Case competition in headless relatives

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DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

Topic

Topic

(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, **der Maria vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ the person REL.SG.F.DAT Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$
'I invite the person that Maria trusts.'

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Two generalizations

Two generalizations

1. the winner of the competition

Two generalizations

1. the winner of the competition
2. whether the winner gets approved

Two generalizations

1. the winner of the competition $\longrightarrow$ is stable across languages
2. whether the winner gets approved $\longrightarrow$ differs across languages

Two generalizations

1. the winner of the competition $\longrightarrow$ is stable across languages
2. whether the winner gets approved $\longrightarrow$ differs across languages

- show the generalizations

Two generalizations

1. the winner of the competition $\longrightarrow$ is stable across languages
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- show the generalizations
- derive the generalizations

Gen 1: the winner of the competition (German data, Vogel 2001)

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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

(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)

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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 (Vogel 2001)

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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

Gen 2: whether the winner gets approved (German schema)

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

Gen 2: whether the winner gets approved (Old High German)

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

Gen 2: whether the winner gets approved (Polish)

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

Gen 2: 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.'

Gen 2: whether the winner gets approved (Polish)

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Jan like.3SG$_{[ACC]}$ REL.DAT.AN.SG ever tease.3SG$_{[DAT]}$
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INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[ACC]	*	ACC	*
[DAT]	*	*	DAT

Gen 2: whether the winner gets approved (overview)

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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

Gen 2: 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

Gen 2: 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

Gen 2: 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 $\longrightarrow$ 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

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- 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)

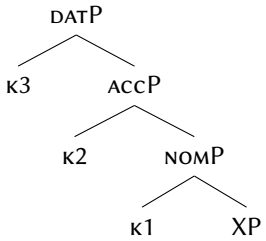
Generalization 1: NOM < ACC < DAT

	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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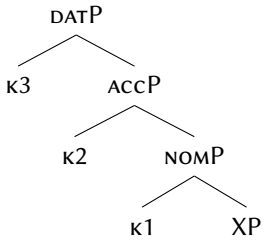
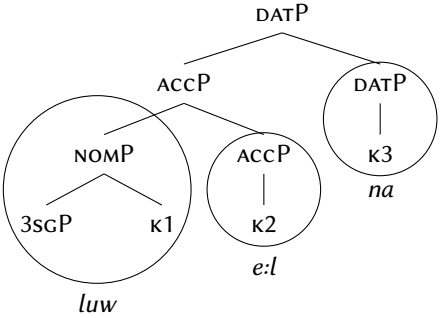
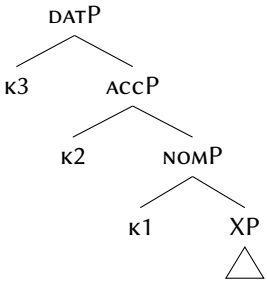




The winning case contains the losing case



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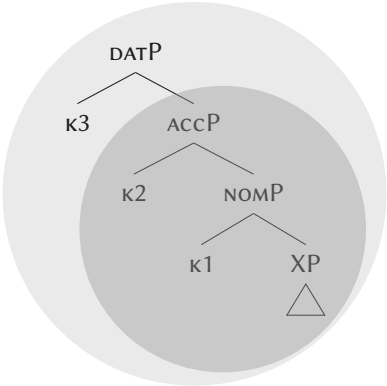

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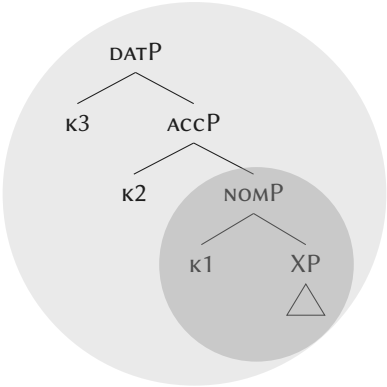

