Case competition in headless relatives

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List of abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
AN	animate
DAT	dative
EXT	external case
F	feminine
INAN	inanimate
INT	internal case
M	masculine
MG	Modern German
N	neuter
NOM	nominative
OHG	Old High German
PL	plural
SG	singular

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation is about case competition, a situation in which two cases are assigned but only one of them surfaces. One of the constructions in which case competition appears is relative clauses that lack a head, i.e. headless relatives.

I show that one aspect about case competition in headless relatives holds for all languages (under discussion here at least). That is, there is a fixed order which decides which case wins the competition. Another aspect of case competition in headless relatives differs per language. That is, whether the competition takes place to begin with. I connect this variable to the morphology of the language in question.

This phenomenon has been described as some special property of a few special languages. Therefore, language-specific rules have been postulated to account for the data. My goal is to show that this phenomenon can be captured with 'normal' syntactic processes, like ellipsis, c-command. The account makes predictions about how a language behaves based on the shape of its relative pronouns. And we see that the phenomenon is actually more wide-spread than what has been assumed.

In this introduction I first introduce what I mean exactly with case competition in headless relatives. Then I introduce the topics I discuss in this dissertation.

1.1 Introducing the title

First, case marks the grammatical role of the noun phrases. Case also appears on relative pronoun. Case on head can differ from case on relative pronoun. What

happens if there is no noun? Two cases come together on the relative pronoun. What holds for all languages: there is a fixed order of who wins the competition. Specific from language to language: when does the competition take place?

Languages can use case to mark the grammatical role of a noun phrase in a clause. Consider the two Modern German sentences in (1). The case marking of the noun phrases is reflected on the determiner in the noun phrase. In (1a), *der* in *der Lehrer* 'the teacher' is assigned nominative case, because it is the subject in the clause. *Den* in *den Schüler* 'the pupil' is assigned accusative case, because it is an object of *mag* 'likes'. In (1b), the roles are reversed: *der* in *der Schüler* 'the pupil' is assigned nominative case, because it is the subject in the clause. *Den* in *den Lehrer* 'the teacher' is assigned accusative case, because it is the object of *mag* 'likes'. The grammatical roles of the noun phrases in (1) can also be derived from the positioning in the clause. The subjects precede the predicate *mag* 'likes' and the objects follow it. As it is not relevant for the discussion here, I do not discuss the positioning of noun phrases in the clause into further detail.

(1) a. Der Lehrer mag den Schüler.
the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC student
'The teacher likes the pupil.'

b. Der Schüler mag den Lehrer.
the.NOM student likes the.ACC
'the pupil likes the teacher.'

Not only full noun phrases, but also other elements can be marked for case, such relative pronouns. Modern German marks relative pronouns, just like full noun phrases, for the grammatical role they have in the clause. Consider the two sentences in (2). These two sentences both consist of a main clause that is modified by a relative clause, which is placed between brackets. In (2a), the relative clause *der nach draußen guckt* 'that looks outside' modifies *den Schüler* 'the pupil'. *Den Schüler* 'the pupil' is called the head (noun) or the antecedent of the relative clause. *Den* in *den Schüler* 'the pupil' is assigned accusative case, because it is the object of *mag* 'likes' in the main clause. The relative pronoun *der* 'that.NOM' is assigned nominative case, because it is the subject of in the relative clause.

In (2b), the relative clause *den er beim Versteckspiel sucht* 'that he is searching for playing hide-and-seek' modifies *den Schüler* 'the pupil'. *Den* in *den Schüler* 'the pupil' is again marked as accusative, because it is the object of *mag* 'likes' in the main clause. The relative pronoun *den* 'that.ACC' is assigned accusative case, because it is the object of *sucht* 'searches' in the relative clause.

