



Agreement chains in Middle Low German relative clauses

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• agreement patterns in nonrestrictive reative clauses in MLG





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- PDG: three basic patterns of varying acceptability (Trutkowski & Weiß 2016)





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- (1) Ich, der sechzig ist, ... (RP-agreement)
- (2) Ich, der sechzig bin, ... (HN-agreement)





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- PDG: three basic patterns of varying acceptability (Trutkowski & Weiß 2016)
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- (2) Ich, der sechzig bin, ... (HN-agreement)
- (3) Ich, der ich sechzig bin, ... (ResP-agreement)





f 1 MLG NRRCs with $1^{\rm st}/2^{\rm nd}$ person head





- \bullet MLG NRRCs with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person head
- Analysis (I): general observations





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- 2 Analysis (I): general observations
- 3 Types of RCs in MLG





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- 6 Speculations about the diachronic development





- \bullet MLG NRRCs with $1^{st}/2^{nd}$ person head
- Analysis (I): general observations
- 3 Types of RCs in MLG
- 4 Analysis (II): agreement
- 5 Excursion: null subjects
- 6 Speculations about the diachronic development
- Summary and Outlook





MLG NRRCs

 At issue: agreement patterns in NRRCs with 1st/2nd person head
 RP? HN? ResP?





MI G NRRCs

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- RC always introduced by *de* relative pronoun or particle?
- HN/RP agreement cannot be distinguished in case of Agreement of the relative pronoun (SG/PL) with the 3rd person (SG/PL) – syncretism







- At issue: agreement patterns in NRRCs with 1st/2nd person head
 RP? HN? ResP?
- RC always introduced by *de* relative pronoun or particle?
- HN/RP agreement cannot be distinguished in case of Agreement of the relative pronoun (SG/PL) with the 3rd person (SG/PL) – syncretism
- (4) Dar mede vmmevenck he se de van vroliken worden erschrack there with embraced he her who of cheerful words was.amazed.3SG 'By that he embraced her, and she was very amazed by the cheerful words'

 (Griseldis, Hamburg, 1502)





The corpus

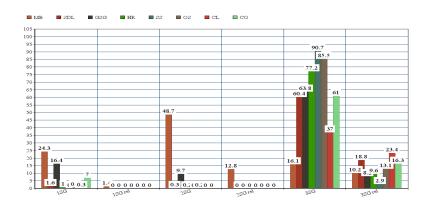
Genre	Text	Place	Time	Test	Focus
Prose	Dat myrren bundeken (MB)	Münster	1480	×	×
	Griseldis + Sigismunda und Guiscardus (GSG)	Hamburg	1502	×	/
	Spieghel der leyen (SDL)	Münster	1444	×	/
	Prayer 1 (P1)	Münster	1480	/	×
	Prayer 2 (P2)	Münster	1480	/	×
	Südwestfälische Psalmen (SWP)	Südwestfalen	14 th c.	/	×
Laws	Herforder Rechtsbuch (HR)	Herford	1375	×	/
	Oldenburger Sachsenspiegel (OS)	Oldenburg	1336	×	/
	Soester Schrae (SS)	Soest	1376	×	/
Charters	Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck (CL)	Lübeck	1300-	×	/
	Urkundenbuch der Stadt Oldenburg (CO)	Oldenburg	1500	x	/







Results (test corpus)

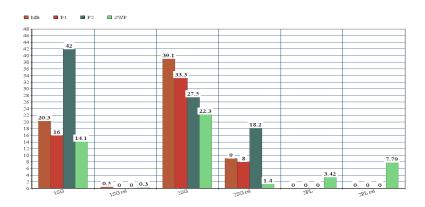








Results (focus corpus)







Syntactic distribution (1)

Modifying a vocative: head noun agreement or resumptive pronoun agreement

- (5) dat=tu mijn vader woldest wesen de mijn schepper bist that=you my father would be REL my creator are 2SG 'that thou wouldst be my father, who [thou] art my creator' (*Dat myrren bundeken*, Münster, 1480)
- (6) O here de du my geschapen hefst
 O lord REL you me created have.2SG

'O lord who has created me'

(Ey(n) Jnnige clage to gode, Münster, 1480)







Modifying an object: Head noun agreement

(7) vp dat ick dy de dat ouerste gud bist v(m)me myne eghene traecheit so that I you REL the highest good are.2SG for my own slowness vn(de) vnuulherdicheit nicht en mote verlesen and un-persistency NEG NEG must.1SG lose 'So that I mustn't lose you, who are my highest good, because of my own slowness and lack of persistency'

(Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)







Modifying a complement of a preposition: head noun agreement or resumptive pronoun agreement





Syntactic distribution (3)

Modifying a complement of a preposition: head noun agreement or resumptive pronoun agreement

- (8) alle wi oetmodighe(n) sundere vleyn to dy de vns to voren heuest ghesocht
 all we devout sinners pray to you REL us to before have.2SG sought
 'All we devout sinners pray to you, who have sought us before'

 (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)
- (9) meer warhen sal ick van dy vlein de du allerwegen Jegenwordich byst ... but where.to shall.1SG I from you flee REL you everywhere present are.2SG

'But where will I flee from you, who are present everywhere...' (Ey(n) Jnnige clage to gode, Münster, 1480)







Modifying a possesive: Head noun agreement

(10) v(er)beide(n)de de behoerlike tijd dyner gheboerten biding the appropriate time your.GEN birth de na dyner godheit ghine tijd en heuest noch iare REL by your divinity no time NEG have.2SG nor years 'biding the time appropriate for your birth, who has no time nor years due to your divinity' (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)





Syntactic distribution (5)

Modifying an imperative subject: resumptive pronoun agreement or undecided

- (11) Vernimet disse dinc **de l godes vergeten**'Understand these things, you who forget God'
 (Südwestfälische Psalmen (psalm 49), Südwestfalen, begin 14th c.)
- (12) Samenet eme sine hiligen de satet sin orcunde ouer dat offer 'Gather His holy ones to Him, you who put His message above the sacrifice'

(Südwestfälische Psalmen (psalm 49), Südwestfalen, begin 14th c.)







Modified	Head noun	Resumptive pronoun	relative pronoun	
element	agreement	agreement	agreement	
Vocative	×	×	/	
Object	×	/	/	
Complement of a	×	Х	/	
preposition				
Possesive	×	/	/	
Imperative subject	?	×	?	





Syntactic peculiarities (1)

Long distance agreement

(13) O my(n)nentlike vn(de) alto ser verwunderende weerdicheit dat=tu god der vnbegrijpliker glorien nicht en heuest versmaet een snode worm to werden. Vn(de) de alle dynge sunder arbeit heuest gheschapen oh lovely and too much wondrous magnificence that=you God the.GEN incomprehensible.GEN glorie.GEN NEG NEG have.2SG disdained a disdainful worm to become and who all things without effort have.2SG created

'Oh lovely and very wondrous magnificence, that you, God of incomprehensible glory, have not disdained becoming a disdainful worm. And (you) who have created all things without effort.'

(Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)







- - de ghene should actually introduce a restrictive RC!
 - pprox kind-defining relative clause (Benincà & Cinque 2014)





Syntactic peculiarities (2)

- - de ghene should actually introduce a restrictive RC!
 ≈ kind-defining relative clause (Benincà & Cinque 2014)
- (14) Jck byn leder de ghene de de su(n)de ghedaen hebbe
 I am unfortunately the one who the sin done have.1SG
 'I am unfortunately the one who has done the sin'

 (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)







- - however, relative pronoun (if it is one) should be dat to agree with head of RC et







- - however, relative pronoun (if it is one) should be dat to agree with head of RC et
- (15) Ik bin et de mit di sprikt
 I am it REL with you speak.3SG
 'It is I who speak to you'
 (Johannesevangelium des Buxtehuder Evangeliars, Münster, 1480)







	Head noun		[Predicate]	REL	[ResP]		VfinREL
HN	ik		/	de	/	mit di	spreke
ResP	ik		/	de	ik	mit di	spreke
CHN	ik	bin	de ghene	de	/	mi di	spreke
CRP	ik	bin	et	de	/	mit di	sprikt





Observations

- Modification of five syntactic categories
- only HN und ResP; RP-agreement is absent.
- Two syntactic peculiarities: Long distance agreement and predicative constructions with
 - copula head noun agreement CHN
 - 'copula relative pronoun agreement' CRP
- Relative clause introduced by de







• Koster (2000:22): extraposed RCs as specifying second 'conjuncts' in a parallel construal within :P (colon phrase)





Analysis: External syntax

 Koster (2000:22): extraposed RCs as specifying second 'conjuncts' in a parallel construal within :P (colon phrase)

The colon, a Boolean operator, indicates set intersection in the case of restrictive relative clauses and set union in the case of appositives (where, in a more elaborate analysis, the two cases can be distinguished by specification at the level of respectively NP and DP). The relative clause gives a further specification of the head of the relative clause placed in the Spec of the colon.