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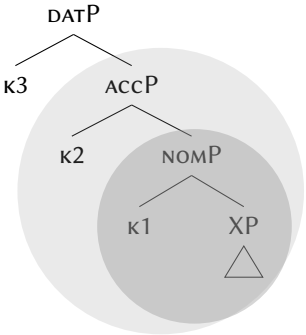

Morphology and syntax

Properties of morphology show reflexes in syntax

Generalization 2: INT/EXT approved

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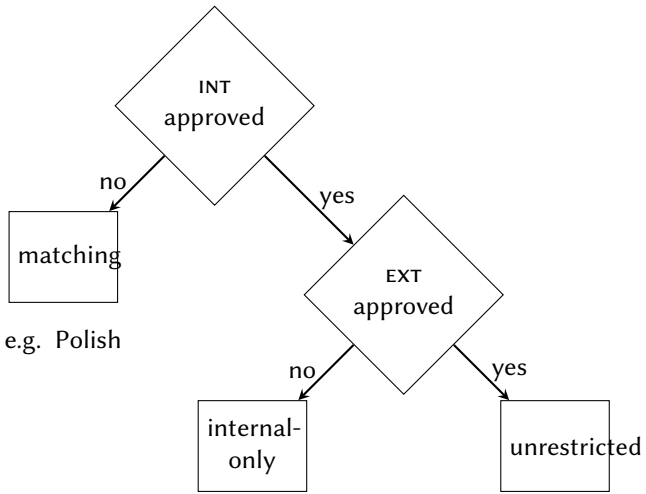
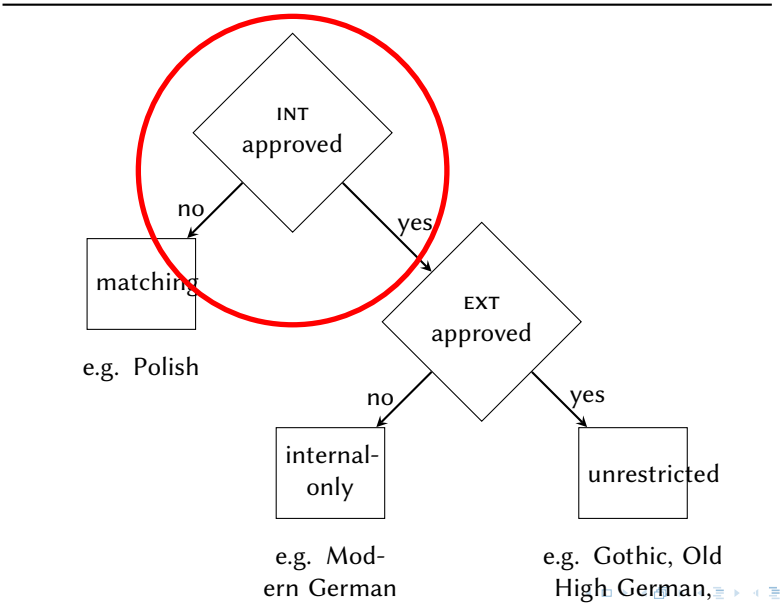


Generalization 2: INT/EXT approved



Borer-Chomsky Conjecture

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

Assumptions

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- headless relatives are derived from light-headed relatives

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

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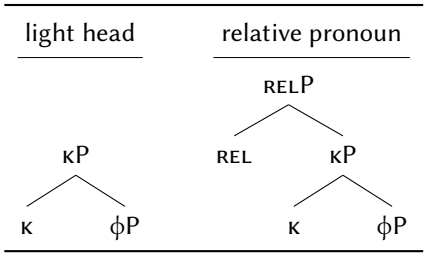

