

CASE COMPETITION IN HEADLESS RELATIVES

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List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AN	animate
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
GEN	genitive
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
NOM	nominative
N	neuter
PL	plural
PRES	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
REL	relative
SG	singular

Part I

The case

Part II

The base

Chapter 1

Constituent containment

In Chapter ?? I introduced two descriptive parameters that generate the attested languages, as shown in Figure 1.1. The first parameter concerns whether the external case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition (allow EXT?). This parameter distinguishes between unrestricted languages (e.g. Old High German) on the one hand and internal-only languages (e.g. Modern German) and matching languages (e.g. Polish) on the other hand. The second parameter concerns whether the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition (allow INT?). This parameter distinguishes between internal-only languages (e.g. as Modern German) on the one hand and unrestricted languages (e.g. Old High German) on the other hand.

“A natural question at this point is whether this typology needs to be fully stipulative, or is to some extent derivable from independent properties of individual languages” Grosu (2003)¹⁴⁷

In this chapter I show how the typology can be derived from the morphology of the languages.

This chapter is structured as follows.

1.1 The basic idea

This section gives the basic idea behind my proposal. Throughout the rest of the chapter I motivate the proposal, and I illustrate it with examples.

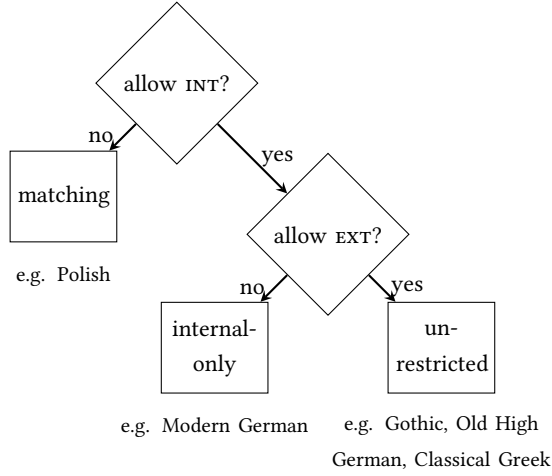


Figure 1.1: Two descriptive parameters generate three language types

1.1.1 Underlying assumptions

I start with my assumption that headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives (the same is argued for headless relatives with D-pronouns in Modern German by Fuß and Grewendorf 2014; Hanink 2018 and for Polish by Citko 2004¹, several others claim there is a phonologically empty head, cf. Himmelreich 2017 + older ones XX). the light head bears the external case, and the relative pronoun bears the internal case, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) light head_{EXT} [relative pronoun_{INT} ...]

In a headless relative, either the light head or the relative pronoun is absent. This happens under the following condition: a light head or a relative pronoun is absent when each of its constituents is contained in a constituent of the other element (i.e. the light head or the relative pronoun).

To see what a light-headed relative looks like, consider the light-headed relative in (2). *Thér* ‘DEM.SG.M.NOM’ is the light head of the relative clause. This is the element

¹A difference with Modern German and Polish is that one of the elements can only be absent when the cases match. In Section ?? I return to the point why Modern German does not have unrestricted headless relatives that look like Old High German, although it still has syncretic light heads and relative pronouns.

that appears in the external case, the case that reflects the grammatical role in the main clause. *Then* ‘REL.SG.M.ACC’ is the relative pronoun of the relative clause. This is the element that appears in the internal case, the case that reflects the grammatical role within the relative clause.

- (2) eno nist thiz thér **then** **ir**
 now not be.3SG DEM.SG.N.NOM DEM.SG.M.NOM REL.SG.M.ACC 2PL.NOM
suochet zi arslahanne?
 seek.2PL to kill.INF.SG.DAT
 ‘Isn’t this now the one, who you seek to kill?’

The difference between a light-headed relative and a headless relative is that in a headless relative either the light head or the relative pronoun does not surface. The surfacing element is the one that bears the winning case, and the absent element is the one that bears the losing case. This means that what I have so far been glossing as and calling the relative pronoun is actually sometimes the light head and sometimes the relative pronoun. To reflect that, I call the surfacing element from now on the surface pronoun.

Table 1.1 lists the two options that I just laid out plus an additional one. The first option is that the relative pronoun, which bears the internal case, can appear as the surface pronoun. The second option is that the light head, which bears the external case, can appear as the surface pronoun. The third option is that there is no grammatical form for the surface pronoun.

Table 1.1: Options for the surface pronoun

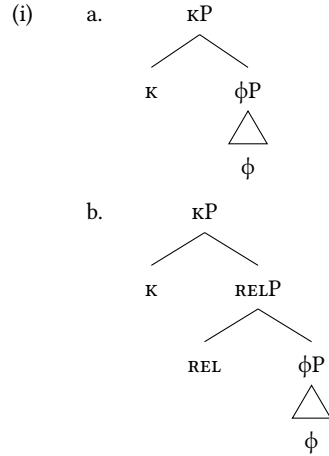
surface pronoun
light head _{EXT}
relative pronoun _{INT}
*

I propose that whether or not a light head can delete the relative pronoun and the relative pronoun can delete the light head follows from the comparison between

the two. Specifically, I compare the constituents within light heads and relative pronouns to each other. Light heads and relative pronouns do not only correspond to case features, but also to other features (having to do with number, gender, etc.). It differs per language how language organize these features into constituents. In this chapter, I illustrate how these different constituents within light heads and relative pronouns lead to the differences in whether or not the light head and the relative pronoun can be deleted, and therefore to different language types.

In order to be able to compare the light head and the relative pronoun, I zoom in on their syntactic structures. In Section 1.2 to 1.4 I give arguments to support the structures I am assuming here. Figure 1.2 gives a simplified representation of them.² The light head and the relative pronoun partly contain the same syntactic features. The features they have in common are case (κ) and what I here simplify as phi-features (ϕ). The light head and the relative pronoun differ from each other in that the relative pronoun in addition has a relative feature (REL).

²The structures in Figure 1.2 are not base structures but derived ones. I assume the base structure of the light head to be as in (ia) and the base structure of the relative pronoun to be as in (ib).



The structure for the relative pronoun in Figure 1.2 cannot be derived from the base structures in (ib). The structure of the relative pronoun is a simplification of a more complex situation for which I give the intuition here.

In Section 1.2 I show the actual decomposition of the light head and the relative pronoun and how I reach the derived structure. I work with the derived structure in the main text because this is the configuration in which the containment relations under discussion hold.

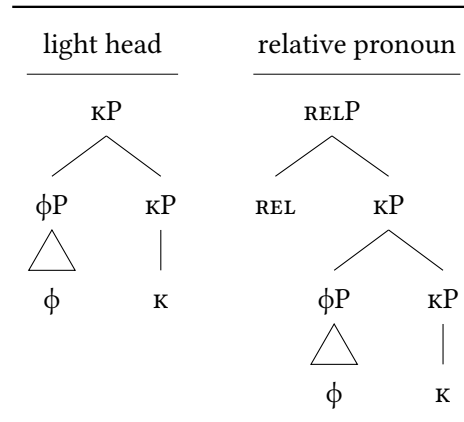


Figure 1.2: Light head and relative pronoun

I compare the light head and the relative pronoun in terms of containment. The relative pronoun can delete the light head because the relative pronoun contains all constituents the light head contains. I illustrate this in Figure 1.3. I draw a dashed circle around the constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. The κP is contained in the $RELP$, so the relative pronoun can delete the light head. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circle for the κP gray.

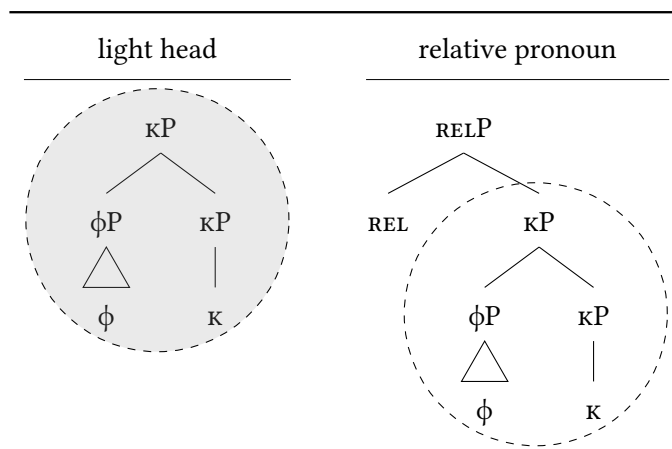


Figure 1.3: Light head and relative pronoun

The light head cannot delete the relative pronoun, because it does not contain

all constituents the relative pronoun of the relative pronoun. The light head has a constituent κP , but it does not contain the feature REL to make it an $REL P$.

With the set of assumptions I introduced in this section, I can account for the internal-only type of language. Moreover, the system I set up excludes the external-only type of language. An external-only type of language would be one in which the light head can delete the relative pronoun, but the relative pronoun cannot delete the light head. In my proposal, an element can delete the other one if it contains all of the other's constituents. Relative pronouns always contain one more feature than light heads: REL . Therefore, it is impossible for a light head to contain all constituents of the relative pronoun. The light head namely does not contain all features that the relative pronoun contains. If it does not meet the weaker requirement of feature containment, it is impossible to meet the stronger requirement of constituent containment.

However, not all languages are of the internal-only type. I argue that the other two attested languages differ from the internal-only type in how light heads and relative pronouns are spelled out. Before I come back to how the different spell-out leads to different language types, I show how the internal-only type fares with differing internal and external cases.

1.1.2 The internal-only type

I start with the example in Figure 1.4, in which the relative pronoun bears a more complex case than the light head.

I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. There are two separate constituents. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head: $NOMP$. This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in the lower $ACC P$. I continue with the left-most constituent of the light head: the ϕP . This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in the higher $ACC P$. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

I end with the example in Figure 1.5, in which the light head bears a more com-

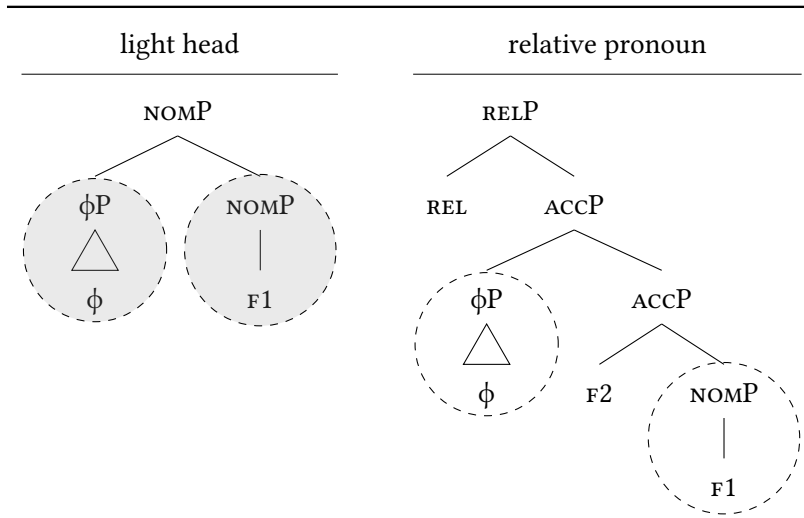


Figure 1.4: NOM light head and ACC relative pronoun

plex case than the relative pronoun.

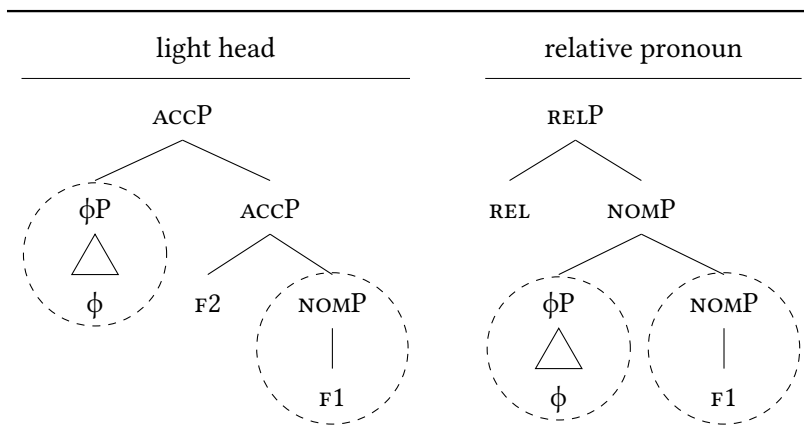


Figure 1.5: NOM relative pronoun and ACC light head

I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. Different from the previous two examples in Figure 1.4, neither of the elements contains all constituents of the other element. The relative pronoun does not contain all constituents that the light head contains. The relative pronoun has a constituent NOMP, but it lacks the F2 to make it an ACCP.

The light head has a constituent that is not a constituent in the relative pronoun, so the light head cannot be absent. The light head does not contain all constituents that the relative pronoun contains. The light head has a constituent *NOMP*, but it does not contain *REL* to make it a *RELP*. The relative pronoun has a constituent that is not a constituent in the light head, so the relative pronoun cannot be absent. As a result, none of the elements can be absent.

Now I return to the other two attested language types. The differences between the languages do not arise from changing the feature content of the light head and relative pronoun per language.³ Instead, the differences come from how the light heads and relative pronouns are spelled out.

1.1.3 The matching type

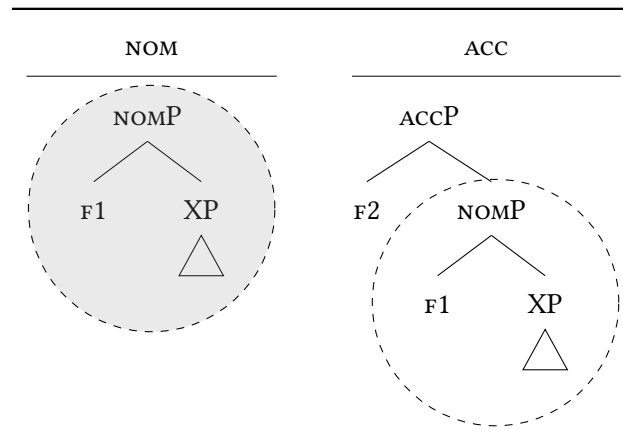
In matching languages like Polish, the light head cannot delete the relative pronoun and the relative pronoun cannot delete the light head. The intuition for this type of language is that they package their features together differently from internal-only languages like Modern German. The packaging happens in such a way that the constituents of the relative pronoun do not contain the constituents of the light head. As a result, the relative pronoun cannot delete the light head anymore.

In the comparison between light heads and relative pronouns, I rely on containment, just as I did in Chapter ?? when comparing cases. For case competition, I reasoned as follows. A more complex case wins over a less complex case because the former contains all features that the latter contains. Concretely, the dative wins over the accusative because the dative contains all features that the accusative contains, the dative wins over the nominative because the dative contains all features that the nominative contains, and the accusative wins over the nominative because the accusative contains all features that the nominative contains.

Figure 1.6 illustrates this for the accusative and the nominative.

The XP here can be any type of case marked element. I draw a dashed circle around the features that are features in both the accusative and the nominative. As

³The feature content of the unrestricted languages differs slightly from that of the internal-only and matching languages. This is due to the fact that this language type uses a different type of relative pronoun. The basic idea of the relative pronoun having at least one more feature than the light head remains the same.

Figure 1.6: NOMP vs. ACCP \rightarrow ACCP wins

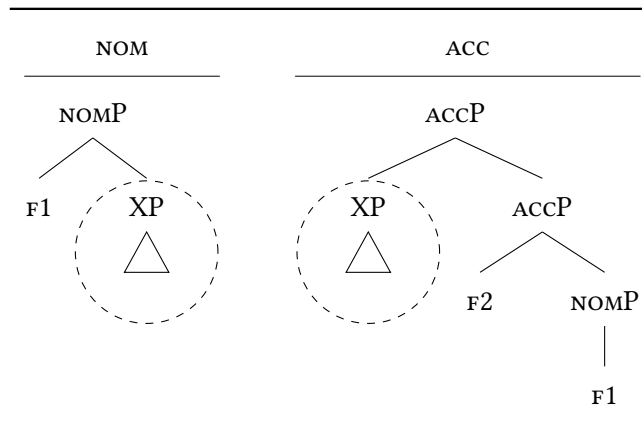
each feature of the accusative is also a feature within the nominative, the accusative wins the case competition. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circle for the nominative gray.