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- Koster's proposal was meant to treat extraposition of RCs as a type of Pied Piping: the relative head would be part of a larger phrase in the specifier of :P:
- (16) Ik heb [P VP NP een vrouw] gezien] [1/2 : [CP die alles wist]]



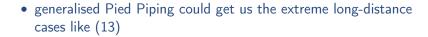




- Koster's proposal was meant to treat extraposition of RCs as a type of Pied Piping: the relative head would be part of a larger phrase in the specifier of :P:
- (16) Ik heb [\cdot_P [v_P [v
 - applying to MLG NRRCs: set union, understood as functional application, gets us the identification between the head noun and the gap in the relative clause.











- generalised Pied Piping could get us the extreme long-distance cases like (13)
- (17) O my(n)nentlike vn(de) alto ser verwunderende weerdicheit dat=[:P[NPtu]] god der vnbegrijpliker glorien nicht en heuest versmaet een snode worm to werden. [::[CP(Vn(de)) de alle dynge sunder arbeit heuest gheschapen]]

'Oh lovely and very wondrous magnificence, that you, God of incomprehensible glory, have not disdained becoming a disdainful worm. And (you) who have created all things without effort.'

(Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)







 Unclear so far: when de appears on its own at the left periphery of a relative clause, is it





- Unclear so far: when *de* appears on its own at the left periphery of a relative clause, is it
 - 1 a relative pronoun in SpecCP, (18), or is it

(18)
$$[CP \stackrel{\mathsf{de}}{=} [C' \stackrel{\mathsf{C}=\varnothing}{=} [...]]]$$





- Unclear so far: when de appears on its own at the left periphery of a relative clause, is it
 - 1 a relative pronoun in SpecCP, (18), or is it
 - 2 a relative particle in C, (19)?
- (18) $\left[CP \stackrel{\mathsf{de}}{\mathsf{e}} \left[C' \stackrel{\mathsf{C}=\varnothing}{\mathsf{g}} \left[\ldots \right] \right] \right]$
- (19) $[c_P OP = \varnothing [c' de [...]]]$











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- if *de* is actually a relative pronoun, it is maximally underspecified for relevant features:

	dat	de
Gender	neuter	_
Number	singular	_
Person	3rd	??







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- if *de* is actually a relative pronoun, it is maximally underspecified for relevant features:

	dat	de
Gender	neuter	_
Number	singular	_
Person	3rd	??

Claim:

MLG *de* is a relative pronoun which is not only underspecified for number and gender, but also for person.







with a relative pronoun (do possibly relative particle, not adverb?)





- with a relative pronoun (do possibly relative particle, not adverb?)
- (20) Do uses heren jare weren MCCCLX°, do wart en richte gheheghet to Johannes hus Kyneken un(de) dat Johan Nobeke besat, de do richter was.

when our Lord's years were 1360 there was a tribunal held at Johannes' house Kyneken and which Johan Nobeke owned who then judge was.

'In 1360 AD there was a tribunal at the house of Johannes Kyneken, which was owned by Johan Nobeke who was the judge (then?)'
(Herforder Rechtsbuch 1375; 4^{vb})





② with a relative particle (+ RP)





- 2 with a relative particle (+ RP)
- (21) ... dat wi vnse werch brengen $\stackrel{\circ}{\nu}p$ eynen ghuden ende . also dat et si dessen dren vor ghenomeden . de dar sin dryualdich in den p(er)sonen that we our works bring to a good end such that it be these.GEN three aforementioned who PRT are threefold in the persons
 - '... that we bring our works to a good end such that it be for the three aforementioned, who are threefold in persons.'

(Soester Schrae 1367; 1, 2ra)





3 with a relative particle (+ RP)





- 3 with a relative particle (+ RP)
- (22) Jn desser / wis dat ek schal vn(de) wille van deme seluen gude bek^osteghen enen prester **de de holde ene missen alle daghe** also men wente her to / ghedan heft to deme seluen altare
 - in this way that I shall and will of the same property sustain a priest who RELPART hold.SUBJN a mass all days as one until here to done has at the same altar
 - 'In this way, I shall sustain a priest with the same property, who is to hold a mass every day, as one has done up until now at the same altar.'

