* [Genitiv] (Lehmann, 1984: 98)

*"A young boy whose mother is ill"*

## 2. Prepositional relative clauses

In traditional grammars the category of preposition has been defined as a word that governs, and normally precedes, a noun or pronoun and which expresses the latter's relation to another word (Ibáñez, 2004; cf. also Biber *et al.*, 1999: 74; Downing and Locke, 2006:16; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 598, 626-63, 1039-1043, Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 657). The following parameters are commonly resorted to in order to distinguish prepositions from other categories (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 74; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002:603; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 650-663).

- i) Complements: the most central prepositions can take NP complements
- ii) Functions: All prepositions can head PPs functioning as non-predicative adjunct; many can also head PPs in complement function.

- iii) Modifiers: A subset of prepositions are distinguished by their acceptance of such adverbs as *right* and *straight* as modifiers
- iv) Negative properties. Prepositions are distinguished from verbs and nouns, for example, in that they do not inflect for tense or number and do not take determiners as dependents.

In English, relative pronouns that have different (non-genitive) case forms almost invariably appear in the accusative case after prepositions, so the issue of case government is of less importance and many definitions omit it ( Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 598, 626-663, 1039-1043). In Spanish prepositional relatives, a specific type known as oblique relatives and their relationship with the definite article acquires importance (Brucart, 1999:494). In German, however, case government is given a major role within the clause (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013:114). Further details for each language are offered in turn.

## 2.1. Prepositional *wh*-relatives in English

*Wh*-relativisers can be the complements of a preposition in a PP, which generally performs the function of Adjunct at clause/sentence level. The most common patterns in which English prepositional relatives can be found is illustrated below (extracted from Biber *et al.*, (1999: 624,625) :

- i) Preposition + relativizer :

(65) *The apartments **in which** no one lives* [in+which]

(66) *The endless landscape **from which** the sand is taken*

- ii) Preposition stranding, which will be discussed in section 2.1.1.

(67) *The one **that** old James used to live **in***

- iii) Omission of the preposition altogether, in which case no surface marker of the adverbial gap is provided, and the relativiser can be also omitted:

(68) *The day that he left, the way I look at it.* (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 624)

- iv) There are three relative adverbs that specifically mark adverbial gaps:  
*where* in place Adjuncts, *when* in Time Adjuncts and *why* in reason Adjuncts.

- (69) *The hospital **where** she spent 63 hours*  
(70) I can't think of a time **when** I would be going by myself  
(71) You are the reason **why** I left school

According to Biber *et al.* (1999: 625) the most common prepositional *wh*-relatives are those headed by *in which*, *to which*, *from which*, *at which*, *on which*, which are illustrated in examples (72) to (79).

- (72) *Wellesley College, an all-women school in Massachusetts **where** she has been hired to teach in the art department for its students* <SFURC: En no1.txt>  
(73) I can't think of a time **when** I would be going by myself (Biber *et al.* 1999: 626)  
(74) *It still doesn't have the freshness of what to expect for a film made for the Oscars, **which** is one huge reason why this film was made* <SFURC: En no1.txt>  
(75) Julia Stiles makes get a great speech in toward the end **in which** she basically plays the kettle calling the pot black in return <SFURC: En no2.txt>  
(76) *Katsumoto says to Nathan on the dawn of battle: "You think a man can change his destiny? "**To which** Cruise replies: I believe a man does what he can, until his destiny is revealed".* <SFURC: yes8.txt>  
(77) This is the article **from which** they were quoting (Huddleston & Pullum 2005:186)  
(78) *The fancy-dress party, **at which** the men all turned up as gangsters,* was held in Manhattan (BBC Learning) [*At which* is considered to be an equivalent to *where* and *in which*].

(79) *The day **on which** I'm forced to give up riding* will be a sad day for me. (BBC Learning). [*On which* is considered to be an equivalent to *when* and *in which*].

### 2.1.1. Preposition stranding

Preposition stranding in English, a phenomenon also known as *preposition deferring* or *orphaned preposition* refers to a syntactic construction in which a preposition appears at the end of a sentence without a following object. (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 663).

Preposition stranding occurs in a variety of sentence constructions but primarily in relative clauses, as shown in (80). Furthermore, it tends to be found more often in speech than in formal writing, and with its relativiser omitted. In constructions like the following the preposition is said to be stranded (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 626):

- (80) a. What was she referring **to**?  
b. This is the book she was referring **to**

Here *to* is stranded in the sense that its complement does not follow it as expected from, but it is somewhere else in the construction. In (80a) the complement of *to* is *what*, which occurs initially as demanded by direct *wh*-interrogatives, while in (80b) the complement of *to* is a relative gap that refers to *the book*.

Although general use prefers placing the preposition at the end of the relative clause and even omitting the relative pronoun, relativisers in the form [preposition+*which*] or [preposition + *whom*] are common in academic registers – as in (81a) and (82a)-. Furthermore, they are considered to be more formal than *who* or *which* structures – as in (81b) and (82b)-, which tend to omit the relativiser and place the preposition at the very end of the clause -as in (81c) and (82c)-. This second type of prepositional relatives combined with *which* or *whom* receive the name of fronted prepositions or preposition fronting. This contrast produced between fronted and stranded prepositions is illustrated in the following examples below:

- (81) a. *The table **under which** the boy crawled*  
b. *The table **which** the boy crawled **under***  
c. *The table () the boy crawled **under***

- (82) a. *The lady* **towards whom** the dog ran  
 b. *The lady* **who** the dog ran **towards**  
 c. *The lady* () the dog ran **towards**

In conclusion, sequences [preposition + *which*] or [preposition + *whom*], belonging to preposition fronting, are common only in academic prose, whereas registers in which prepositions are usually placed at the end of relative clauses (stranding) are labeled as non-academic. A less common relativiser option would be concentrated on stranding the preposition at the gap position. This variant, which is occasionally used in conversation, is often used with the relativiser omitted (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1252-1253). Surprisingly enough, despite the frequency of the construction, preposition stranding has been generally condemned in traditional prescriptive grammars on the assumption that “it is incorrect to end a sentence with a preposition” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 628), but this position is not shared in descriptive studies that describe actual usage (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 624-625; Downing and Locke, 2006: 556; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1251-1257)

### 2.1.2. *The relative pronoun whom*

As already noted, the relative pronoun *who* is identified with a nominative form, while *whose* and *whom* are said to be in the genitive and accusative case, respectively (Biber *et al.*, 1999: 614; Downing and Locke, 2006:449; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 190; Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1249). In prepositional constructions, *whom* instead of *who* is used because this relativiser acts as the complement of a preposition within a PP, in which case according to English grammar the accusative case is preferred, as in (83), (extracted from Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1249).

- (83) The person **to whom** he spoke

Nevertheless, in less formal speech and writing *whom* is commonly avoided by stranding the preposition (a phenomenon that had already been discussed in the previous section) and replacing *whom* by *who*, *that* or zero, as shown in (84) and (85), (extracted from Quirk *et al.*, 1985:1249).

