

Case competition in headless relatives

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Introduction

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I invite_[ACC] RP.DAT also Maria trust_[DAT]
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- (2) Ich lade ein, **wem** **auch** **Maria** **vertraut**.

I invite_[ACC] RP.DAT also Maria trust_[DAT]

‘I invite whoever Maria also trusts.’

- (3) *Ich lade ein, **wen** **auch** **Maria** **vertraut**.

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us visit_[NOM] RP.**ACC** Maria like_[ACC]

‘Who visits us, Maria likes.’

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- (5) **hòn hoi theoi philoûsin** apothnēskei néos
RP.ACC the god love_[ACC] die_[NOM] young
'He, whom the gods love, dies young.'
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- (7) **ei galaubjaip þamm -ei insandida jains**
that believe_[DAT] RP.DAT -COMP send_[ACC] he
'that you believe in him whom he sent'
(Gothic, John 6:29)

Where the winning case comes from in Modern German

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- winning case = INT case
- winning case = EXT case
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_{INT} ^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Where the winning case comes from in Old High German

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- (11) enti aer ant uurta demo **zaimo sprah**
and he reply_[DAT] RP.DAT to him speak_[NOM]
'and he replied to the one who spoke to him'
(Old High German, MONS 7:24, adapted from Pittner 1995: 199)

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[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
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- (12) *Jan lubi **komu -kolwiek dokucza.**
Jan like_[ACC] RP.DAT ever tease_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

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(12) *Jan lubi **komu -kolwiek dokucza.**

Jan like_[ACC] RP.DAT ever tease_[DAT]

‘Jan likes whoever he teases.’

(13) *Jan ufa **komu -kolwiek wpuścił do domu.**

Jan trust_[DAT] RP.DAT ever let_[ACC] to home

‘Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.’

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[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Where the winning case comes from in overview

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Table 1: Modern German pattern

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Where the winning case comes from in overview

Table 1: Modern German pattern

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
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Table 3: Old High German pattern

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
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Table 2: Polish pattern

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[NOM]	NOM	*	*
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[DAT]	*	*	DAT

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[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Table 3: Old High German pattern

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
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Table 4: unattested pattern

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	*	ACC	DAT
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INT ^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
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Table 5: Khanty 3sg pronouns (Nikolaeva 1999: 16 after Smith et al. 2019)

	3sg
NOM	luw
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- syncretism patterns (cf. Baerman, Brown, and Corbett, 2005)

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a single trigger

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NOM	luw
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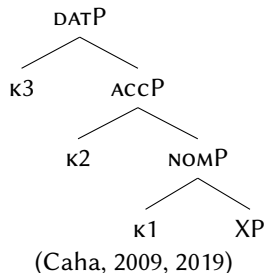
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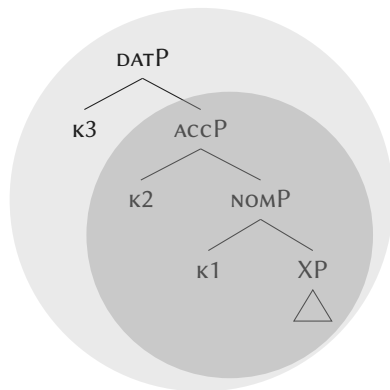
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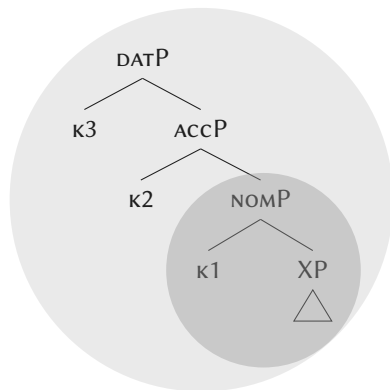


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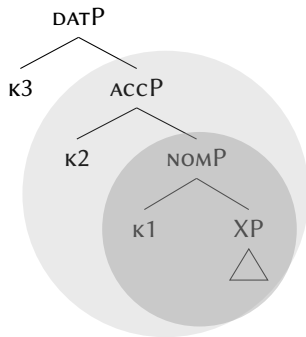


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INT ^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

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[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
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Table 6: Modern German pattern

^{EXT} _{INT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Table 8: Polish pattern

^{EXT} _{INT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
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 INT = allowed to surface

Modern German

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Polish

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 Borer-Chomsky Conjecture: the lexicon is the source of language variation