 (Braunschweig Urk. 1365-04-19)





4 with a relative particle in free RCs (only Eastphalian evidence)





- 4 with a relative particle in free RCs (only Eastphalian evidence)
- (23) we=de sick hyr in ertrick vorheuet de schal dort vornyddert werden who=RELPART REFL here on earth is_pretentious he will there humiliated be
 - 'Who(soever) is pretentious on earth, will be humiliated there'
 (Cronecken der sassen 1492)





(5) with the comparative particle alse





- (5) with the comparative particle alse
- [van wegen eynes huszes] alse de obg(ena)nte Jacob van luebeke dem vor(enomed)en Bernd papke(n) vokofft hadde vp passchen lest vorleden tobetale(n)de

because of a house as the above-mentioned Jacob of Lübeck the.DAT aforementioned Bernd Papken sold had on Easter last past to pay

'[because of a house], which the above-mentioned Jacob of Lübeck had sold to the aforementioned Bernd Papken, to be paid this past Easter'
(Urkunde 1500b, Lübeck 20/01/1500)





Analysis: Checking vs. Matching

(adapting from Georgi & Salzmann to appear)

Checking

Checking involves Agree between a DP with unchecked ϕ -features and a probe (T). It requires identity of features, i.e. it is only possible if the goal has the same features as the probe.

Matching

Matching involves Agree between a DP with already checked ϕ -features. It does not require identity of features, viz. it is possible if the probe has a subset of the features of the goal.

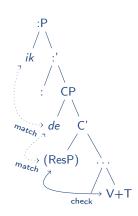






Regular cases:

Matching between HN and RP (which has no (specified) ϕ -features), matching between RP and (null) resumptive, checking between (null) resumptive and T in RC







Analysis: Agreement Patterns

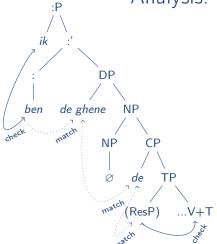
CHN:

- checking between ik/thu... and : = ben; matching between : and HN (de ghene) = pronoun in D
- RC is actually a restrictive RC on the null N complement of this
- matching between : and de ghene is possible because de ghene is also maximally underspecified re. ϕ -features
- further as before: matching between D and RP (no (specified) ϕ -features), matching between RP and (null) resumptive, checking between (null) resumptive and T in RC





Analysis: Agreement Patterns









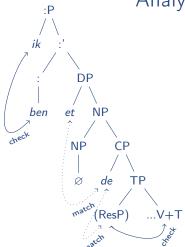
CRP:

- matching between ik/thu... and : = ben; no matching between : and (et) = pronoun in D
- RC is again a restrictive RC on the null N complement of this D
- matching between et and RP de is possible because de matches everything
- BUT: this matching passes on the 3SG-features of et, not the 1SG of ik → 3SG T in RC





Analysis: Agreement Patterns









	Head noun	[Predicate]	REL	[ResP]	VfinRel
HN	ik		de		spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:1, n: sg.]
ResP	ik		de	ik	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
CHN	ik	diegene	de		spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:1, n: sg.]
CRP	ik	et	de		sprikt
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:3, g:-, n:sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:3, n: sg.]







	Head noun	[Predicate]	REL	[ResP]	VfinRel
HN	ik		de	NULL	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
ResP	ik		de	ik	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
CHN	ik	diegene	de		spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:1, n: sg.]
CRP	ik	et	de		sprikt
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:3, g:-, n:sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:3, n: sg.]





Analysis: Agreement

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HN	ik		de	NULL	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
ResP	ik		de	ik	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
CHN	ik	diegene	de		spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:1, n: sg.]
CRP	ik	et	de		sprikt
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ResP	ik		de	ik	spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]		[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:1, n: sg.]
CHN	ik	diegene	de		spreke
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:1, n: sg.]
CRP	ik	et	de		sprikt
	[p:1, g:-, n: sg.]	[p:3, g:-, n:sg.]	[p:-, g:-, n:-]		[p:3, n: sg.]





Excursion: null subjects







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- (25) Se [...] vunden de iukfrowe schaffen in deme huseken. Vnde [pro] erschrak sere van deme seltzen gaste
 - 'They [...] found the virgin working in the little house and [she] got very frightened by the strange visitor.' (*Griseldis*, Hamburg 1502)







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 - 1 null topic in SpecCP, (25)
 - 2 null clitic (= genuine pro) in Wackernagel position, (26)
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 'They [...] found the virgin working in the little house and [she] got very frightened by the strange visitor.'