- (84) The person **who** he spoke **to**

- (85) The person () he spoke **to**

## 2.2. Spanish equivalents of prepositional *wh*-relatives

In order to study relative pronouns with prepositions in Spanish, there are three different approaches we must considerate: *oblique relatives* and *relatives with elliptical antecedent* (Bosque *et al.*, 1999: 49; Real Academia Española, 2011: 245)

### 2.2.1. Types of prepositional relatives

#### i) Oblique relatives or Spanish *relativas oblicuas*

This type of relatives is characterized by the following structure: [preposition + definite article + Spanish *que*]. In oblique relatives headed by *que*, the Spanish language allows, in some cases, the absence of the definite article between the preposition and the relative (Brucart, 1999: 494):

(86) *El libro con el que me obsequió estudia la pintura de Frida Kahlo*

(87) *El libro con que me obsequió estudia la pintura de Frida Kahlo*

*‘The book which he gave me studies Frida Kahlo’s paintworks’*

Sentences including the article, such as (86), can appear with any preposition and with any sort of antecedent. However, the second example (87) is submitted to certain restrictions. The only case in which the oblique relative without article is preferred is produced when the relative refers to a predicative antecedent, as it happens with clauses expressing manner. These elements are often relativised by means of the relative adverb *como*, but they also admit the prepositional construction headed by *que*, as the following examples illustrate (Brucart, 1999: 494):

(88) *El modo en/con que fuimos tratados fue humillante*

(89) ?? *El modo en/con el que fuimos tratados fue humillante*

*‘The way in which we were treated was humiliating’*

In the rest of cases, oblique relatives with definite article are always preferred to those oblique relatives that dispense with it. The latter are submitted to certain restrictions. As

a consequence, oblique relatives characterised by the absence of article present a series of fixed features or conditions, which will be later discussed in section 2.2.2.

## ii) Relatives with elliptical antecedent

This subtype of relative clauses, which is characterised by the elision of the relative marker, concerns two types of clauses known as free and semi-free relatives. According to the Real Academia Española, free relatives are those which are introduced by variable relativisers such as *quien* and *cuanto* (*Quien dice eso miente.*), as well as by the invariable relativisers *donde*, *cuando* or *como* (*Lo veré cuando llegue.*). Semi-free relatives, on the other hand, are those relatives which are headed by the relative pronoun *que* preceded by the definite article (*El que la hace la paga.*). Examples have been extracted from (Real Academia Española, 2011: 243)

(90) **Quien** dice eso miente  
‘Whoever says that lies’

(91) Lo veré **cuando** llegue  
‘I will see it **when** I arrive’

(92) **El que** la hace la paga  
‘He **who** does it, pays for it’

## iii) Other formal constituents

As already explained in previous sections, Spanish relative nexuses are pronoun *que*, it is the most generally used relativiser in Spanish, appearing in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses and being able to play any syntactic role in both types of clauses. From a morphological point of view, it lacks inflections. In addition, its only lexical feature corresponds with its double condition of subordinator and anaphoric element.

(93) a. *El lugar **donde** lo encontraron* era poco accesible  
‘The place **where** they found him was a bit difficult to get to’

b. *El lugar **en el que** lo encontraron* era poco accesible.

*'The place **in which** they found him* was a bit difficult to get to'

(94) a. *El momento **cuando** se decidió a hablar* no fue el más oportuno

*'The moment **when** she decided to speak* was not the right one'

b. *El momento **en el que** se decidió a hablar* no fue el más oportuno'

*The moment **in which** she decided to speak* was not the right one'

(95) a. *El modo **como** actuó* fue improcedente

*'The way **how** he acted* was inappropriate'

b. *El modo **en que** actuó* fue improcedente

*'The way **in which** he acted* was inappropriate'

(Romero, 2014: see Resources)

Analyzing this relative pronoun accompanied by prepositional structures, we must make a distinction between:

i) Prepositions as relative adverbs, with lexical content and functioning as nexus of the corresponding subordinate clauses, as shown in (93a), (94a) and (95a) extracted from Brucart (1999:491)

ii) [Preposition + *que*] This structure differentiates itself from other relative pronouns, adjectives and from the adverbs within the same type or class, which incorporate an additional lexical content apart from their function as nexus of the subordinate clause. In order to function as relative adverbs, they must be preceded by a preposition which indicates the relation they express. As shown in (93b), (94b) and (95b) extracted from (Brucart,1999: 491)

(96) *El escritor **al que** premiaron anoche* vendrá a nuestra tertulia próximamente

*'The writer **to whom** they rewarded last night* will attend our talking shop soon'

Taking the previous example extracted from Brucart (1999: 491) as reference, different features concerning the use of *(el) que* within prepositional relative clauses must be explained. Among other characteristics, the presence and role of the definite article is highlighted. The definite article must concord with the antecedent. In example (85), the antecedent is the masculine singular noun *escritor* (writer). Therefore, the article presents masculine gender and singular number (*el*). On the other hand, the presence of this article in these cases may be obligatory depending on the preposition accompanying the relative word.

### 2.2.2. Omission of the article in Spanish prepositional relatives

Oblique relatives, which can be also labeled as *relativos complejos* or *relativos compuestos* in Spanish, present the following structure: preposition + definite article + relative *cual/que*:

- Definite article + *cual*, in which the omission of the article cannot be produced.
- Definite article + *que*, in which the omission of the article depends on certain conditions. (Brucart, 1999: 490-502)

To narrow down our study, the description will focus on prepositional oblique relatives with omitted definite article + *que*, whose structure will be taken into consideration for the analysis in section 3. According to Brucart (1999:494-495), relative *que* may be omitted under certain conditions that relate to the following factors: (i) *type of preposition*, (ii) *type of relative clause*, (iii) *type of antecedent*, and (iv) *the syntactic structure of the relative clause*.

Only monosyllabic prepositions such as *a*, *con*, *de*, *en* may be omitted within a relative clause. However, there is an exception concerning preposition *por*, which can be omitted sporadically in certain cases, as in (97) and (98) (extracted from Brucart, 1999: 495; Romero, 2014: see Resources).

(97) *La novela **a que se refiere** fue escrita al comienzo de su carrera*

*‘The novel **to which she is referring** was written at the beginning of her career’*

- (98) *El abrazo **con que me despidió** fue emocionante*  
 ‘The hug **with which** he said goodbye was moving’
- (99) a. Le regalé la pluma **con que** había escrito alguna de mis novelas  
 b. Le regalé la pluma **con la que** había escrito alguna de mis novelas.  
 ‘I gave her the pen **with which** I had written some of my novels’
- (100) *La verdadera razón **por que** quieres quedarte es Miguel, ¿no es verdad?*  
 ‘The real reason **why** you want to stay is Miguel, isn’t it?’
- (101) *El ideal **por que** luchaban era inasequible*  
 ‘The ideal **for which** they fought was unaffordable’

Concerning the type of relative clause, the omission of the article is considered to be more frequent in restrictive relative clauses, as in (100) and (101). In contrast, a major role is given to the omission produced in non-restrictive clauses, in the Spanish language spoken in the Americas. When referring to Peninsular Spanish, however, the omission of the article in non-restrictive clauses would be considered an archaism. Furthermore, the polarity of the subordinate clause must be also taken into account, if omission is produced the subordinate clause cannot be negative, as in (102).

- (102) *Mi padre me prestó el dinero **del que** yo no disponía*  
 ‘My father lent me the money **which** I did not have’  
 (Brucart, 1999: 495)

Turning to the question of the antecedent, the article within the oblique relative is always omitted when the antecedent is composed by definite articles rather than with indefinite articles. In addition, there are some lexical preferences when omitting the article: the use of antecedent which may indicate circumstances of the action such as: time, place, manner, etc. (a la hora *en que*, el día *en que*, la manera *en que*...), as in (103).