I formulated case containment in terms of feature containment. The accusative wins over the nominative because the accusative contains all features that the nominative contains. The image in Figure 1.6 is also compatible with a stronger requirement than feature containment: constituent containment. Under this view, the accusative wins over the nominative because the ACCP contains the NOMP.

In Figure 1.7 I show a situation in which the feature containment requirement holds but the constituent containment requirement does not. It is the same picture as in Figure 1.6 except for that the XP has moved out of the ACCP.

I draw a dashed circle around the constituent that is a constituent in both the accusative and the nominative (XP). There is still feature containment: the nominative contains F1 and XP and so does the accusative. However, there is no longer constituent containment: the NOMP constituent containing F1 and XP is no longer a constituent in the ACCP.

I apply the constituent containment reasoning to comparing the light head and relative pronoun. This time the most complex structure is not the winner of the case competition. Instead, the most complex structure is the element that can delete the other element. The relative pronoun can delete the light head, when the relative

Figure 1.7: NOMP vs. ACCP after extraction \nrightarrow ACCP wins

pronoun contains all constituents of the light head. The light head can delete the relative pronoun, when the light head contains all constituents of the relative pronoun.

In Section 1.3 I show that only the stronger requirement of constituent containment is able to distinguish the internal-only from the matching type of language, and that the weaker requirement of feature containment is not.

1.1.4 The unrestricted type

In unrestricted languages like Old High German, the light head can delete the relative pronoun and the relative pronoun can delete the light head. The property of unrestricted languages that I connect to this behavior is that their light heads and relative pronoun are syncretic. I suggest that if there is no constituent containment, but the two forms are spelled out by the same morpheme, one element can still delete the other. Consider Figure 1.8, in which the relative pronoun deletes the light head.

The ϕ P in the light head is spelled out as α , illustrated by the circle around the ϕ P and the α under it. The RELP in the relative pronoun is spelled out as α too, illustrated in the same way. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun.

I start with the right-most constituent of the light head: κ P. This constituent is

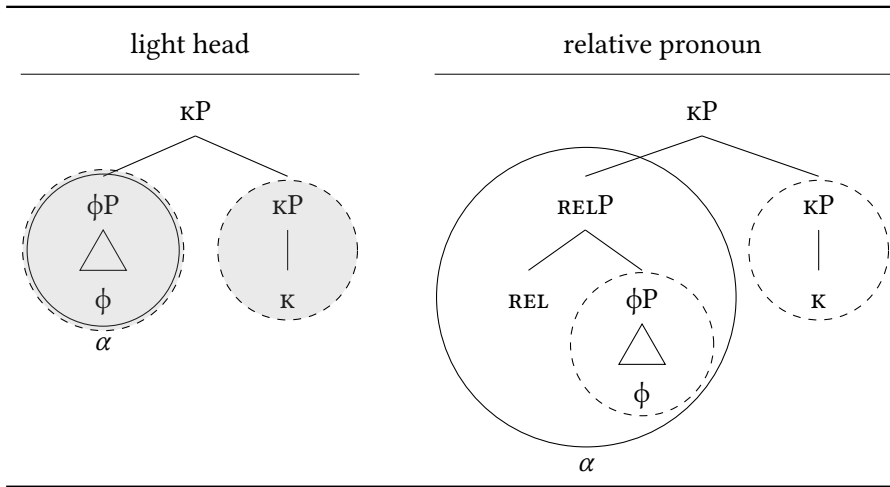


Figure 1.8: Syncretism: relative pronoun deletes light head

also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the left-most constituent of the light head: the ϕP . This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in the $REL P$. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

Consider Figure 1.9, in which the light head deletes the relative pronoun.

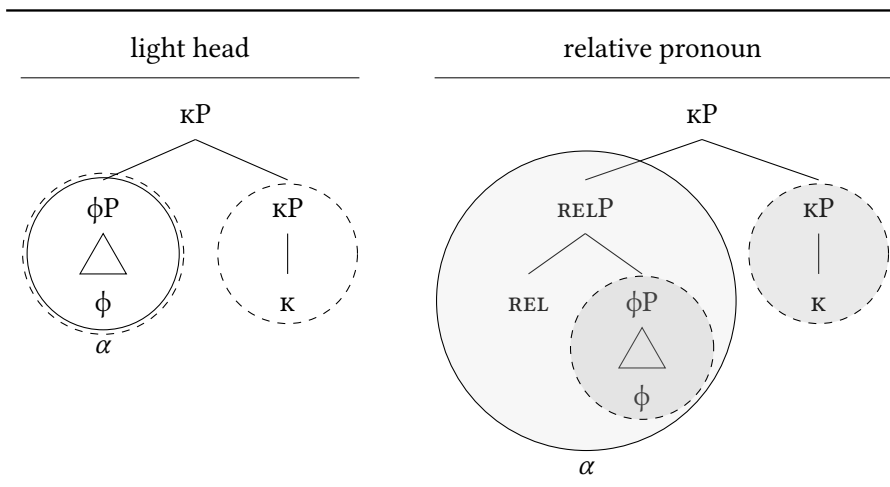


Figure 1.9: Syncretism: light head deletes relative pronoun

Just as in Figure 1.8, the ϕ P in the light head is spelled out as α and the RELP in the relative pronoun is spelled out as α too. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun.

I start with the right-most constituent of the relative pronoun: κ P. This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the left-most constituent of the relative pronoun: the RELP. This constituent is not contained in the light head. The ϕ P lacks the REL to make it a RELP. However, the two constituents are syncretic: the ϕ P is also spelled out as α . I suggest that this syncretism is also enough to license the deletion. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the relative pronoun gray and the portion that is deleted by syncretism in a lighter shade of gray.

To sum up, each constituent of the relative pronoun is either also a constituent within the light head or it is syncretic with a constituent within the light head. Therefore, the relative pronoun can be absent. The fact that syncretism licenses deletion is not specific to the portion of the structure corresponding to ϕ and REL. Syncretic cases can have the same effect, the inanimate nominative and accusative in Modern German being an instance of it. I give examples of this in Section 1.4.

1.1.5 Everything is constituent containment

In summing up this section, I return to the metaphor with the committee that I introduced in Chapter ?? . I wrote that first case competition takes place, in which a more complex case wins over a less complex case. This case competition can now be reformulated into a more general mechanism, namely constituent comparison. A more complex case corresponds to a constituent that contains the constituent of a less complex case.

Subsequently, I noted that there is a committee that can either approve the winning case or not approve it. In Chapter ?? I wrote that the approval happens based on where the winning case comes from: from inside of the relative clause (internal) or from outside of the relative clause (external). I argued in this section that headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives. The light head bears that external case and the relative pronoun bears the internal case. The ‘approval’ of an internal or external case relies on the same mechanism as case competition, namely

constituent comparison. If each constituent of the light head is contained in a constituent of the relative pronoun, the relative pronoun can delete the light head. The light head with its external case is absent, and the relative pronoun with its internal case surfaces. This is what corresponds to the internal case ‘being allowed to surface’. If each constituent of the relative pronoun is contained in a constituent of the light head, the light head can delete the relative pronoun. The relative pronoun with its internal case is absent, and the light head with its external case surfaces. This is what corresponds to the external case ‘being allowed to surface’.

In other words, the grammaticality of a headless relative depends on several instances of constituent comparison. The constituents that are compared are those of the light head and the relative pronoun, which both bear their own case. Case is special in that it can differ from sentence to sentence within a language. Therefore, the grammaticality of a sentence can differ within a language depending on the internal and external case. The part of the light head and relative pronoun that does not involve case features is stable within a language. Therefore, whether the internal or external case is ‘allowed to surface’ does not differ within a language.

In this dissertation I describe different language types in case competition in headless relatives. In my account, the different language types are a result of a comparison of the light head and the relative pronoun in the language. The larger syntactic context in which this takes place should be kept stable. The operation that deletes the light head or the relative pronoun is the same for all language types. In this work, I do not specify on which larger syntactic structure and which deletion operation should be used. In Section 1.7 I discuss existing proposals on these topics and to what extent they are compatible with my account.

To conclude, in this section I introduced the assumptions that headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives and that relative pronouns contain at least one more feature than light heads. A headless relative is grammatical when either the light head or the relative pronoun contains all constituents of the other element. This set of assumptions derives that only the most complex case can surface and that there is no language of the external-only type.

1.2 Deriving the internal-only type

Internal-only languages can be summarized as in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: The surface pronoun with differing cases in Modern German

	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	$K_{EXT} > K_{INT}$	
internal-only	relative pronoun _{INT}	*	Modern German

A language of the internal-only type (like Modern German) allows only the internal case to surface when it wins the case competition, and it does not allow the external case to do so. The relative pronoun with its internal case can be the surface pronoun and the light head with its external case cannot. The goal of this section is to derive this from the way light heads and relative pronouns are spelled out in Modern German.

The section is structured as follows. According to my assumptions in Section 1.1, the relative pronouns are part of the relative clause. I confirm this independently for Modern German with data from extraposition. Then I argue that Modern German headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives with as a light head the weak demonstrative in the sense of Schwarz 2009. I decompose the light heads and relative pronouns into smaller morphemes, and I show which features each of the morphemes corresponds to. Finally, I compare the constituents of the light head and the relative pronoun. When the internal and the external case match, the relative pronoun can delete the light head, because it contains all its constituents. When the internal case is more complex than the external case, the relative pronoun can still delete the light head, for the same reason: the relative pronoun contains all constituents of the light head. This is no longer the case when the external case is more complex than the internal case. The light head does not contain all constituents of the relative pronoun, and the relative pronoun does not contain all constituents of the light head. As a result, there is no grammatical form to surface when the external case is more complex.

1.2.1 The relative pronoun is the surface pronoun

In this section I show that the relative pronoun in Modern German headless relatives is the surface pronoun. The evidence comes from extraposition data.

The sentences in (3) show that it is possible to extrapose a CP. In (3a), the clausal object *wie es dir geht* ‘how you are doing’, marked here in bold, appears in its base position. It can be extraposed to the right edge of the clause, shown in (3b).

- (3) a. Mir ist **wie es dir geht** egal.
 1SG.DAT is how it 2SG.DAT goes the same
 ‘I don’t care how you are doing.’
 b. Mir ist egal **wie es dir geht**.
 1SG.DAT is the same how it 2SG.DAT goes
 ‘I don’t care how you are doing.’ (Modern German)

(4) illustrates that it is impossible to extrapose a DP. The clausal object of (3) is replaced by the simplex noun phrase *die Sache* ‘that matter’. In (4a) the object, marked in bold, appears in its base position. In (4b) it is extraposed, and the sentence is no longer grammatical.

- (4) a. Mir ist **die Sache** egal.
 1SG.DAT is that matter the same
 ‘I don’t care about that matter.’
 b. *Mir ist egal **die Sache**.
 1SG.DAT is the same that matter
 ‘I don’t care about that matter.’ (Modern German)

The same asymmetry between CPs and DPs can be observed with relative clauses. A relative clause is a CP, and the head of a relative clause is a DP. The sentences in (5) contain the relative clause *was er gekocht hat* ‘what he has stolen’. This is marked in bold in the examples. The (light) head of the relative clause is *das*.⁴ In (5a), the relative clause and its head appear in base position. In (5b), the relative

⁴Not all speakers of Modern German accept the combination of *das* as a light head and *was* as a relative pronoun and prefer *das* as a relative pronoun instead. I use the combination of *das* and *was* to have a more minimal pair with the headless relatives (that uses the relative pronoun *was*).

clause is extraposed. This is grammatical, because it is possible to extrapose CPs in Modern German. In (5c), the relative clause and the head are extraposed. This is ungrammatical, because it is possible to extrapose DPs.

- (5) a. Jan hat das, **was er gekocht hat**, aufgegessen.
 Jan has that what he cooked has eaten
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.'
- b. Jan hat das aufgegessen, **was er gekocht hat**.
 Jan has that eaten what he cooked has
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.'
- c. *Jan hat aufgegessen, das, **was er gekocht hat**.
 Jan has eaten that what he cooked has
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.' (Modern German)

The same can be observed in relative clauses without a head. (6) is the same sentence as in (5) only without the overt head. The relative clause is marked in bold again. In (6a), the relative clause appears in base position. In (6b), the relative clause is extraposed. This is grammatical, because it is possible to extrapose CPs in Modern German. In (6c), the relative clause is extraposed without the relative pronouns. This is ungrammatical, because the relative pronoun is part of the CP. This shows that the relative pronoun in headless relatives in Modern German are necessarily part of a CP, which is here a relative clause.

- (6) a. Jan hat **was er gekocht hat** aufgegessen.
 Jan has what he cooked has eaten
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.'
- b. Jan hat aufgegessen **was er gekocht hat**.
 Jan has eaten what he cooked has
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.'
- c. *Jan hat **was** aufgegessen **er gekocht hat**.
 Jan has what eaten he cooked has
 'Jan has eaten what he cooked.' (Modern German)

In conclusion, extraposition facts show that the surface pronoun in Modern German

headless relatives corresponds to the relative pronoun.

1.2.2 The light-headed relative clause

In what follows I discuss what the light-headed relative that the headless relative is derived from looks like. Modern German has two types of light-headed relatives, shown in (7).

- (7) a. Jan umarmt den **den** **er mag**.
 Jan hugs D.M.SG.ACC REL.M.SG.ACC he likes
 ‘Jan hugs the man that he likes.’
- b. Jan umarmt den **wen** **er mag**.
 Jan hugs D.M.SG.ACC REL.M.SG.ACC he likes
 ‘Jan hugs the man that he likes.’

In (7a), the D-pronoun is used that generally appears in headed relatives. An example of a headed relative is given in (8).

- (8) Jan umarmt den Mann **den** **er mag**.
 Jan hugs D.M.SG.ACC man REL.M.SG.ACC he likes
 ‘Jan hugs the man that he likes.’

In (7b), the WH-pronoun is used that generally appears in headed relatives.⁵ An example of a headless relative is given in (9).

- (9) Jan umarmt **wen** **er mag**.
 Jan hugs REL.AN.ACC he likes
 ‘Jan hugs who he likes.’

As (7b) contains the WH-pronoun, it seems like a possibility to assume that headless relatives are derived from this light-headed relative. This is also exactly what Hanink (2018) does. I argue that the light head is a different one from the demon-

⁵ At first sight it seems like Fuß and Grewendorf (2014) discuss an exception to this claim, namely headless relatives with D-pronouns. However, they claim that these headless relatives are actually light-headed relatives in which one of two syncretic elements is deleted by haplology.

strative shown in (7b). This follows from the fact that the interpretation of (9) and the one of (9) differ.

Headless relatives can be combined with the the particle *auch immer* ‘ever’.

- (10) Jan unarmt **wen** **auch immer er mag**.
 Jan hugs REL.AN.ACC ever he likes
 ‘Jan hugs whoever he likes.’

The sentence in (10) has two interpretations (see Šimík (2020) for a recent elaborate overview on the semantics of free relatives). The first interpretation is described as universal-like and the second as definite-like. The universal-like interpretation corresponds to a universal quantifier: Jan hugs everybody that he likes. The definite-like interpretation corresponds to a definite description: Jan hugs the person that he likes.

Šimík (2020: 4) notes that some languages do not easily allow for the definite-like interpretation of headless relatives with an *ever*-morpheme. There is no language documented that does not allow for the universal-like interpretation, but it does allow the definite-like interpretation. In the same spirit, informants have reported to me that headless relatives with case mismatches become more acceptable in the universal-like interpretation compared to the definite-like interpretation. What I take away from that, is that the universal-like interpretation of headless relatives is the main interpretation to account for. This interpretation is incompatible with the one of the light-headed relative in (7b).

In what follows, I suggest that the light head is a weak demonstrative (Schwarz, 2009).

The light head in (7b) is what Schwarz (2009) calls a strong demonstrative. This type of demonstrative is used when there is an anaphoric relation. Often there is a linguistic antecedent that is referred back to. I give an example in (11). The strong demonstrative is *dem* that precedes *Freund* ‘friend’, which refers back to the linguistic antecedent *einen Freund* ‘a friend’.