(2) a. Der Lehrer mag den Schüler, [der nach draußen guckt].
the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC student that.NOM to outside looks
'The teacher likes the pupil that is looking outside.'

b. Der Lehrer mag den Schüler, [den er beim
the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC student that.ACC he at the
Versteckspiel sucht].
hide-and-seek game searches
'The teacher likes the pupil that he is searching for playing hide-and-seek.'

Compare the two sentences in (2). In both sentences the head is marked accusative because it is the object in the main clause. The case of the relative pronoun in (2b) is also accusative, because of it is the object in the relative clause. The case of the relative pronoun in (2a) differs from the case of the head, it is nominative.

The focus of this dissertation lies on the headless relative, i.e. a relative clause that does not have a head. As the name suggests, this type of relative clause lacks a head.[1] Consider the Gothic example of a headless relative in (3). I placed subscripts between the square brackets on the glosses of verbs. They indicate which case the verbs assign to their object. In (3), the relative clause *þan -ei arma* 'who I pity' is placed between square brackets. There is no head that this relative clause modifies, it is a headless relative. This is different from the examples from German I gave above, which each had a head. The relative pronoun *þan(a)* 'who.ACC' is assigned accusative case.[2]

[1] This 'missing noun' has been interpreted in two different ways. Some researchers argue that the noun is truly missing, it is absent, cf. **vanriemsdijk2006**. Others claim that there is actually a head, but it is phonologically zero, **himmelreich2017**. At this point in the discussion this distinction is not relevant. I return to the issue in Chapter 5.

[2] The relative pronoun without the complementizer *-ei* is *þana*. Therefore, I refer to the relative

(3) gaarma [þan -ei arma]
pity$_{[\text{ACC}]}$ who.ACC -COMP pity$_{[\text{ACC}]}$
'I will pity him whom I pity' (Gothic, Rom. 9:15, after **harbert1978**: 339)

Where does this accusative case assignment come from? Logically speaking, there are two candidates: the predicate in the main clause *gaarma* 'pity' and the predicate in the relative clause *arma* 'pity'. Did the predicate in the relative clause *arma* 'pity' assign accusative case? In the headed relative clauses in (2), the relative pronoun received its case from the predicate in the relative clause. The crucial difference with that type of relative clause is that there is a head for the main clause to assign its case to. Did the predicate in the main clause *gaarma* 'pity' assign accusative case? I will argue that both of them did. Actually, (3) is the first example I gave of case competition in a headless relative. It is an uninteresting one, because the two competing cases are identical.

In the remainder of this section I show evidence for the claim that relative pronouns in headless relatives take the case of the predicate in the relative clause and the predicate in the main clause. This evidence comes from headless relatives in which the predicate in the relative clause takes a different case from the predicate in the main clause.

Consider the example in (4). The relative clause is *ana þamm -ei lag* 'on what he lay'. - here the subscript are on the preposition, because the preposition selects for a case - on selects for dative, which is in the relative clause - picking up selects for accusative which is in the relative clause - we see this dative on the relative pronoun, and this can only come from the relative clause predicate

(4) ushafjands [ana þamm -ei lag]
picking up$_{[\text{ACC}]}$ on$_{[\text{DAT}]}$ what.DAT -COMP lay
'picking up that on which he lay'
(Gothic, Luke 5:25, after **harbert1978**: 343)

-realtive: say selects for accusative -main: do selects dative - we see the dative again, and this can only come from the main clause

pronoun as *þan(a)*.

(5) hva nu wileiþ ei taujau [þamm -ei qiþiþ þiudan Iudaie]?
what now want that do$_{[DAT]}$ who.DAT -COMP say$_{[ACC]}$ king of Jews
'what now do you wish that I do to him whom you call King of the Jews?'
(Gothic, Mark 15:12, after **harbert1978**: 339)

1.2 The content of this dissertation

1=case competition, there is a heirarchy. cite people first, what holds for all languages is that there is a single order: highest in the hierarchy wins in the first part, I..

secondly I adress an aspect that differs across languages that is, not all languages are like gothic I connect this crosslinguistic variation to morphology.. so i reduce it to differences in the lexicon

finally, i show how all of this can be derived in derivations

Part I

The constant case complexity

Chapter 2

A reoccurring pattern

Start with the main focus of this dissertation A phenomenon goes parallel with the ordering

2.1 Case competition in Gothic headless relatives

In the introduction I already showed accusative vs. dative, and dative always won. Here I additionaly add nomniative. I will show that ordering of strenght is nom-acc-dat.

