Doubling in relative clauses and the status of relative particles in German dialects (and beyond)

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relative clauses in Standard German: introduced by demonstrative-based relative pronouns (d-pronouns) or wh-based relative pronouns:

(1)  a. Das ist die Frau, die das Haus gebaut hat. that is the.F woman who built the house.

b. Das ist die Frau, welche das Haus gebaut hat. that is the.F woman who built the house.
Relative markers

relative pronouns may stem from interrogative pronouns or from demonstrative pronouns cross-linguistically – Van Gelderen (2004, 2009), Roberts & Roussou (2003)

d-pronouns common in Germanic (Brandner & Bräuning 2013), both strategies attested in English historically but *that* has been reanalysed as a complementiser (cf. Van Gelderen 2009):

(2)  a. This is the woman *who* built the house.
    b. This is the woman *that* built the house.
Structures

(3) a. CP
   \[\text{who \ C'}\]
   \[\text{C \ ...}\]

b. CP
   \[\text{Op. \ C'}\]
   \[\text{C \ ...}\]
   \[\text{that}\]
German

(4) Ich suche ebbes wo mer helfen könnt.
I search someone REL I.DAT help.INF could
‘I am looking for someone who could help me.’
(Alemannic; Brandner & Bräuning 2013, 140, ex. 23)

status of wo as a complementiser (see Brandner & Bräuning 2013
and Weiß 2013; see also Weiß 2013 for was in Northern
Bavarian): not inflected, can appear with any matrix nominal
head
Structures

(5) a. CP
    /\ 
   /  
  der/die/das C'
      /\ 
     /  
    C  ...

b. CP
   /\ 
  Op. C'
     /\ 
    C  ...
       /\ 
      wO
Patterns in dialects

- single wo or was as a uniform relativiser
- combination of a d-pronoun and wo/was (e.g. der wo ‘who’)
- combination of a wh-pronouns and dass ‘that’ (e.g. wer dass ‘who’)
- combination of a d-pronoun and wo and dass ‘that’ (e.g. der wo dass ‘who’)

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Questions

- why dialects prefer a relative complementiser over an overt relative operator
- why *dass* is inserted in certain cases
- what the structure of doubling patterns is – single vs. double CP
- what the structure of triple combinations is and why they occur with *wo* in Bavarian
Proposal

- regular West-Germanic pattern: lexicalisation of [fin] on C – relative complementisers in C fulfil this
- insertion of *dass* alongside an operator: lexicalisation of [fin]
- doubling patterns are instances of Doubly Filled COMP – single CP
- triple combinations involve a double CP
Relative complementisers

various languages have relative complementisers in addition to/instead of relative pronouns – Van Gelderen (2009), citing Comrie (2002): typically European strategy of relative pronouns is rare cross-linguistically
Norwegian

(6) Dette er studenten *som* inviterte Mary.
    this is the.student that invited.PST Mary
    ‘This is the student who invited Mary.’
Swedish

(7) Detta är studenten *som* bjöd in Mary.
this is the.student that invites in Mary
‘This is the student who invites Mary.’
English

(8)  a. This is the woman who built the house.
    b. This is the woman that built the house.

*that* interchangeable even with PPs involving a *wh*-element (e.g. *from which*), dialect/register variation:

(9)  I haven’t been to a party yet *that* I haven’t got home the same night.

(Van Gelderen 2009, 161, ex. 8, citing Miller 1993, 112)
Relative heads

Van Gelderen (2009, 163): English speakers prefer *that* over a
*wh*-pronoun “by at least a 4:1 ratio” (cf. Romaine 1982,
Montgomery & Bailey 1991, Van Gelderen 2004), Tagliamonte
et al. 2005) – reinforcement of *wh*-pronoun by prescriptive rules

similarly: relative pronouns borrowings from Standard German into
Alemannic (see Brandner & Bräuning 2013)

regularly in West Germanic – C filled by a lexical element
German patterns

(10) a. Anna **hat** ein Haus gekauft.
    ‘Anna has bought a house.’

b. **Hat** Anna ein Haus gekauft?
    ‘Has Anna bought a house?’

c. Wann **hat** Anna ein Hause gekauft?
    ‘When did Anna buy a house?’

d. Ich weiß, **dass** Anna ein Haus gekauft hat.
    ‘I know that Anna has bought a house.’

e. Ich weiß nicht, **ob** Anna ein Haus gekauft hat.
    ‘I don’t know if Anna has bought a house.’

f. Ich weiß nicht, wann (**dass**) Anna ein Haus gekauft hat.
    ‘I don’t know when Anna bought a house.’
Doubly Filled COMP

complementiser inserted in (10f) in various dialects across Germanic – “Doubly Filled COMP” pattern (see Bacskai-Atkari 2016a, following Bayer & Brandner 2008, contrary to Baltin 2010) – dialectal pattern more conform with the general syntactic paradigm than standard West-Germanic varieties
Relative clauses

