

# Case competition in headless relatives

Fenna Bergsma

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

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- (2) Ich lade die Person ein, **der Maria vertraut.**  
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> the person REL.SG.F.DAT Maria.NOM  
trust.PRES.3SG<sub>[DAT]</sub>  
'I invite the person that Maria trusts.'

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## Two generalizations

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- illustrate the generalizations
  - derive the generalizations

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

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<small>INT</small> <small>EXT</small>	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT



# Whether the winner gets approved in Old High German

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- (12) **themo**      **min uuirdit**                      **forlazan,**    min minnot  
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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)

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

# Whether the winner gets approved in Polish

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

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

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INT <sup>EXT</sup>	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT



# Whether the winner gets approved in overview

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$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

# Whether the winner gets approved in overview

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

# Whether the winner gets approved in overview

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

# Whether the winner gets approved in overview

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	*	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

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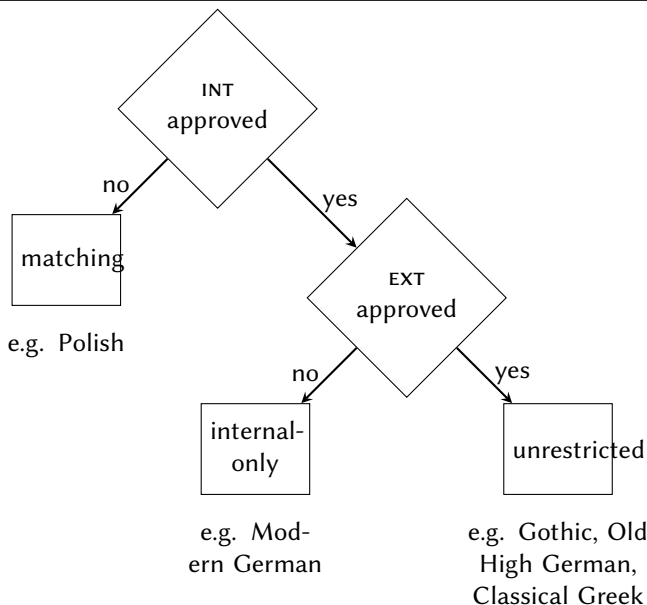
$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	DAT
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	DAT
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

# Whether the winner gets approved in flowchart

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NOM < ACC < DAT

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---

	3sg
NOM	luw
ACC	
DAT	

---

## NOM < ACC < DAT

<hr/>	
3sg	
<hr/>	
NOM	luw
ACC	luw- <b>e:l</b>
DAT	
<hr/>	

## NOM < ACC < DAT

---

	3sg
NOM	luw
ACC	luw- <b>e:l</b>
DAT	luw- <b>e:l-na</b>

---

## NOM < ACC < DAT

	3sg
NOM	luw
ACC	luw- <b>e:l</b>
DAT	luw- <b>e:l-na</b>

- syncretism patterns (ref)

## NOM < ACC < DAT

	3sg
NOM	luw
ACC	luw- <b>e:l</b>
DAT	luw- <b>e:l-na</b>

- syncretism patterns (ref)
- agreement (ref)



## NOM < ACC < DAT

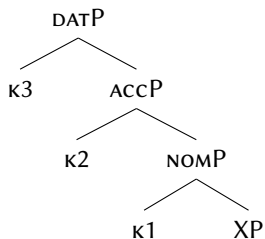
	3sg
NOM	luw
ACC	luw- <b>e:l</b>
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- syncretism patterns (ref)
- agreement (ref)
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## NOM < ACC < DAT

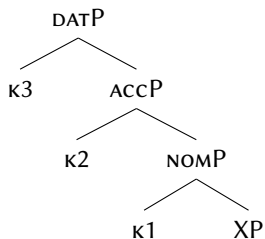
3sg	
NOM	luw
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- syncretism patterns (ref)
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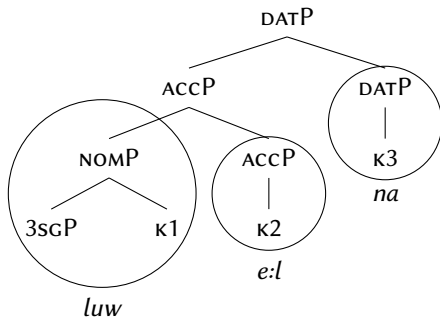