 (Griseldis, Hamburg 1502)
- (26) v(m)me vns to verlose(n) heuest [pro] willen anneme(n) vnse kranch(ei)t
 - 'in order to relieve us, [you] have wanted to take on our disease'

 (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster, 1480)











V2	(vnde) [pro] Vfin	27
V2	(vnde) topic Vfin [pro]	6
V1	(vnde) Vfin [pro]	2
VL	(vnde) Comp [pro]	12
	Totals	47









- RNS in SpecCP = most frequent type (27x), but SpecCP may be otherwise filled (27) or empty (28)
- (27) [v(m)me vns to verlose(n)] heuest [pro] willen anneme(n) vnse kranch(ei)t for us to relieve have [you] want.IPP on-take our disease 'In order to relieve us, you have wanted to take on our disease' (Dat myrren bundeken, Münster 1444)
- (28) heuet [pro] ene ane burghe ghelaten so mach hey dat selue doyn has [he] him without bailsman left so may he that self do 'If [he] has left him without bailsman, he may do it himself.'

 (Soester Schrae, Soest 1367)





• ... or in a subordinate clause (29)





- ... or in a subordinate clause (29)
- (29) Doch bidde yk di eynes dinges, effte yd scheen mach, yet ask I you one.GEN thing.GEN, if it happen may, dat [pro] de tzarten ledemate des edelen kyndes that [you] the tender limbs the.GEN precious child.GEN wult bewaren vor de wilden deerte vnde vogele will keep from the wild animals and birds

'Yet I ask one thing from you, if it may happen, that [you] shall protect the tender limbs of the precious child from the wild animals and birds.'

(Griseldis)









		SpecCP	post-C	Total
SG	1	3 (2)	2 (1)	5 (3)
	2	0	2 (0)	2 (0)
	3	15 (15)	15 (4)	30 (19)
PL	1	1 (1)	0	1 (1)
	2	0	1 (1)	1 (1)
	3	8 (6)	0	8 (6)
Total		27	20	47





• three types of subject pronouns in MLG (after Dietl 2002: 22):





• three types of subject pronouns in MLG (after Dietl 2002: 22):

		strong	weak	clitic
SG	1		ik, ek	
	2		dû	-tu
	3M	dê, di(e)	hê, hie	
	3F	dê, die, düe	sê, si(e), süe	
	3N	dat	(h)it, (h)et, (h)öt	-et
PL	1		wê, wie	
	2		gie, je, ie	
	3	dê, di(e)	sê, sie	





- (30) ofte he dencket datt=et eme ghener hande noet en do. or he thinks that=it him no way need NEG do 'or he thinks that it is not necessary for him at all' (Münster, Spieghel der leyen, 1444)
- (31) ... dat=tu den menschen wunderlike heuest gheschapen.... that=you the man wondrously have.2SG created(Münster, Dat myrren bundeken, 1480)
- (32) van nymande en werdes=tu weerdelike ghelouet dan van dy solue(n) from no one NEG will=you worthily believed than by you self 'You are not worthily believed in by anyone but yourself'

 (Münster, Dat myrren bundeken, 1480)





 as expected in a partial NSL: there are null expletives in MLG (besides overt ones); 99% of them in WP in our corpus!







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 - 'Furthermore, if [it] were (the case) that the city or any of the citizens accused our men...' (*Urkundenbuch Oldenburg*, Bl.1345a)





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- (34) Were dat sake dat Jenigman ... wulde ... were that case that anyone ... wanted ... 'If it were the case that anyone wanted ...' (*Urkundenbuch Oldenburg*, Bl.1345b)









1 MLG has null referential Wackernagel clitics (1,2,3SG)





- 1 MLG has null referential Wackernagel clitics (1,2,3SG)
- 2 MLG has null expletive Wackernagel clitics (3SG)





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- MLG has null referential Wackernagel clitics (1,2,3SG)
- MLG has null expletive Wackernagel clitics (3SG)
- **4** our single case of CRP is really also ResP agreement, but the resumptive resumes the features of the head, *et*





Old Saxon:





Old Saxon:

(35) Personal pronoun only (no relative particle/pronoun):
Huat, thu thesaro thiodo canst / menniscan sidu
what you this crowd know.2SG people.GEN customs
thu ni uuêst [the] maht godes
you NEG know the power God.GEN
'Lo, you know the customs of this people, of men, you, who does not
know the power of God!'