First some terminilogy. Intern Extern

Table 2.1: Case attraction in headless relatives - empty

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]			
[ACC]			
[DAT]			

2.1.1 matching

Table 2.2: Case attraction in headless relatives - only matching

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM		
[ACC]		ACC	
[DAT]			DAT

2.1.2 non-matching

(1) INT:NOM, EXT:ACC

a. jah [þo -ei ist us Laudeikaion] jus ussiggwaid
and what.ACC -COMP is$_{[NOM]}$ from Laodicea you read$_{[ACC]}$
'and read that which is from Laodicea'
(Gothic, Col. 4:16, after **harbert1978**: 357)

(2) INT:NOM, EXT:DAT

a. [þaim -ei iupa sind] fraþjaiþ
what.DAT -COMP above are$_{[NOM]}$ think on$_{[DAT]}$
'set your mind on those which are above'
(Gothic, Col. 3:2, after **harbert1978**: 339)

(3) INT:ACC, EXT:NOM

a. [þan -ei frijos] siuks ist
who.ACC -COMP love$_{[ACC]}$ sick is$_{[NOM]}$
'the one whom you love is sick'
(Gothic, John 11:3, after **harbert1978**: 342)

(4) INT:ACC, EXT:DAT

a. hva nu wileiþ ei taujau [þamm -ei qiþiþ þiudan Iudaie]?
what now want that do$_{[DAT]}$ who.DAT -COMP say$_{[ACC]}$ king of Jews
'what now do you wish that I do to him whom you call King of the Jews?' (Gothic, Mark 15:12, after **harbert1978**: 339)

(5) INT:DAT, EXT:NOM

a. iþ [þamm -ei leitil fraletada] leitil frijod
but who.DAT -COMP little is forgiven$_{[DAT]}$ little loves$_{[NOM]}$
'but the one whom little is forgiven loves little'
(Gothic, Luke 7:47, after **harbert1978**: 342)

(6) INT:DAT, EXT:ACC

a. ushafjands [ana þamm -ei lag]
picking up$_{[ACC]}$ on$_{[DAT]}$ what.DAT -COMP lay
'picking up that on which he lay'
(Gothic, Luke 5:25, after **harbert1978**: 343)

[1]

Table 2.3: Case attraction in headless relatives in Gothic

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC *NOM	DAT *NOM
[ACC]	*NOM ACC	ACC	DAT *ACC
[DAT]	*NOM DAT	*ACC DAT	DAT

(7) NOM - ACC - DAT

2.2 The accessibility hierarchy

(8) NOM - ACC - DAT

gives examples of each of these languages

2.3 Case in morphology

2.3.1 Morphological containment

nikolaeva1999: 16

[1] Throughout this dissertation * stands for 'not found in natural language'. For extinct languages this means that there are no attested examples. For modern languages it means that they examples are ungrammatical.

Table 2.4: Transparent case containment in Khanty

	1SG	3SG	1PL
NOM	ma	luw	muŋ
ACC	ma**ː-ne:m**	luw**-e:l**	muŋ**-e:w**
DAT	ma**ː-ne:m**-na	luw**-e:l**-na	muŋ**-e:w**-na

boretzky1994: 31-46

Table 2.5: Transparent case containment in Kalderaš Romani

	'brother'	'brothers'	'girl'	'girls'
NOM	phral	phral-(á)	rakl-í	rakl-já
ACC	phral-**és**	phral-**én**	rakl-**já**	rakl-já-**n**
DAT	phral-**és**-kə	phral-**én**-gə	rakl-**já**-kə	rakl-já-**n**-gə

gippert1987: 23-24

Table 2.6: Transparent case containment in West Tocharian

	'horses'	'men'
NOM	yakwi	eṅkwi
ACC	yakwe-**ṃ**	eṅkwe-**ṃ**
DAT	yäkwe-**ṃ**-ts	eṅkwe-**ṃ**-ts