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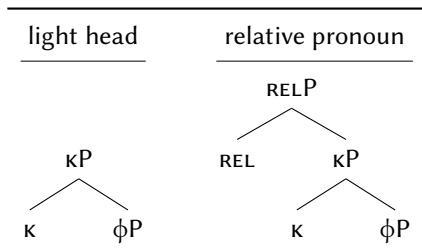
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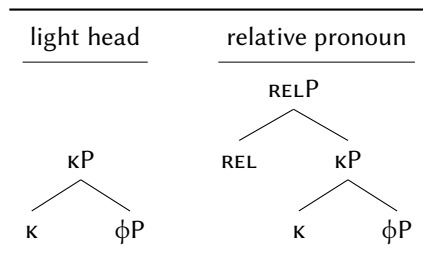
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lexical entries \rightarrow internal syntax \rightarrow containment \rightarrow deletion \rightarrow headless relative

Light head and relative pronoun in Modern German

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Table 9: Modern German LH and RP

LH	RP
n	we-m

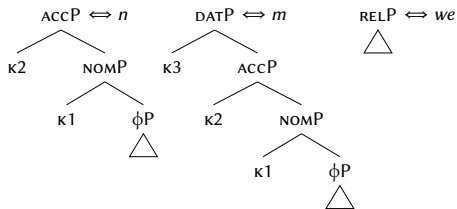
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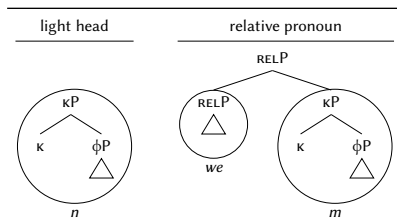
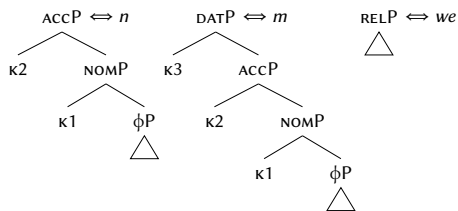
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ACC_{EXT} vs. DAT_{INT} in Modern German

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(14) Ich lade π ein, **wem auch Maria vertraut.**

I invite_[ACC] LH.ACC RP.DAT also Maria trust_[DAT]

‘I invite whoever Maria also trusts.’

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)

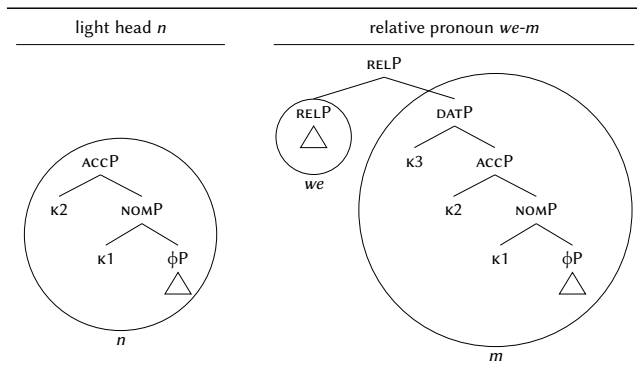
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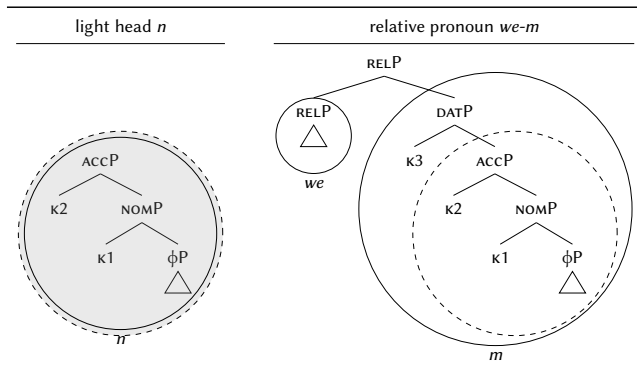
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Table 10: Polish LH and RP

