

# Case competition in headless relatives: a Germanic typology

Fenna Bergsma

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

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- (1) Ich lade ein wem auch Maria vertraut.  
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'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, Vogel 2001: 344)

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- headless relatives in three Germanic languages:
  - Gothic
  - Old High German
  - Modern German

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- headless relatives in three Germanic languages:
  - Gothic
  - Old High German
  - Modern German
- two aspects:
  - one is stable crosslinguistically
  - one differs crosslinguistically



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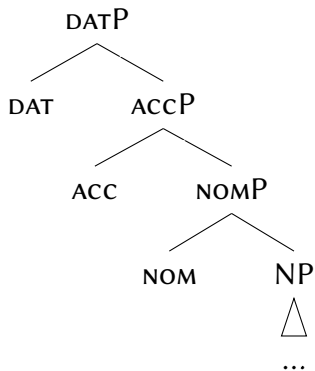
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- in syntax
  - agreement (cf. Moravcsik, 1978)
  - relativization (cf. Keenan and Comrie, 1977)
- in morphology
  - syncretism patterns (cf. Baerman, Brown, and Corbett, 2005)
  - formal containment (cf. Caha, 2010)

# A reflex of morphology in syntax

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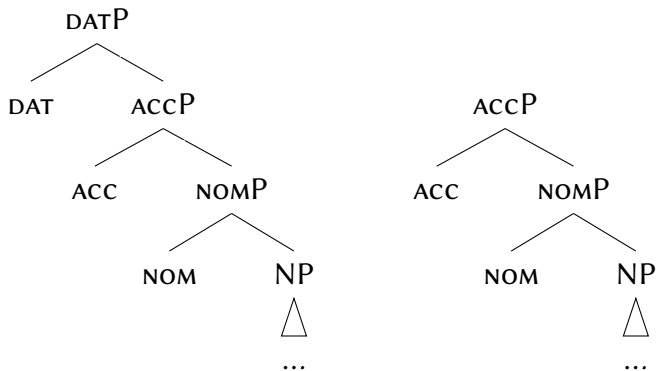
cf. Caha 2009





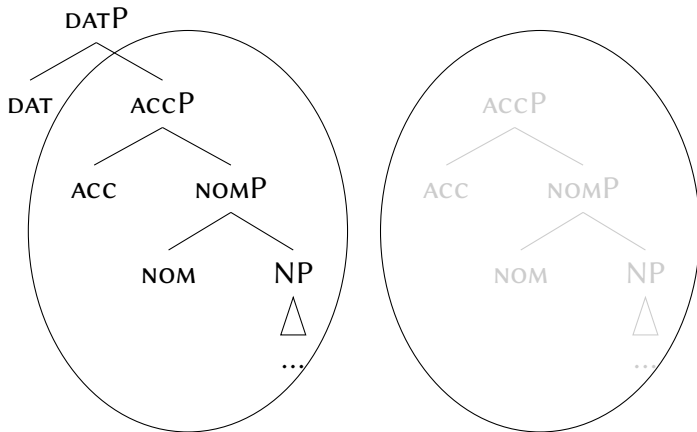
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	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	INT	EXT
Modern German	INT	*
Old High German	*	EXT

- (4) ushafjands    **ana**    **þamm**    **-ei**    **lag**

picking up<sub>[ACC]</sub> on<sub>[DAT]</sub> REL.DAT.N.SG -COMP lay

‘picking up (that) on which he lay’

(Gothic, Luke 5:25, adapted from W. E. Harbert 1978: 343)

- (5) hva    nu    wilei    ei    taujau    **þamm**    **-ei**    **qīþīþ**    **þiudan**

what now want that do<sub>[DAT]</sub> REL.DAT.M.SG -COMP say<sub>[ACC]</sub> king

**ludaie?**

of Jews

‘what now do you wish that I do to (him) whom you call King of the Jews?’ (Gothic, Mark 15:12, adapted from W. E. Harbert 1978: 339)

