

Case competition in headless relatives: a Germanic typology

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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.'

(Vogel 2001: 344)

The content of my dissertation

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

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 - Old High German
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- two aspects:
 - one is stable crosslinguistically
 - one differs crosslinguistically

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 - agreement
 - relativization

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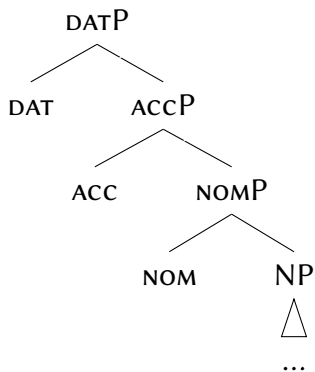
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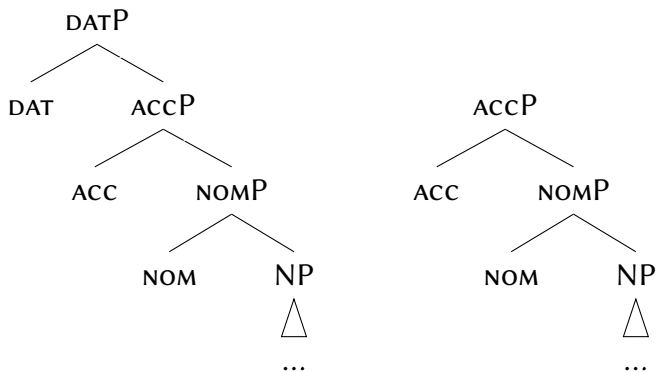
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- in syntax
 - agreement
 - relativization
- in morphology
 - syncretism patterns
 - formal containment

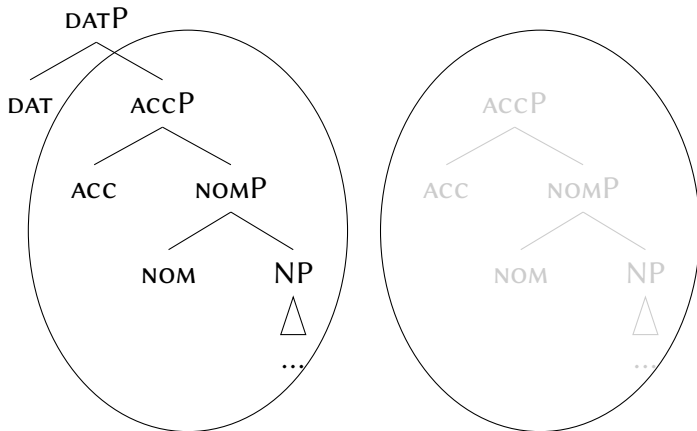
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The crosslinguistically differing one

- **internal case** refers to the case associated with the relative pronoun internal to the relative clause
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	INT>EXT	EXT>INT
Modern German	yes	no
Old High German	no	yes
Gothic	yes	yes

Gothic: both directions

- (4) hva nu wileiþ ei taujau **þamm** -ei **qīþīþ** **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 Harbert 1978: 339)
- (5) 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 Harbert 1978: 343)

Modern German: only internal

(6) *Ich vertraue wem **auch Maria mag.**

I trust_[DAT] REL.DAT.AN also Maria likes_[ACC].

'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

(Vogel 2001: 345)

(7) Ich lade ein wem **auch Maria vertraut.**

I invite_[ACC] REL.DAT.AN also Maria trusts_[DAT].

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(Vogel 2001: 344)

- (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?’ (OHG, Otfrid III 18:33, Behaghel 1923-1932: 761)

Again a reflex of morphology in syntax?

	headless relatives		relative pronoun
	INT>EXT	EXT>INT	
Modern German	yes	no	WH
Old High German	no	yes	D
Gothic	yes	yes	D + COMP

d d + ei wh

but how?

(9) ACC instead of NOM

- a. unde ne wolden nîet 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, Behaghel 1923-1932: 756, after Pittner 1995: 19)

ellipsis under identity

(10) tree of ??