(9) NOM < ACC < DAT

2.3.2 Suppletion patterns

(10) NOM < ACC < DAT

2.3.2.1 ABB

cognates widespread in Indo-European - Icelandic
cognates across Slavic - Russian
cognates across Slavic - Serbian

Table 2.7: ABB patterns in suppletion

	Icelandic	Russian	Serbian		
	1SG	1PL	3SG.F	3SG.M	3SG.N
NOM	ég	my	ona	oni	on
ACC	**m**ig	**n**as	**nj**u	**nji**h	**nje**-ga
DAT	**m**ér	**n**am	**nj**oj	**nji**ma	**nje**-mu

2.3.2.2 AAB

Table 2.8: AAB patterns in suppletion

	Yurok	Wardaman	
	3SG	3SG	3PL
NOM	**yo**ʔ(o·t), **wo**ʔ(o·t)	**narnaj**	**narnaj**-bulu
ACC	**yo**ʔo·t, **wo**ʔo·t	**narnaj**-(j)i	**narnaj**-bulu-yi
DAT	weyaʔik	gunga	wurrugu

2.3.2.3 ABC

Table 2.9: ABC patterns in suppletion

	Khinalugh
	1SG
NOM	zi̇
ACC	jä
DAT	as(i̇r)

2.3.3 Syncretism patterns

2.3.3.1 ABB

Van Baal, Don

Table 2.10: ABB patterns in suppletion

	Dutch		x		
	1SG	2SG	SG.F	3SG.M	3SG.N
NOM	ik	jij	ona	oni	on
ACC	**mij**	**jou**	**nj**u	**nji**h	**nje**-ga
DAT	**mij**	**jou**	**nj**oj	**nji**ma	**nje**-mu

https://linguistlist.org/issues/13/13-1129.html

2.3.3.2 AAB

Russian: table pl, stol-y stol-y stol-ov

Russian, building sg, zdani-e zdani-e zdani-ju

endings of Latin nouns.9 n(n) n(mf) I(fm) V(fm) ffl(n) ffl(mf) nii(mf) mi(n) IV(mf) IV(n) sg. -um -us -a -es 0,-s -is,-es -c -us -u(-u?) Ac -um -um -am -em -em -em -e

-um -u(-u?) -I - i -ai>-ae 4l -is -is -is -Qs -us -6 -6 -ae -el -I -1 -I -1 -ul *u Ab -6 -6 -a -S -e -c -e, -i -I -Q -u pl. -a -I -ae -es -a -es -cs -ia -us -ua Ac -a -6s -as -es -a -es, -Is -ia -us -ua -orum -omm -arum -erum -um -um -ium -ium -uum -uum DAb -is -Ts -Is -ebus -ibus -ibus -ibus -ibus -ibus -ibus

german: die die der das das dem

2.3.3.3 ABC

all different endings

(11) NOM < ACC < DAT

2.4 A side note on the genitive

- possessive
- accessibility hierarchy
- not available

Chapter 3

Case decomposition meets ellipsis

3.1 Problem with previous analyses of headless relatives

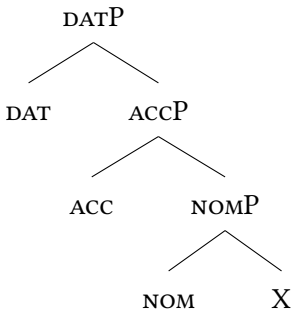
The problem: so far people that account for headless relatives have made reference to this case hierachy. they put them in their OT tables, let the fly in from the left in their syntax, whatever.

