

# Case competition in headless relatives: a Germanic typology

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GK colloquium  
May 31, 2020

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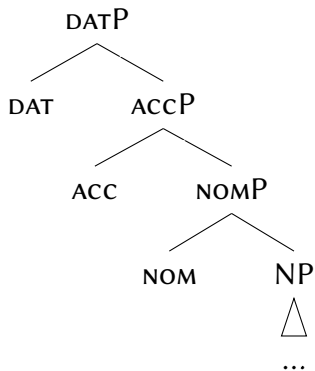
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- in syntax
  - agreement (cf. Moravcsik, 1978)
  - relativization (cf. Keenan and Comrie, 1977)
- in morphology
  - syncretism patterns (cf. Baerman, Brown, and Corbett, 2005)
  - formal containment (cf. Caha, 2010)

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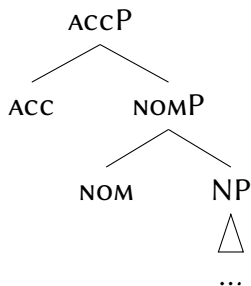
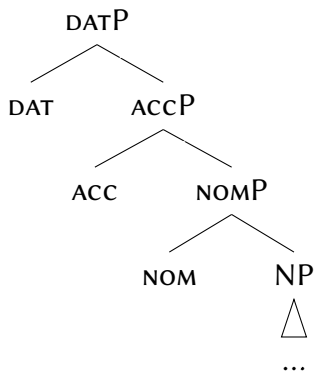
cf. Caha 2009





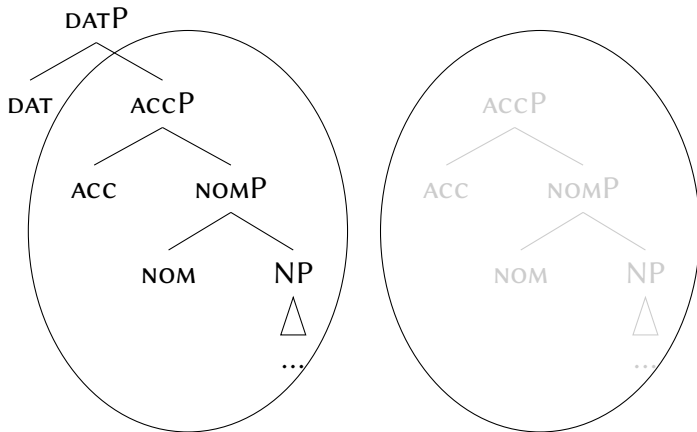
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	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	INT	EXT
Modern German	INT	*
Old High German	*	EXT

- (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**    **qīpīþ**    **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?

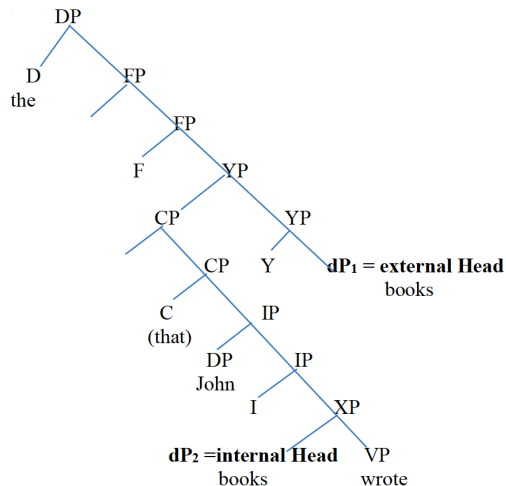
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headless relatives			
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Modern German	INT	*	WH
Old High German	*	INT	D

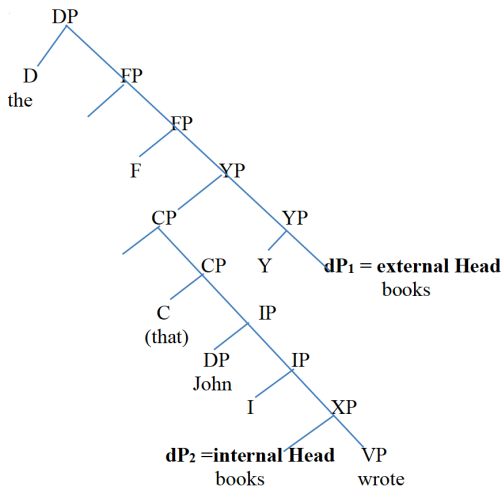
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how?

# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



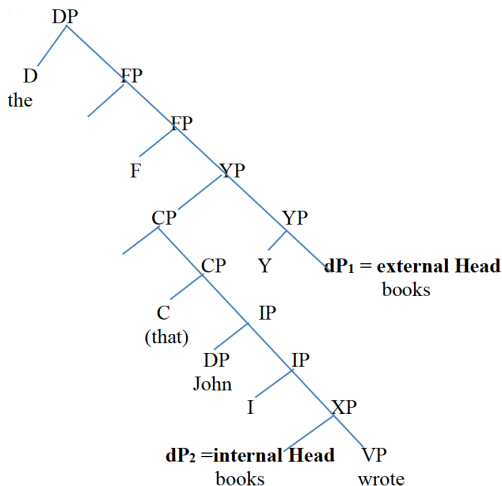
# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis

- amount interpretation: *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>

# Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis

- amount interpretation: *Had he continued to be dean, he could not have written the books that he wrote.*
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- matching analysis

- individual interpretation: *The book that John wrote lies on the shelf.*
- dP<sub>1</sub> moves to specFP and deletes dP<sub>2</sub>

# The variation explained in a nutshell

- the relative pronoun in Old High German is actually the **external head**
- in Modern German, the relative pronoun **stays** in the relative clause
- Gothic: ?

# Old High German: attraction in headed relatives

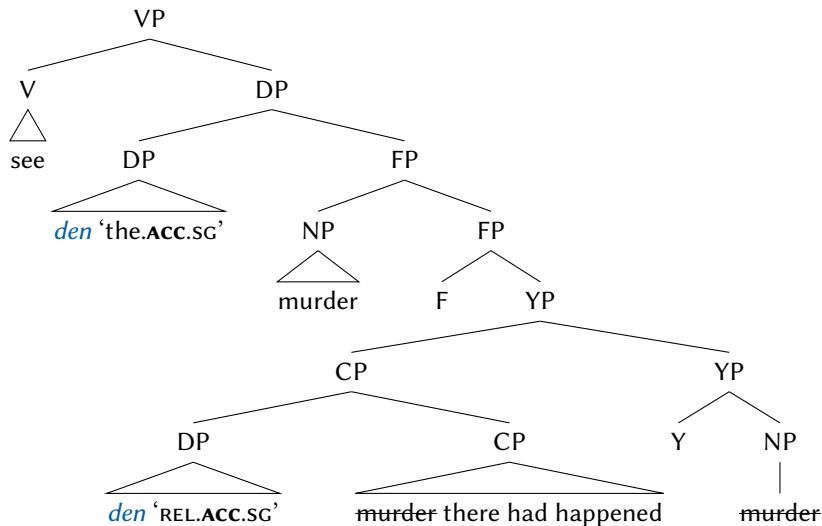


# Old High German: attraction in headed relatives

- (9) unde ne wolden nîet 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)