- (11) Hans hat heute einen Freund zum Essen mit nach Hause gebracht. Er
 Hans has today a friend to the dinner with to home brought he

This element does not surface as light head, but it does surface somewhere else, namely as clitic. I assume that the clitic is syncretic with the light head in Modern German. In Section ?? I come back to how they differ from each other.

- (14) a. Hat er einen Motorrad?
 has DEM.NOM_{WEAK} a motor bike
 ‘Does he have a motorbike?’
- b. Ich habe ihn gesehen.
 I have DEM.ACC_{WEAK} seen
 ‘I have been him.’
- c. Ich folge ihm nach Hause.
 I follow DEM.DAT_{WEAK} to house
 ‘I follow him home.’

1.2.3 Decomposing light heads and relative pronouns

Now I turn to the feature content of Modern German light heads and relative pronouns. I start from the relative pronoun, and on the way I come to the light head. Table 1.3 gives the animate and inanimate forms of the relative pronouns in three cases: nominative, accusative and dative. I decompose them in three morphemes: a *w*, a vowel and a final consonant.

Table 1.3: Modern German relative pronouns

	AN	INAN
NOM	w-e-r	w-a-s
ACC	w-e-n	w-a-s
DAT	w-e-m	(w-e-m)

I start with the morpheme *w*. The *w* combines with the same endings as the *d* does in demonstratives (or relative pronouns in headed relatives) in Modern German. Table ?? gives the singular forms in three gender and three cases.⁶

⁶Note here that the relative pronouns, unlike the demonstratives, do not have a feminine form for the relative pronouns in Table 1.3. Demonstratives also have plural forms (which are not given here), and relative pronouns do not. As far as I know, this holds for all relative pronouns in languages of the internal-only type (cf. also for Finnish, even though it makes a lot of morphological distinctions) and of the matching type. Relative pronouns in languages of the unrestricted type do inflect for feminine, as well as always-external languages. In Chapter ?? I return to this observation in relation with the

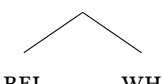
Table 1.4: Modern German demonstrative pronouns

	M	N	F
NOM	d-er	d-as	d-ie
ACC	d-en	d-as	d-ie
DAT	d-em	d-em	d-er

This identifies the *d* and, more importantly for the discussion here, the *w* as a separate morpheme. The morpheme *w* appears besides in headless relatives clauses, also as interrogative pronouns. An example is given in (15).

- (15) Wer ist da?
 who is there
 ‘Who is there?’

According to cf. Hachem, *w*-elements triggers the construction of a set of alternatives in the sense of Rooth (1985; 1992).⁷ I adopt this interpretation for the feature I call *WH*. As a relative pronoun, the *WH*-pronoun establishes some kind of relation. I call the feature that is responsible for that *REL*. This brings me to the lexical entry for *w* in (16). (see also Baunaz and Lander)

- (16) $\text{REL}P \Leftrightarrow w$

 REL WH

Besides the *w*, relative pronoun consist of a vowel and a final consonant. I continue with the final consonant. This morpheme is also present in the light head. The final consonant can be observed in several contexts besides relative pronouns. Table 1.5 gives an overview of strong adjective *neu* ‘new’ in Modern German in two numbers,

always-external languages.

⁷This contrasts with the *D*, which is responsible for establishing a definite reference. I return to the *D* in Section 1.4

three genders and three cases.⁸

Table 1.5: Modern German strong adjective *neu* ‘new’

	M.SG	N.SG	F.SG	PL
NOM	neu-ə-r	neu-ə-s	neu-ə	neu-ə
ACC	neu-ə-n	neu-ə-s	neu-ə	neu-ə
DAT	neu-ə-m	neu-ə-m	neu-ə-r	neu-ə-n

Table 1.6 gives an overview of the third person pronouns in Modern German in two numbers, three genders and three cases. I divided the non-suppletive forms in separate morphemes.

Table 1.6: Modern German third person pronouns

	M.SG	N.SG	F.SG	PL
NOM	er	es	sie	sie
ACC	ih-n	es	sie	sie
DAT	ih-m	ih-m	ih-r	ih-nen

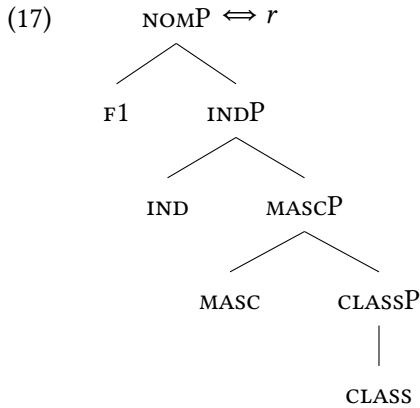
Table 1.5 and 1.6 show that the final consonants differ between gender, number and case. I conclude from that that the consonant realizes features having to do with gender, number and case.

I only discuss singular masculine forms in nominative and accusative case, so I only introduce features that are realized by these morphemes. I adopt the gender and number that are distinguished by Harley and Ritter (2002) for pronouns: CLASS, MASC and IND. The feature CLASS refers to gender features, which is neuter if it is not combined with any other features. Combining CLASS with the feature MASC gives a masculine gender. The feature IND refers to number, which is singular if it

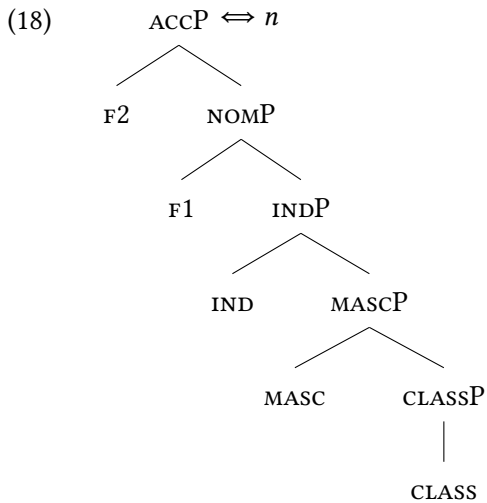
⁸The vowel preceding the final consonant is written as *e*. I wrote it as *ə*, because this is how it is pronounced. I make this distinction to distinguish this vowel from the vowel used in the relative pronouns.

is not combined with any other features. I use the case features of Caha (2009), already introduced in Chapter ?? . F1 refers to a nominative, and F1 and F2 refers to an accusative.

I give the lexical entries for the animate singular nominative *r* in (17).



I give the lexical entries for the animate singular accusative *n* in (18).



At this point, only the vowel of the relative pronoun is left. First, I assume that the vowel contains the feature REF, which Harley and Ritter (2002) claim all pronouns contain. In addition, I assume features involving deixis are present. Distinguishing proximal, medial and distal, WH-pronouns are marked as at least medial. This

can be shown for English. English has proximal and medial/distal demonstratives (evidence Lander/Haegeman). It is the medial/distal form that is used on the WH-pronoun. The proximal is ungrammatical on WH-pronoun.

- (19) a. th-is
DEM-PROX
- b. th-at
DEM-MED/DIST
- c. *wh-is
WH-PROX
- d. wh-at
WH-MED/DIST

9

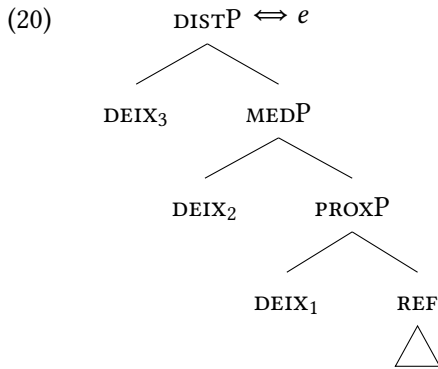
The situation in Modern German seems a bit less straightforward. Lander and Haegeman claim that Modern German is a language that has a full syncretism between proximal.

That means that there is a lexical entry like this, which is used to express the distal, the medial and the proximal.

⁹Conceptually, this can be made sense of if you see distal as something far away from you as a speaker, because it is unknown to you. Something that is known to you is expressed with a proximal.

- (i) a. Yesterday I talked to this woman, and she told me all I needed to know.
b. Please tell me about that thing later.

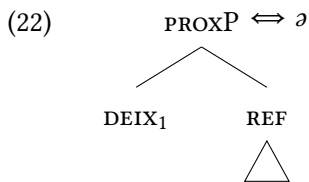
cite Wiltschko.



I argue that there is a different form for the proximal that appears in combination with a reinforcer (Lander). “As a determiner and a pronoun *dieser* typically refers to something near at hand” (Durrell 2011: 5.1.2(a)) The *e* ‘MED/DIST’ can be used for distal, medial and proximal. The *a* is typically only compatible with proximal references.

- (21)
- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------|
| a. | d-e-r | dort/ hier |
| | D-MED/DIST-M.SG.NOM | there/ here |
| | ‘that one there’ | |
| b. | d-ies-a-r | hier/ #dort |
| | D-REINF-PROX-M.SG.NOM | here/ there |
| | ‘this one here’ | |

In that view, the proximal is realized as the *a*, together with REF.

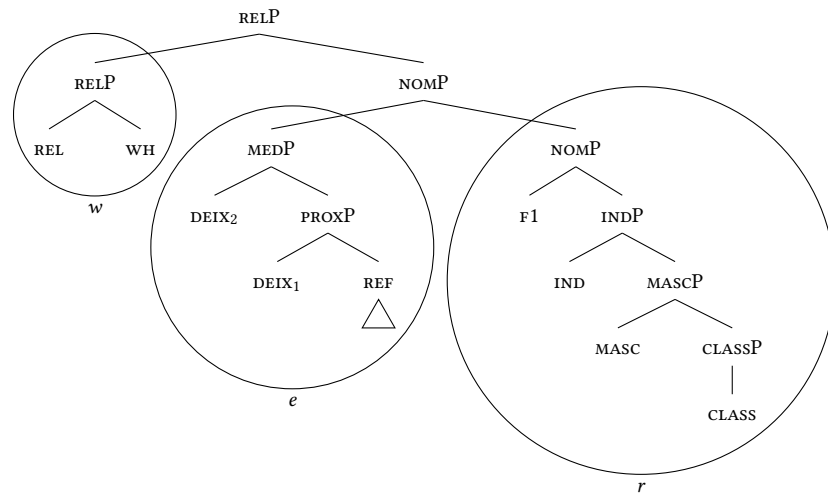


I assume that this is the morphemes used in the weak demonstrative, which is the light head.

1.2.4 Recomposing light heads and relative pronouns

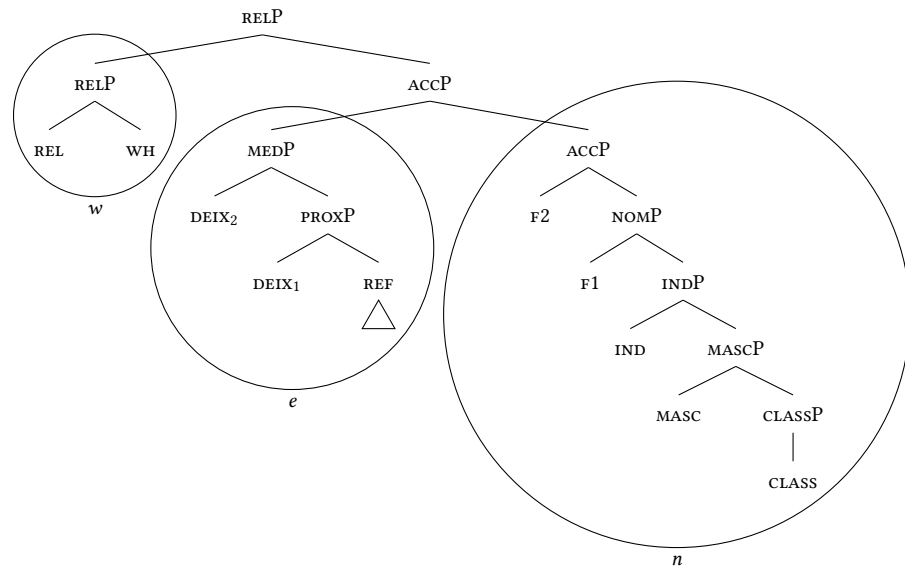
In (23), I combine the morphemes of animate relative pronoun in nominative case, and I give the internal structure of the relative pronoun as a whole.

(23)

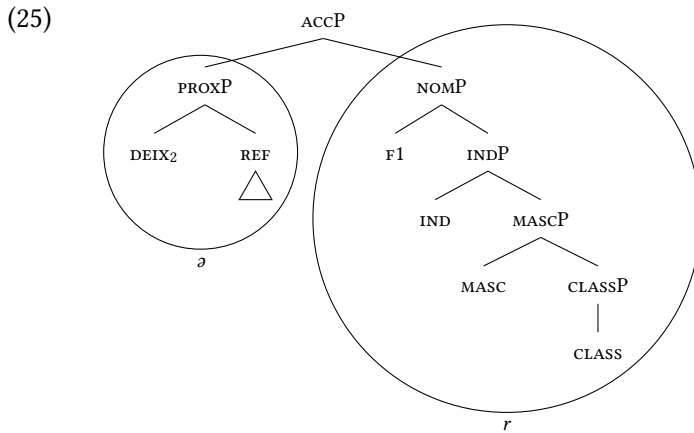


In (23), I combine the morphemes of animate relative pronoun in accusative case, and I give the internal structure of the relative pronoun as a whole.

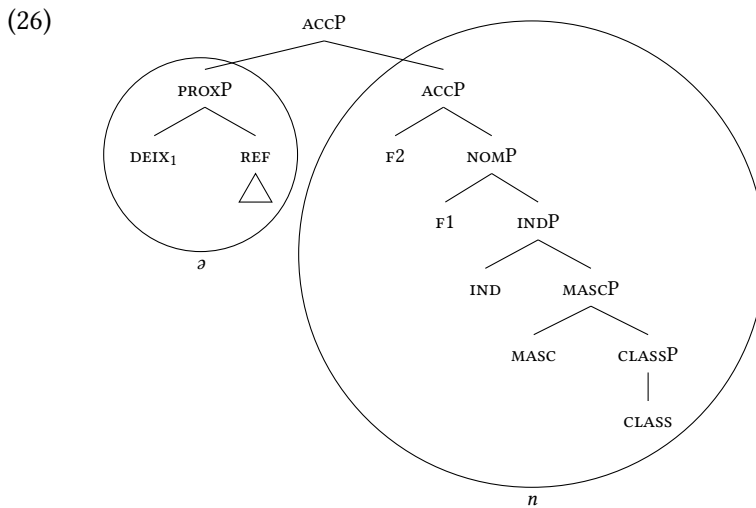
(24)



In (25), I combine the morphemes of animate relative pronoun in nominative case, and I give the internal structure of the relative pronoun as a whole.



In (26), I combine the morphemes of animate relative pronoun in accusative case, and I give the internal structure of the relative pronoun as a whole.



In the Nanosyntax, the theoretical framework in which I work this proposal out, lexical entries are not stuck together directly from the lexicon. As I introduced in Chapter ??, features are merged on by one. After each instance of merge the syntactic structure is matched against the lexicon for pronunciation. The basic spellout procedure goes as follows.

(27) **Spellout Algorithm:**

Merge F and

- a. Spell out FP.
- b. If (a) fails, attempt movement of the spec of the complement of F, and retry (a).
- c. If (b) fails, move the complement of F, and retry (a).

When a new match is found, it overrides previous spellouts.

(28) **Cyclic Override** (Starke, 2018):

Lexicalisation at a node XP overrides any previous match at a phrase contained in XP.

If the spellout procedure in (27) fails, backtracking takes place.