(11) a. Das ist die Frau, **die** das Haus gebaut hat. 
that is the **F** woman that. **F** the house built has
‘That is the woman who built the house.’
b. Ich suech **wo** mer helfe künnt.
I search **REL** I. **DAT** help. **INF** could
‘I am looking for someone who could help me.’
(Alemannic; Brandner & Bräuning 2013, 140, ex. 23)
c. Röslen (...), **was** oben am **REL** hohlen Wege 
roses **REL** above at. **the** empty **road**
stehn 
stand. **3PL**
‘roses, which are above by the empty road’
(Bavarian; Weiß 2013, 780, ex. 19c)
Distribution

dialectal differences:

- **Alemannic**: *wo* (Brandner & Bräuning 2013, Weiβ 2013)
- **Hessian**: *wo; was* only limited, in many dialects restricted to neuter antecedents (Fleischer 2004, 2017, Weiβ 2013), hence rather an operator
- **Northern Bavarian**: *was* (Weiβ 2013)

origin of *wo* and *was*: reanalysis from operator into complementiser (relative cycle of Van Gelderen 2004, 2009) – but: appearance of *wo* in relative clause already as a complementiser, taken over from equatives, as shown by Brandner & Bräuning (2013)
(12) a. 

\[ CP \]
\[ \text{der/die/das}_{[\text{rel}]} \]
\[ \text{C'} \]
\[ \text{C}_{[\text{rel}]} \]
\[ \ldots \]

b. 

\[ CP \]
\[ \text{Op.} \]
\[ \text{C'} \]
\[ \text{C}_{[\text{rel}]} \]
\[ \ldots \]
\[ \text{wO}_{[\text{rel}]} \]
\[ \text{was}_{[\text{rel}]} \]
Relative clause type

relative nature of the clause (clause type, see Rizzi 1997 on relative as a clause type) marked overtly by wo/was or by a relative pronoun

covert operator still there – “gap” in the relative clause, co-reference with the lexical head in the matrix clause (here: essentially a matching analysis, see Lees 1960, 1961, Chomsky 1965, Sauerland 1998, 2003, see Bhatt 2005 for a comparative summary; but NP zero and not deleted)
Structures

(13)  a. DP  
     |    D'  
     |      D  
     |       NP  
     |         der  
     |          NP  
     |            CP  
     |                Mann  
     |                   D'  
     |                      C  
     |                        ...  
     |                            D  
     |                              NP  
     |                                der  
     |                                  ∅  

b. DP  
     |    D'  
     |      D  
     |       NP  
     |         der  
     |          NP  
     |            CP  
     |                Mann  
     |                   D'  
     |                      C  
     |                        ...  
     |                            D  
     |                              NP  
     |                                ∅  
     |                                wo
Doubling in relatives with a lexical head

Norwegian *der som* (dialectal):

(14) Dette er byen der som eg vart fødd.  
this is the.city which that I was born  
‘This is the city where I was born.’

Swedish *vilken som* (dialectal):

(15) Detta är studenten vilken som bjöd in Mary.  
this is the.student which that invites in Mary  
‘This is the student who invites Mary.’
Patterns

- $d$-pronoun + *wo* – Alemannic (Brandner & Bräuning 2013), Hessian (Fleischer 2017)

- $d$-pronoun + *was* – Bavarian (Weiß 2013), but not in Hessian (Fleischer 2017)

The complementary distribution of *was* and the $d$-pronoun in Hessian indicates that *was* is a relative operator and not a grammaticalised complementiser, unlike in Bavarian.
German

     L.DAT
     ‘The money that I earn belongs to me.’
     (Hessian; Fleischer 2017, ex. 3d)

b. Mei Häusl (…), dös wos dorten unten (…)
   my house.DIM that.N REL there below steht
   stands
   ‘My little house, which stands down there’
   (Bavarian; Weiß 2013, 780, ex. 19d)
Question

question: whether doubling requires a double CP (as in Baltin 2010) or a single CP suffices

doubling in English relative clauses:

(17) It’s down to the community in which that the people live.
(Van Gelderen 2013, 59, ex. 8)
Possible structures

(18)  

a.

\[
CP \\
\quad \text{in which}_{[\text{rel}]} \ C' \\
\quad \quad \quad C_{[\text{rel}],[\text{fin}]} \quad \cdots \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \text{that}_{[\text{rel}],[\text{fin}]} \\
\]

b.