# NOM < ACC < DAT

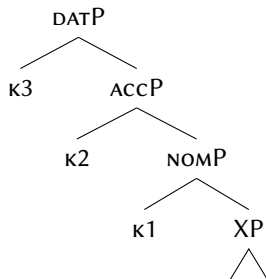
	3sg
NOM	luw
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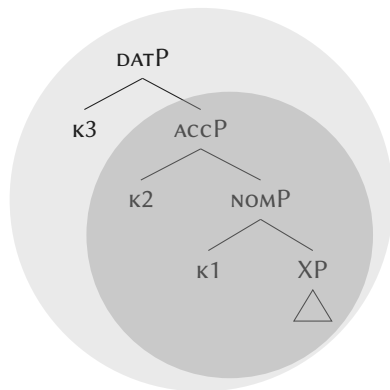
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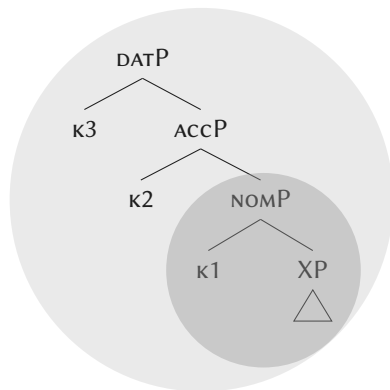
## The winning case contains the losing case



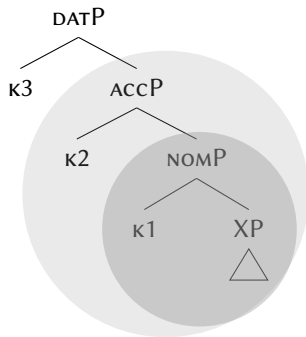
## The winning case contains the losing case



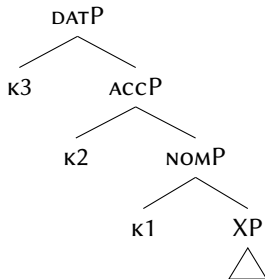
# The winning case contains the losing case