(29) **Backtracking** (Starke, 2018):

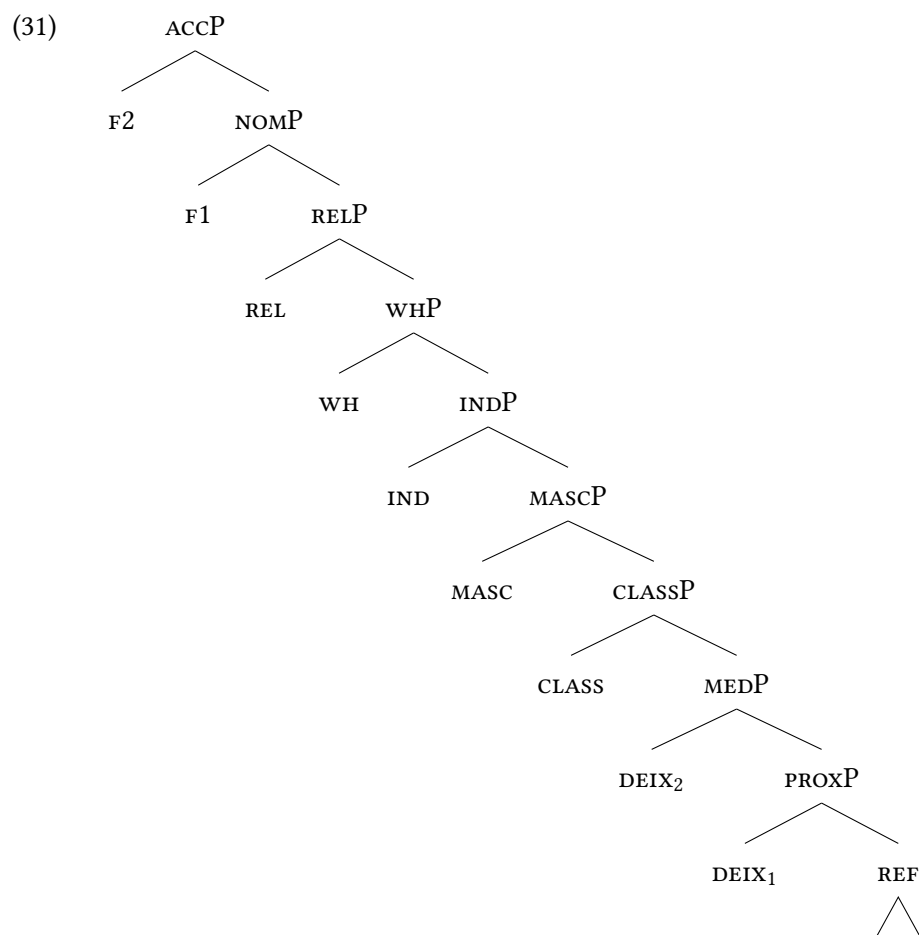
When spellout fails, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle.

(30) **Spec Formation** (Starke, 2018):

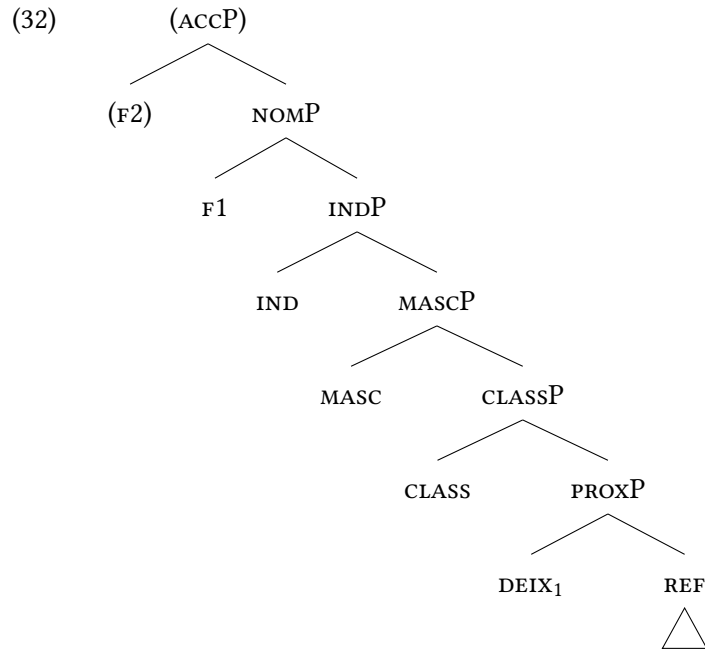
If Merge F has failed to spell out (even after backtracking), try to spawn a new derivation providing the feature F and merge that with the current derivation, projecting the feature F at the top node.

Suffixes have unary bottoms and prefixes have binary bottoms.

It needs to be clear which features should be combined. The functional sequence for the relative pronouns:



The functional sequence for the light heads:



Note here that the functional sequence is identical for all languages. The same holds for the spellout algorithm. It is only the lexical entries that differ per language. It is these lexical entries that cause the different constituency within the light head and the relative pronoun. If a feature is merged, it follows the procedure in the spellout algorithm to be realized. In some cases that means that it is spelled out on top of the other features, and in other cases it means that it is spelled out after one of the movements has taken place.

The morphemes for gender, number and case (*r/n*) appear as a suffix because the feature **CLASS** cannot be spelled out together with the morpheme for referentiality and deixis (*e/ə*). Therefore, a movement operation takes place, and the feature **CLASS** can be spelled out on its own. The constituent for *w* in Modern German arises because a complex spec was created.

1.2.5 Comparing constituents

Consider the example in (33), in which the internal nominative case competes against the external nominative case. The relative clause is marked in bold, and the

light head and the relative pronoun are underlined. The internal case is nominative, as the predicate *mögen* ‘to like’ takes nominative subjects. The relative pronoun *wer* ‘REL.AN.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. This is the element that surfaces. The external case is nominative as well, as the predicate *besuchen* ‘to visit’ also takes nominative subjects. The light head *er* ‘DEM.AN.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. It is placed between square brackets because it does not surface.

- (33) Uns besucht [er], wer Maria
 2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG[NOM] DEM.AN.NOM REL.AN.NOM Maria.ACC
mag.
 like.PRES.3SG[NOM]
 ‘Who visits us likes Maria.’

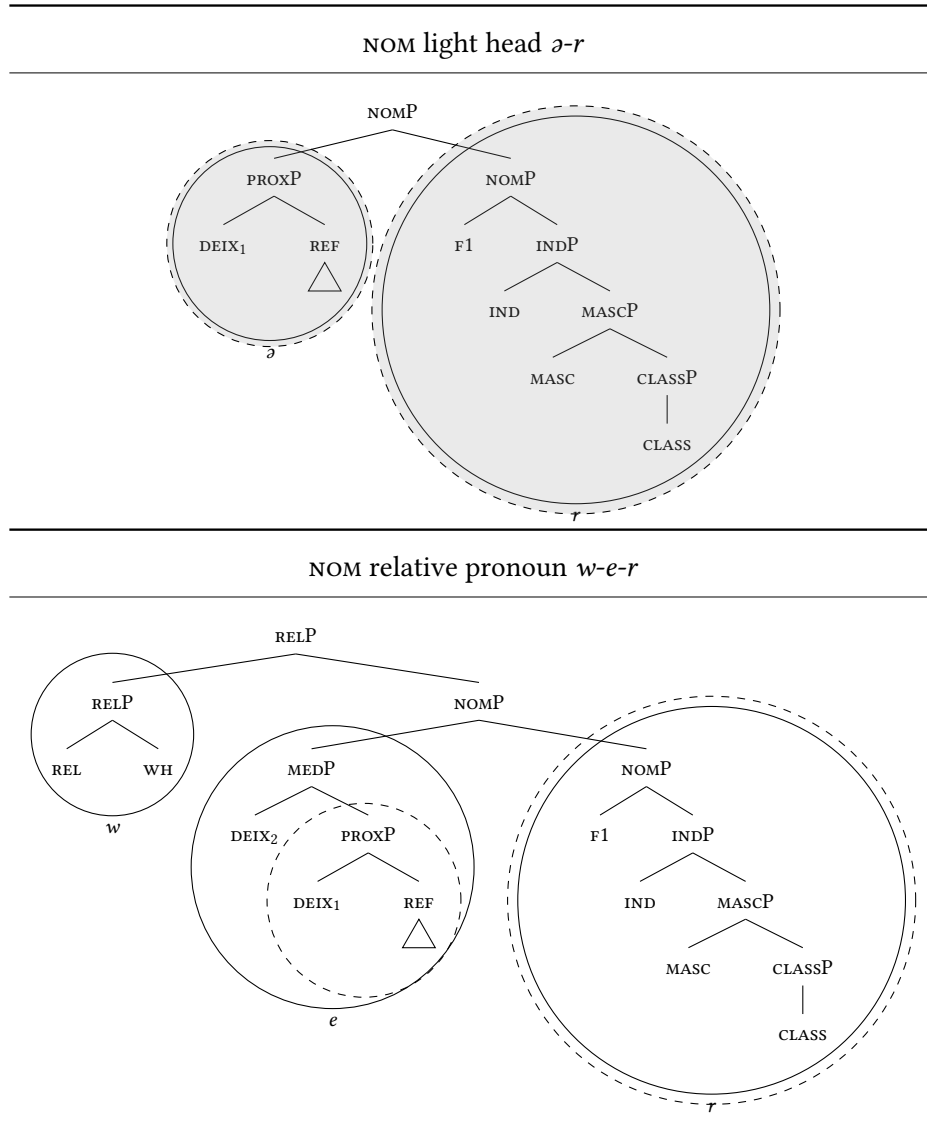
(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 343)

In Figure 1.10, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *w*, *e* and *r*. The light head consists of two morphemes: *a* and *r*. As usual, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *r* (NOMP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the left-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *a* (PROXP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in MEDP. Both constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun, and the light head can be absent.

Consider the example in (34), in which the internal accusative case competes against the external nominative case. The relative clause is marked in bold, and the light head and the relative pronoun are underlined. The internal case is accusative, as the predicate *mögen* ‘to like’ takes accusative objects. The relative pronoun *wen*

Figure 1.10: Modern German EXT_{NOM} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{NOM}} \rightarrow \text{wer}$

‘REL.AN.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. This is the element that surfaces. The external case is nominative, as the predicate *besuchen* ‘to visit’ takes nominative subjects. The light head *ər* ‘DEM.AN.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. It is placed between square brackets because it does not surface.

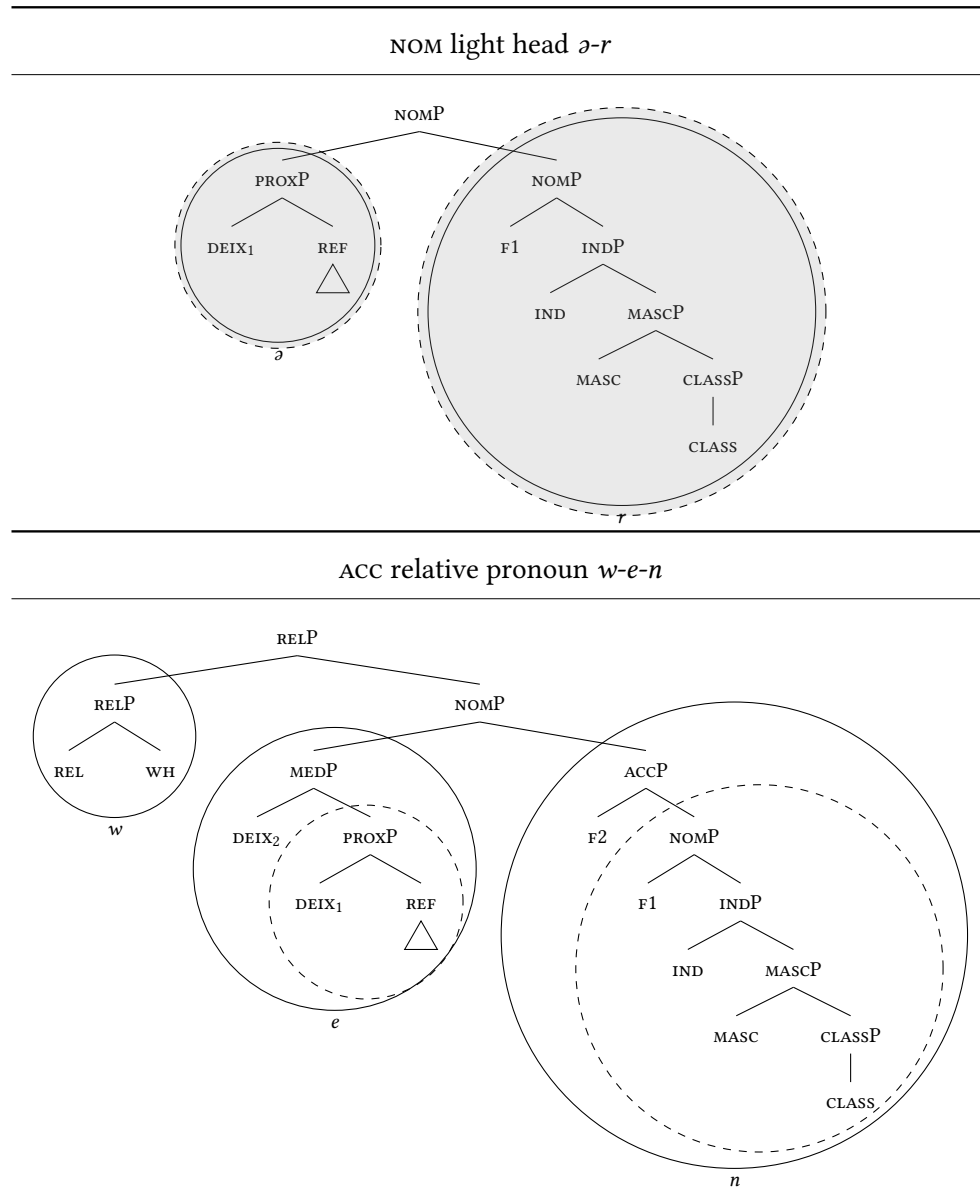
- (34) Uns besucht [ər] wen Maria mag.
 we.ACC visit.3SG_[NOM] DEM.NOM.AN REL.ACC.AN Maria.NOM like.3SG_[ACC]
 ‘Who visits us, Maria likes.’ (adapted from Vogel 2001: 343)

In Figure 1.11, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *w*, *e* and *n*. The light head consists of two morphemes: *ə* and *r*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *r* (NOMP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in ACCP. I continue with the left-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *ə* (PROXP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in MEDP. Both constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun, and the light head can be absent.

Consider the examples in (35), in which the internal nominative case competes against the external accusative case. The relative clauses are marked in bold, and the light heads and the relative pronouns are underlined. It is not possible to make a grammatical headless relative in this situation. The internal case is nominative, as the predicate *sein* ‘to be’ takes nominative subjects. The relative pronoun *wer* ‘REL.AN.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. The external case is accusative, as the predicate *einladen* ‘to invite’ takes accusative objects. The light head *ən* ‘DEM.AN.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. (35a) is the variant of the sentence in which the light head is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the relative

Figure 1.11: Modern German EXT_{NOM} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{ACC}} \rightarrow \text{wen}$

pronoun surfaces, and it is ungrammatical. (35b) is the variant of the sentence in which the relative pronoun is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the light head surfaces, and it is ungrammatical too.