What I do is start is start from morphology. There we have complex case: dat - acc - nom. What we see in syntax is a by-product of the morphology, it´s a consequence, it´s an indirect relation. cause and effect if the morphology is different, than so will the syntax

3.2 Morphology

3.2.1 Case decomposition

(1)



morphological containment

3.2.2 Phrasal spellout

Single morphemes spell out phrases

suppletion and syncretism

3.3 Ellipsis

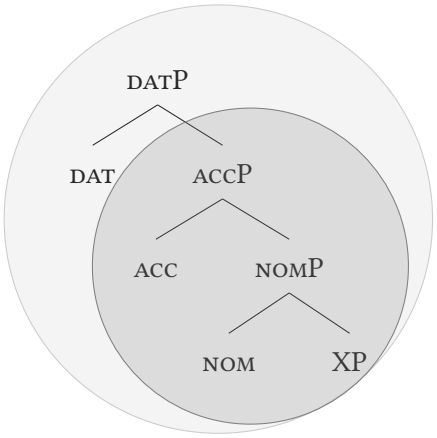
Ellipsis targets phrases

3.4 Relation between morphology and syntax

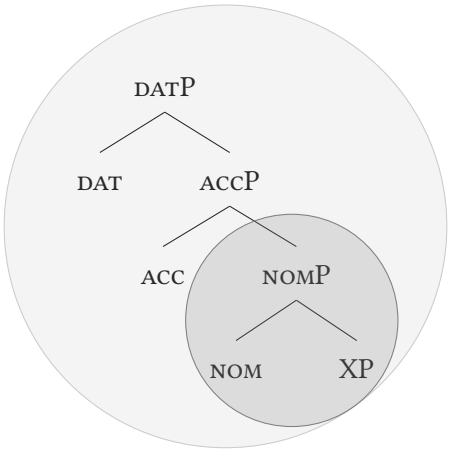
3.5 The intuition

3.5.1 Morphology

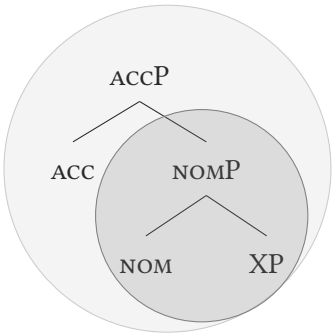
(2)



(3)



(4)



3.5.2 Syntax

Table 3.1: DATP deletes ACCP

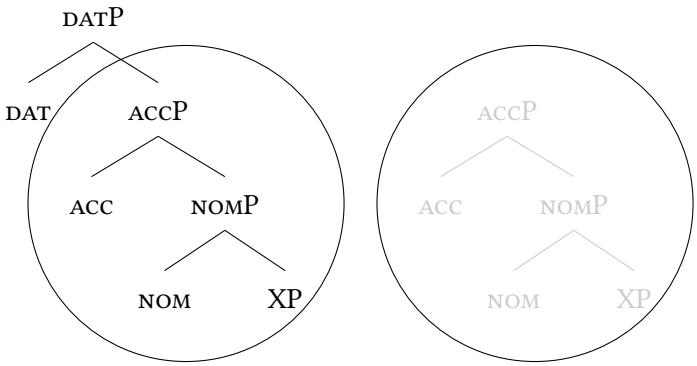


Table 3.2: DATP deletes NOMP

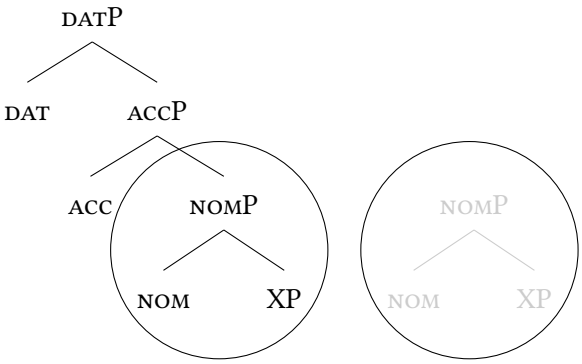
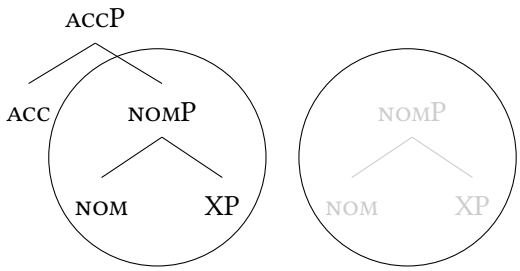