# The winning case contains the losing case



## The winning case contains the losing case

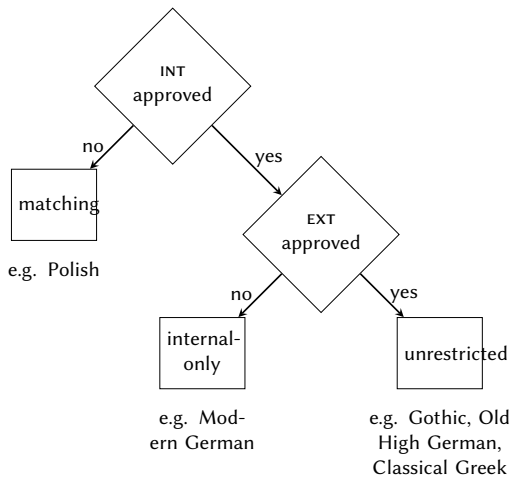


Properties of morphology show reflexes in syntax

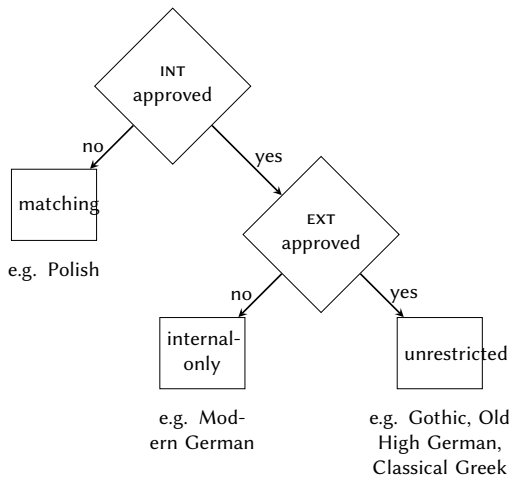


INT/EXT approved

## INT/EXT approved

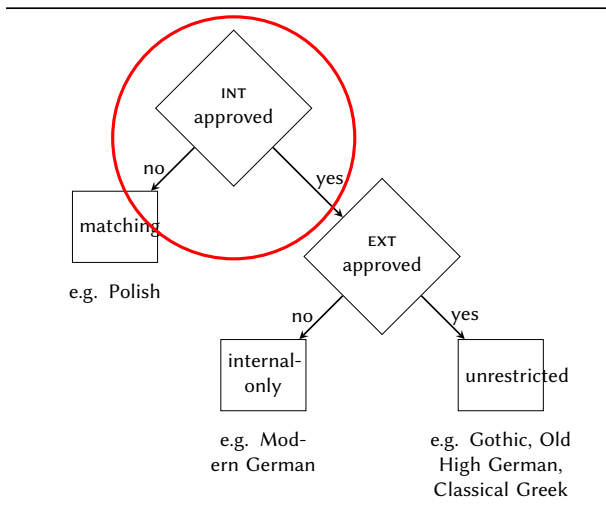


## INT/EXT approved



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

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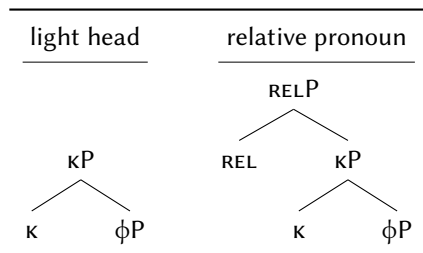


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- headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives, headed by a special type of light head  
light head<sub>EXT</sub> [relative pronoun<sub>INT</sub> ... ]
- deletion takes place when the relative pronoun contains the light head as a single constituent
- the relative pronoun contains the features of the light head plus an additional one



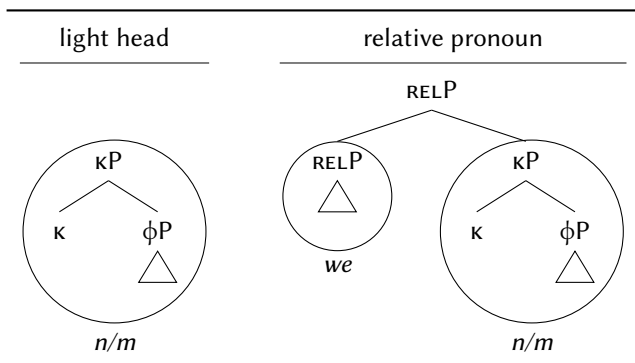
# The pattern in German

# The pattern in German

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

# Light head and relative pronoun in German

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EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> → *wen* in German

## EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> → *wen* in German

- (16) Ich lade  $\bar{n}$  ein, **wen** auch **Maria**  
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> LH.AN.ACC RP.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM  
**mag.**  
like.PRES.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub>  
'I invite who Maria also likes.'

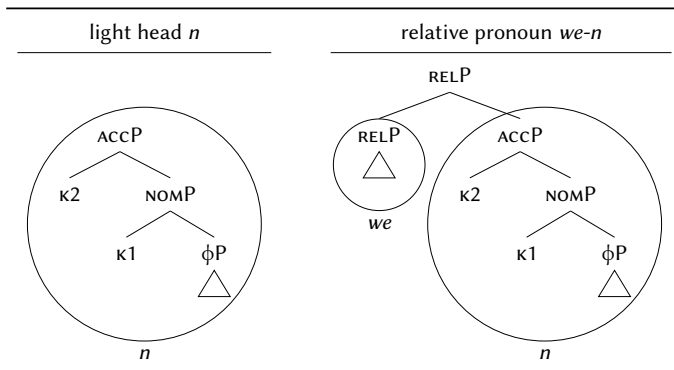
(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)



# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> → *wen* in German

- (16) Ich lade  $\pi$  ein, **wen** auch Maria  
 1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> LH.AN.ACC RP.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM  
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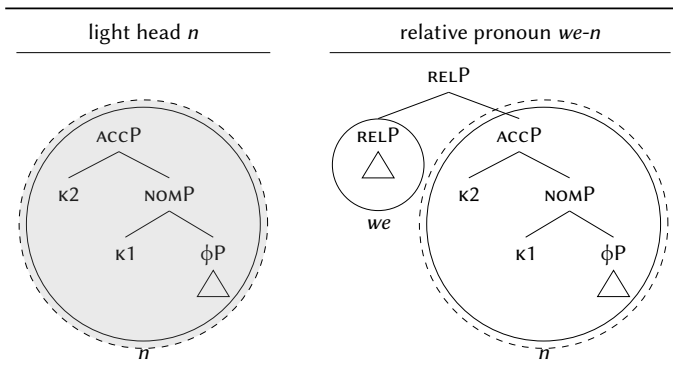
(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)



# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> → *wen* in German

- (16) Ich lade  $\pi$  ein, **wen** auch Maria mag.  
 1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> LH.AN.ACC RP.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM  
 like.PRES.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub>  
 'I invite who Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)



EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub>  $\nrightarrow$  *m/wen*

## EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> $\nrightarrow$ *m/wen*

- (17) \*Ich vertraue ~~m~~, **wen** auch Maria  
1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG<sub>[DAT]</sub> LH.AN.DAT RP.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM  
**mag**.  
like.PRES.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub>

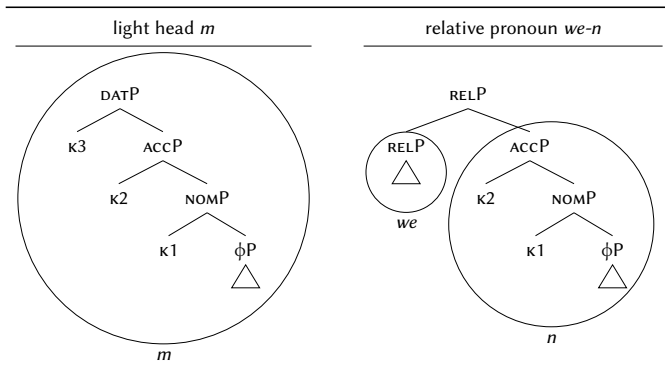
‘I trust whoever Maria also likes.’

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 345)

# EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> $\rightarrow$ *m/wen*

- (17) \*Ich vertraue **m**, **wen** auch Maria  
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 'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

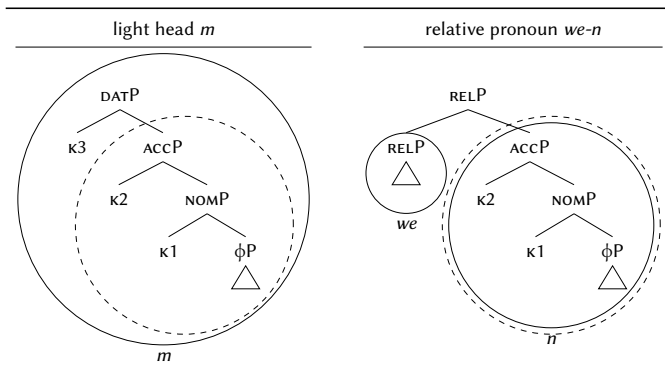
(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 345)



# EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> $\rightarrow$ *m/wen*

- (17) \*Ich vertraue **m**, **wen** auch Maria  
 1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG<sub>[DAT]</sub> LH.AN.DAT RP.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM  
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EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> → *wem* in German

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(18) Ich lade  $\pi$  ein, **wem** auch Maria  
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> LH.AN.DAT RP.AN.DAT also Maria.NOM  
**vertraut.**

trust.PRES.3SG<sub>[DAT]</sub>

‘I invite whoever Maria also trusts.’