The pattern in German

The pattern in German

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

Light head and relative pronoun in German

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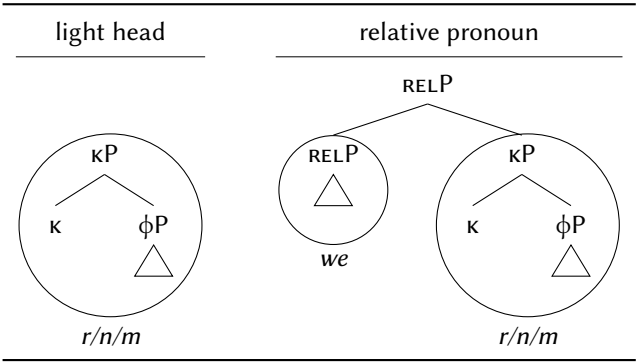
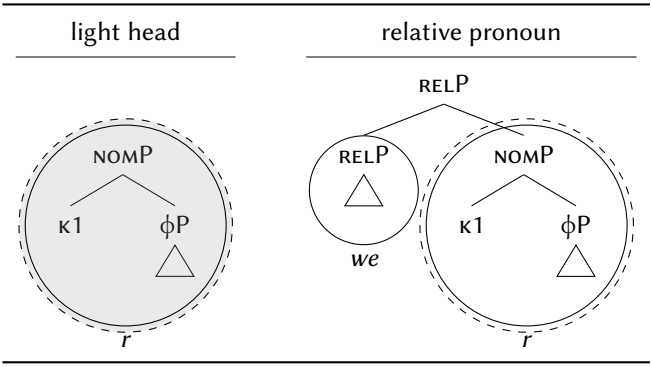
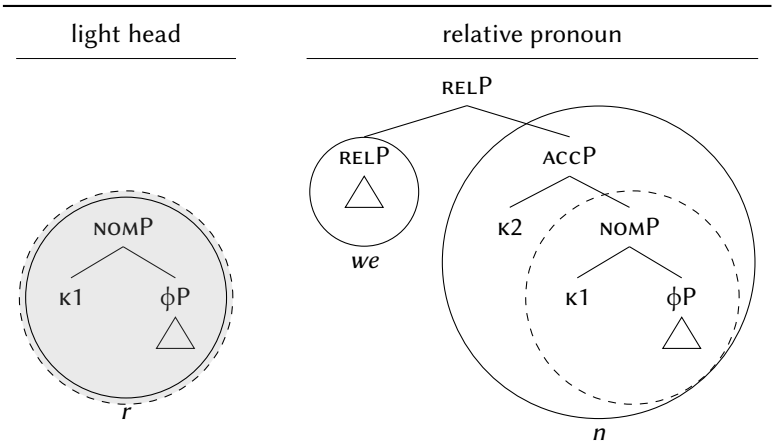


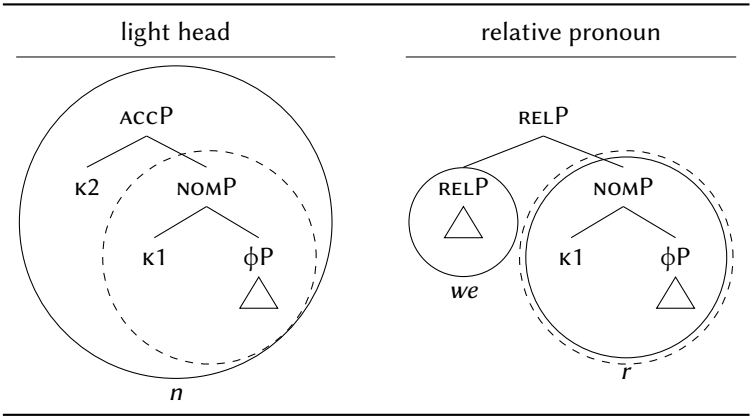
Light head$_{NOM}$ and relative pronoun$_{NOM}$ in German