Table 3.3: accP deletes nomP



3.6 Similar analyses

Himmelreich

Part II

The direction that differs

Chapter 4

The variation

4.1 The different patterns

In Gothic, the more complex case wins. In OHG, the more complex case wins, only if it is external. In MG, the more complex case wins, only if it is internal. In Italian, case mismatch is not allowed.

Table 4.1: Variation

	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
MG	✓	*
OHG	*	✓
Gothic	✓	✓
Italian	*	*

4.1.1 Both: Gothic

Table 4.2: Case attraction in headless relatives in Gothic

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC *NOM	DAT *NOM
[ACC]	*NOM ACC	ACC	DAT *ACC
[DAT]	*NOM DAT	*ACC DAT	DAT

4.1.2 Only from external: Old High German

(1) INT:NOM, EXT:ACC

a. NOM not attested

b. ih bibringu fona Juda [dhen mina berga chisetzit]
I educate$_{[ACC]}$ about Juda who.ACC my mountains through pull$_{[NOM]}$
'I educate the one who wanders through my mountains about Judas'
(OHG, Isid. 34:3, **behaghel1923**: 761)

(2) INT:NOM, EXT:DAT

a. NOM not attested

b. aer antuurta [demo zaimo sprah]
he replied$_{[DAT]}$ who.DAT to him spoke$_{[NOM]}$
'he replied to the one who spoke to him'
(OHG, Mons. 7:24, **behaghel1923**: 761, after **pittner1995**: 199)

(3) INT:ACC, EXT:NOM

a. ACC not attested

b. NOM not attested

(4) INT:ACC, EXT:DAT

a. ACC not attested

b. istû furira Abrâhame, ouh [thên man hiar nû
are you superior$_{[DAT]}$ to Abraham also who.DAT one here now
zalta]?
named$_{[ACC]}$
'are you superior to Abraham to those which they just mentioned?'
(OHG, Otfrid III 18:33, **behaghel1923**: 761)

(5) INT:DAT, EXT:NOM

a. DAT not attested

b. NOM not attested

(6) INT:DAT, EXT:ACC

a. DAT not attested

b. ACC not attested

Don't know:

(7) OHG

a. gaat uz diu halt za dem iz forchaufent

'' (OHG, Monsee Fragments 20,14, **behaghel1923**)

b. thia laz ih themo iz lisit thar

'' (OHG, Otfrid I,19,25, **behaghel1923**)

So, to sum up:

Table 4.3: Case attraction in headless relatives in OHG

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC *NOM	DAT *NOM
[ACC]	*NOM *ACC	ACC	DAT *ACC
[DAT]	*NOM *DAT	*ACC *DAT	DAT

4.1.3 Only from internal: Modern German

(8) INT:NOM, EXT:ACC

a. *Ich lade ein, [wer mir sympathisch ist].
I invite$_{[ACC]}$ who.NOM me nice is$_{[NOM]}$
'I invite who I like.' (**vogel2001**: 344)

b. *Ich lade ein, [wen mir sympathisch ist].
I invite$_{[ACC]}$ who.ACC me nice is$_{[NOM]}$
'I invite who I like.' (**vogel2001**: 344)