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)



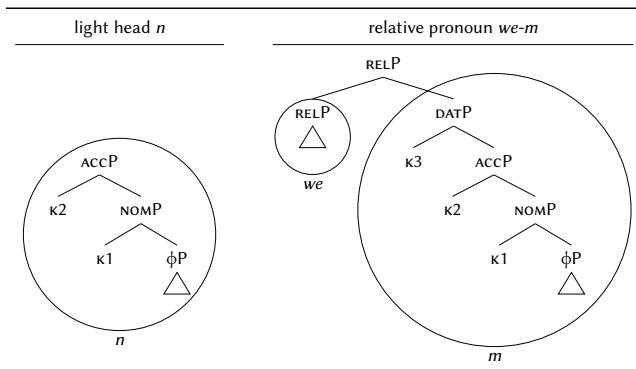
# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> → *wem* in German

- (18) Ich lade  $\pi$  ein, **wem** auch Maria vertraut.  
 1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> LH.AN.DAT RP.AN.DAT also Maria.NOM  
**vertraut.**

trust.PRES.3SG<sub>[DAT]</sub>

'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, adapted from Vogel 2001: 344)



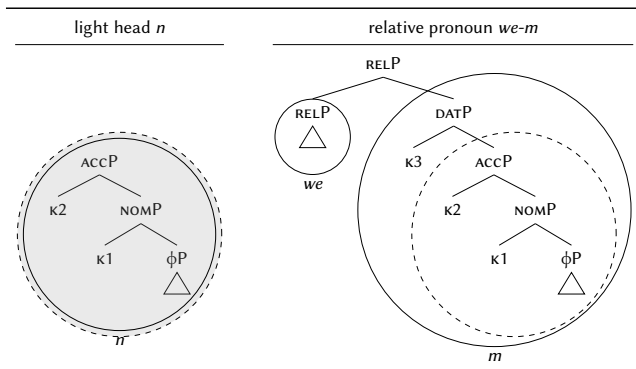
# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> → *wem* in German

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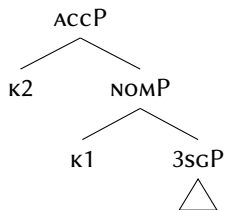
# Differences in the lexicon

# Differences in the lexicon

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

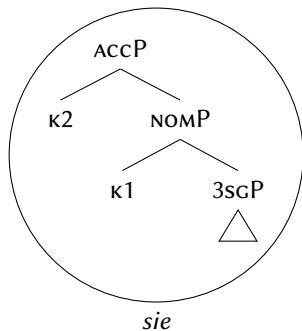
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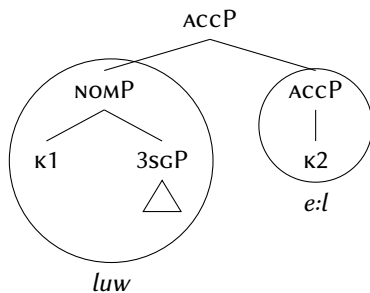
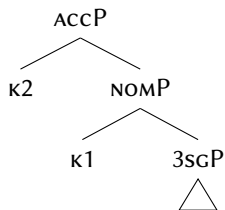
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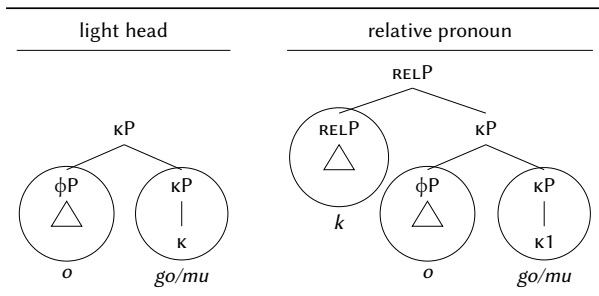
# The pattern in Polish