Ligt head$_{NOM}$ and relative pronoun$_{ACC}$ in German



Light head$_{ACC}$ vs. relative pronoun$_{NOM}$ in German

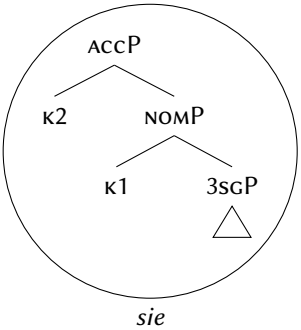


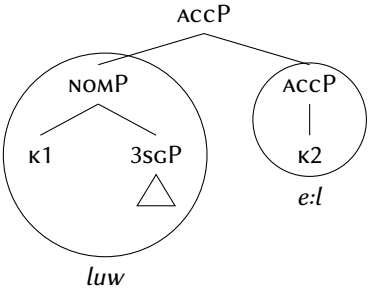
Differences in the lexicon

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

Differences in the lexicon

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

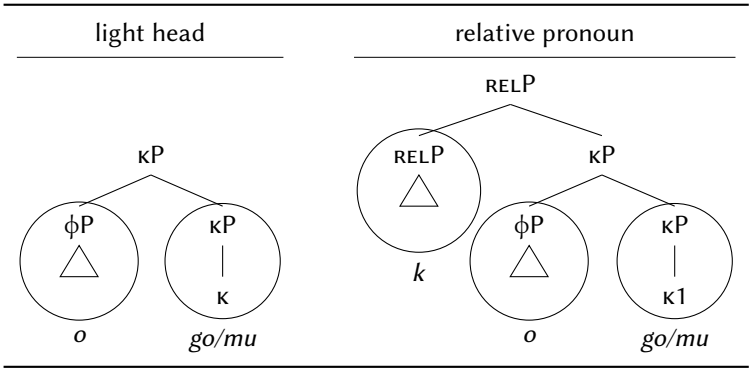




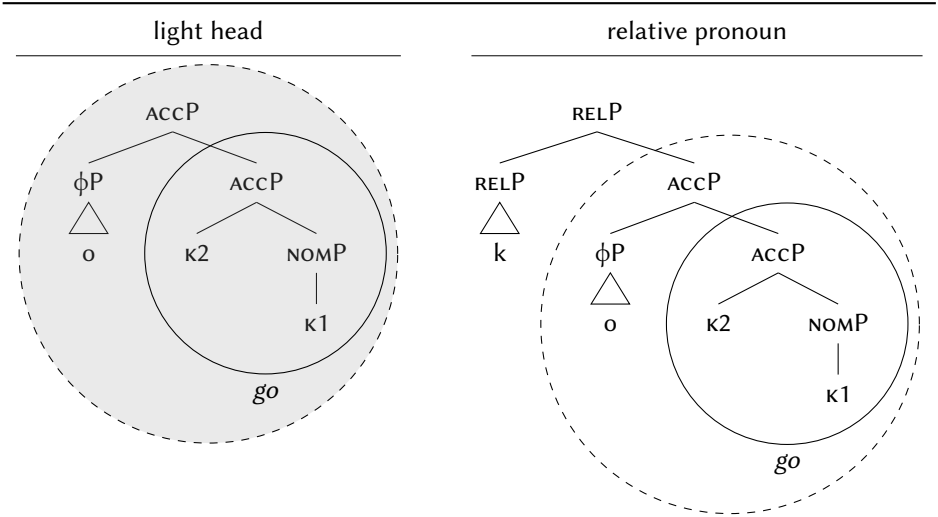
The pattern in Polish

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

Light head and relative pronoun in Polish

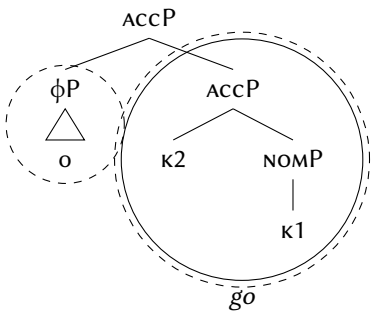


