

Case competition in headless relatives: a Germanic typology

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GK colloquium
June 2, 2020

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- (1) Ich lade ein wem auch Maria vertraut.
I invite_[ACC] REL.DAT.AN also Maria trusts_[DAT].
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, Vogel 2001: 344)

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

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

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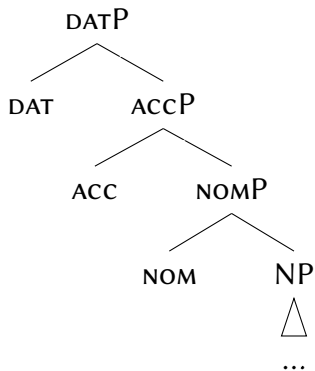
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- in syntax
 - agreement (cf. Moravcsik, 1978)
 - relativization (cf. Keenan and Comrie, 1977)
- in morphology
 - syncretism patterns (cf. Baerman, Brown, and Corbett, 2005)
 - formal containment (cf. Caha, 2010)

A reflex of morphology in syntax

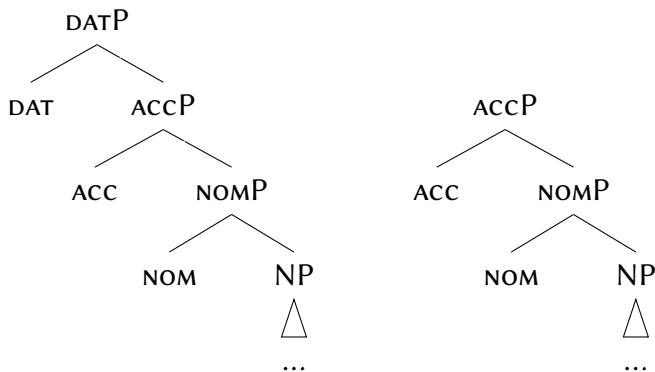
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cf. Caha 2009



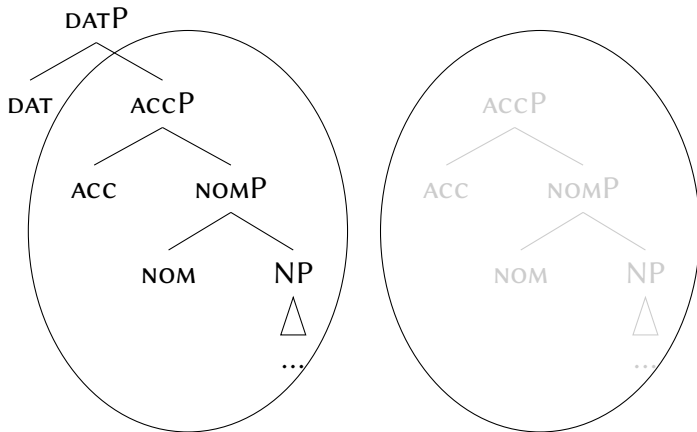
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	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	INT	EXT
Modern German	INT	*
Old High German	*	EXT

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

picking up_[ACC] on_[DAT] REL.DAT.N.SG -COMP lay

‘picking up (that) on which he lay’

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

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

what now want that do_[DAT] REL.DAT.M.SG -COMP say_[ACC] king

ludaie?

of Jews

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

Modern German: only internal

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

(Modern German, Vogel 2001: 344)

- (7) *Ich vertraue wem **auch Maria mag.**
I trust_[DAT] REL.DAT.AN also Maria likes_[ACC].

'I trust whoever Maria also likes.' (Modern German, Vogel 2001: 345)

Old High German: only external

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

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

Different patterns and different pronouns?

	headless relatives	
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Gothic	INT	EXT
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Different patterns and different pronouns?

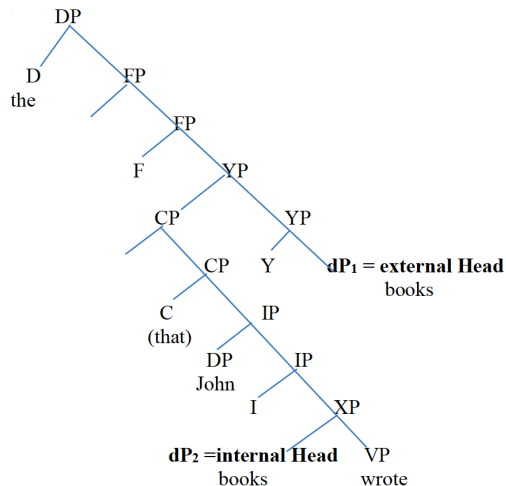
	headless relatives		relative pronoun
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT	
Gothic	INT	EXT	D + ϕ + COMP
Modern German	INT	*	WH + ϕ
Old High German	*	EXT	D + ϕ

Different patterns and different pronouns?