(9) INT:NOM, EXT:DAT

a. *Ich vertraue, [wer Hitchcock mag].
I trust$_{[DAT]}$ who.NOM Hitchcock likes$_{[NOM]}$
'I trust who likes Hitchcock.' (**vogel2001**: 345)

b. *Ich vertraue, [wem Hitchcock mag].
I trust$_{[DAT]}$ who.DAT Hitchcock likes$_{[NOM]}$
'I trust who likes Hitchcock.' (**vogel2001**: 345)

(10) INT:ACC, EXT:NOM

a. Uns besucht [wen Maria mag].
Us visits$_{[NOM]}$ who.ACC Maria.NOM likes$_{[ACC]}$
'Who visits us likes Maria likes.' (**vogel2001**: 343)

b. *Uns besucht [wer Maria mag].
Us visits$_{[NOM]}$ who.NOM Maria.NOM likes$_{[ACC]}$
'Who visits us likes Maria likes.' (**vogel2001**: 343)

(11) INT:ACC, EXT:DAT

a. *Ich vertraue [wem auch Maria mag].
I trust$_{[DAT]}$ who.DAT also Maria likes$_{[ACC]}$.
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.' (**vogel2001**: 345)

b. *Ich vertraue [wen auch Maria mag].
I trust$_{[DAT]}$ who.ACC also Maria likes$_{[ACC]}$.
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.' (**vogel2001**: 345)

(12) INT:DAT, EXT:NOM

a. Uns besucht [wem Maria vertraut].
us visits$_{[NOM]}$ who.DAT Maria trusts$_{[DAT]}$
'Who visits us, Maria trusts.' (**vogel2001**: 343)

b. *Uns besucht [wer Maria vertraut].
us visits$_{[NOM]}$ who.NOM Maria trusts$_{[DAT]}$
'Who visits us, Maria trusts.' (**vogel2001**: 343)

(13) INT:DAT, EXT:ACC

a. Ich lade ein [wem auch Maria vertraut].
I invite$_{[ACC]}$ who.DAT also Maria trusts$_{[DAT]}$.
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.' (**vogel2001**: 344)

b. *Ich lade ein [wen auch Maria vertraut].
I invite$_{[ACC]}$ who.ACC also Maria trusts$_{[DAT]}$.
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.' (**vogel2001**: 344)

Table 4.4: Case attraction in headless relatives in MG

EXT / INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*ACC *NOM	*DAT *NOM
[ACC]	*NOM ACC	ACC	*DAT *ACC
[DAT]	*NOM DAT	*ACC DAT	DAT

4.1.4 None: Italian

4.2 Shape of relative pronoun

Table 4.5: Shape of relative pronoun per language

	rel pron in headless rel	rel prons in light-headed rel
Gothic	A +C	A + A + C
OHG	A	A + A
MG	B	A + A
Italian	B	A + B

4.2.1 Gothic

4.2.1.1 Headless relatives

D + COMP

Table 4.6: Relative pronouns in headless relatives in Gothic

	N.SG	M.SG	F.SG
NOM	þ-at-ei	s-a-ei	s-ō-ei
ACC	þ-at-ei	þ-an-ei	þ-ō-ei
DAT	þ-amm-ei	þ-amm-ei	þ-izái-ei
	N.PL	M.PL	F.PL
NOM	þ-ō-ei	þ-ái-ei	þ-ōz-ei
ACC	þ-ō-ei	þ-anz-ei	þ-ōz-ei
DAT	þ-áim-ei	þ-áim-ei	þ-áim-ei

4.2.1.2 Light-headed relatives

D, D + COMP

4.2.2 Old High German

4.2.2.1 Headless relatives

D

Table 4.7: Relative pronouns in headless relatives in OHG

	N.SG	M.SG	F.SG
NOM	d-az̨	d-ër	d-iu
ACC	d-az̨	d-ën	d-ea/-ia/(-ie)
DAT	d-ëmu/-ëmo	d-ëmu/-ëmo	d-ëru/-ëro
	N.PL	M.PL	F.PL
NOM	d-iu/-ei	d-ē/-ea/-ia/-ie	d-eo/-io
ACC	d-iu/-ei	d-ē/-ea/-ia/-ie	d-eo/-io
DAT	d-ēm/-ēn	d-ēm/-ēn	d-ēm/-ēn

4.2.2.2 Light-headed relatives

D, D

Wouldn't we now not expect that Modern German patterns with Old High German wrt attraction in headed constructions. Yes, we would. And yes, this is exactly what we see. Paper by Bader on case attraction.

