Case competition in headless relatives

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Topic

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(1) Ich lade ein, wem auch Maria vertraut.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ REL.AN.DAT also Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

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(2) Ich lade die Person ein, **dem Maria vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ the person REL.AN.DAT Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$
'I invite the person that Maria trusts.'

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(1) Ich lade ein, **wem** **auch** **Maria** **vertraut**.
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'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(2) *Ich lade ein, wen **auch** **Maria** **vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG[ACC] REL.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG[DAT]
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

Two aspects

Two aspects

- the winner of the competition

Two aspects

- the winner of the competition
- whether the winner gets approved

Two aspects

- the winner of the competition $\longrightarrow$ is stable across languages
- whether the winner gets approved $\longrightarrow$ differs across languages

Two aspects

- the winner of the competition → is stable across languages
- whether the winner gets approved → differs across languages

1. show the generalizations

Two aspects

- the winner of the competition → is stable across languages
- whether the winner gets approved → differs across languages

1. show the generalizations
2. derive the generalizations

The winner of the competition — German

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(3) Ich lade ein, **wem auch Maria vertraut**.
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'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(4) Uns besucht, **wen Maria mag**.
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG[NOM] REL.AN.ACC Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG[ACC]
'Who visits us, Maria likes.'

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NOM < ACC < DAT

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The winner of the competition — other languages

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(6) **hòn** **hoi theoì** **philoũsin** apothnḗskei néos
RP.SG.M.ACC the god.PL love.3PL[ACC] die.3SG[NOM] young
'He, whom the gods love, dies young.'
(Classical Greek, Menander, The Double Deceiver 125)

The winner of the competition — other languages

NOM < ACC < DAT

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'He, whom the gods love, dies young.'
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(7) **themo** **min uuirdit** **forlazan**, min minnot
RP.SG.M.DAT less become.PRES.3SG read.INF[DAT] less love.PRES.3SG[NOM]
'whom less is read, loves less' (Old High German, Tatian 138:13)

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(8) ei galaubjaiþ þamm **-ei** **insandida**
that believe.OPT.PRES.2PL[DAT] REL.SG.M.DAT -COMP send.PRET.3SG[ACC]
jains
DEM.SG.M.NOM
'that you believe in him whom he sent' (Gothic, John 6:29)

Whether the winner gets approved — German

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internal vs. external case

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the internal case (INT) gets approved when it wins the case competition

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the internal case (INT) gets approved when it wins the case competition, the external case (EXT) does not

Whether the winner gets approved — German schema

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — Old High German

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(12) **themo** **min uuirdit** **forlazan**, min minnot
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Whether the winner gets approved — Old High German

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'whom less is read, loves less' (Old High German, Tatian 138:13)

(13) enti aer ant uurta demo **zaimo**
and 3SG.M.NOM reply.PST.3SG$_{[DAT]}$ RP.SG.M.DAT to 3SG.M.DAT
sprah
speak.PST.3SG$_{[NOM]}$
'and he replied to the one who spoke to him'
(Old High German, MONS 7:24, adapted from Pittner 1995: 199)

Whether the winner gets approved — Old High German

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INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — Polish

Whether the winner gets approved — Polish

(14) *Jan lubi **komu -kolkwiek dokucza**.
Jan like.3SG[ACC] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever tease.3SG[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

Whether the winner gets approved — Polish

(14) *Jan lubi **komu -kolkwiek dokucza**.
Jan like.3SG[ACC] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever tease.3SG[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

(15) *Jan ufa komu **-kolkwiek wpuścił do domu**.
Jan trust.3SG[DAT] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever let.3SG[ACC] to home
'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'

Whether the winner gets approved — Polish

(14) *Jan lubi **komu -kolkwiek dokucza**.
Jan like.3SG[ACC] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever tease.3SG[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

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Jan trust.3SG[DAT] REL.DAT.AN.SG ever let.3SG[ACC] to home
'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — overview

Whether the winner gets approved — overview

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — overview

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — overview

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	*	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Whether the winner gets approved — overview

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Two generalizations

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition → is stable across languages

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition → is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition → is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT
- Whether the winner gets approved → differs across languages

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition ⟶ is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT
- Whether the winner gets approved ⟶ differs across languages
  INT/EXT approved

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition → is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT
- Whether the winner gets approved → differs across languages
  INT/EXT approved
  - INT approved
  - INT + EXT approved
  - none approved

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition ⟶ is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT
- Whether the winner gets approved ⟶ differs across languages
  INT/EXT approved
  - INT approved
  - INT + EXT approved
  - none approved