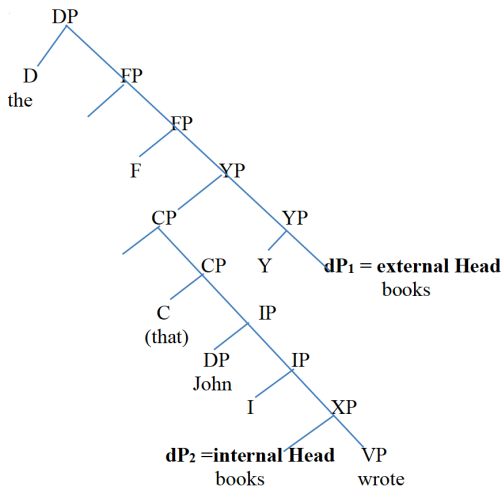
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how?

Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



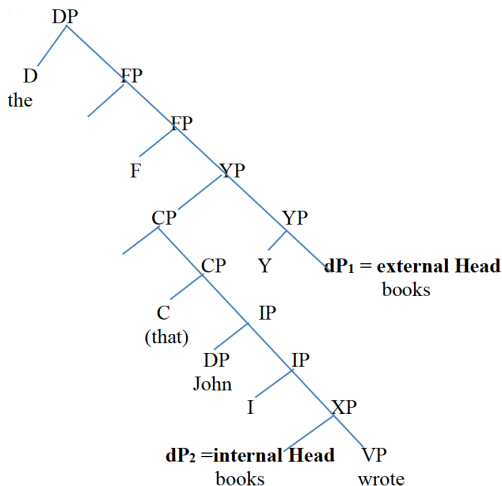
Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis

- *Had he continued to be dean, he could not have written the books that he wrote.*
- dP₂ moves to specCP and deletes dP₁
- amount interpretation

Cinque's (forthcoming) double-headed analysis



- raising analysis
 - *Had he continued to be dean, he could not have written the books that he wrote.*
 - dP_2 moves to specCP and deletes dP_1
 - amount interpretation
- matching analysis
 - *The book that John wrote lies on the shelf.*
 - dP_1 moves to specFP and deletes dP_2
 - individual interpretation

The variation explained in a nutshell

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

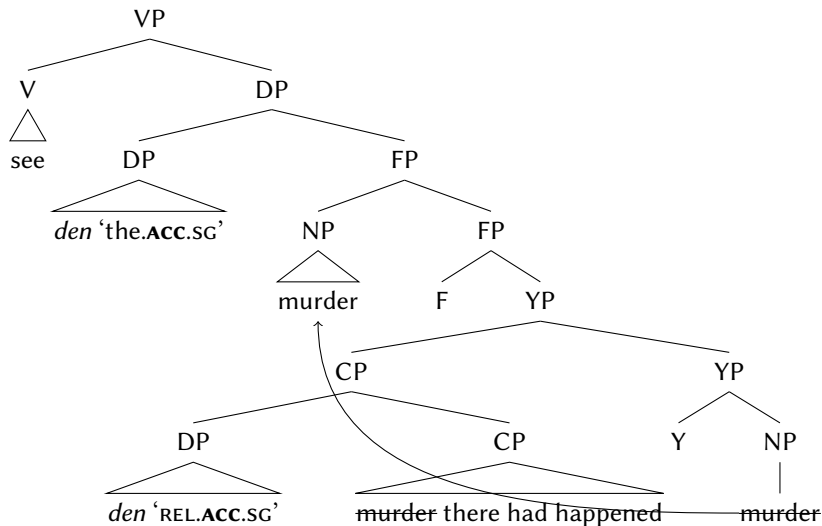
Old High German: attraction in headed relatives

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

Old High German: structure of headed relative

(10)