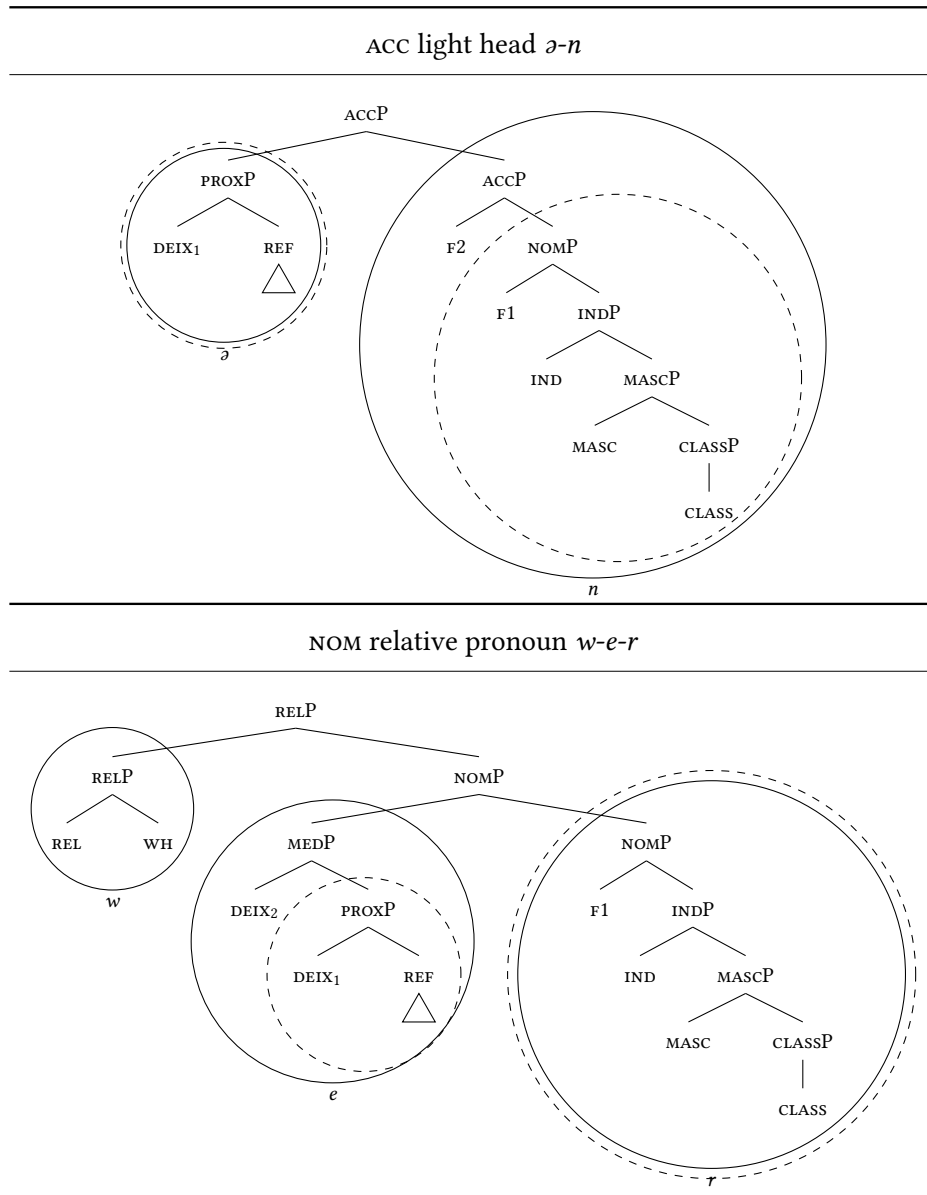
- (35) a. *Ich lade ein, [ən] wer mir
 1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.NOM 1SG.DAT nice
sympathisch ist.
 be.PRES.3SG_[NOM]
 ‘I invite who I like.’ (Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)
- b. *Ich lade ein, ən [wer] mir
 1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.NOM 1SG.DAT nice
sympathisch ist.
 be.PRES.3SG_[NOM]
 ‘I invite who I like.’ (Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)

In Figure 1.12, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *w*, *e* and *r*. The light head consists of two morphemes: *ə* and *n*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. Neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains. The relative pronoun does not contain all constituents that the light head contains, and the light head does not contain all constituents that the relative pronoun contains. As a result, none of the elements can be absent.¹⁰

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start by showing that the light head cannot be absent. Consider the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *n* (AccP). This constituent is not a constituent in the relative pronoun: the relative pronoun has a constituent NOMP, but it does not contain *r*2 to make it an AccP. The light head has a constituent that is not a constituent in the relative pronoun, so the light head cannot be absent.

¹⁰Why do we not see this result surface? Very good question.

Figure 1.12: Modern German EXT_{ACC} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{NOM}} \rightarrow w\text{-}e\text{-}r/\partial\text{-}n$

The relative pronoun can also not be absent. Consider the middle constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *e* (MEDP). This constituent is not a constituent in the light head: the light head has a constituent MEDP, but it does not contain DEIX₃ to make it an MEDP. The same hold for the left-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *w* (RELP). The light head lacks the features WH and REL that form the RELP. The relative pronoun has constituents that are not constituents in the light head, so the relative pronoun cannot be absent. In sum, neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains, and none of the elements can be absent, so none of them is marked gray.

1.3 Deriving the matching type

Matching languages can be summarizes as in Table 1.7.

Table 1.7: The surface pronoun with differing cases in Polish

	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	$K_{EXT} > K_{INT}$	
matching	*	*	Polish

A language of the matching type (like Polish) allows neither the internal nor the external case to surface when either of them wins the case competition. Neither the relative pronoun with its internal case nor the light head with its external case can be the surface pronoun. The goal of this section is to derive this from the way light heads and relative pronouns are spelled out in Polish.

I argue that Polish headless relatives are derived from regular light-headed relatives. I decompose the light heads and relative pronouns into smaller morphemes, and I show which features each of the morphemes corresponds to. Finally, I compare the constituents of the light head and the relative pronoun. When the internal and the external case match, the relative pronoun can delete the light head, because it contains all its constituents. This does not work when the internal case is more complex than the external case. The relative pronoun does not contain all constituents of the light head, and the light head does not contain all constituents of the relative pronoun. As a result, there is no grammatical form to surface when the ex-

ternal case is more complex. The same holds when the external case is more complex than the internal case. The light head does not contain all constituents of the relative pronoun, and the relative pronoun does not contain all constituents of the light head. As a result, there is no grammatical form to surface when the external case is more complex.

1.3.1 The light-headed relative clause

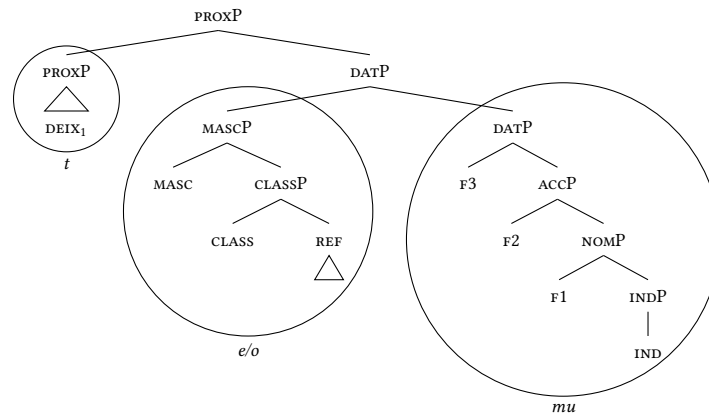
(36) Jan lubi tego kogo -kolkwiek Maria lubi.

“

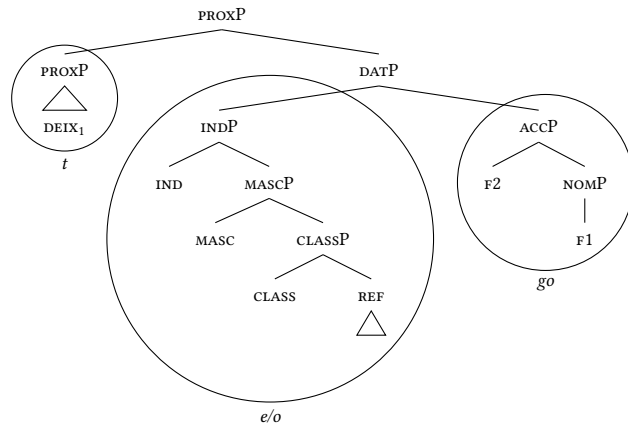
1.3.2 Decomposing light heads and relative pronouns

1.3.3 Recomposing light heads and relative pronouns

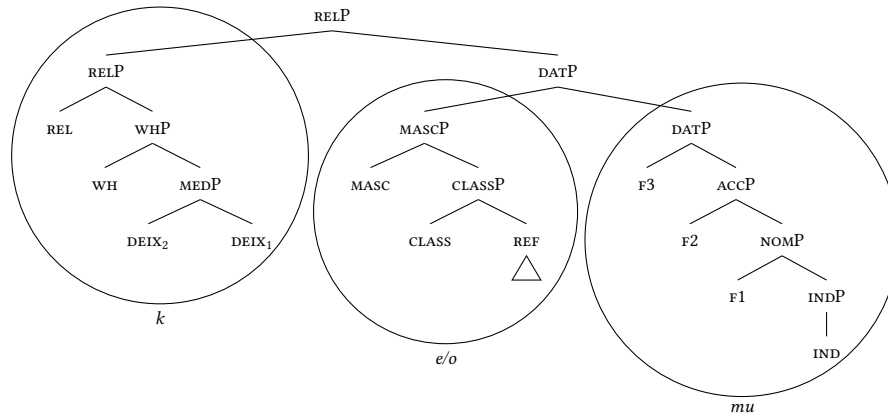
(37) Polish: EXT DAT



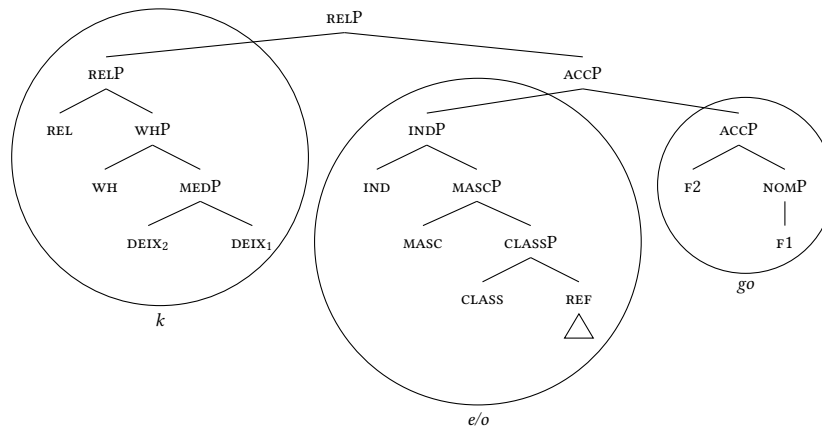
(38) Polish: EXT ACC



(39) Polish: INT DAT



(40) Polish: INT ACC



1.3.4 Comparing consituents

Consider the example in (41), in which the internal accusative case competes against the external accusative case. The relative clause is marked in bold, and the light head and the relative pronoun are underlined. The internal case is accusative, as the predicate *lubić* ‘to like’ takes accusative objects. The relative pronoun *kogo* ‘REL.AN.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. This is the element that surfaces. The external case is accusative as well, as the predicate *lubić* ‘to like’ also takes accusative objects. The light head *tego* ‘DEM.AN.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. It is placed between square brackets because it does not surface.

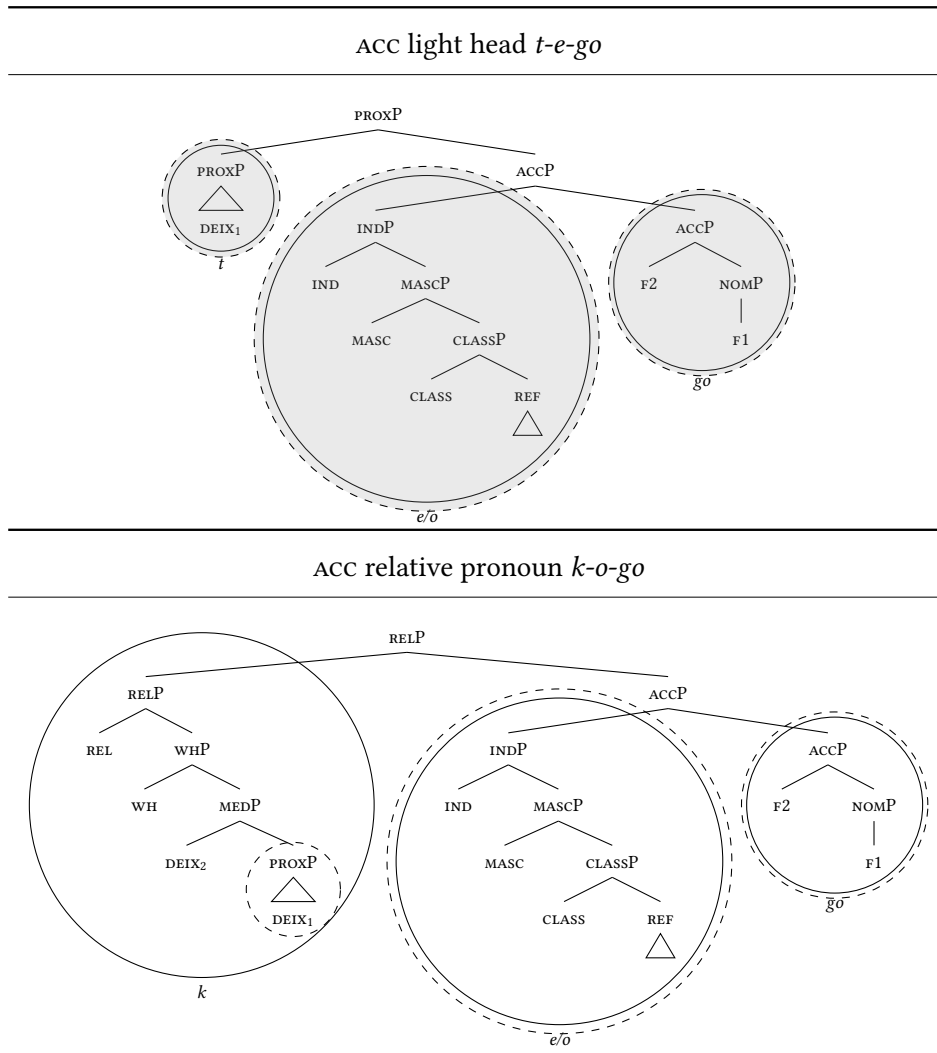
- (41) Jan lubi [tego] kogo **-kolkwiek Maria**
 Jan like.3SG_[ACC] DEM.ACC.AN.SG REL.ACC.AN.SG ever Maria
lubi.
 like.3SG_[ACC]
 ‘Jan likes whoever Maria likes.’

(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

In Figure 1.13, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *k*, *o* and *go*. The light head consists of three morphemes: *t*, *e* and *go*. As usual, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *go* (ACCP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the middle constituent of the light head that spells out as *e* (INDP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the left-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *t* (MEDP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in RELP. All three constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun,

Figure 1.13: Polish EXT_{ACC} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{ACC}} \rightarrow kogo$

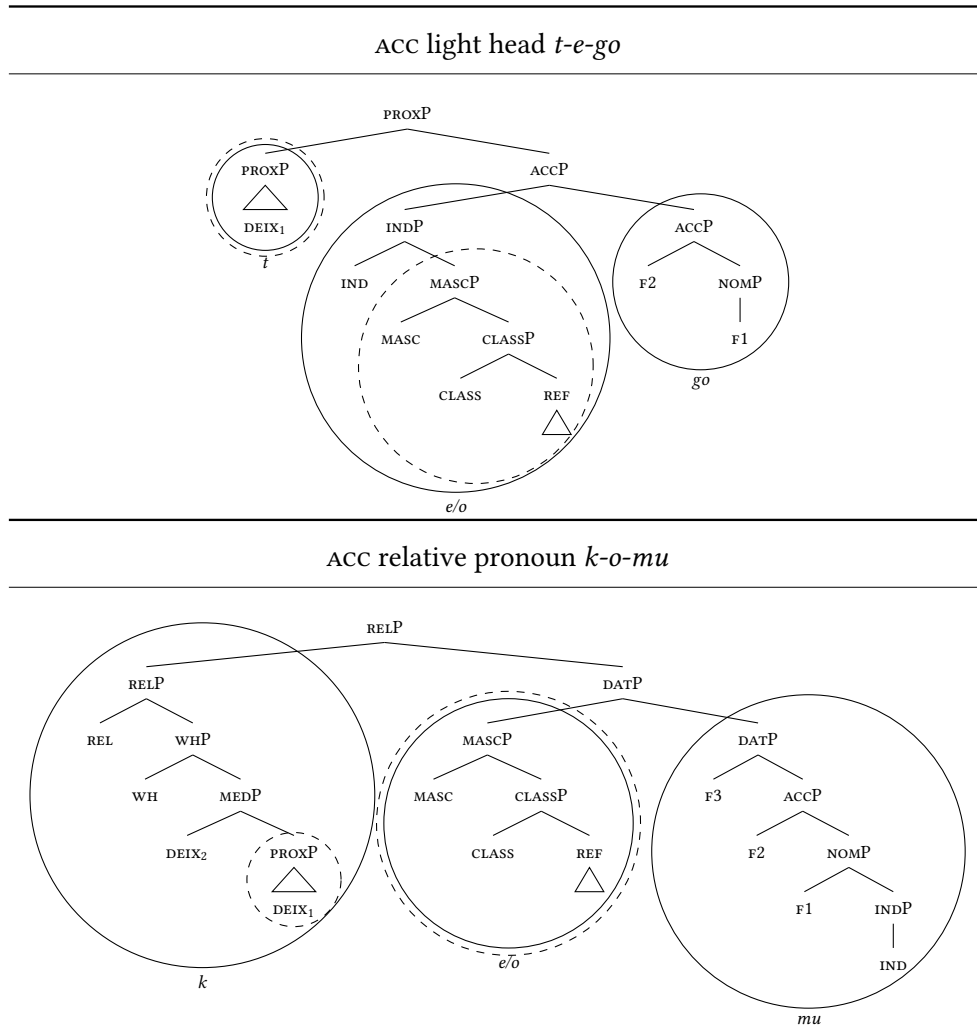
and the light head can be absent.