\[
CP \\
\quad \text{in which}_{[\text{rel}]} \ C' \\
\quad \quad \quad C_{[\text{rel}]} \quad CP \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad C_{[\text{fin}]} \quad \cdots \\
\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{that}_{[\text{fin}]} \\
\]
Cartographic approach

similarly: doubling in embedded interrogatives may require a split in [wh] and [fin] across CPs (Baltin 2010)

problem: English *that* is ambiguous between the finite subordinator and the relative complementiser, but the German patterns in (16) involve a relative operator and a relative complementiser $\rightarrow$ functional split between the two CPs is untenable (Bacskaí-Atkari 2015; see arguments against a split CP in interrogatives by e.g. Bayer & Brandner 2008, Bacskaí-Atkari 2016b)
Structure

(19)

```
CP
   /\       
  der/die/das[rel]  C'
     /\                
    C[rel],[fin]     ... 
       /\             
      wo[rel],[fin]  was[rel],[fin] 
```
Doubling

- insertion of the $d$-pronoun: lexicalisation of the relative operator (always possible if there are overt pronouns in the dialect)
- insertion of $wo$: regular way of typing the relative clause, in line with lexicalisation requirement on [fin] in C
Structures

(20) a.  

```
  DP    
   |    
  D'   
   |    
  D    
   |    
  NP   
   des 
   NP  
    Geld 
    DP  
    C'  
     D'  
      C ... 
       D  
        NP 
         wo 
         des 
         ∅ 
```

b.  

```
  DP    
   |    
  D'   
   |    
  D    
   |    
  NP   
   mei 
   NP  
    Häusl 
    DP  
    C'  
     D'  
      C ... 
       D  
        NP 
         wos 
         des 
         ∅ 
```
Headless relatives

(21) a. You should finish what you have begun.

b. Ich nehme was du nimmst.
   I take.1SG what you take.2SG
   ‘I’ll take what you take.’

no lexical head – empty DP in matrix clause (see e.g. Van Riemsdijk 2006)
German

(22)  **wem dass des zvei** is, kann aa wenger zoin
**who.DAT that that too.much is can also less pay**
‘Whoever finds it too much can pay less as well.’
(Bavarian; Weiß 2013, 781, ex. 21c)
(23) **Wie dat** er **nou trouwt** zijn stommerike.
who that there now **marries** are **stupid.ones**
‘Whoever gets married nowadays is stupid.’
(South Brabant; Zwart 2000, 358, citing Vanacker 1948, 143)

crucially: no *dat*-relatives in Dutch (Zwart 2000, 357)
Structure

(24)

```
(24) CP
   /    /
  [wh]  [wh]
 /      /  \
wem    C'   [fin]
 |      |    \  
|       |     [fin]
|       |     
|       C[wh],[fin]
|                  \  
|                  dass[fin]
|                  
```

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More detailed structure

(25)

```
(25) CP
   /   \         
  DP    C'        
   /     \          
  D'    C         
   / \    /       
  D  NP  dass    
   /                  
  wem  ∅         
```
Triple combinations

Bavarian: combination *d*-pronoun + *wo* + *dass* (Weiß 2013)
Relatives with a lexical NP head

(26) dea Mā, dea wo dass des gsogd hod the.M man that.M REL that that.N said.PTCP has ‘the man who said it’
(Bavarian; Weiß 2013, 781)
Headless relatives

(27) **dem wo dass** des zvei is, kann aa wenger zoin
    less pay.INF
‘Whoever finds it too much can pay less as well.’
(Bavarian; Weiß 2013, 781, ex. 21e)
Structure

(28)
Operator *wo*

- specified as [wh], unlike *was*, which is invariably [rel] in relative clauses in the relevant dialects – [wh] operator in the scope of the [rel] operator, clause ultimately [rel]
- adverbial element, no NP complement possible $\rightarrow$ *d*-pronoun inserted
- function of *wo*: purely marking the clause type
similar phenomenon in English with *that which* in headless relatives:

(29) a. You should finish **what** you have begun.
    b. You should finish **that which** you have begun.

pronoun *which* cannot take a covert NP complement without an overt antecedent – *that* serves as an internal head
Structure

(30)

```
(30)  CP
     /   \  
    DP   C'
   /     \  
  D'    C  CP
  / \    /  
 D  NP  AdvP  C'
 /  \  /    /  
dea/dem  wo  C[wh],[fin]  ...  dass[fin]
```

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Conclusion

relative clauses in German dialects (and beyond)

- relative complementisers *wo* and *was* (variation in regional distribution) – lexicalisation of [fin] on C
- doubling patterns involving a *d*-pronoun (in English with a *wh*-pronoun) and the canonical relative complementiser: single CP, lexicalisation of the operator
- doubling patterns involving a *wh*-operator and *dass*: single CP; headless relatives, regularly with *wh*-pronouns anyway (no matrix NP), insertion of *dass* to lexicalise [fin] on C
- triple combinations involving a *d*-pronoun + *wo* + *dass* in Bavarian: double CP, structure involving a clause-typing operator and a *d*-pronoun
Thank you!

Danke!
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References


References III


References V


References VI