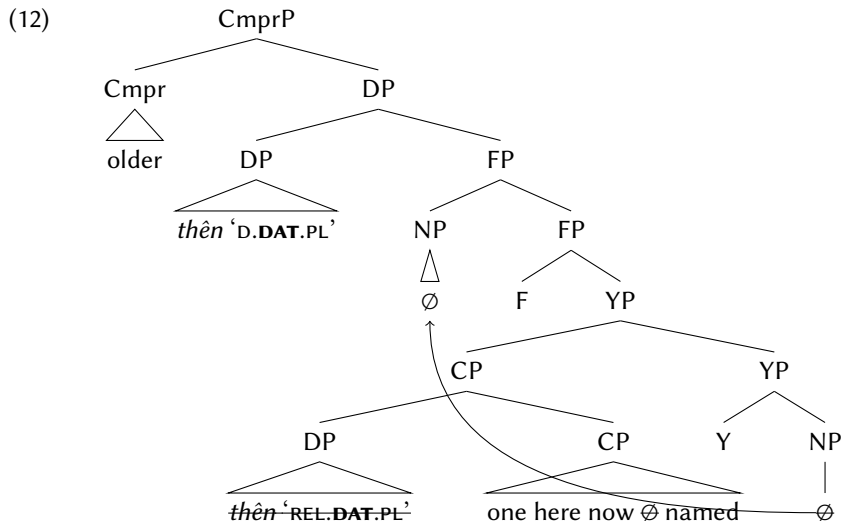


OHG: structure and deletion in headless relatives

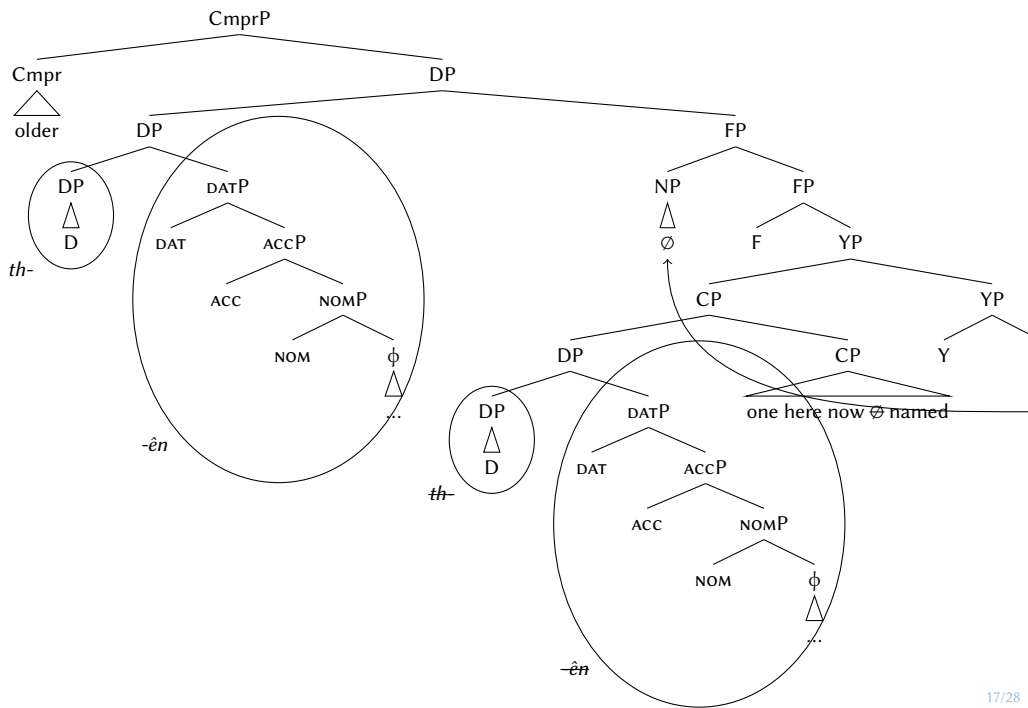
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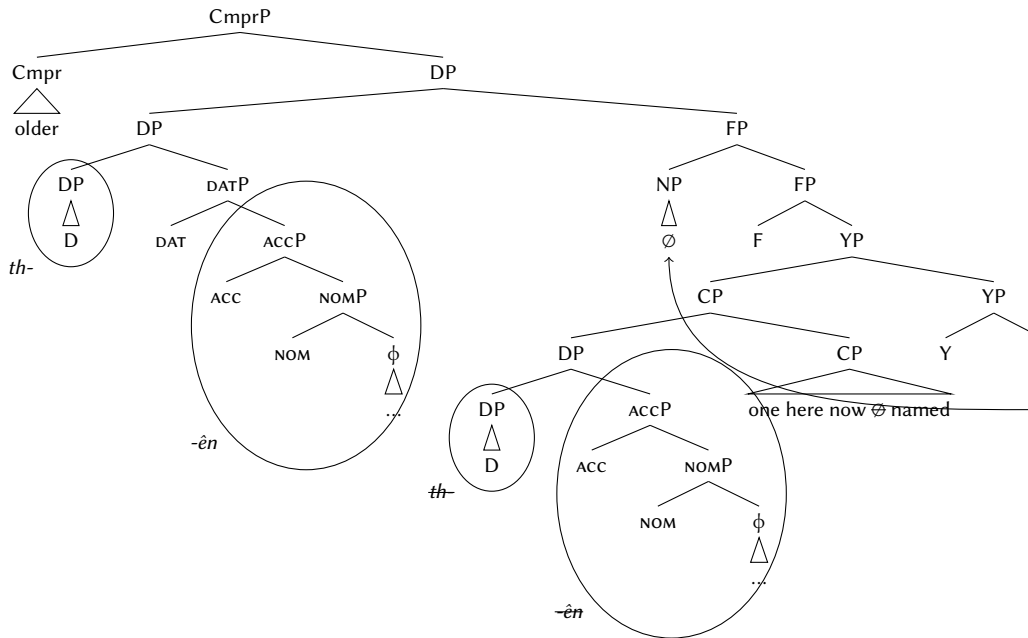
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OHG: deletion with finer decomposed structures