(Heliand 3101-3102)





Old Saxon:







Old Saxon:

(36) HN agreement, relative pronoun, no relative particle, no resumptive: Gabriel biun ik hetan, thie io for gode standu
Gabriel am I called who ever before God stand.1SG
'I am called Gabriel, who always stand(s) before God'

(Heliand 120)







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(Heliand 120)

(37) Personal pronoun and invariant relative particle *de*, but only in RRCs Ni cumat thia alla te himile **thia the hier hropat te mi** not come.3PL they alle to heaven who RELPART here call to me 'Not do they all come to heaven, they, who call to me'

(Heliand 1915-1916)





Old High German:







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• potential cases with a personal pronoun, but no relative particle, no relative pronoun (from Axel-Tober 2012:)







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- (38) thaz bin íh giloubi mír · ih hiar spríchu mit thír .
 that am I believe me I here speak with you
 'That's me, believe me, I [who] speak to you here'
 (O II 14, 80)
- (39) Heil thu quádun sie x̄pc · thu thérero liuto kúning bist hail you said they Christ you of.those people king are.2SG 'Hail you, said they, you [who] king of those people are' (O IV 22, 27)







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 - Question: position of this personal pronoun in OHG, SpecCP or SpecTP?











 Axel-Tober (2012:225): OHG and MHG cases with relative particle point to SpecCP →





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- (40) uue iu scriberin Inti pharisei | lichezera, ir=de dezemot | minzun Inti dilli ... woe to.you scribes and pharisees liars you=RELPART tithe.2PL mint and dill (Tatian 245, 10; from Axel-Tober (2012:225))
- (41) nû gêt zvo ir iuncvrovwen, **ir dâ nie mit girde gekusten** now go ahead you virgins you RELPART never with passion PERF-kissed (Trudp HL 11, 5f; from Axel-Tober (2012:225))





- Axel-Tober (2012:225): OHG and MHG cases with relative particle point to SpecCP →
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- Axel-Tober (2012:225): OHG and MHG cases with relative particle point to SpecCP →
 - $\mathbf{1} \neq \mathsf{resumptive!}$
 - 2 no prosodic break pronoun is part of RC
- (40) uue iu scriberin Inti pharisei | lichezera, ir=de dezemot | minzun Inti dilli ...

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you=RELPART tithe 2PL mint and dill
(Tation 245, 10) from Aval Tabox

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```
OS:
DP<sub>i</sub> [cP OP<sub>i</sub> [c' C [TP pronoun<sub>i</sub> ... V-i ]]]
DP<sub>i</sub> [cP RP [c' C [TP t<sub>i</sub> ... V-i ]]]
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```
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```

2 OHG (MHG): topicalised pronoun/personal pronoun as RP, \pm relative particle

```
DP_i [CP pronoun<sub>i</sub> [C' (de) [TP t<sub>i</sub> ... V-i]]]
```





- OS:
 DP_i [CP OP_i [C' C [TP pronoun_i ... V-i]]]
 DP_i [CP RP [C' C [TP t_i ... V-i]]]
- OHG (MHG): topicalised pronoun/personal pronoun as RP, ± relative particle
 DP_i [CP pronoun_i [C' (de) [TP t_i ... V-i]]]
- **3** MLG: maximally ϕ -underspecified RP de and null/overt resumptive, matching chain. Alternative: relative particle de, agreement chain via relative OP; (with specified ϕ) in SpecCP (developed from (null) topic personal pronoun)

 $\mathsf{DP}_i \ [\mathsf{CP} \ \mathsf{de} \ [\mathsf{C}' \ \varnothing \ [\mathsf{TP} \ (\mathsf{ResP})_i \ ... \ \mathsf{V-i} \]]]$ $\mathsf{DP}_i \ [\mathsf{CP} \ \mathsf{OP}_i \ [\mathsf{C}' \ \mathsf{de} \ [\mathsf{TP} \ (\mathsf{ResP})_i \ ... \ \mathsf{V-i} \]]]$









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- overt ResP / RP-agreement is a modern (High) German innovation
- 3 only apparent long distance agreement null resumptives
- 4 long distance construction (e.g., (13)): can be captured as parallel construal (Koster 2000)





Thanks for your attention!

Funded by Hercules grant AUGE13/02 A Parsed Corpus of Historical Low German

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