Consider the examples in ??, in which the internal dative case competes against the external accusative case. The relative clauses are marked in bold, and the light heads and the relative pronouns are underlined. It is not possible to make a grammatical headless relative in this situation. The internal case is dative, as the predicate *dokuczać* ‘to tease’ takes dative objects. The relative pronoun *komu* ‘REL.AN.DAT’ appears in the nominative case. The external case is accusative, as the predicate *lubić* ‘to like’ takes accusative objects. The light head *tego* ‘DEM.AN.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. ?? is the variant of the sentence in which the light head is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the relative pronoun surfaces, and it is ungrammatical. ?? is the variant of the sentence in which the relative pronoun is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the light head surfaces, and it is ungrammatical too.

- (42) a. *Jan lubi [tego] **komu** -kolkwiek
 Jan like.3SG_[ACC] DEM.ACC.AN.SG REL.DAT.AN.SG ever
 dokucza.
 tease.3SG_[DAT]
 ‘Jan likes whoever he teases.’
 (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)
- b. *Jan lubi tego **[komu]** -kolkwiek
 Jan like.3SG_[ACC] DEM.ACC.AN.SG REL.DAT.AN.SG ever
 dokucza.
 tease.3SG_[DAT]
 ‘Jan likes whoever he teases.’
 (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

In Figure 1.14, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *k*, *o* and *mu*. The light head consists of three morphemes: *t*, *e* and *go*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in

Figure 1.14: Polish EXT_{ACC} vs. INT_{DAT} \rightarrow *tego/komu*

both the light head and the relative pronoun. Neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains. The relative pronoun does not contain all constituents that the light head contains, and the light head does not contain all constituents that the relative pronoun contains. As a result, none of the elements can be absent.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start by showing that the light head cannot be absent. Consider the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *go* (ACCP). This constituent is not a constituent in the relative pronoun: the relative pronoun has a constituent ACCP, contained in DATP, but that constituent also contains *indP*. Consider the middle constituent of the light head that spells out as *e* (INDP). This constituent is not a constituent in the relative pronoun: the relative pronoun has a constituent INDP, contained in DATP, but that constituent does not contain REF, CLASS and MASC. Note here that there is feature containment: the relative pronoun contains all features that the light head contains. It is here crucial to use the stronger constituent containment requirement. The light head has a constituent that is not a constituent in the relative pronoun, so the light head cannot be absent.

The relative pronoun can also not be absent. Consider the right-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *mu* (DATP). This constituent is not a constituent in the light head: the light head has a constituent ACCP, but it does not contain INDP and also not F3 to make it a DATP. The same hold for the left-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *k* (RELP). The light head lacks the features MED, WH and REL that form the RELP. The relative pronoun has constituents that are not constituents in the light head, so the relative pronoun cannot be absent. In sum, neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains, and none of the elements can be absent, so none of them is marked gray.

Consider the examples in ??, in which the internal dative case competes against the external accusative case. The relative clauses are marked in bold, and the light heads and the relative pronouns are underlined. It is not possible to make a grammatical headless relative in this situation. The internal case is accusative, as the predicate *wpuścić* ‘to let’ takes accusative objects. The relative pronoun *kogo* ‘REL.AN.ACC’ appears in the nominative case. The external case is dative, as the pred-

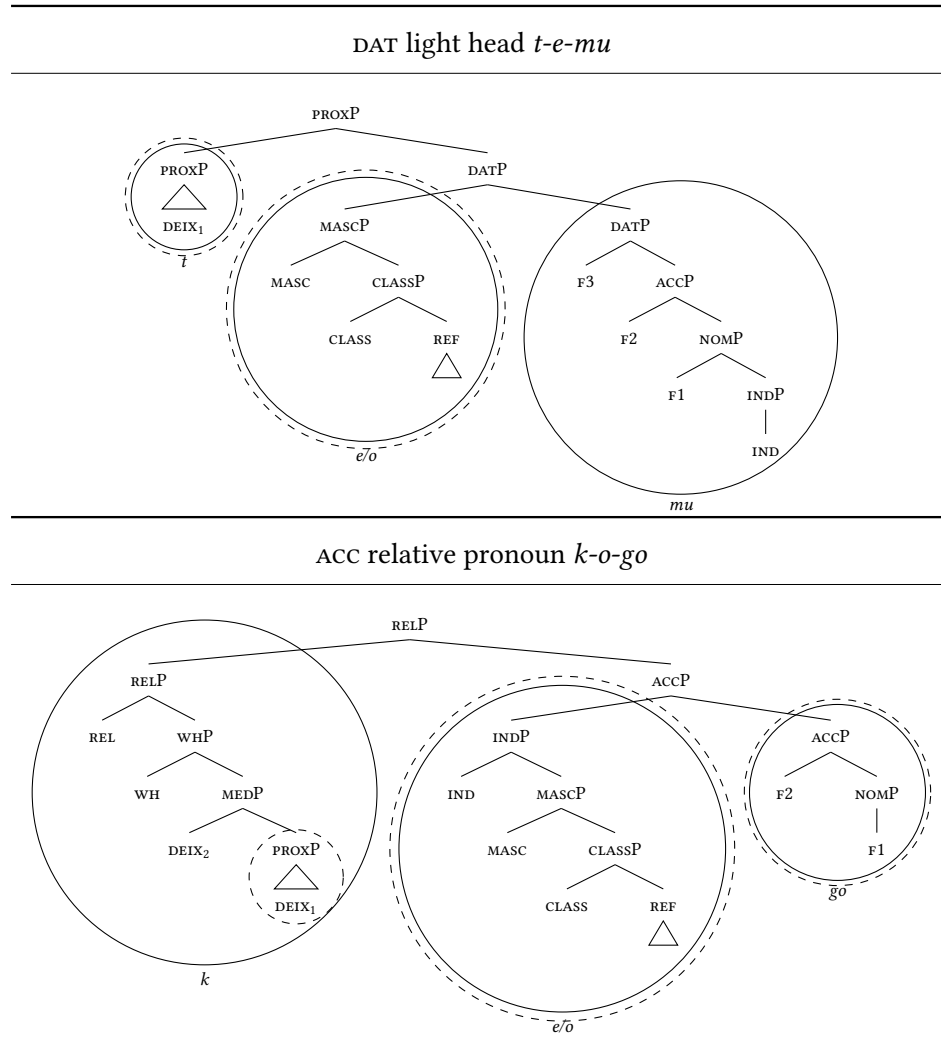
icate *ufać* ‘to trust’ takes dative objects. The light head *temu* ‘DEM.AN.DAT’ appears in the accusative case. ?? is the variant of the sentence in which the light head is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the relative pronoun surfaces, and it is ungrammatical. ?? is the variant of the sentence in which the relative pronoun is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the light head surfaces, and it is ungrammatical too.

- (43) a. *Jan ufa [temu] kogo -kolkwiek wpuścił do
 Jan trust.3SG_[DAT] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever let.3SG_[ACC] to home
 domu.
- ‘Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.’
 (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)
- b. Jan ufa temu [kogo] -kolkwiek wpuścił do
 Jan trust.3SG_[DAT] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever let.3SG_[ACC] to home
 domu.
- ‘Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.’
 (Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

In Figure 1.15, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *k*, *o* and *go*. The light head consists of three morphemes: *t*, *e* and *mu*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. Neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains. The relative pronoun does not contain all constituents that the light head contains, and the light head does not contain all constituents that the relative pronoun contains. As a result, none of the elements can be absent.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start by showing that the light head cannot be absent. Consider the right-most constituent of the light head that spells

Figure 1.15: Polish EXT_{DAT} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{ACC}} \rightarrow \text{temu/kogo}$

out as *mu* (DATP). This constituent is not a constituent in the relative pronoun: the relative pronoun has a constituent ACCP, but it does not contain INDP and also not F3 to make it a DATP. Consider the middle constituent of the light head that spells out as *e* (INDP). This constituent is not a constituent in the relative pronoun: the relative pronoun has a constituent INDP, contained in DATP, but that constituent does not contain REF, CLASS and MASC. The light head has a constituent that is not a constituent in the relative pronoun, so the light head cannot be absent.

The relative pronoun can also not be absent. Consider the right-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *go* (ACCP). This constituent is not a constituent in the light head: the light head has a constituent ACCP, contained in DATP, but that constituent also contains *indP*. Consider left-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *k* (RELP). The light head lacks the features MED, WH and REL that form the RELP. The relative pronoun has constituents that are not constituents in the light head, so the relative pronoun cannot be absent. In sum, neither of the elements contains all constituents that the other element contains, and none of the elements can be absent, so none of them is marked gray.

Polish only allows the deletion of the light head in the matching situation. It is not obligatory there, you can just as well have a light-headed relative. The deletion is possible, because you have two elements that are pretty similar?

- (44) Jan czyta to, co Maria czyta.
 Jan read this what Maria reads
 ‘Jan reads what Maria reads.’ (Polish, Citko 2004: 96)

Radek: Czech distinguishes between accidental uniqueness and inherent uniqueness. Accidental uniqueness: with DEM, inherent uniqueness: without DEM.

Radek’s situation:

Two student assistants A and B are at their shared workdesk, which they share with other student assistants and where there’s a computer and a couple of other things, including a book (it doesn’t really matter to whom the book belongs). A is looking for a pencil, B says

- (45) Někáká tužka je vedle počítače /#toho počítače.
 some pencil is next to computer DEM computer
 ‘There’s a pencil next to the computer.’

All situations like the topic situation – A and B’s shared office (desk)– have exactly one computer in it.

- (46) Někáká tužka je vedle té knížky /#knížky
 some pencil is next to DEM book book
 ‘There’s a pencil next to the book.’

There is exactly one book in the topic situation – A and B’s shared office (desk) – and it does not hold that all situation like the topic situation have exactly one book in it

Florian showed that this is different for Modern German:

	anaphoric	situational uniqueness	inherent uniqueness
Polish	DEM	DEM	∅
German	DEM _{STRONG}	DEM _{WEAK}	DEM _{WEAK}

to is incompatible with *ever*, because *to* makes it accidentally uniqueness and *ever* requires inherent uniqueness

1.4 Deriving the unrestricted type

Internal-only languages can be summarized as in Table 1.8.

Table 1.8: The surface pronoun with differing cases in Polish

	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	$K_{EXT} > K_{INT}$	
unrestricted	relative pronoun _{INT}	light head _{EXT}	Old High German

A language of the unrestricted type (like Old High German) allows both the internal case and the external case to surface when either of them wins the case

competition. Either the light head with its external case or the relative pronoun with its internal case can be the surface pronoun. The goal of this section is to derive this from the way light heads and relative pronouns are spelled out in Old High German.

The section is structured as follows. Old High German differs from the other two languages I discussed in that its headless relatives have a different interpretation: they have a individuating or definite reading. This leads me to argue for slightly different functional sequences in Old High German. I argue that Old High German headless relatives are derived from regular light-headed relatives. I decompose the light heads and relative pronouns into smaller morphemes, and I show which features each of the morphemes corresponds to. Then I compare the constituents of the light head and the relative pronoun. When the internal and the external case match, the relative pronoun can delete the light head, because it contains all its constituents. When the internal case is more complex than the external case, the relative pronoun can still delete the light head, for the same reason: the relative pronoun contains all constituents of the light head. The situation becomes a bit more complicated when the external case is more complex than the internal case. The light head does not contain all constituents of the relative pronoun. However, the constituent that is not contained in a constituent of the light head is syncretic with a constituent of the light head. I suggest that this syncretism is also enough to license the deletion of the relative pronoun. Finally, I show that the effect of syncretism is not limited to Old High German and the part of the light head and relative pronoun that does not involve case. I give examples from Modern German that show that syncretism can also license the deletion of a more complex case by a less complex case.

1.4.1 The light-headed relative clause

Headless relatives in which the relative pronoun starts with a *d*, such as in Old High German, seem to be linked to individuating or definite readings and not to generalizing or indefinite readings (cf. Fuß, n.d.). I illustrate this with the two examples I repeat from Chapter ??.

Consider the example in (47), repeated from Chapter ??. In this example, the

in Old High German is optional.¹¹ In Old High German, there are three possible constructions: the internal and external element can both surface, only the internal element can surface and only the external element can surface. If only one of the two elements surfaces, this is the element that bears the most complex case, which is either the internal or the external one, as I have shown in Chapter ???. I assume that whether both or only one of the elements surfaces is determined by information structure. In (49), the external element *thér* ‘DEM.SG.M.NOM’ is the candidate to be absent. However, it seems plausible that this is emphasized in this sentence and that it, therefore, cannot be absent.

1.4.2 Decomposing light heads and relative pronouns

The light head in a light-headed relative is a demonstrative pronoun. Relative and demonstrative pronouns are syncretic in Old High German (Braune 2018: 338). Table 1.9 gives an overview of the forms in singular and plural, neuter, masculine and feminine and nominative, accusative and dative. The pronouns consist of two morphemes: a *d* and suffix that differs per number, gender and case.^{12,13}

The suffixes that combine with the *d* in demonstrative and relative pronouns also appear on adjectives. This is illustrated in Table 1.10.

I conclude from this that the suffix expresses features that are specific to being nominal, like number, gender and case. Not part of the suffix are features that are specific to being a demonstrative or relative pronoun, like anaphoricity and definiteness. I assume that these are expressed by the morpheme *d*.

split the suffix up in two morphemes

In this section, I only discuss two forms: the nominative and accusative masculine singular relative and demonstrative pronoun. The nominative is *dēr* and the accusative is *dēn*. In what follows, I discuss the feature content of the morphemes *d*, *ēr* and *ēn*. I start with the features that are expressed by the suffixes *ēr* and *ēn*.

This allows me to propose the following lexical entries for the two suffixes.

¹¹This sharply contrasts with headless relatives in Modern German, which are always ungrammatical when both the internal and external elements surface. I come back to this in Section 1.2.

¹²*d* can also be written as *dh* and *th*, *ē* and *ē* can also be *e* and *é* (Braune 2018: 339).

¹³The suffix could also be further divided into a vowel and a suffix. As this is not relevant for the discussion here, I refrain from doing that.