OHG: without attraction?



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

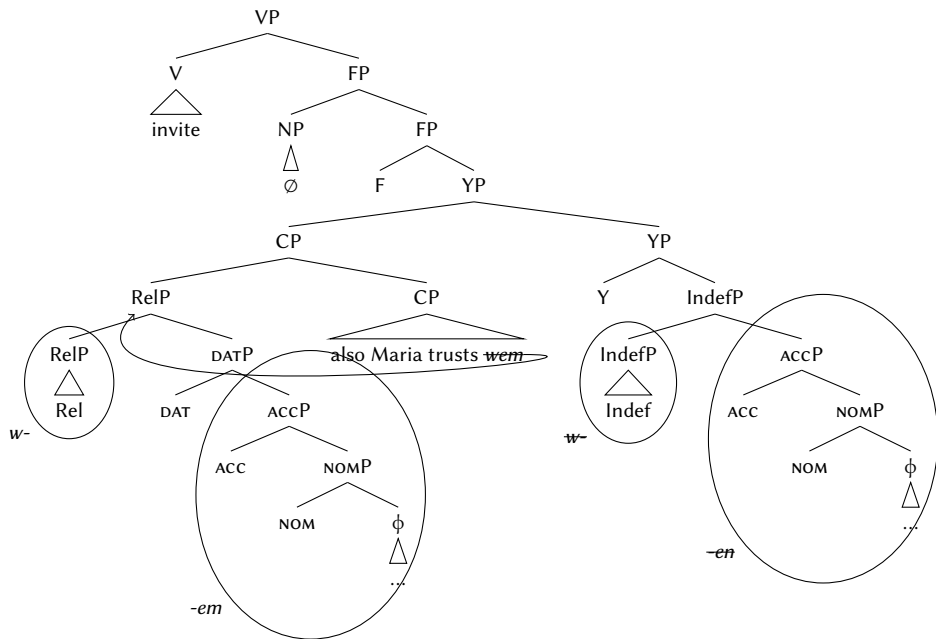
Summary Old High German

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derived from headed relative

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

Modern German: raising analysis



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Modern German	INT	*	WH + ϕ

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- **two** deletions under **containment** under c-command

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 - no attraction in headed relatives (W. Harbert, 1992)
 - phonological effects with *-ei* > relative pronoun is in the relative clause (W. Harbert, 1992)

Gothic: more questions than answers

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

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two predictions

- different patterns can coincide in a single language
- languages with identical morphology show identical patterns in their headless relatives

Open issues

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two separate (obligatory!) deletions

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containment relation(?) between

- WH-relative and indefinite
- demonstrative and D-relative

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Matching only languages like Polish