- (103) *El modo **en que** puedo explicártelo*  
 ‘The manner **in which** I can explain it to you’  
 (Romero, 2014: see Resources)

Another factor that must be taken into consideration in order to omit the article within an oblique relative clause would be the syntactic function played by the relative group within the subordinate clause. Omission is usually produced in adjuncts (of place, manner, time, etc.), as in (104).

- (104) *La casa en que vive no es demasiado lujosa*  
‘*The house in which she lives is not luxurious*’  
(Romero, 2014: see Resources)

### **2.3. German equivalents of prepositional *wh*-relatives**

This section focuses on the analysis of prepositional relatives in German. In order to study German relative pronouns with prepositions, we must considerate: prepositions governed by accusative and dative forms (*dual prepositions*), *declinable and indeclinable prepositional relative pronouns*, of which only the former constructions will be taken into consideration for the empirical analysis (section 3) (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013: 114, 165; Lehmann, 1984: 318-324).

#### *2.3.1. German prepositions*

Compared to English and Spanish, German prepositions are complex grammatical elements because they are associated to variations of case. Although prepositions are invariable, the complements they normally precede may be in the accusative, dative or genitive case, and as a result, prepositions are assigned to one of these three cases. The rules governing this assignment are summarised in section 2.3.2.1. when describing relative pronouns, while section 2.3.2.2. focuses on the indeclinable type. We shall see that prepositions in German have a specific and restricted meaning which requires German speakers to know which preposition fits best in a specific context. For instance, the English preposition *to* can be translated into at least six different ways in German.

### 2.3.1.1. Declinable prepositional relative pronouns

We have said that in German prepositions are case-governed. For example, prepositions such as *durch*, *für* or *um* are always associated with the accusative case, whereas other common prepositions such as *bei*, *mit*, *von* or *zu* are always governed by the dative. A list of prepositions with their corresponding is presented in Table 11, and illustrations of prepositional relative clauses are offered in (105) to (111), extracted from a webpage specialized in German preposition (see Resources).

**Table 11. Prepositions and their cases in German**

Akkusativ	Akkusativ/Dativ	Dativ	Genitiv
Bis	<b>An</b> <sup>3</sup>	Ab	Anstatt
Durch	<b>Auf</b>	<b>Aus</b>	Aufgrund
Für	Hinter	Außer	Außerhalb
Gegen	<b>In</b>	<b>Bei</b>	Dank
Ohne	<b>Neben</b>	Entgegen	Statt
Um	<b>Über</b>	Entsprechend	Während
Wider	<b>Unter</b>	<b>Mit</b>	Wegen
	Vor	<b>Nach</b>	
	Zwischen	Seit	
		<b>Von</b>	
		Zu	

(105) Das soll nicht negativ klingen, den die Figur des *Pater Benedetto* (Paolo Bonacelli), **mit dem** Clooney interessante Dialoge führt <SFURC: Gm ja\_10\_4.txt>

‘The aim is not to sound so negative, due to the character of *Pater Benedetto* **with whom** Clooney conducts interesting dialogues’

(106) *Die Fabrik*, **in der** ich arbeitete, ist geschlossen worden (Lehmann, 1984:86)

‘The factory **in which** I worked has closed’

(107) *Der Alte*, **bei dem** ich mich nach dem Weg erkundigt habe, war ausgerechnet taub (Lehmann, 1984: 65)

‘The old man, **to whom** I inquired about the way, happened to be deaf’

(108) *Tisch*, **an dem** man essen kann (Lehmann, 1984: 57)

‘A table **on which** we can eat’

<sup>3</sup> Prepositions in bold type are the most frequent ones in German. Consequently, these highlighted prepositions are the ones which will head/ in the examples provided.

(109) *Tisch*, unter dem er sich versteckt (Lehmann, 1984:66)

‘A table under which he hides himself’

(110) Hans sah *den Zoo*, aus dem die Affen ausgerissen sind (Lehmann, 1984: 90)

‘Hans saw *the zoo*, from which the monkeys escaped’

(111) Dies sind *die Frauen*, über die ich sprach (Lehmann, 1984: 78)

‘These are *the women* about whom I talked’

Focusing on the wide range of German prepositions, there is a specific type known as *dual prepositions*. Dual-prepositions (also called *two-way* or *doubtful prepositions*) such as *an*, *auf* or *in* (the whole series of prepositions belonging to this group is listed in Table x below) are prepositions which can take either the accusative or dative case, depending on the meaning of the sentence (Gottstein-Schramm *et al.*, 2013:112-117). They are used with accusatives when they express direction, and with datives when location is implied, as shown in (112) and (113)

**Table 12. The dual-preposition group**

The dual-preposition group
an, auf, hinter, in, neben, über, unter, vor, zwischen

(112) *Schule*, in die der Mann geht (Lehmann, 1984: 53)

‘The school to which the man goes’

(113) *Das Haus*, in dem Mario wohnte ist abgebrannt (Lehmann, 1984: 58)

‘The house in which Mario lived has been destroyed by fire’

In example (112) the preposition *in* indicates a movement or direction (‘to school’) because it is complemented by a feminine, singular and accusative relativiser (*die*) that refers back to *Schule*. By assuming accusative case, the prepositional relative indicates a movement or direction, answering whereto the man is going (to school).

On the other hand, in example (113) *in* expresses a place ('in the house') because it precedes a neuter, singular and dative relativiser (*dem*) alluding to previously mentioned *Das Haus*.

### 2.3.2.2. Indeclinable prepositional relative pronouns

There are two types of indeclinable prepositional relative pronouns:

- (i) indeclinable relative pronouns which make reference to the whole clause and (ii) indeclinable relative pronouns making reference to a noun or a pronoun. In type (i) relative pronouns do not make reference to a specific noun, but to the whole sentence. The most frequent forms are structures led by **wo (r) + preposition**, as follows: *wobei* ( *wo* + *bei* ) , *worauf* ( *wo* + ( *r* ) + *auf* ), *wofür* ( *wo* + *für* ), *worüber* ( *wo* + ( *r* ) + *über* ), *woraus* ( *wo* + ( *r* ) + *aus* ), as shown in (114) to (116).

- (114) Es handelt sich um *das Remake von Karate Kid*, **wobei** der Name komplett gleich geblieben ist. <SFURC: Gm ja\_18\_5.txt>

'This is *a new version of Karate Kid*, **in which** the name has remained completely the same'

- (115) *Das ist es*, **worauf** ich gewartet habe (Lehmann, 1984: 361)

'That is **for which** I have been waiting'

- (116) Da sind nur *die Äste der Bäume*, **worunter** sie schlafen (Lehmann, 1984: 361)

'There are only *the branches of the trees* **under which** they sleep'

- (ii) Turning to (ii), indeclinable relative pronouns that make reference to a noun or pronoun, they can be subdivided into two subcategories depending on whether their antecedent is *inanimate* or *animate*. When the antecedent is a noun or a pronoun referring to an inanimate entity or thing, only two indefinite pronominal relative adverbs can be used: *wo* , as in (117) and (118) or *da* , as in (119) and (120).

(117) Die Präsidentschaft ist *etwas*, **wonach** Herr Serpa seit langem strebt.