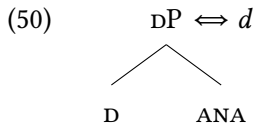
Table 1.9: Relative/demonstrative pronouns in Old High German (Braune 2018: 339)

	N.SG	M.SG	feminine.SG
NOM	d-az	d-ēr	d-iu
ACC	d-az	d-ēn	d-ea/d-ia
DAT	d-ēmu/d-ēmo	d-ēmu/d-ēmo	d-ēru/d-ēro
	N.PL	M.PL	feminine.PL
NOM	d-iu	d-ē/d-ea/d-ia/d-ie	d-eo/-io
ACC	d-iu	d-ē/d-ea/d-ia/d-ie	d-eo/-io
DAT	d-ēm/d-ēn	d-ēm/d-ēn	d-ēm/d-ēn

Table 1.10: Adjectives on *-a/-ō-* in Old High German Braune 2018: 300

	N.SG	M.SG	feminine.SG
NOM	jung, jung-az	jung, jung-ēr	jung, jung-iu
ACC	jung, jung-az	jung-an	jung-a
DAT	jung-emu/jung-emo	jung-emu/jung-emo	jung-eru/jung-ero
	N.PL	M.PL	feminine.PL
NOM	jung-iu	jung-e	jung-o
ACC	jung-iu	jung-e	jung-o
DAT	jung-ēm/jung-ēn	jung-ēm/jung-ēn	jung-ēm/jung-ēn

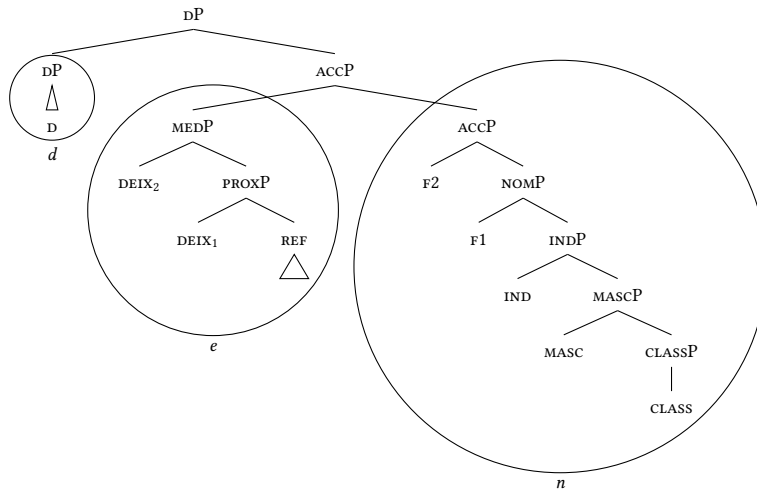
The *d* morpheme corresponds to definiteness and anaphoricity. Anaphoricity establishes a relation with another element in the (linguistic) discourse. Definiteness encodes that the referent is specific.



So, the two relative pronouns look like this.¹⁴

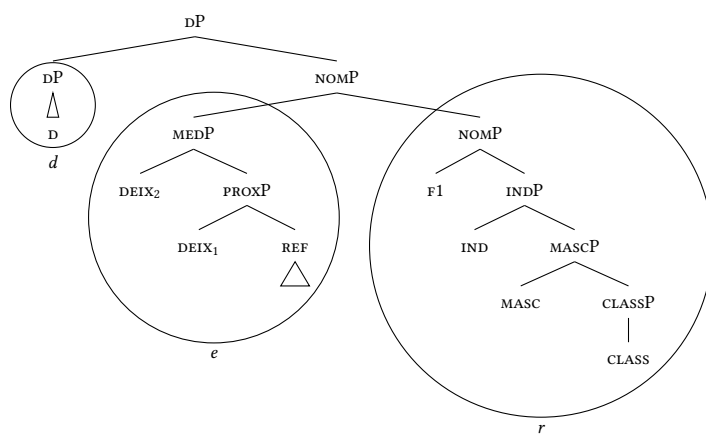
1.4.3 Recomposing light heads and relative pronouns

(51) Old High German: EXT ACC

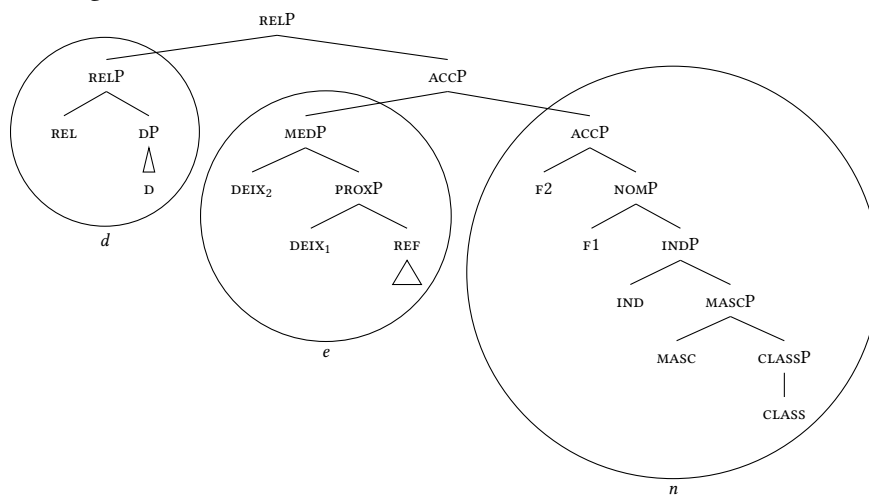


(52) Old High German: EXT NOM

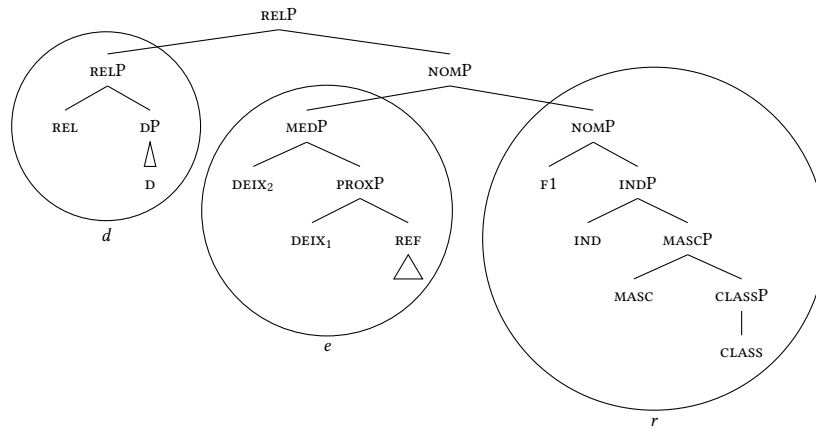
¹⁴A question that arises here is how the case features can form a constituent to the exclusion of definiteness and anaphoricity. I come back to this issue in Chapter ??.



(53) Old High German: INT ACC



(54) Old High German: INT NOM



1.4.4 Comparing constituents

Consider the examples in (55), in which the internal nominative case competes against the external nominative case. The relative clauses are marked in bold, and the light heads and the relative pronouns are underlined. As the light head and the relative pronoun are identical it is impossible to see which of them surfaces. The internal case is nominative, as the predicate *senten* ‘to send’ takes nominative subjects. The relative pronoun *dher* ‘REL.SG.M.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. The external case is nominative as well, as the predicate *queman* ‘to come’ also takes nominative subjects. The light head *dher* ‘DEM.SG.M.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. (55a) is the variant of the sentence in which the light head is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the relative pronoun surfaces. (55b) is the variant of the sentence in which the relative pronoun is absent (indicated by the square brackets) and the light head surfaces.

- (55) a. quham [dher] **dher** **chisendit**
 come.PST.3SG_[NOM] DEM.SG.M.NOM REL.SG.M.NOM send.PST.PTCP_[NOM]
 scolda **uuerdhan**
 should.PST.3SG become.INF
 ‘the one, who should have been sent, came’
 (Old High German, Isid. 35:5)
- b. quham dher **[dher]** **chisendit**
 come.PST.3SG_[NOM] DEM.SG.M.NOM REL.SG.M.NOM send.PST.PTCP_[NOM]

scolda uuerdhan

should.PST.3SG become.INF

‘the one, who should have been sent, came’

(Old High German, Isid. 35:5)

In Figure 1.16, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

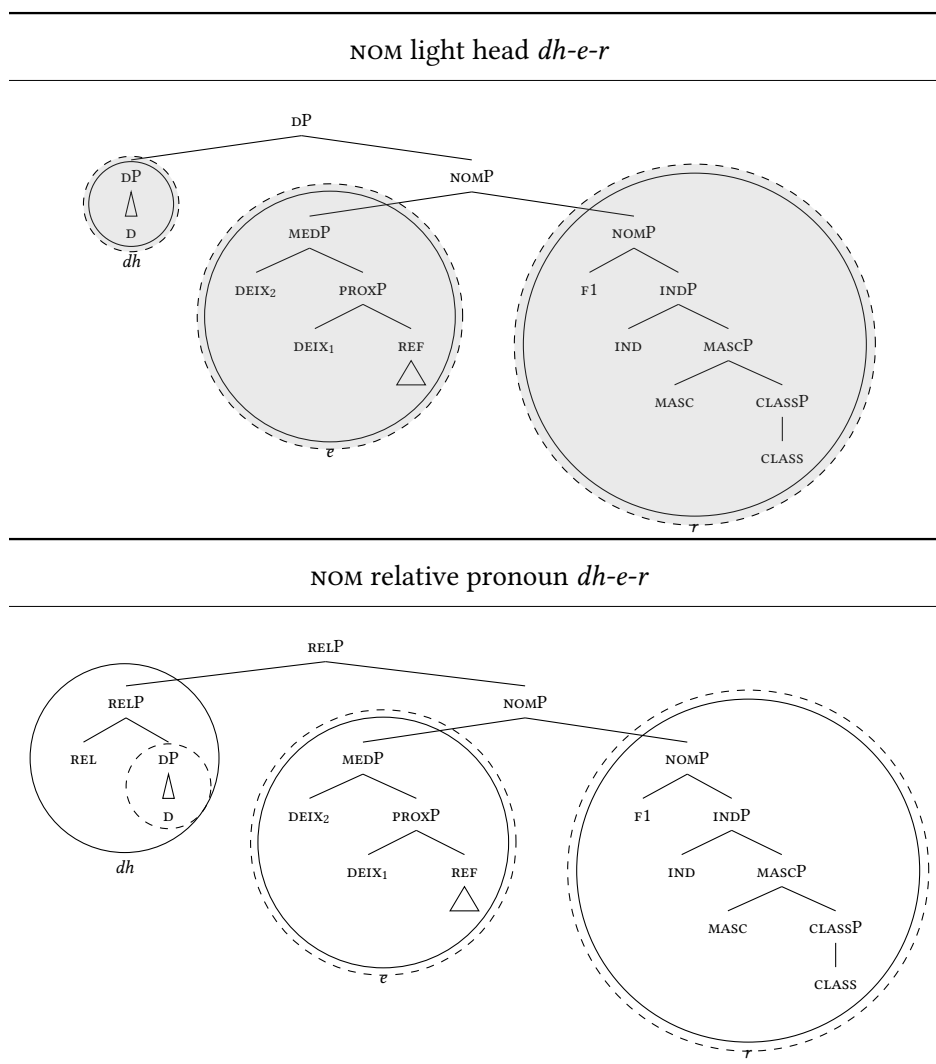


Figure 1.16: Old High German EXT_{NOM} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{NOM}} \rightarrow \text{dher}$

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *dh*, *e* and *r*. The light head consists of three morphemes: *dh*, *e* and *r*. As usual, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

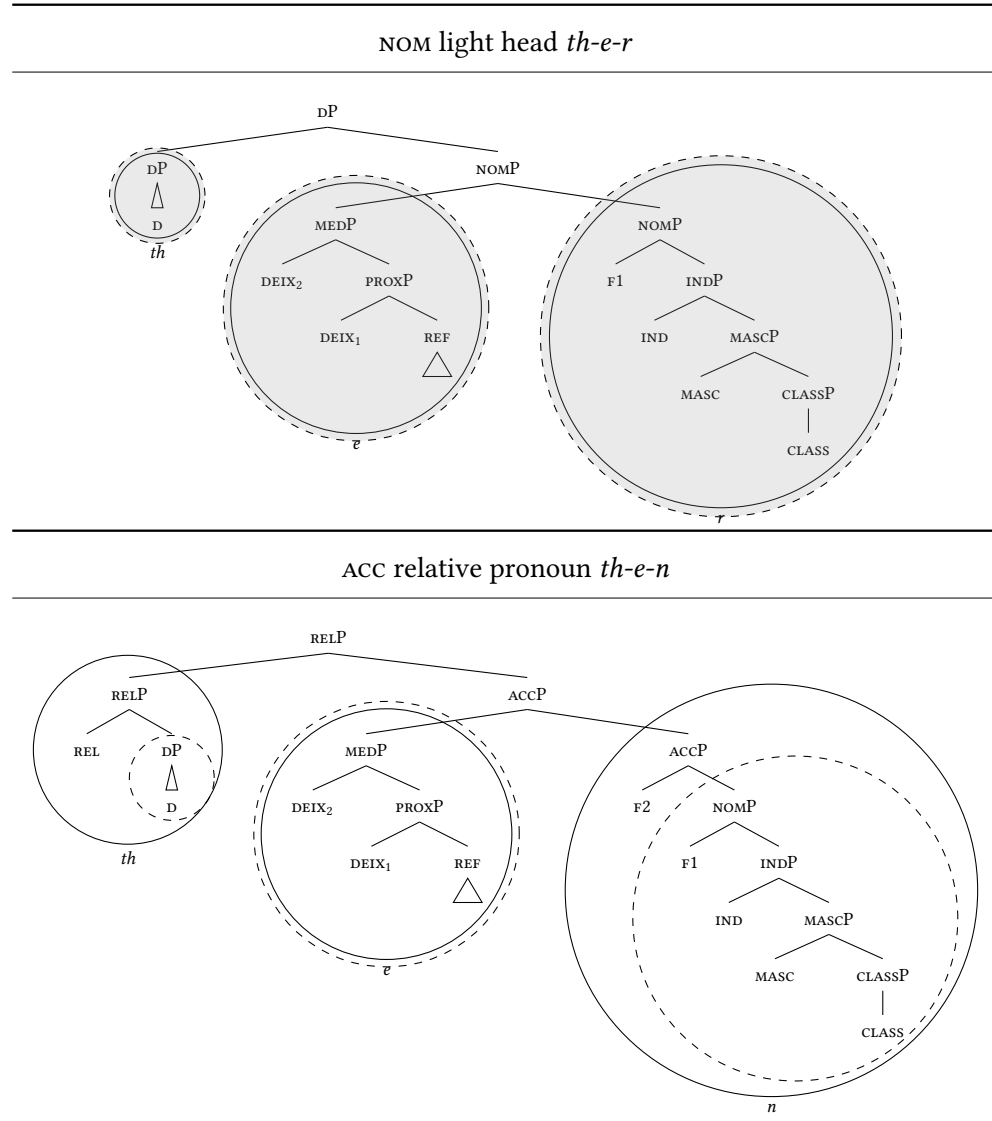
I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *r* (NOMP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I continue with the middle constituent of the light head that spells out as *e* (MEDP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I end with the left-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *d* DP. This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in RELP. All three constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun, and the light head can be absent.

Consider the example in (56), in which the internal accusative case competes against the external nominative case. The relative clause is marked in bold, and the light head and the relative pronoun are underlined. The internal case is accusative, as the predicate *zellen* ‘to tell’ takes accusative objects. The relative pronoun *then* ‘REL.SG.M.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. This is the element that surfaces. The external case is nominative, as the predicate *sin* ‘to be’ takes nominative objects. The light head *ther* ‘DEM.SG.M.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. It is placed between square brackets because it does not surface.

- (56) Thíz ist [ther] [then] sie
 DEM.SG.N.NOM be.PRES.3SG_[NOM] DEM.SG.M.NOM REL.SG.M.ACC 3PL.M.NOM
zéllent
 tell.PRES.3PL_[ACC]
 ‘this is the one whom they talk about’ (Old High German, Otfrid III 16:50)

In Figure 1.17, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *th*, *e* and *n*. The light head

Figure 1.17: Old High German EXT_{NOM} VS. INT_{ACC} → *then*

consists of three morphemes: *th*, *e* and *r*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun, the light head can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the light head gray.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *r* (NOMP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in ACCP. I continue with the middle constituent of the light head that spells out as *e* (MEDP). This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun. I end with the left-most constituent of the light head that spells out as *d* DP. This constituent is also a constituent in the relative pronoun, contained in RELP. All three constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun, and the light head can be absent.

Consider the examples in (57), in which the internal nominative case competes against the external accusative case. The relative clauses are marked in bold, and the light heads and the relative pronouns are underlined. The internal case is nominative, as the predicate *gisizzen* ‘to possess’ takes nominative subjects. The relative pronoun *dher* ‘REL.SG.M.NOM’ appears in the nominative case. It is placed between square brackets because it does not surface. The external case is accusative, as the predicate *bibringan* ‘to create’ takes accusative objects. The light head *dhen* ‘DEM.SG.M.ACC’ appears in the accusative case. This is the element that surfaces.