1. show the generalizations

Two generalizations

- The winner of the case competition ⟶ is stable across languages
  NOM < ACC < DAT
- Whether the winner gets approved ⟶ differs across languages
  INT/EXT approved
  - INT approved
  - INT + EXT approved
  - none approved

1. show the generalizations
2. derive the generalizations

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

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	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	
DAT	

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na

- syncretism patterns (ref)

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na

- syncretism patterns (ref)
- agreement (ref)

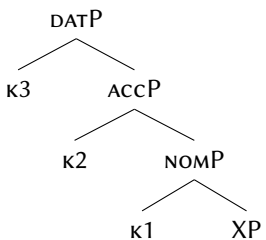
Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na

- syncretism patterns (ref)
- agreement (ref)
- relativization (ref)

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na



- syncretism patterns (ref)
- agreement (ref)
- relativization (ref)

Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	3SG
NOM	luw
ACC	luw-**e:l**
DAT	luw-**e:l**-na

- syncretism patterns (ref)
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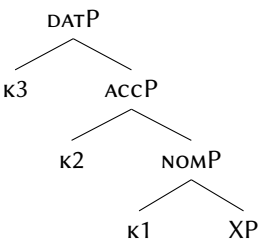
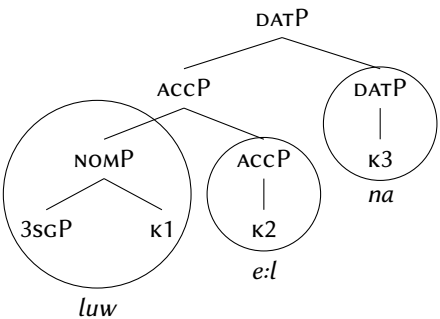
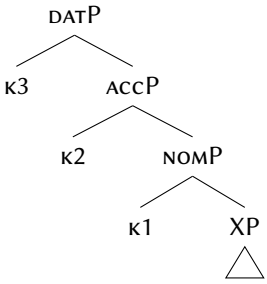




The winning case contains the losing case



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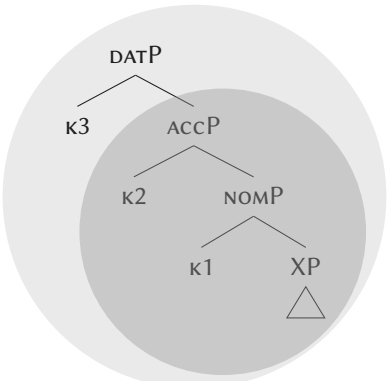

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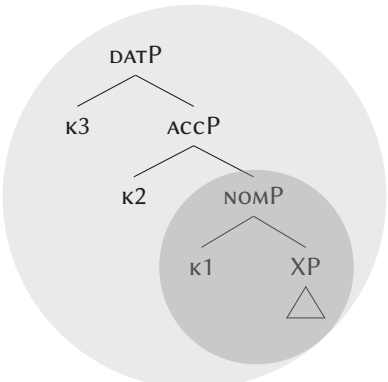

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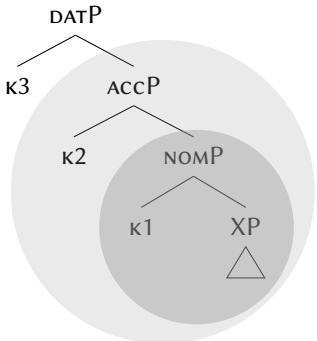