# Modern German: only internal

- (6) Ich lade ein wem **auch Maria vertraut.**  
I invite<sub>[ACC]</sub> REL.DAT.AN also Maria trusts<sub>[DAT]</sub>.  
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, Vogel 2001: 344)

- (7) \*Ich vertraue wem **auch Maria mag.**  
I trust<sub>[DAT]</sub> REL.DAT.AN also Maria likes<sub>[ACC]</sub>.  
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, Vogel 2001: 345)

# Old High German: only external

- (8)    bistû    furira    Abrâhame, ouh thên    **man hiar nû**  
are you older<sub>[DAT]</sub> to Abraham also REL.DAT.PL one    here now  
**zalta?**  
named<sub>[ACC]</sub>  
'are you really older than Abraham and those who have been  
mentioned here?'

(Old High German, Otfrid III 18:33, Behaghel 1923-1932: 761)



# Again a reflex of morphology in syntax?

	headless relatives	
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	INT	EXT
Modern German	INT	*
Old High German	*	INT

# Again a reflex of morphology in syntax?

	headless relatives		relative pronoun
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT	
Gothic	INT	EXT	D + COMP
Modern German	INT	*	WH
Old High German	*	INT	D

# Again a reflex of morphology in syntax?

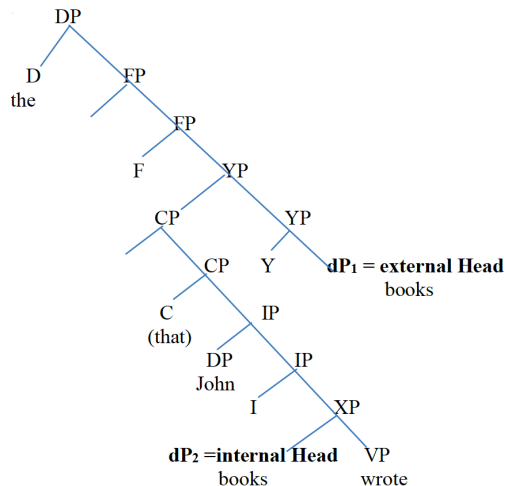
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headless relatives			
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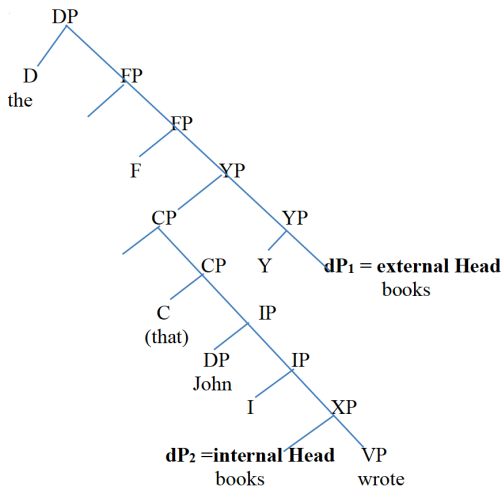
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how?

# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



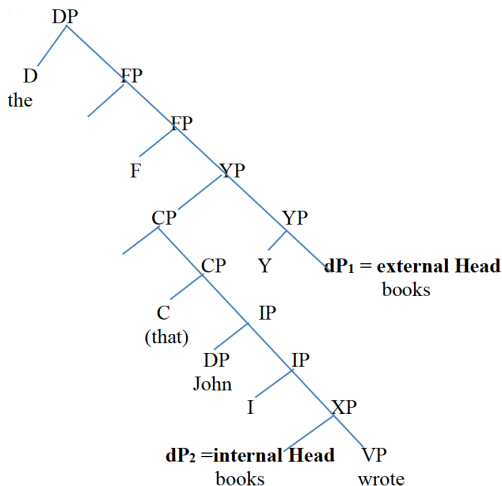
# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis

- *Had he continued to be dean, he could not have written the books that he wrote.*
- dP<sub>2</sub> moves to specCP and deletes dP<sub>1</sub>
- amount interpretation

# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis

- *Had he continued to be dean, he could not have written the books that he wrote.*
- $dp_2$  moves to specCP and deletes  $dp_1$
- amount interpretation

- matching analysis

- *The book that John wrote lies on the shelf.*
- $dp_1$  moves to specFP and deletes  $dp_2$
- individual interpretation

# The variation explained in a nutshell

- the relative pronoun in Old High German is actually the **external head** which has deleted the (attracted) relative pronoun
- in Modern German, the relative pronoun in the relative clause deletes an indefinite
- Gothic: ?