‘The Presidency is *something* **to which** Herr Serpa aspires since long time ago’

(118) Das ist *der Dolch*, **womit** sie ermordet wurde

‘This is *the dagger* **with which** she was killed’

Dealing with the structures headed by *wo* and taking into consideration examples (114) to (116) on the one hand, and examples (117) and (118) on the other hand, the only difference that we observe is the change of referents. Whereas the former present *wo* as a particle referring to the whole preceding clause, the latter present *wo* as a particle which refers to the preceding pronoun or noun. Furthermore, examples (115) and (116) include the annotation <r>, which means that an <r> must be added in prepositions that have a vowel or Umlaut <sup>4</sup>(DWDS, see Resources) with such resulting relativisers such as *worauf* or *worunter*.

(119) Die Menschen stürmten *die Kaufhäuser*, **denn darauf** hatten sie schon lange gewartet

(Deutsch Akademie: see Resources)

‘Those people rushed into the shops **for which** they have been long waiting’

Example (119) illustrates the [Da+(r) + Präposition] scheme, where an (-r-) must be added in those prepositions that have a vowel or Umlaut, constituting relativisers such as *daraus*, *darüber*, *dabei* or *darin*, as in (120) (extracted from ‘Deutsch Akademie’, see Resources).

(121) *Deine Karte aus dem Urlaub*, **darüber** ich mir wirklich sehr gefreut habe

‘Your letter from your holidays, **about which** I was happy’

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<sup>4</sup> According to DWDS (Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache) Umlaut (mask., -s, -es.-e) is the diacritic mark (¨) placed over a vowel to indicate a change in its sound.

Finally, when prepositional relativisers have an animate antecedent, the following patterns are possible: *preposition + pronoun* (*mit dem, in der...*), *was* and interrogative pronouns such as *alles, nichts, viel or wenig*.

## Part II Empirical Analysis

### 3. Aims and methodology

This study resorts to a corpus-based methodology in order to assess the similarities and differences that emerge when comparing and contrasting English *wh*-relatives with human antecedents and prepositional markers (*who;whom; preposition + relativisers which and whom*) with their Spanish (*que, quien; oblique relatives*) and German (*der, die, das; dual prepositions*) equivalents. Details on the structure of the corpora are provided in section 3.1., which is followed by the presentation of the research questions that will be pursued (section 3.2.) and relevant information concerning the extraction of the data and their analysis (section 3.3.)

#### 3.1. Description of the corpora

As already mentioned in the introduction, this study is based on the analysis of the *Simon Fraser University Review Corpus* (SFURC), which consists of 400 online written reviews. For my analysis I have chosen 150 texts evaluating movies in English, Spanish and German, half of them being positive reviews (labeled with the tag of ‘recommended’) and the other half being negative (with the tag of ‘not recommended’). In addition, some of these reviews are also defined as positive or negative reviews based on the number of stars given by the reviewer (1-2= negative, 4-5= positive, whereas 3-star reviews are not included), as shown in Table 13. As Epinions, which is the electronic platform that allowed people to evaluate the different films with which this corpus deals, is a public device, the written style is considered as informal. The movies under review are shown in Tables 14 to 16.

The SFURC was chosen not only because it reported a wide range of relative pronouns, but also because it allowed us to overcome the problem of finding a comparable corpus

that allowed us to contrast the three languages under analysis, given the scarcity of such corpora. However, it should be noted the scrutinised reviews are not equal in length. For instance, there are some texts with a length of four or five lines (En yes16.txt; Sp no\_1\_1.txt), while others are five pages long (Gm ja\_7\_5.txt; Gm ja\_20\_5.txt). Likewise, the distribution of relative pronouns is also uneven: in some texts no instances of *wh*-relative pronouns were found (En yes14.txt; En no20.txt) while others have many tokens (En no1.txt; En yes10.txt; En yes23.txt). In order to circumvent the problems derived from comparing texts of different lengths normalized frequencies will be provided (Biber *et al.*, 1999:263).

**Table 13. Size and structure of SFURC<sup>5</sup>**

Text Subtype	Context	Number	Text code
<b>English (movies)</b>	Positive Reviews	25	yes1.txt yes25.txt
	Negative Reviews	25	no1.txt no25.txt
<b>Spanish (películas)</b>	Positive Reviews	25	yes_5_1.txt yes_4_25.txt
	Negative Reviews	25	no_1_txt. no_2_25.txt
<b>German (Filme)</b>	Positive Reviews	25	ja_1_5.txt ja_25_5.txt
	Negative Reviews	25	nein_1_1.txt nein_25_2.txt
<b>Total number of texts</b>		<b>150</b>	

**Table 14. Movies belonging to the English Review Corpus**

**English Review Corpus** consists of **8 movies**: ‘Mona Lisa Smile’, ‘The Last Samurai’, ‘Elf’, ‘The Cat in the Hat’, ‘Gothika’, ‘The Haunted Mansion’ ‘Calendar Girls’ and ‘Bad Santa’.

<sup>5</sup> As already noted, *The Simon Fraser University Review Corpus* (SFURC), is comprised of 400 written texts. However, the structure present in the previous table corresponds with the 150 texts specifically selected for the empirical analysis of this paper.

**Table 15. Movies belonging to the Spanish Review Corpus**

**Spanish Review Corpus** consists of **25 movies** : ‘Wall-E’, ‘El Orfanato’, ‘REC’, ‘Spiderman 3’, ‘Transformers’, ‘27 vestidos’, ‘Las vacaciones de Mr Bean’, ‘Un Puente hacia Terabithia’, ‘Indiana Jones y el Reino de la Calavera de Cristal’, ‘Los Simpson’, ‘Sexo en Nueva York’, ‘Shrek Tercero’, ‘Los crímenes de Oxford’, ‘Juno’, ‘Soy leyenda’, ‘El incidente’, ‘World Trade Center’, ‘Piratas del Caribe: El cofre del hombre muerto’, ‘El caballero oscuro’, ‘Hannibal, el origen del mal’, ‘Saw III’, ‘21’, ‘Ratatouille’, ‘Hancock’, ‘El número 23’.

**Table 16. Movies belonging to the German Review Corpus**

**German Review Corpus** consists of **35 movies**: ‘Freundschaft Plus’, ‘127 Stunden’, ‘Tron Legacy’, ‘Machete’, ‘True Grit’, ‘Unstoppable’, ‘Saw 3D (Vollendung)’, ‘Gullivers Reisen’, ‘The American’, ‘Avatar- Aufbruch nach Pandora’, ‘The Road’, ‘Der letzte Tempelritter’, ‘72 Stunden’, ‘Black Swan’, ‘Paranormal Activity 2’, ‘The tourist’, ‘The Karate Kid’, ‘Eat Pray Love’, ‘Die Legende der Wächter’, ‘Unknown Identity’, ‘Groupies bleiben nicht zum Frühstück’, ‘Wir sind die Nacht’, ‘Little Fockers’, ‘The Green Hornet’, ‘Der Plan’, ‘My Soul ToTake’, ‘Lebendig begraben’, ‘Bilder von Last Night’, ‘You again’, ‘Serge Gainsborg’, ‘Der letzte schöne Herbsttag’, ‘Love and other drugs’, ‘Faster’, ‘The Dilemma’, ‘Voll normaal’.

### 3.2. Research questions

The empirical analysis carried out in this investigation seeks to provide answers for the nine following questions:

RQ 1: In which language does the relative pronoun *who* and their Spanish (*que, quien*) and German (*der, die, das*) equivalents?

RQ 2: Which Spanish equivalent of *who* appears more frequently?

RQ 3: Which equivalent of *who* appears more frequently in German?

RQ 4: Focusing on the opposition between *who*-relatives and *that*-relatives, which of the two is the most frequent in the SFURC?