Light head$_{ACC}$ vs. relative pronoun$_{ACC}$ in Polish

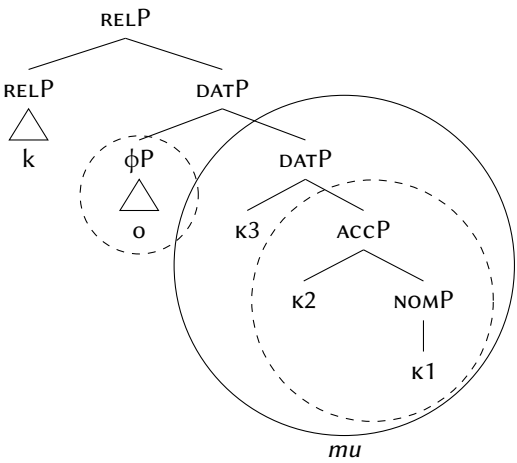


Light head$_{ACC}$ vs. relative pronoun$_{DAT}$ in Polish

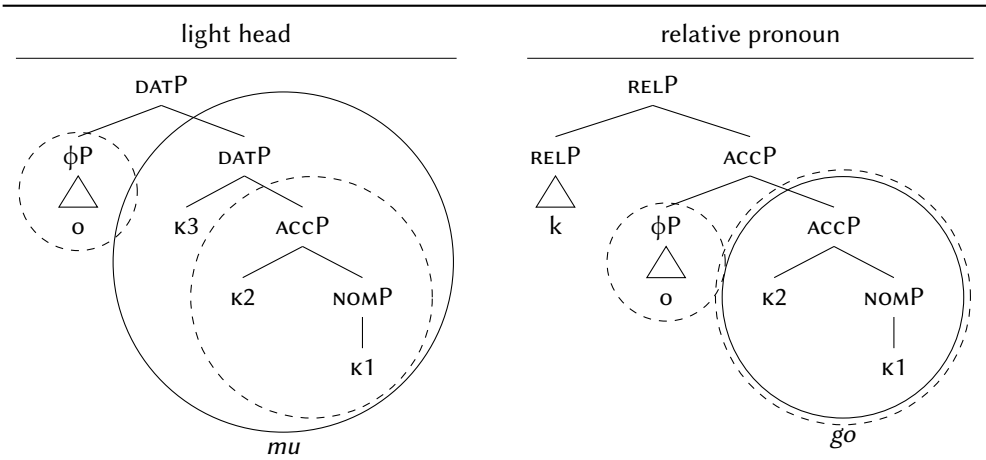
light head

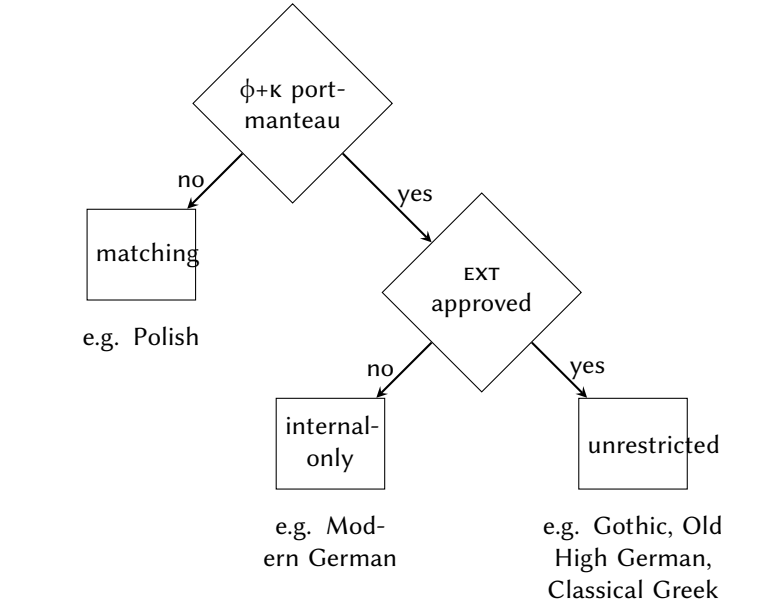


relative pronoun



Light head$_{DAT}$ vs. relative pronoun$_{ACC}$ in Polish




ϕ+κ port-
manteau
no
yes
matching
e.g. Polish
EXT
approved
no
yes
internal-
only
unrestricted
e.g. Mod-
ern German
e.g. Gothic, Old
High German,
Classical Greek

Again

Properties of morphology show reflexes in syntax

Conclusion

References

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