$\text{INT}^{\text{EXT}}$	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

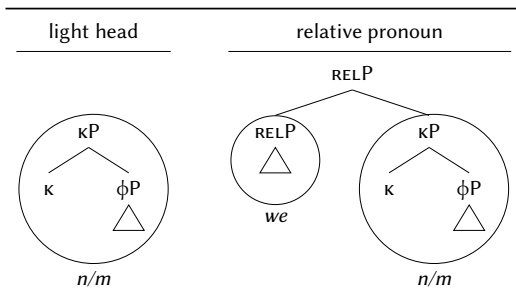
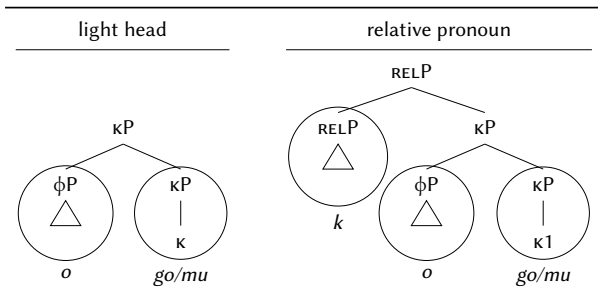


# Light head and relative pronoun in Polish

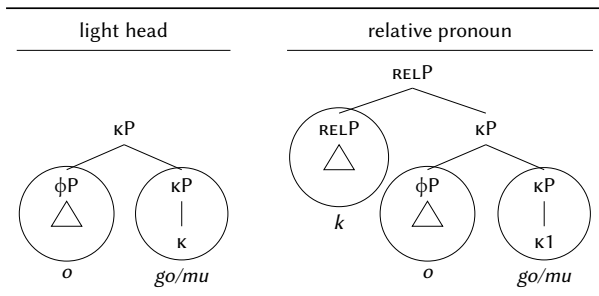
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EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> → *kogo* in Polish

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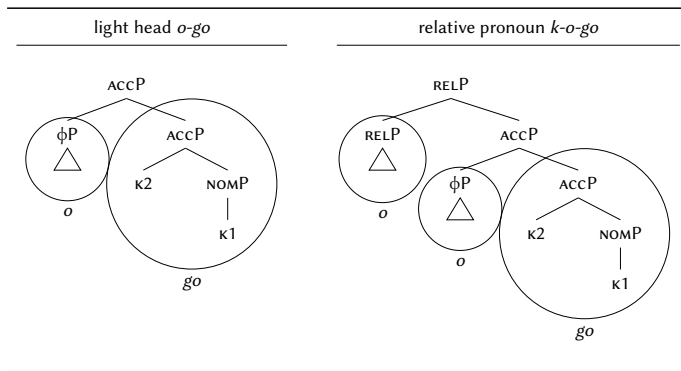
- (19) Jan lubi [ogo] **kogo** -kolkwiek Maria lubi.  
Jan like.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> ELH.ACC.AN.SG RP.ACC.AN ever Maria like.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub>  
'Jan likes whoever Maria likes.'