# Old High German: attraction in headed relatives

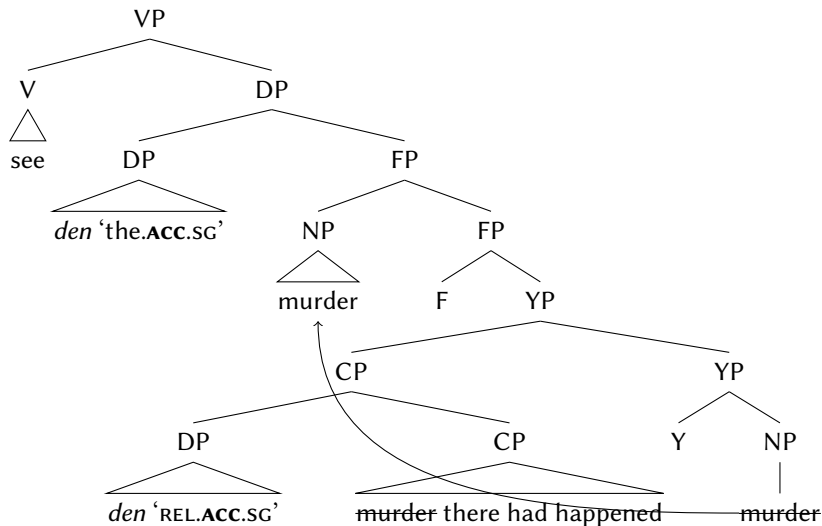


# Old High German: attraction in headed relatives

- (9) unde ne wolden níet besên den mort den dô  
and not wanted not see<sub>[ACC]</sub> the.ACC.SG murder REL.ACC.SG there  
**was geschên**  
had happened<sub>[NOM]</sub>  
'and they didn't want to see the murder that had happened.'  
(Middle High Germans, Nib. 1391,14, Grimm 1866: 319, after Pittner 199

# Old High German: structure of headed relative

(10)