RQ 5: Do the three languages under analysis present the same frequency of use of the accusative form (*whom*) and their Spanish (*que, quien, (el) que* and its variants) and German (*den, die, das*) equivalents?

RQ 6: How often do prepositions appear with relativisers (*which* and *whom*)?

RQ 7: Which is the most repeated preposition in each of the languages under analysis?

RQ 8: In which respects do *who*-relatives with fronted and stranded prepositions differ?

RQ 9: Are the relativisers under scrutiny more frequent in restrictive or in non-restrictive constructions according to the SFURC?

### 3.3. Data extraction and analysis

Firstly, the data were automatically retrieved using AntConc. The number of tokens obtained was 131 *who* relative pronouns for English, 2367 for Spanish (2344 *que* and 23 *quien*) and 2853 for German (1033 *der*, 1283 *die* and 537 *das*), which amount to 5351 in the three languages. Then, the tokens were manually examined to be able to determine which of these tokens were really relative pronouns, and not conjunctions or interrogative pronouns, as it occurs in (121), (122) and (123). Furthermore, there were other cases in which the relative pronoun could not be included in the analysis because it possessed a non-human antecedent. Consequently, this type of relativisers could not be counterparts of *who*, as exemplified in (124) and (125).

(121) **Who** is this guy Bo Welch and why did Brian Grazer allow him to direct a multi-bazillion dollar movie? <SFURC: En no9.txt>

(122) Me cuentan **que** es carísima, **que** la destrucción del puente de Brooklyn es la escena más cara de la historia <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_10.txt>  
'They tell me **that** it is very expensive, **that** the destruction of Brooklyn's bridge is the most expensive scene in history'

(123) Jeff Bridges, **der** Hauptdarsteller des ersten Filmes, spielt auch hier die Rolle des Kevin Flynn. <SFURC: Gm ja\_3\_5>  
'Jeff Bridges, **the** main character of the first film, here also plays the role of Kevin Flynn'

(124) Un robot **que** se dedica a supuestamente reciclar <SFURC: Sp no\_1\_1.txt>  
'A robot **which** is supposedly devoted to recycling'

- (125) Ein Raumfahrt-Konsortium, **das** nach wertvollen Ressourcen sucht [...]  
 <SFURC: Gm ja\_11\_5.txt>  
 ‘A space consortium **which** looks for valuable resources’

In (121) *who* is not a relative pronoun, but an interrogative pronoun functioning as subject within an interrogative clause. In (122) *que* is a subordinating conjunction introducing a complement clause. In (123) *der* plays the role of definite article. Finally, despite the fact that in examples (124) and (125) *que* and *das* function as relativisers, they are not counterparts of *who*, but of *which* because their antecedents are not human.

The number of exclusions was extremely low in the case of English, in which 3 tokens were discarded. In the cases of Spanish and German, more exclusions were necessary among other reasons because in these two languages the markers under scrutiny may perform functions other than relativiser (-interrogative/exclamative pronouns, or even as definite articles). As a result, it was necessary to scrutinize each example in its context to be able to determine whether or not it was a relative construction.

A database was also created in order to characterize the instances of *wh*-relatives found in SFURC. Table 17 lists the four variables that were selected on the basis of the nine research questions proposed in section 3.2. A discussion of the results that were obtained is offered in turn.

**Table 17. Variables taken into consideration for the analysis**

Variable	Variants	
<b>Preposition+ relativizer</b>	Preposition + <i>whom</i>	Preposition + <i>which</i>
<b>Relative marker</b>	<i>Who</i> relative pronoun	<i>That</i> relative pronoun
<b>Type of relative clause</b>	Restrictive clause	Non-restrictive clause
<b>Type of preposition</b>	Fronted	Stranded

## 4. Discussion of findings

### 4.1. Normalised frequencies of *who*

Considering RQ 1, Table 18 shows that 532 tokens of *wh*-relatives were found in the SFURC, of which 128 correspond to English *who* relative pronoun, 251 to Spanish *que/quien* relative pronouns and 153 to German *der/die/das* relative pronouns. Since the number of tokens differs from one language to another, it becomes necessary to provide the relative frequencies of these constructions in each language. Figure 1 provides the relative frequencies of English *who* relative pronoun and their Spanish and German equivalents per 10,000 words (henceforth pttw). Our findings describe Spanish relative pronouns *que/quien* as more frequent in the 50 texts written in informal style than their English and German counterparts, giving an answer to the first research question posed. which confirms the claims made in previous studies such as Biber *et al* (1999:263). The frequencies between English and German are more similar, although English *who* relative pronoun is found to be more recurrent than its German equivalents.

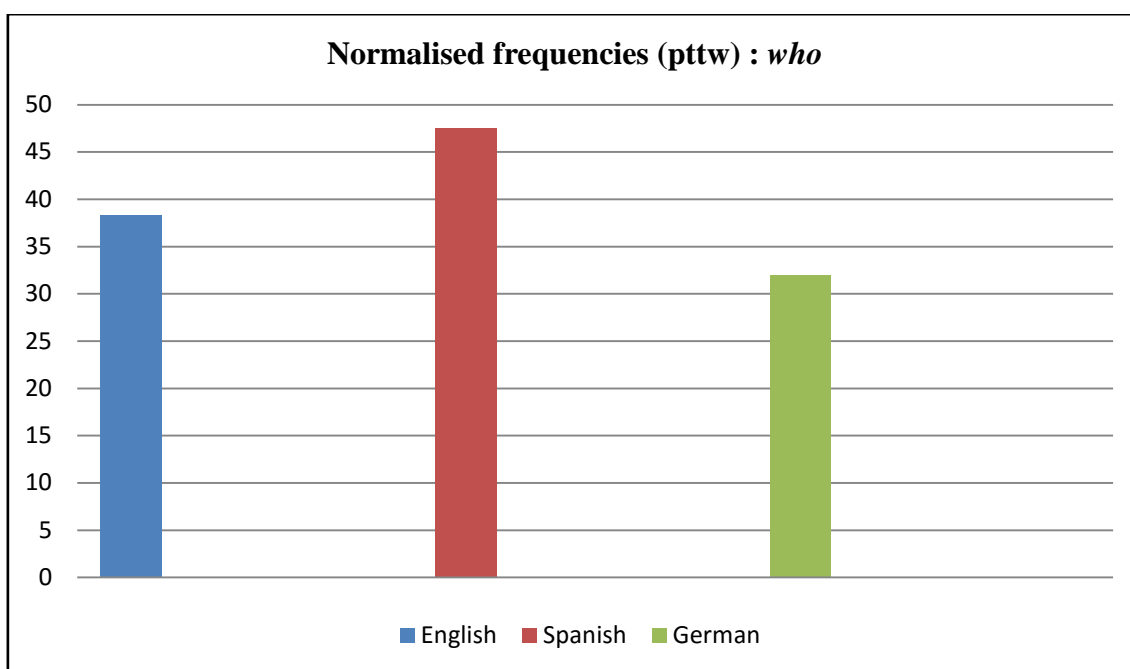
**Table 18. Absolute frequency of *who* and their Spanish and German counterparts**

	English	Spanish		German			Total
	<i>who</i>	<i>que</i>	<i>quien</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>die</i>	<i>das</i>	
Number of tokens automatically retrieved	131	2344	23	1033	1283	537	5351
Number of tokens excluded	3	2095	21	952	1218	530	4819
Number of tokens included in the analysis	128	249	2	81	65	7	532
	38.33%	47.16%	0.38%	16.96%	13.61%	1.46%	

Since the number of tokens and the size of texts differ from one language to another, it is necessary to provide the relative frequencies of these constructions in each language. Figure 1 provides normalized frequencies per 10,000 words (henceforth pttw) of *who*

and their Spanish and German equivalents. Our findings show that German variants are the least frequent relativisers (32.03%), whereas the frequencies for its English and Spanish equivalents are more balanced, although *que/quien*, which represent 47.54%, are more frequent than *who* (38.33%).