Generalization 2: INT/EXT approved

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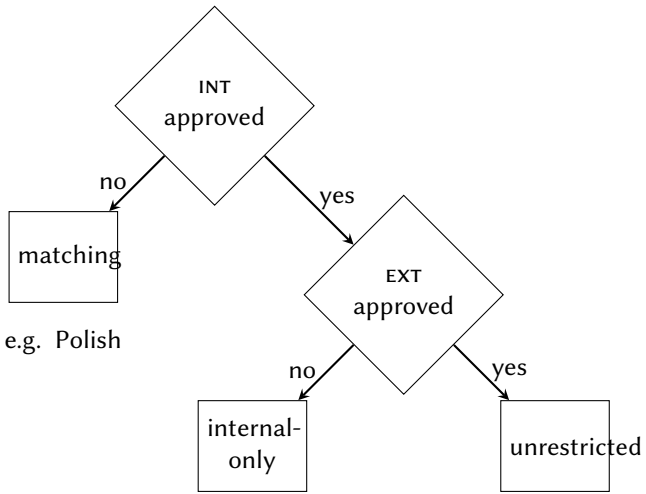
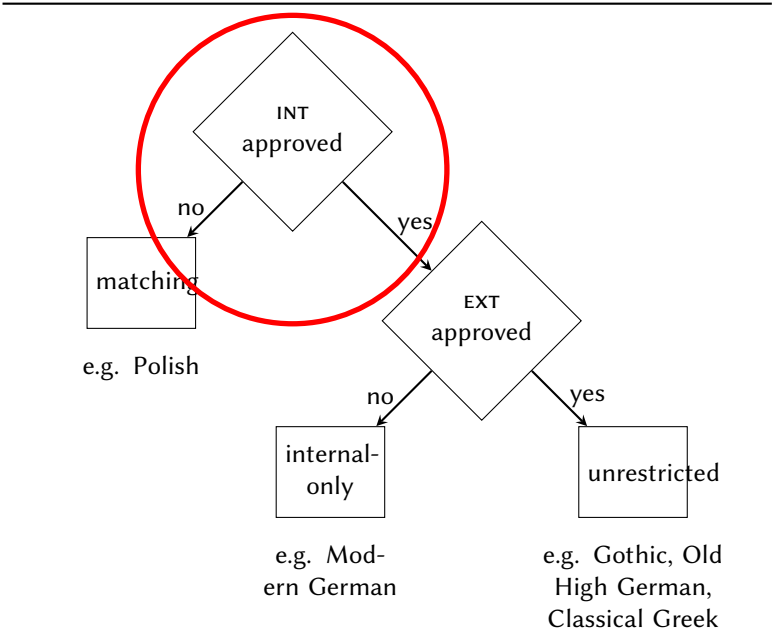


Generalization 2: INT/EXT approved



Borer-Chomsky Conjecture

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

Assumptions

Assumptions

- headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives

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  light head_{EXT} [relative $\text{pronoun}_{\text{INT}}$ ...]

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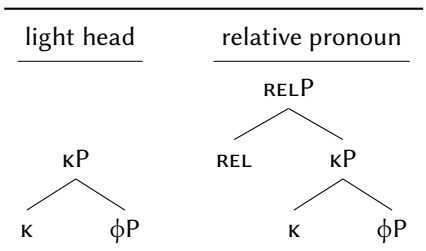
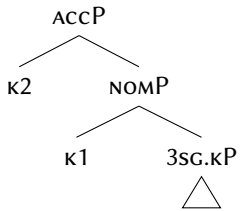
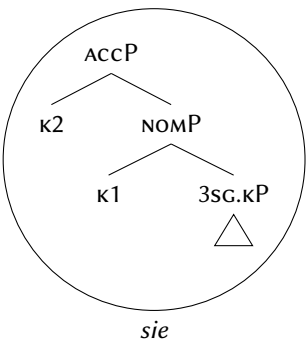


Different lexical entries





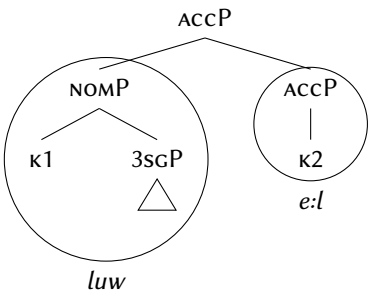


Table 1: Different language types in different situations

language type	situation	surface element
internal-only	$K_{INT} = K_{EXT}$	$RP_{INT/EXT}$
	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	RP_{INT}
	$K_{INT} < K_{EXT}$	*
matching	$K_{INT} = K_{EXT}$	$RP_{INT/EXT}$
	$K_{INT} > K_{EXT}$	*
	$K_{INT} < K_{EXT}$	*

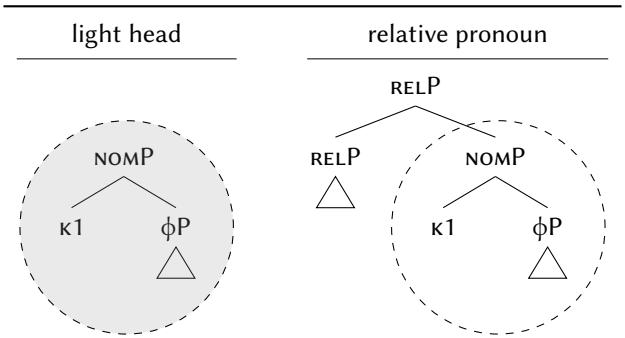


Figure 1: EXT_{NOM} vs. INT_{NOM} in the internal-only type

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