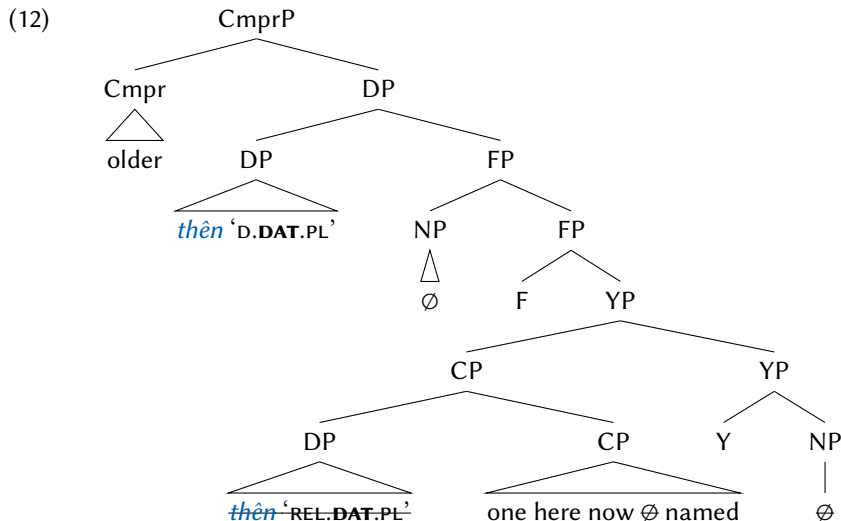


# OHG: structure and deletion in headless relatives

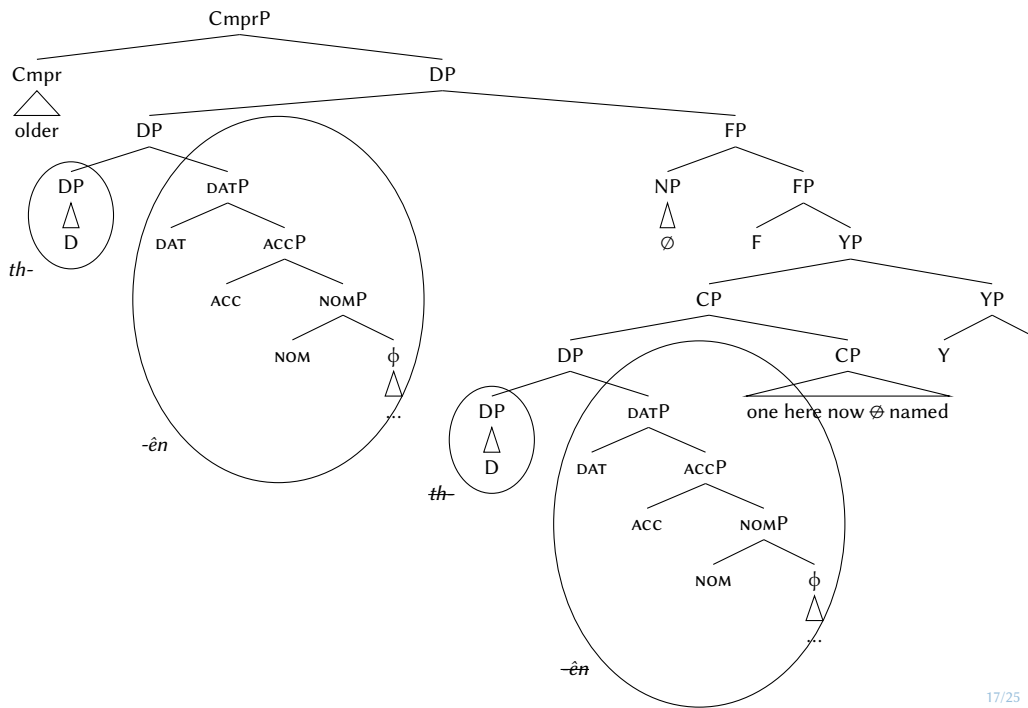
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are you older<sub>[DAT]</sub> to Abraham also REL.DAT.PL one    here now named<sub>[ACC]</sub>  
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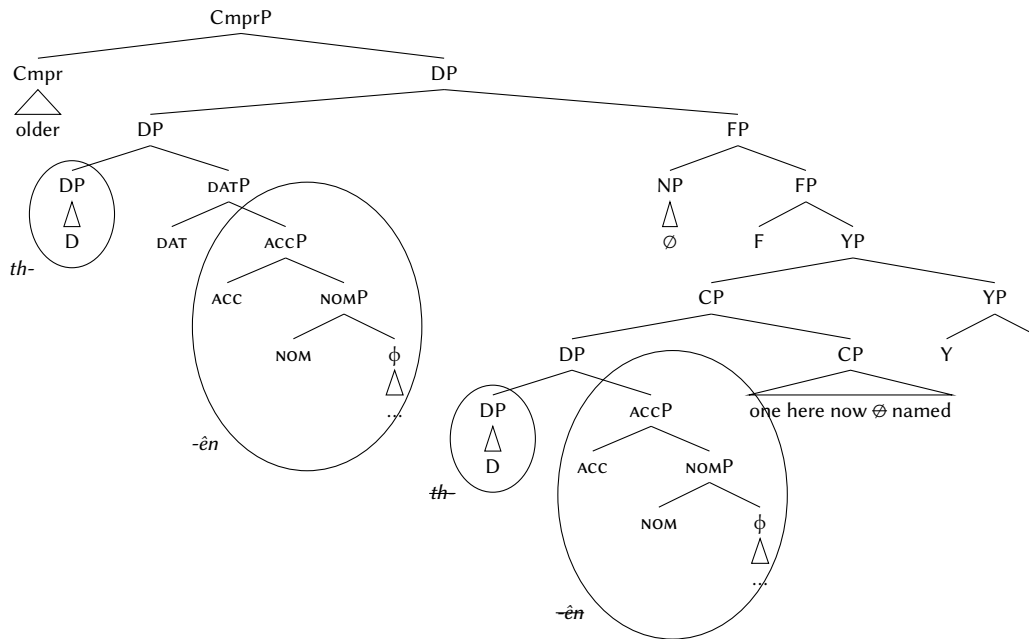
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# OHG: deletion with finer decomposed structures