**Figure1. Normalised frequencies of *who* relative pronoun and their Spanish and German equivalents (per text)**



Now regarding RQ 2 and 3, our results suggest that *que*, which represents 47.16%, is the most frequent relativiser in the case of Spanish in opposition with *quien*, which has been revealed as almost inexistent (0.38%). Dealing with RQ 3, we observe that *der* is the most recurrent variant in German (16.96%), followed by feminine (*die*) and neuter (*das*) variants, representing 13.61% and 1.46%, respectively.

Further details on the Spanish and German relativisers are offered in sections 4.2. and 4.3. below, respectively, while corresponding sections are devoted to treat *who* vs. *that* as relative markers (section 4.4.) and *whom* and its Spanish and German equivalents (section 4.5.) in order to provide an answer for RQs 4 and 5, respectively. Sections 4.6.

and 4.7. focus on RQs 6 to 8 revolving around prepositional relatives in the three languages, while section 4.8. targets RQ 9 on the type of syntactic construction that *wh*-relatives tend to participate in, restrictive or non-restrictive, according to our data.

#### 4.2. Spanish relative *que* versus Spanish relative *quien*

Table 19 displays the absolute and normalized frequencies of Spanish *que* and *quien* relative pronouns, their number of tokens automatically retrieved, the frequency of tokens that have been discarded for the analysis and the frequency of those taken into consideration.

**Table 19. Frequency of Spanish *que* versus Spanish *quien***

	<b>Que</b>	<b>Quien</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Number of tokens automatically retrieved</b>	2344	23	2367
<b>Number of tokens excluded</b>	2095	21	2116
<b>Number of tokens included for the analysis</b>	<b>249</b> <b>47.16%</b>	<b>2</b> <b>0.38%</b>	<b>251</b>

As observed from (Tables 18 and 19), in Spanish there is an overwhelming tendency to use *que* (249 instances, representing 47.16%), in contrast with only two instances of *quien* in the Spanish subcomponent of the SFURC which are reproduced below:

- (126) Quizás es la ironía de que *Juno*, **quien** supuestamente debería ser la adolescente irresponsable, sea finalmente una tía supermadura, incluso más que el futuro aspirante a padre <SFURC: Sp no\_2\_13.txt>  
‘Maybe it is the irony that *Juno*, **who** should be apparently the irresponsible teenager, is in the end a very mature chick, even more than the future candidate for father’
- (127) *Hannibal* (**quien** ejerce de pinche de cocina) se entretiene unos segundos para recoger las placas de identificación de todos ellos <SFURC: Sp yes\_4\_18.txt>

‘*Hannibal*, **who** works as kitchen helper, pauses for a while in order to pick up the dog-tags of them all’

### 4.3. German relative pronouns *der*, *die* or *das*

As already noted, in German there are three different relative pronouns in the nominative case which can function as equivalents of English *who*: *der* is masculine, *die* refers to feminine entities, whereas *das* is neuter. Table 20 represents the absolute frequency of each German variant.

**Table 20. Frequency of German: *der*, *die*, *das***

	<b>Der</b>	<b>Die</b>	<b>Das</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Number of tokens automatically retrieved</b>	1033	1283	537	2853
<b>Number of tokens excluded</b>	952	1218	530	2700
<b>Number of tokens included for the analysis</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>153</b>
	<b>16.96%</b>	<b>13.61%</b>	<b>1.46%</b>	

Table 20 above suggests that the most frequent German equivalent of *who* is the masculine relative pronoun *der*, with 81 tokens (representing 16.96%). In contrast, the feminine variant *die* (65 tokens) is less frequent and the neuter *das* is the least frequent of the three probably because it seldom refers to human entities. Neuter nouns such as *das Kind* (boy) or *das Mädchen* (girl) are the only neuter nouns in German which refer to human entities, as it occurs in (128).

(128) Gulliver als Püppchen *eines Kindes*, **das** ihn als quasi läutert <SFURC: Gm  
nein\_9\_2.txt>

‘Gulliver as the baby doll of *a kid*, **who** almost looks after him’

#### 4.4. *Who* versus *that* as relative markers

Although the initial intention was to explore *wh*-relative clauses, we may consider appropriate to make a comparison between *who* (marker of *wh*-relatives with which this study is concerned) and *that*, which, in fact, is the most employed relative marker in everyday English. Despite the fact that *that*-clauses are considered the most ordinary type of relatives, the English subcomponent under inspection shows that there is a general preference for *wh*-relatives rather than for *that*-relatives. Table 21 displays the absolute frequency of each relative marker, in which English favours *who*-relative clauses (38.33%)

**Table 21. Absolute frequency of *who* versus *that***

	<b>Who</b>	<b>That</b>
<b>Number of tokens automatically retrieved</b>	131	498
<b>Number of tokens excluded</b>	3	480
<b>Number of tokens included in the analysis</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>18</b>
	<b>38.33%</b>	<b>5.39%</b>

#### 4.5. *Whom* and their Spanish and German equivalents

Although one of the original intentions of this paper was to explore *whom* due to its differences in terms of case once compared with the rest of relative pronouns under analysis, it is in the empirical analysis where we must realize that our initial purpose cannot be achieved because of its scarce presence within the corpora. In fact, there is only one sentence in which *whom* appears, exemplified in (129).

Nevertheless, although examples of clauses headed by *whom* functioning as the accusative form of *who* could not have been taken into consideration, we must

emphasize its frequent repetitions within the corpus after prepositions, which will be later discussed in sections 4.7. and 4.8.

- (129) The story is non-existent and *Michael Myers* (whom I usually enjoy) compresses every character he's ever played into one big hairy annoying one.  
<SFURC: En no16.txt>

#### 4.6. Absolute frequency of prepositions

As already noted in the introduction, an additional chapter has been dedicated to the study of prepositional relatives. Due to a personal interest in this type of constructions, both tables 22 to 24 and figures 2 to 4 below will provide a list with the most frequent prepositions appearing in each of the three languages under analysis.

In order to give an answer to the sixth research question, only 5 prepositions (the most repeated ones) have been selected for each of the three languages, whose total number of prepositions is 157. As it can be seen below the most recurrent relative prepositions are *with* corresponding to English (6 cases), *en* corresponding to Spanish (38) and *in* corresponding to German (11 cases).