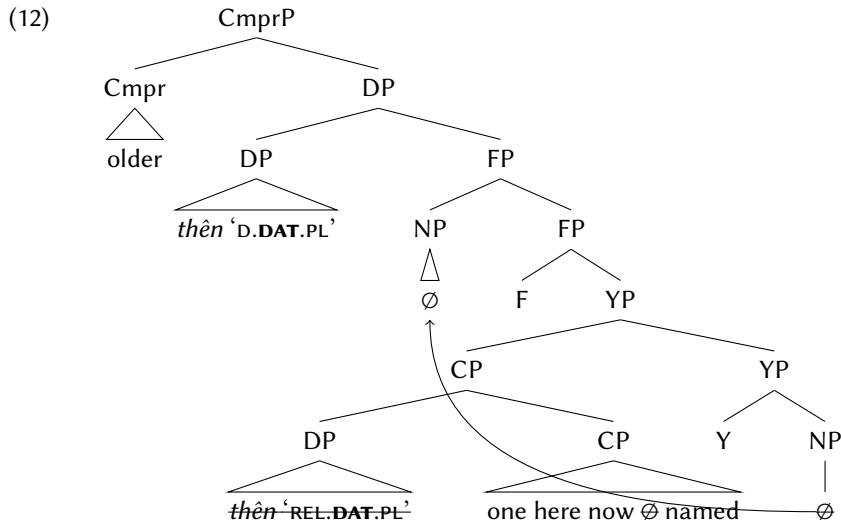


# OHG: structure and deletion in headless relatives

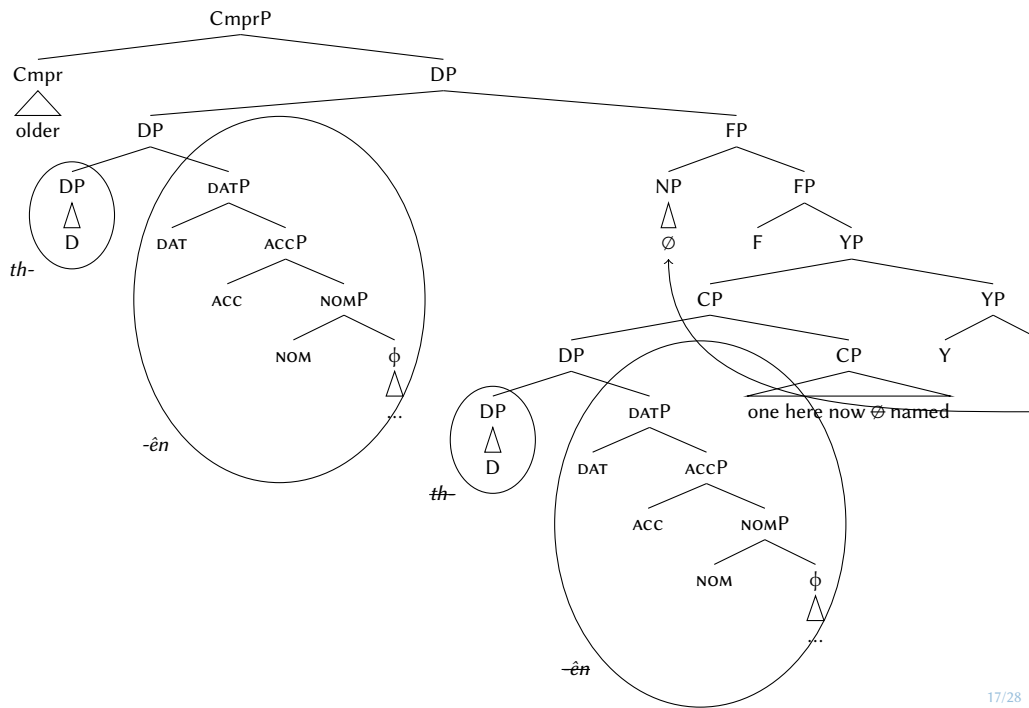
- (11)    bistû    furira    Abrâhame, ouh thên    **man hiar nû zalta?**  
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# OHG: structure and deletion in headless relatives

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# OHG: deletion with finer decomposed structures





# Summary Old High German

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	headless relatives		relative pronoun
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT	
Old High German	*	INT	D
derived from headed relative			



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headless relatives			
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- **attraction** + deletion under **identity** under c-command

# Summary Old High German

headless relatives			
INT>EXT		EXT>INT	
Old High German	*	INT	D

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- **attraction** + deletion under **identity** under c-command
- **no attraction** + deletion under **containment** under c-command

# Modern German: not derived from headed relative

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- (13) Den schilt den er vür bôt der wart schiere  
the.ACC shield.ACC REL.ACC.AN he held<sub>ACC</sub>, that.NOM was quickly  
zeslagen  
shattered<sub>NOM</sub>  
'The shield he held was quickly shattered' (Middle High German)