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

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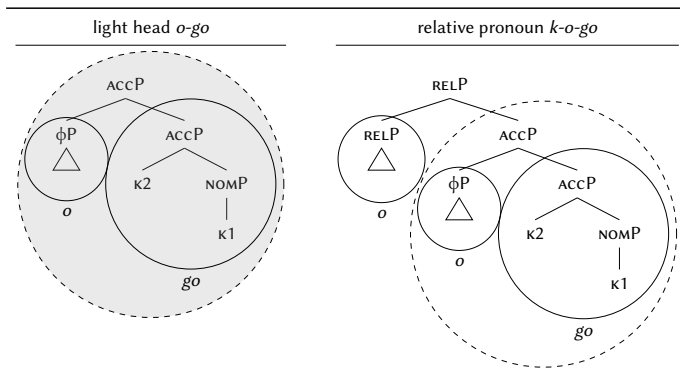
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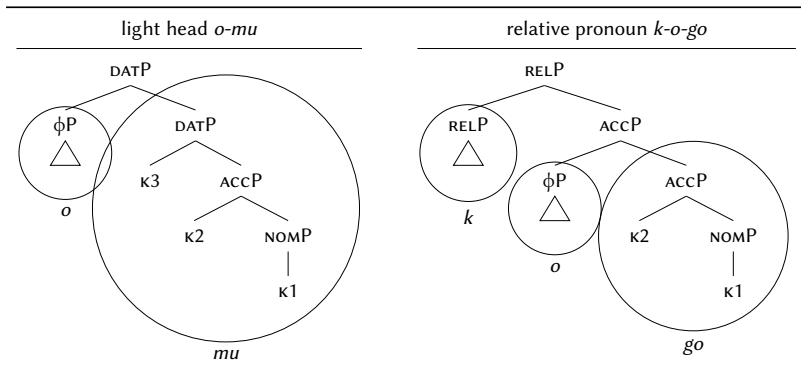
EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub>  $\nrightarrow$  *omu/kogo* in Polish

## EXT<sub>DAT</sub> VS. INT<sub>ACC</sub> $\rightarrow$ *omu/kogo* in Polish

- (20) \*Jan ufa                      *omu*                      **kogo**                      **-kolwiek wpuścił do domu.**  
Jan trust.3SG<sub>[DAT]</sub> ELH.DAT.AN RP.ACC.AN ever                      let.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> to home  
'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'  
(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

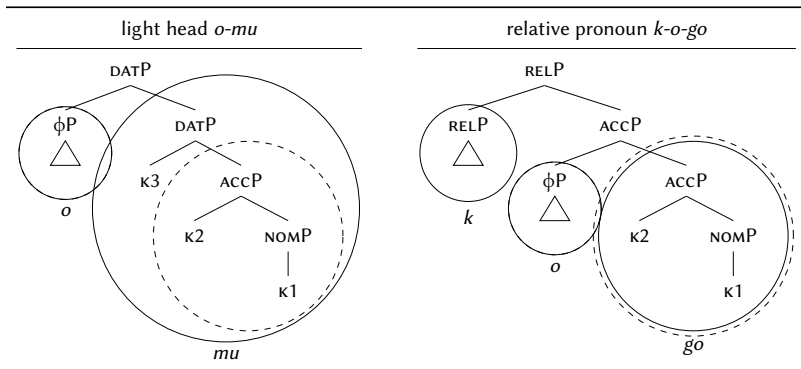
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EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub>  $\nrightarrow$  *ogo/komu*

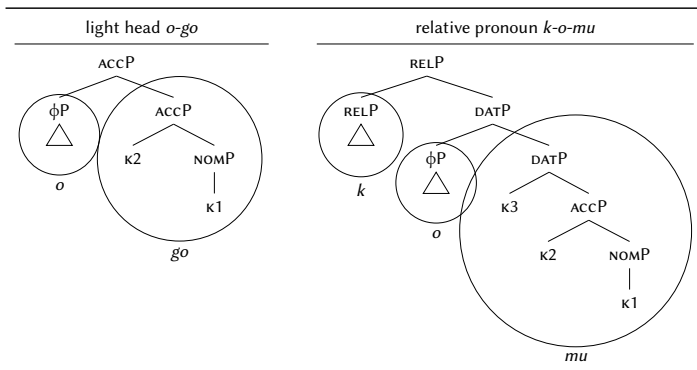
## EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> $\rightarrow$ *ogo/komu*

- (21) \*Jan lubi                    **ogo**                    **komu**                    **-kolkwiek dokucza.**  
Jan like.3SG<sub>[ACC]</sub> ELH.ACC.AN RP.DAT.AN.SG ever                    tease.3SG<sub>[DAT]</sub>  
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'  
(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)

# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> $\rightarrow$ *ogo/komu*

- (21) \*Jan lubi **ogo** **komu** **-kolkwiek dokucz**.  
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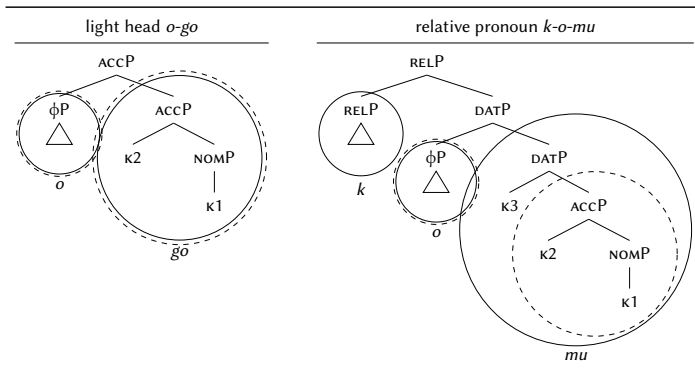
(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)



# EXT<sub>ACC</sub> VS. INT<sub>DAT</sub> $\rightarrow$ *ogo/komu*

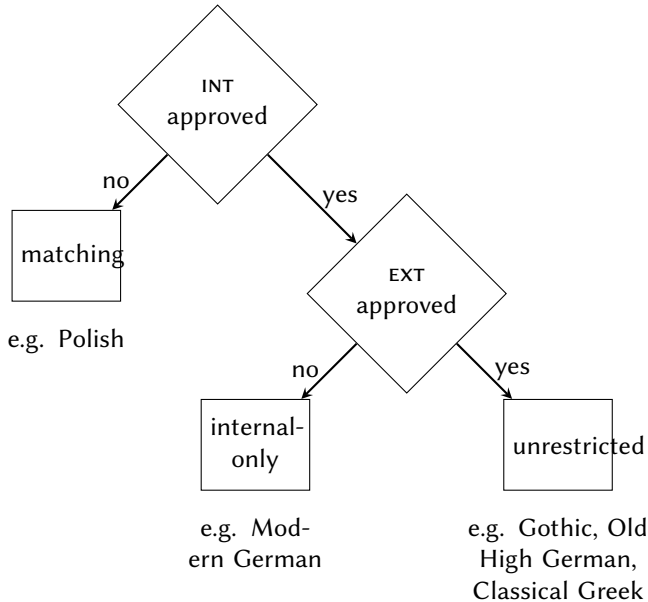
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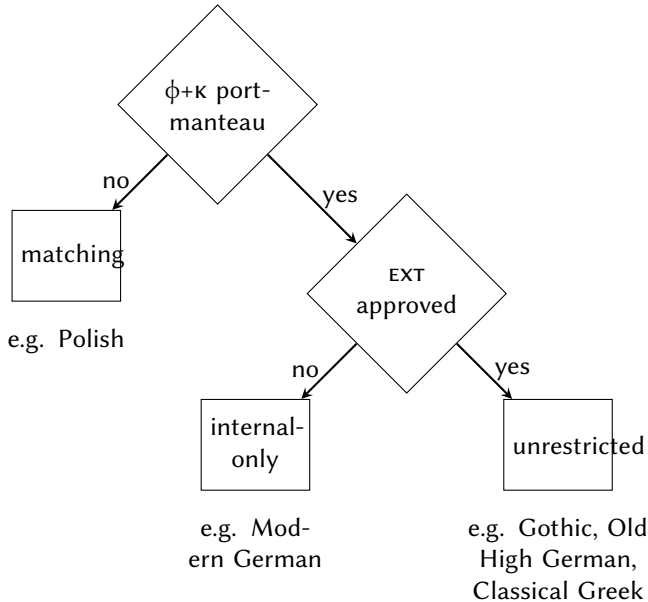
(Polish, adapted from Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017: 17)











# Again

Properties of morphology show reflexes in syntax

# Conclusion

# References

- Citko, Barbara (2013). “Size matters: Multidominance and DP structure in Polish”. In: *Talk at the 34th Poznan Linguistic Meeting*.
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