**Table 22. English prepositions**

ENGLISH	Prepositions	Times	%
	WITH	6	12%
	OF	4	8%
	IN	3	6%
	ON	2	4%
	TO	1	2%

Figure 2. English prepositions

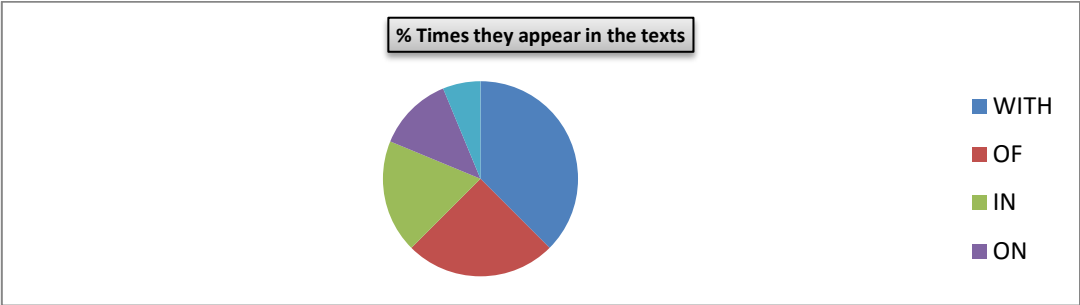
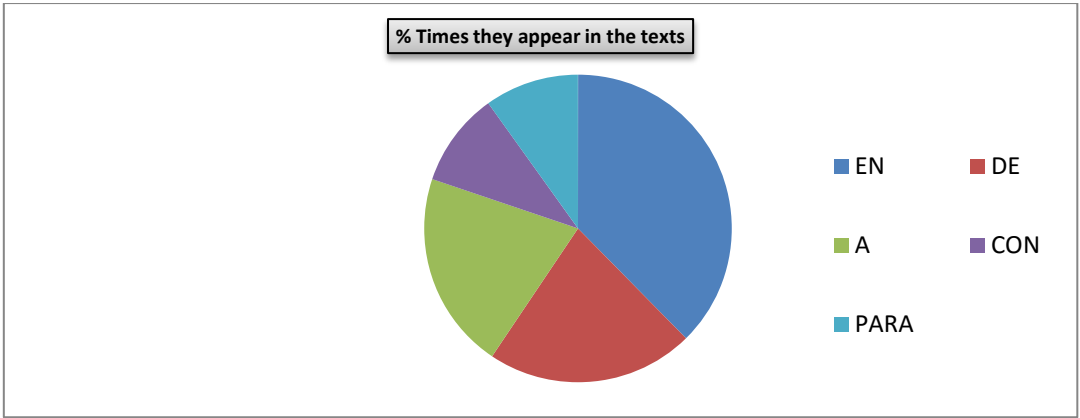


Table 23. Spanish prepositions

SPANISH	Prepositions	Times	%
	EN	38	76%
	DE	22	44%
	A	21	42%
	CON	10	20%
	PARA	10	20%

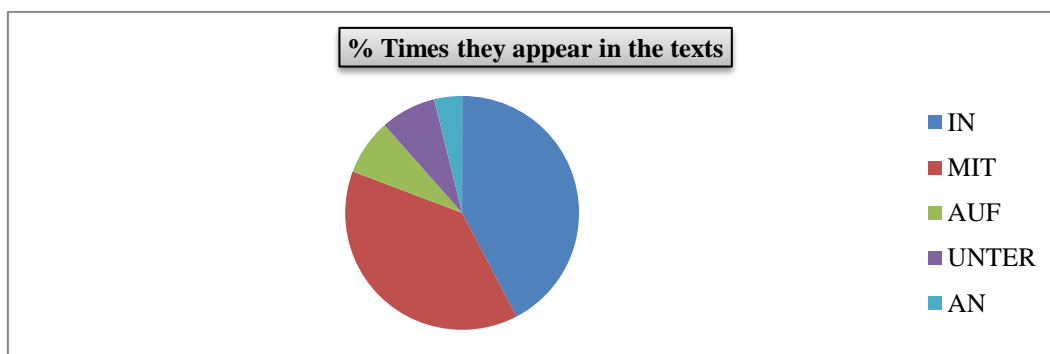
Figure 3. Spanish prepositions



**Table 24. German prepositions**

GERMAN	Prepositions	Times	%
	IN	11	22%
	MIT	10	20%
	AUF	2	4%
	UNTER	2	4%
	AN	1	2%

**Figure 4. German prepositions**



#### 4.7. Sequences of preposition + *wh*-relativiser

Taking prepositional relatives into consideration, we must underline a specific characteristic, which is found to be frequent in the three languages under analysis. This characteristic consists of the repetition of prepositional relatives with *which*.

However, when focusing on human antecedents, English, Spanish and German barely present prepositional clauses headed by the accusative form, which is *whom*. In conclusion, the three languages studied in this paper show general preference for prepositional relatives with non-human antecedents, as in (130-135). On the other hand,

they are characterized by a scarce presence of those relatives formed by *whom*. Some of the few cases concerning *whom* are also provided below.

- (130) But *her students*, four **of whom** we focus on in particular, have their own stories <SFURC: En no2.txt> [**preposition + whom**]
- (131) Sao Feng (Chow Yun-Fat) es *el inteligente pirata de Singapur de dos caras* **para el que** no existen ni el bien y ni el mal en el mundo de los piratas <SFURC: Sp yes\_4\_21.txt> [**preposition + whom**]  
 ‘Sao Feng (Chow Yun-Fat) is *the intelligent pirate from Singapur with two faces* **to whom** good and evil do not exist in the pirates’ world’
- (132) Darren Aronofsky ist sicherlich *ein Regisseur*, **an dem** sich die Geister scheiden. <SFURC: Gm ja\_15\_5.txt> [**preposition + whom**]  
 ‘Darren Aronofsky is surely *a film director* **over /about whom** ghosts diverge’
- (133) Julia Stiles does get *a great speech* in toward the end **in which** she basically play the kettle calling the pot black in return. <SFURC: En no2.txt> [**preposition + which**]
- (134) su frescura y *su ironía* **bajo la cual** esconde todos sus miedos y dudas <SFURC: Sp yes\_5\_13.txt> [**preposition + which**]  
 ‘His freshness and *his irony*, **under which** he hides all his fears and hesitations’
- (135) *Eine emotionale dramatische Geschichte* **unter der** man mitleidet <SFURC: Gm ja\_2\_4> [**preposition + which**]  
 ‘An emotional and dramatic story **from which** people suffer’

#### 4.8. Type of prepositions: fronted versus stranded

As previously mentioned in section 4.5., we must differentiate two types of sequences. As discussed in Part I, when relative pronouns are accompanied by prepositions, two different phenomena can take place/occur: preposition stranding and preposition

fronting. Focusing on the examples analysed, the data show that the vast majority of sequences with prepositional relatives present fronted prepositions, that is to say, that their prepositions are placed before relativisers *which* or *whom*, as exemplified in (136).

- (136) but the very ordinariness of many of the other women, and *the art with which they are presented in the calendar* is a refreshing reminder that beauty can be more than we see in *Cosmopolitan* and *Access Hollywood*. <SFURC: En yes2.txt>

As the vast majority of examples under analysis presented sequences headed by fronted prepositions, it can be argued that this is due to the fact that preposition stranding is more frequent in spoken registers rather than in written style. Consequently, the number of cases where preposition stranding occurs is dramatically reduced, being only three cases highlighted within the English Review Corpus, where clauses are headed by *whom* ( examples 137 and 138) or characterized by the absence of relative marker (as in 139) and prepositions are placed at the end of the clause.