- (57) *ih* *bibringu* *fona iacobes* *samin* *endi fona*
 1SG.NOM create.PRES.1SG_[ACC] of Jakob.GEN seed.SG.DAT and of
 iuda *dhen* [*dher*] *mina*
 Judah.DAT REL.SG.M.ACC my.ACC.M.PL mountain.ACC.PL
 berga ***chisitzit***
 possess.PRES.3SG_[NOM]
 ‘I create of the seed of Jacob and of Judah the one, who possess my mountains’

(Old High German, Isid. 34:3)

In Figure 1.18, I give the syntactic structure of the light head at the top and the syntactic structure of the relative pronoun at the bottom.

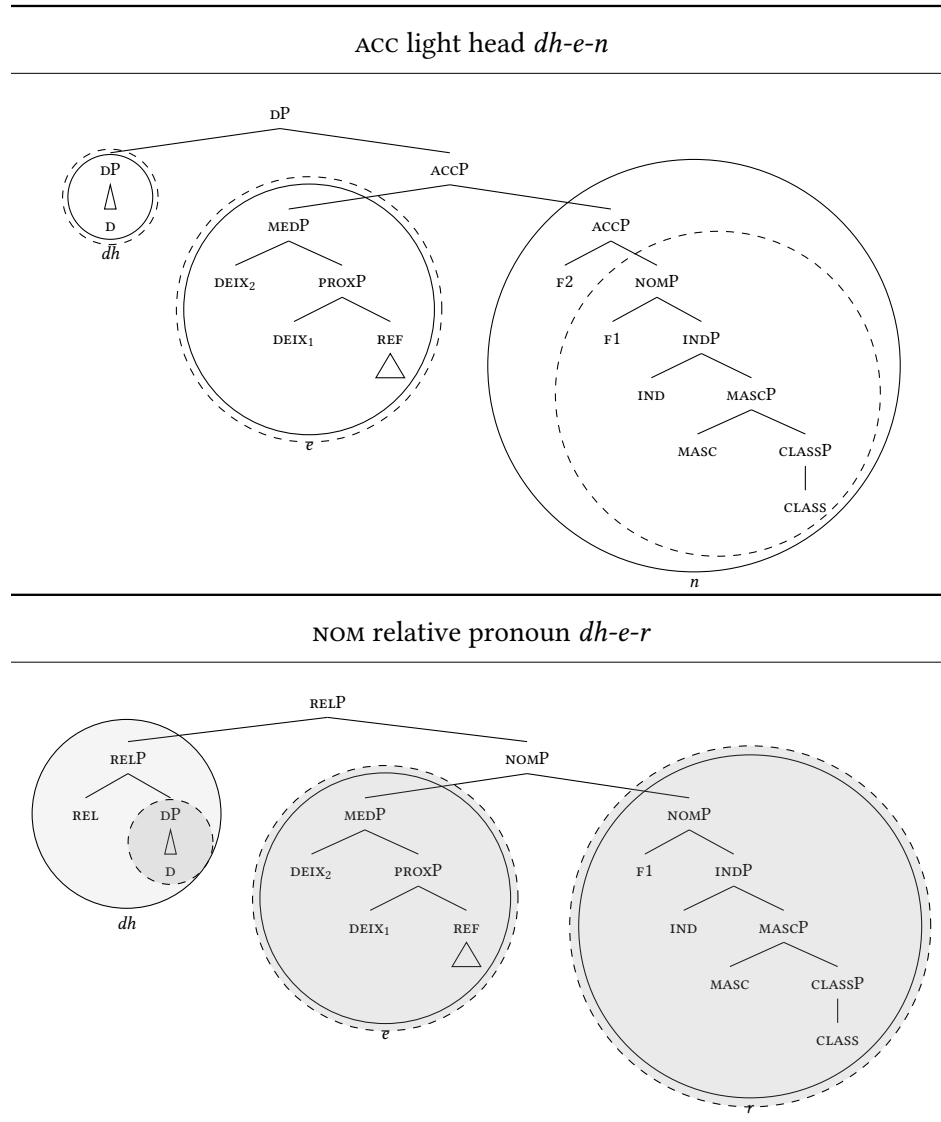


Figure 1.18: Old High German EXT_{ACC} VS. $\text{INT}_{\text{NOM}} \rightarrow \text{dhen}$

The relative pronoun consists of three morphemes: *dh*, *e* and *r*. The light head consists of three morphemes: *dh*, *e* and *n*. Again, I circle the part of the structure that corresponds to a particular lexical entry, and I place the corresponding phonology

under it. I draw a dashed circle around each constituent that is a constituent in both the light head and the relative pronoun. As each constituent of the light head is also a constituent within the relative pronoun or is syncretic with one, the relative pronoun can be absent. I illustrate this by marking the content of the dashed circles for the relative pronoun gray.

I explain this constituent by constituent. I start with the right-most constituent of the relative pronoun head that spells out as *r* (NOMP). This constituent is also a constituent in the light head, contained in ACCP. I continue with the middle constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *e* (MEDP). This constituent is also a constituent in the light head. I end with the left-most constituent of the relative pronoun that spells out as *d* RELP. This constituent is not contained in the light head, but it is syncretic with it. The dP is also spelled out as *d*. All three constituent of the light head are also a constituent within the relative pronoun or are syncretic with them, and the relative pronoun can be absent.

1.5 Technical details

Modern German:

I start at the beginning, with the REF, merging it with DEIX₁, giving a *e*.

So if then DEIX₂ is merged, it is overwritten by *e*.

I move forward a bit to when WH is merged. First the spellout driven movement happen, but this does not bring anything. Also backtracking does not help, so we build a spec.

Feature REL is merged. First try to merge it on the whole tree, then the spellout driven movements, nothing works. So, backtracking. The first step of backtracking is that the two trees are split, and the feature is merged on both parts. If the feature is spelled out on one of them, we are done. It can be phrasally spelled out with WH, so we move on.

Then feature F1 is merged. Whole tree, spellout driven movement: yes! it is spelled out as a suffix on the whole thing.

1.6 Summary

Table 1.11 shows per language type which of the three options in Table 1.1 is chosen when the internal and external case differ.

Table 1.11: The surface pronoun with differing cases per language

	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	$K_{EXT} > K_{INT}$	
unrestricted	relative pronoun _{INT}	light head _{EXT}	Old High German
internal-only	relative pronoun _{INT}	*	Modern German
matching	*	*	Polish
external-only	*	light head _{EXT}	not attested

The first column list the types of languages. The second column shows the situation in which the internal case is the most complex. The relative pronoun that bears the internal case is the potential surface pronoun. The third column shows the situation in which the external case is the most complex. The light head that bears the external case is the potential surface pronoun. The asterix (*) indicates that there is no grammatical form for the surface pronoun. The fourth column gives the example of the language type that I discuss in this chapter. A language of the unrestricted type (like Old High German) allows both the internal case and the external case to surface when either of them wins the case competition. Either the light head with its external case or the relative pronoun with its internal case can be the surface pronoun. A language of the internal-only type (like Modern German) allows only the internal case to surface when it wins the case competition, and it does not allow the external case to do so. The relative pronoun with its internal case can be the surface pronoun and the light head with its external case cannot. A language of the matching type (like Polish) allows neither the internal nor the external case to surface when either of them wins the case competition. Neither the relative pronoun with its internal case nor the light head with its external case can be the surface pronoun.¹⁵ The language type that is not attested is the external-only type. That means that there is no language that allows only the external case to surface when

¹⁵This holds for the situation in which the internal and external case differ. In Section 1.3, I show

it wins the case competition, and it does not allow the internal case to do so. In other words, there exist no language, in which the surface pronoun can only be the light head and not the relative pronoun.

What I have done in this section so far is reformulate the two descriptive parameters from Figure 1.1 into two other descriptive parameters. Whether the internal case is allowed to surface corresponds to whether the relative pronoun surfaces. That implicates that the light head has been deleted and is therefore absent. Similarly, whether the external case is allowed to surface corresponds to whether the light head surfaces. That implicates that the relative pronoun has been deleted and is therefore absent. I show this in Figure 1.19.

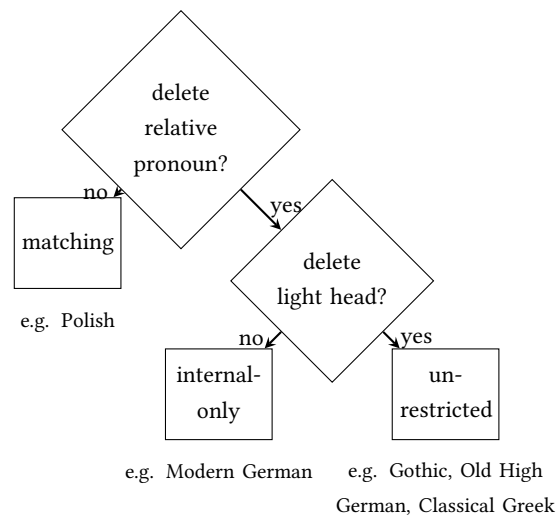


Figure 1.19: Delete relative pronoun/light head as parameters

Reformulating these parameters is not just restating the generalization in different terms. With this new formulation, I am able to identify the elements (i.e. the light head and the relative pronoun) that bear the internal and external cases. The difference between languages lies in whether or not it is possible to delete the light head (and with it the external case) and the relative pronoun (and with it the internal case).

that the relative pronoun surfaces in matching contexts.

1.7 Aside: a larger syntactic context

If you talk about different patterns, there can be different locations to put your parameters. Himmelreich put her parameters in the structure. I put my parameters in the elements themselves. I show what an analysis like Himmelreich looks like, and I show then that it is difficult to reduce that then to differences in the lexicon (because it has to do with agree?).

So what I do is keep the parameters that she was differing stable. I change the things that she kept constant, the internal and external element. Does her structure then work with what I want? Not entirely, because I have to do a c-command that is going in the wrong direction. Then I show a syntactic structure that could be compatible with mine, and I show why a grafting one is not.

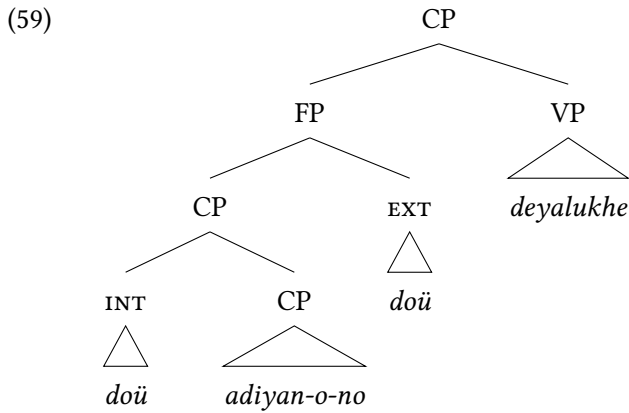
In this dissertation I focus on when languages allow the internal and external case to win the case competition. In my proposal, this depends on the comparison between the internal and external base. The larger syntactic context in which this takes place should be kept stable. For concreteness, I show a possible implementation in Cinque's double-headed analysis of relative clause. I do by no means claim that claim this is the only or even correct implementation.

According to Cinque, every type of relative clause in every language is underlyingly double-headed. Evidence for this claim comes from languages that show this morphologically. An example from Kombai is given in (58). The head of the relative clause is *doü* 'sago', and it appears inside the relative clause and outside.

- (58) [**doü** adian-o-no] **doü** deyalukhe
 sago give.3PL.NONFUT-tr-CONN sago finished.ADJ
 'The sago that they gave is finished.' (Kombai, Vries 1993: 78)

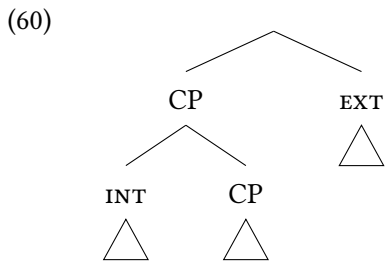
The internal and external instances of *doü* correspond to the internal and external element I assume to be there in the headless relatives.

(59) shows the syntactic structure of the sentence in (58).



In most languages one of the two heads is deleted throughout the derivation.

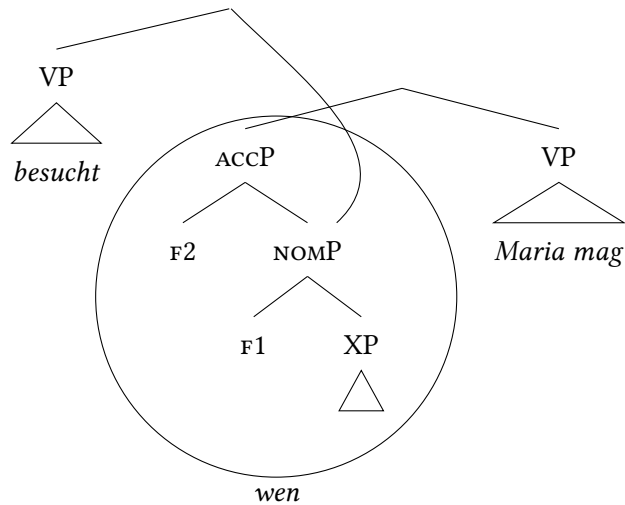
According to Cinque 2020, the internal element can delete the external element, because the internal element c-commands the external element. This is c-command according to Kayne's definition of it: the internal element is in the specifier of the specifier of the FP.



In order for the internal element to be able to delete the external element, a movement needs to take place. The external element moves over the relative clause.¹⁶ From this position, the external element can delete the internal one, because the external element c-commands the internal one.

¹⁶What remains unclear is what the trigger is for the movement of the external element over relative clause is.

(63)

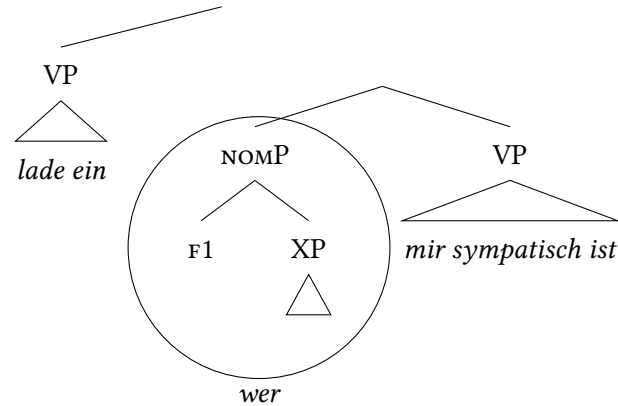


The other way around does not work. Consider (64). This is an example with nominative as internal case and accusative as external case.

- (64) *Ich lade ein, wen **mir sympathisch ist**.
 I.NOM invite.1SG_[ACC] REL.ACC.AN I.DAT nice be.3SG_[NOM]
 'I invite who I like.' (adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)

Now the relative clause is built first again, this time only including the nominative case. There is no accusative node to merge with for the external predicate. Instead, the relative pronoun would need to grow to accusative somehow and then the merge could take place. This is the desired result, because the sentence is ungrammatical.

(65)



So, this seems to work fine. The assumptions you have to do in order to make this are the following. First, case is complex. Second, you can remerge an embedded node (grafting). For the first one I have argued in Chapter ???. The second one could use some additional argumentation. It is a mix between internal remerge (move) and external merge, namely external remerge. Other literature on multidominance and grafting, other phenomena. Problems: linearization, .. But even if fix all these theoretical problems, there is an empirical one.

That is, I want to connect this behavior of Modern German headless relatives to the shape of its relative pronouns. These pronouns are *wh*-elements. The OHG and Gothic ones are not *wh*, they are *D*. Their relative pronouns look different, and so their headless relatives can also behave differently.

Himmelreich

there are agree relations between $-V_{EXT}$ and $EXT - V_{INT}$ and $INT - INT$ and EXT
 three parameters: 1 relation between V_{EXT} and $EXT + V_{INT}$ and INT are symmetric
 or asymmetric 2 relation between EXT and INT are symmetric or asymmetric 3 if EXT
 $- INT$ is asymmetric, EXT or INT probes

I keep the parameters she has stable, the bigger syntactic context is the same everywhere. I vary the content of EXT

Primary texts

Isid. Der althochdeutsche Isidor

Mons. The Monsee fragments

Otfrid Otfrid's Evangelienbuch

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