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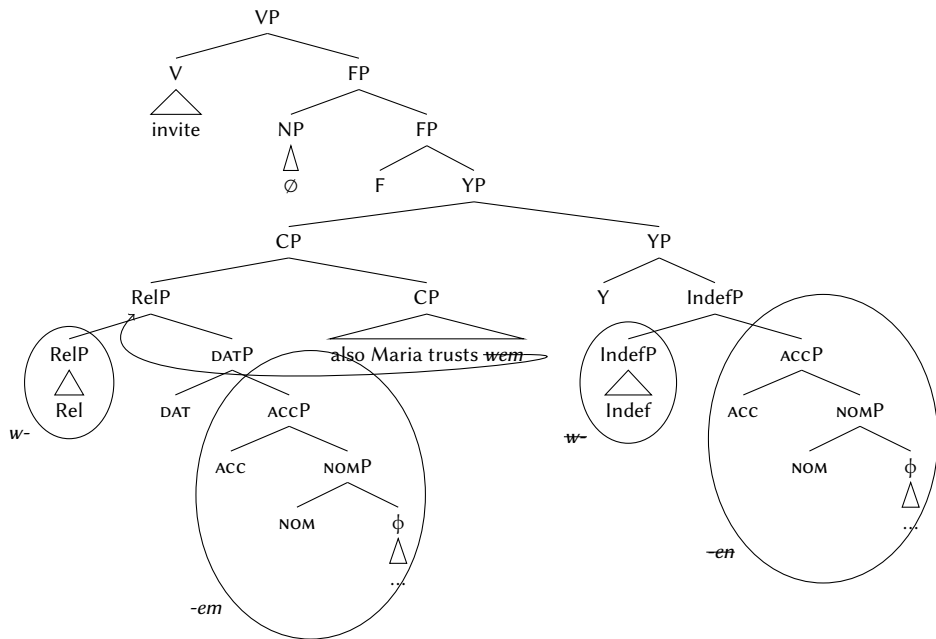
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no, because:

- different pronoun
- extra pronoun
- different sentence structure

# Modern German: matching analysis



# Summary Modern German



# Summary Modern German

	headless relatives		relative pronoun
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT	
Modern German	INT	*	WH

# Summary Modern German

headless relatives			
INT>EXT		EXT>INT	
Modern German	INT	*	WH

- deletion under **containment** under c-command

# Summary Modern German

headless relatives			
INT>EXT		EXT>INT	
Modern German	INT	*	WH

- deletion under **containment** under c-command

(15) Few dogs like Whiskas and ~~few~~ cats like Alpo.

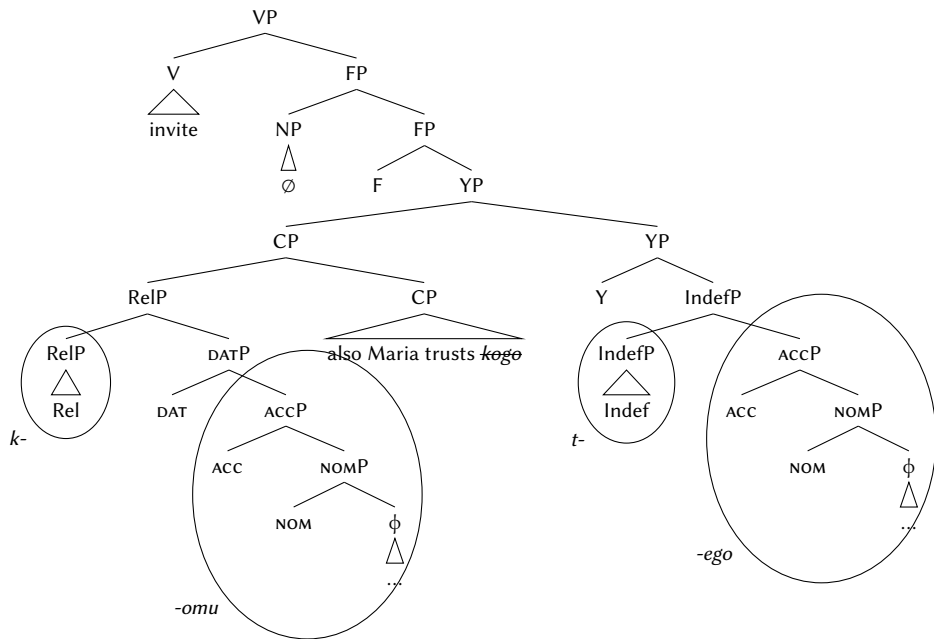
(Johnson 2000)

deletion under Kayne's c-command under containment in two parts  
similar to gapping + determiner deletion?

# Gothic: more questions than answers

- not like Old High German
  - no attraction in headed relatives (W. Harbert, 1992)
  - phonological effects with *-ei* > relative pronoun is in the relative clause (W. Harbert, 1992)
- how does the external case end up in the relative clause? (and why doesn't it in Modern German?)

# Matching only languages like Polish



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