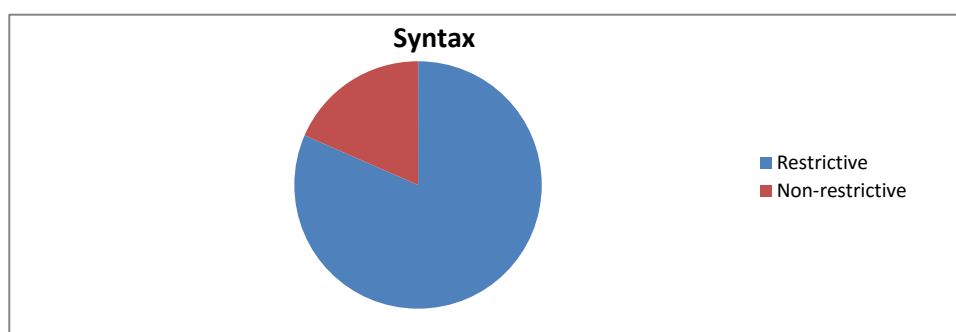
- (137) as Giselle continues to flirt with *Dunbar*, *whom she had an affair with in the summer.* <SFURC: En no1.txt>
- (138) Sometimes, the problem with writing a review is just knowing *whom you're writing it for.* <SFURC: En yes15.txt>
- (139) After having heard so many positive reviews of the movie *Elf*, including a recommendation by *one of the people I work with* <SFURC: En yes10.txt>

#### 4.9. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses

Regarding the conceptual framework illustrated in Part I, and specifically, the different classes to which relative clauses could belong, there is a classification in terms of syntax, where two different types of relatives are distinguished: restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (already explained in section 1.1.).

As observed from the following figure, restrictive clauses play a major role in this study, because 115 examples out of 131 consist of relative clauses in which the antecedent is identified. Thus, the remaining 26 examples would be non-restrictive clauses, in which further information about the antecedent is given.

**Figure5. Restrictive versus non-restrictive relative clauses**



## Conclusions and suggestions for further research

This study has not aimed to be exhaustive, nor could it be, given the number of languages under analysis and the complexity of the structures studied. Thus, due to the great deal of information found we were forced to delimit our research, focusing on the analysis of a specific relative pronoun (*who*). However, we hope to have shed some new light on the use of *wh*-relative clauses from a corpus-based cross-linguistic perspective.

First, as already mentioned in the introduction, we have examined three different languages in order to compare *wh*-relative clauses in English, Spanish and German and thus, see the parallelisms and divergences emerging from this contrast. Despite having a common source, which is the Indo-European, these languages belong to different families: both English and German are Germanic languages, whereas Spanish is considered a Romance language. Thus, as a consequence of having the same origin, they share some grammatical aspects from a morphological and a lexical point of view. Being both of them Germanic languages, consequently, parallelisms between English and German can be found, for instance in the organization of clauses, the position of

relativisers, etc. Moreover, despite being two languages that do not belong to the same family, this study has demonstrated that parallelisms between Spanish and German are much more frequent rather than between English and German. This is due to the fact that although Spanish lost its grammatical cases, it incorporated a wide range of prepositional structures instead, being at the same level of German, which actually maintains all the cases inherited from Indo-European and its prepositional structures.

Second, we have observed multiple equivalents of English relative pronoun *who* in both Spanish and German languages. Whereas English only possesses a unique and invariable form for the relative pronoun which is governed by nominative and makes reference to human antecedents, in the other languages under analysis we can find two different equivalents in the case of Spanish or even three in the case of German.

Third, we have analysed in more depth the accusative form of *who*, which is *whom*. In contrast with our initial thinking, our corpus-based analysis has revealed that there are few cases in which relative clauses are headed by the accusative form. Actually, structures marked by *who* or a gap appears to be much more frequent.

Fourth, we have discussed prepositional relative clauses as we consider it an underexplored topic within the relative clauses. Our corpus –based analysis has shown the extremely high frequency of *prepositions + relativisers* in the three languages, but particularly in Spanish and German, possibly due to a major/greater maintenance of case inflections of the original language (Indo-European).

Fifth, our research, as the corresponding figures reveal, shows that *wh*-relative clauses are more recurrent in restrictive clauses, rather than in non-restrictive clauses.

In concluding this study, it is evident that there are still many gaps worth analyzing regarding *wh*-relative clauses and further investigations need to be accomplished in order to examine this topic in more detail, analysing the relationship of other types of English relativisers such as *which*, *whose* or *where*, with their Spanish and German counterparts. In addition, it would be stimulating to extend the analysis to spoken registers, comparing the parallelisms and divergences between written and spoken

language, and to other types of informal written texts different from those studied (film reviews), not to mention/ without forgetting other texts considered as more formal, such as literary texts. In addition, prepositional structures, still partly-studied, also deserve to be analyzed in further detail focusing on examples headed by *which*, which our study has revealed to be the most frequent. The previous suggestions will contribute to create a more realistic vision of the actual performance of *wh*-relative clauses in the three languages under study, enabling us to observe not only the possible coincidences among them, but also (the) particular characteristics.

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## Appendix I: Spanish relative pronouns. Form

SINGULAR		PLURAL		ANTECEDENT
Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	
(el) que	(la) que	(los) que	(las) que	Person/animal/object
(el) cual	(la) cual	(los) cuales	(las) cuales	Person/animal/object
quien	quien	quienes	quienes	Person

## Appendix II: Criteria when choosing relativisers

Type of clause	Restrictive		Non-restrictive		Escindidas
Register	Informal	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal and Formal
Personal antecedent	Preposition + article + que	Preposition + article + que	Que (Subject)	Que- Quien	Article + que
		Preposition + quien/quienes		El/La cual	
		Preposition + los/las cuales	A + article + que (Object)	Los cuales/ las cuales	A + quien (Direct Object)
		Preposition + cuyo/a/os/as			
			Preposition + Article + que	Preposition + article + que	
				Preposition + quien/quienes	

				Preposition + los/las cuales  Preposition + cuyo/a/os/as	
Non- personal antecedent	Preposition + Article + que	Preposition + article + que	Que (subject)	El/La cual  Los cuales/las cuales (Subject)	Article + que
		Preposition + los/las cuales	Que (Direct Object)		
		Preposition + cuyo/a/os/as			
	Preposition + lo que		Preposition + Article + que  Preposition + el/la cual  Preposition + los/las cuales  Preposition + cuyo/a/os/as		
Non- explicit antecedent	Article + que		Ø		Ø
Spatial element (location)  Movement	Donde—En donde  En + Article + que	En el /La cual  En los/las cuales	Donde—En donde  En + article + que	En + article + cual	Donde  Article + que

towards a place	Adonde  A + article + que	Al / A la cual  A los / A las cuales	Adonde	
Temporal element	En que		Cuando	Cuando

### Appendix III: First variety versus second variety of pronouns in German

#### German definite pronouns: *der, die, das*

Kasus	Maskulin	Feminin	Neutrum	Plural
Nominativ	der	die	das	die
Akkusativ	den	die	das	die
Dativ	dem	der	dem	den
Genitiv	dessen	deren	dessen	deren

#### German indefinite pronouns: *welcher, welche, welches*

Kasus	Maskulin	Feminin	Neutrum	Plural
Nominativ	welcher	Welche	welches	welche
Akkusativ	welchen	Welche	welches	welche
Dativ	welchem	Welcher	welchem	welchen
Genitiv	welches	Welcher	welches	welcher

## Appendix IV: Comparison among the three languages

	ENGLISH	SPANISH	GERMAN
INFLECTIONS	Case  Accusative <i>whom</i>	Gender  Number	Gender  Number  Case
PREP + RELATIVIZER	PREP + <i>which</i>  PREP + <i>whom</i>	PREP + CUAL  PREP + QUE	Multiple variations
PHENOMENA	Preposition stranding	Omission of the article	Pronominal adverbs: <i>wo</i> and <i>da</i>





Santiago de Compostela

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