LH	RP
o-go	k-o-mu

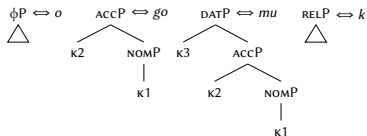
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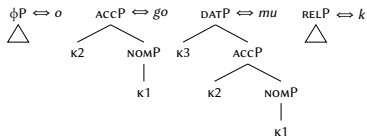
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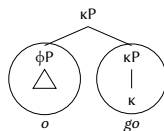
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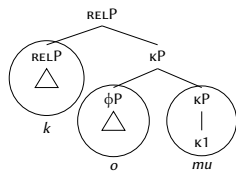
lexicon



light head

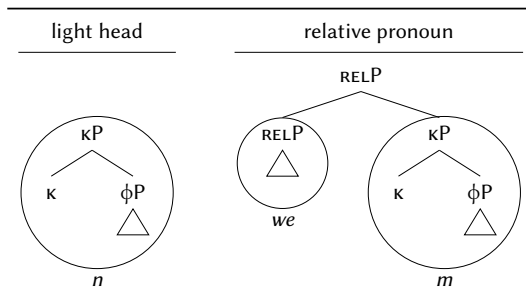
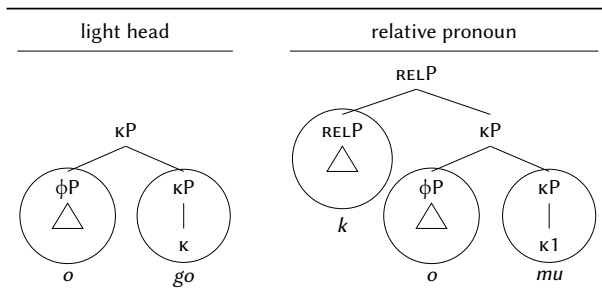


relative pronoun



Comparing Polish to Modern German

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ACC_{EXT} vs. DAT_{INT} in Polish

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(15) *Jan lubi $\text{\textit{\textbf{og\theta}}}$ **komu -kolwiek dokucza.**

Jan like_[ACC] LH.ACC RP.DAT ever tease_[DAT]

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(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

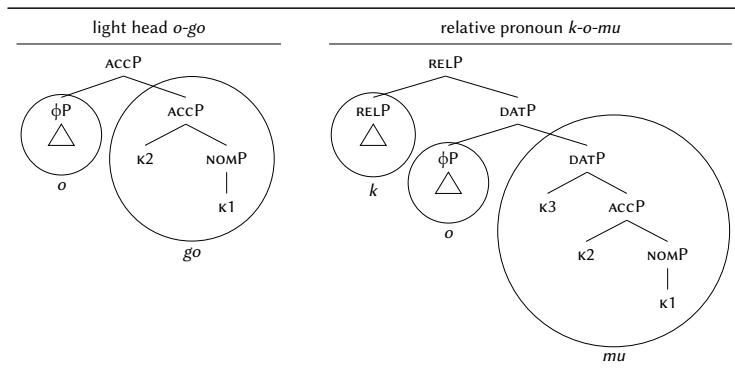
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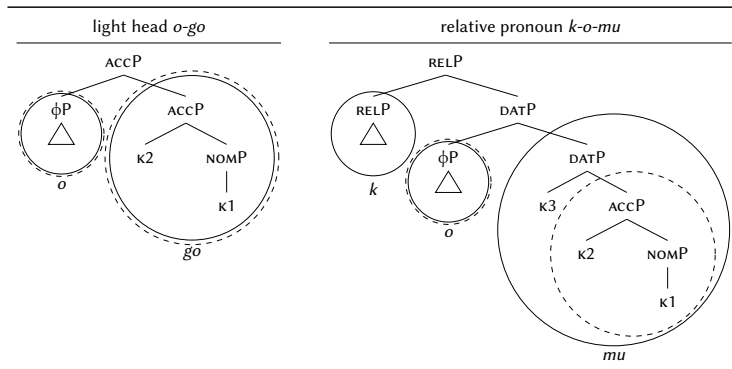
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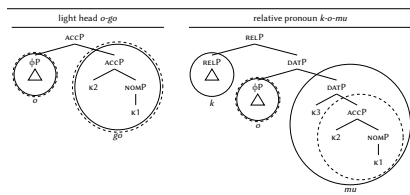
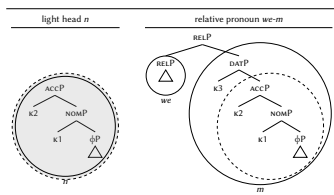
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Polish	no	separate morphemes

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INT is allowed to surface =
 $\phi + \kappa$ portmanteau =
RP contains LH as a single constituent

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