4.2.3 Modern German

4.2.3.1 Headless relatives

WH

Table 4.8: Relative pronouns in headless relatives in MG

	INAN	AN
NOM	w-as	w-er
ACC	w-as	w-en
DAT	-	w-em

4.2.3.2 Light-headed relatives

Pattern in light-headed relatives: D, D

4.2.4 Italian

4.2.4.1 Headless relatives

WH: *che*

4.2.4.2 Light-headed relatives

D, WH: *quello*, *che*

4.3 Bringing this together

Table 4.9: Variation and relative pronoun shape

	rel pron in headless rel	rel prons in light-headed rel	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	A +C	A + A + C	✓	✓
OHG	A	A + A	*	✓
MG	B	A + A	✓	*
Italian	B	A + B	*	*

And how can we now derive this?

Chapter 5

Connecting morphology and syntax

5.1 Background: relative clause theory

Standard raising, probably Cinque's double-headed structures

5.2 Analysis

5.2.1 Old High German

In OHG, proper attraction in headless relatives can be derived from headed relatives. The relative pronoun is the determiner from the main clause. Under a double-headed Cinque-analysis, it is the internal DP that is deleted.

(1) DAT instead of ?

a. was allon them ando, them thar quamun at erist tuo
what all d.DAT do to d.DAT there x as first do?
''

than is im so them salte them (the M) man bi seuues Stade oido teuuirpit, 1370.
Hon them erlscipie them thar inne uuas, 2768.
allon them ando them thar quamun at erist tuo, 3435.

fon them herrosten them thes hnses giuueld, 3344 C.
sagda them alat them (the M) thar all giscaop, 4636. —

(2) ACC instead of NOM

a. unde ne wolden níet besên den mort den dô was
and not wanted not see the murder.ACC that.ACC there had
geschên
happened
'and they didn't want to see the murder that had happened.'
(MHG, Nib. 1391,14, **behaghel1923**: 756, after **pittner1995**: 198)

5.2.2 Modern German

In German, inverse attraction in headed relatives can be shown to be very different from inverse attraction in headless relatives. I am not set on an analysis yet. Under a double-headed Cinque-analysis, it is the external DP that is deleted. Grafting is also still an option.

5.2.3 Gothic

In Gothic, ?

Part III

Details

Chapter 6

Technical implementation

6.1 Background

(1) **The Superset Principle starke2009**:
A lexically stored tree matches a syntactic node iff the lexically stored tree contains the syntactic node.

(2) **The Elsewhere Condition** (**kiparsky1973**, formulated as in **caha2019**):
When two entries can spell out a given node, the more specific entry wins. Under the Superset Principle governed insertion, the more specific entry is the one which has fewer unused features.

(3) **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.

(4) **Cyclic Override** (**starke2018**):
Lexicalisation at a node XP overrides any previous match at a phrase contained in XP.

If the spellout procedure in (3) fails, backtracking takes place.

(5) **Backtracking** (**starke2018**):
When spellout fails, go back to the previous cycle, and try the next option for that cycle.

If backtracking also does not help, a specifier is constructed.

(6) **Spec Formation** (**starke2018**):
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.

6.2 Derivations

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Primary texts

Col.	Colossians, New Testament
Isid.	Der althochdeutsche Isidor
John	John, New Testament
Luke	Luke, New Testament
Mark	Mark, New Testament
Mons.	The Monsee fragments
Nib.	Das Nibelungenlied
Otfrid	Otfrid's Evangelienbuch
Rom.	Romans, New Testament