# OHG: deletion of a contained constituent



# Summary Old High German

only external, no internal derived from headed relative

two options: 1 attraction + deletion under identity under c-command 2 no attraction + deletion under containment under c-command

# Modern German: also derived from headed?

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- (14) 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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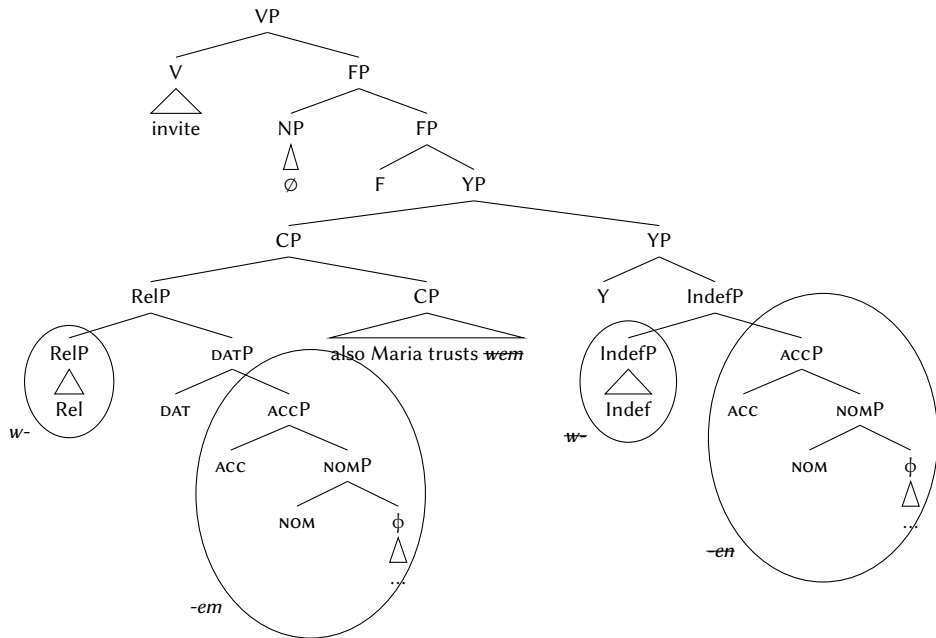
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no, because  
different pronoun different sentence structure

## Modern German: matching analysis

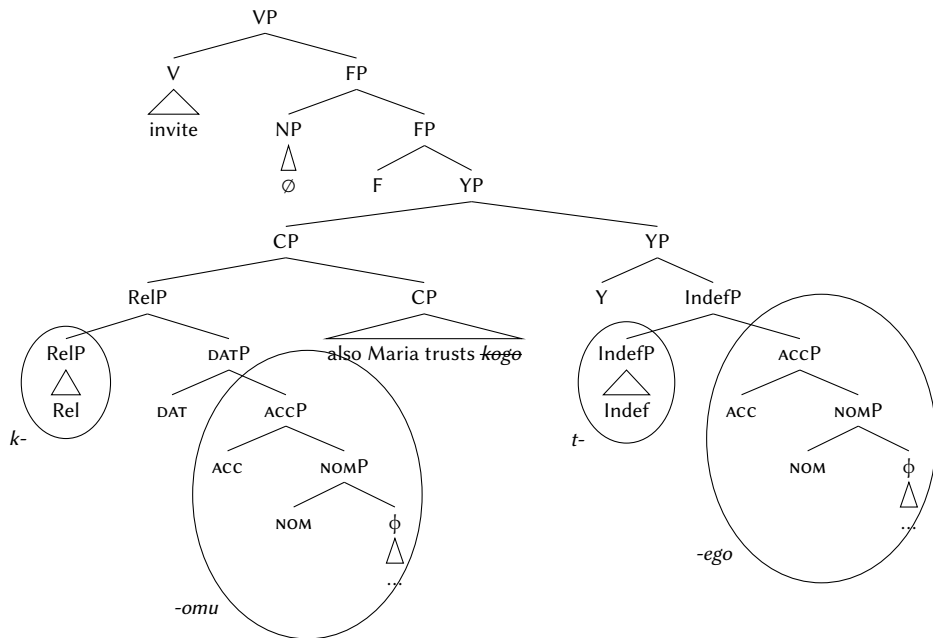


deletion under Kayne's c-command under containment in two parts  
similar to gapping + determiner deletion?

# 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?

# Matching only languages like Polish



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