Case competition in headless relatives

Fenna Bergsma

Research Training Group 'Nominal Modification'
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

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DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

Introduction

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(1) Ich lade ein, wem auch Maria vertraut.
I invite$_{[ACC]}$ RP.DAT also Maria trust$_{[DAT]}$
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.' (Modern German, Vogel 2001: 344)

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I invite$_{[ACC]}$ the.ACC person RP.DAT Maria trust$_{[DAT]}$
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two factors determine grammaticality

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(2) Ich lade ein, **wem auch Maria vertraut**.
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'Who visits us, Maria likes.'

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(5) **hòn hoi theoì philoũsin** apothnḗskei néos
RP.ACC the god love$_{[ACC]}$ die$_{[NOM]}$ young
'He, whom the gods love, dies young.'
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(7) ei galaubjaiþ 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 (Vogel 2001)

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(8) Ich lade ein, **wem auch Maria vertraut**.
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(9) *Ich vertraue, wem **auch Maria mag**.
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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 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)

Where the winning case comes from in Old High German

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

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(12) *Jan lubi **komu -kolkwiek dokucza**.
Jan like[ACC] RP.DAT ever tease[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

Where the winning case comes from in Polish

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(12) *Jan lubi **komu -kolkwiek dokucza**.
Jan like$_{[ACC]}$ RP.DAT ever tease$_{[DAT]}$
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'

(13) *Jan ufa komu **-kolkwiek 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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INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[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	*
[DAT]	DAT	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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Where the winning case comes from in overview

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

Table 2: Polish pattern

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

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

Table 4: unattested pattern

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

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

Table 2: Polish pattern

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

Table 3: Old High German pattern

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

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   - NOM < ACC < DAT (cf. Harbert, 1978; Pittner, 1995; Vogel, 2001; Grosu, 2003a; Caha, 2019)
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- derive the generalizations

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Table 4: Khanty pronouns

NOM	luw
ACC	
DAT	

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

NOM < ACC < DAT

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

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- syncretism patterns (Baerman, Brown, and Corbett, 2005; Caha, 2009; Zompì, 2017)

NOM < ACC < DAT

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NOM	luw
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a single trigger

NOM < ACC < DAT

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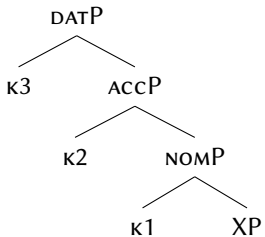

(Caha, 2009, 2019)

The winning case contains the losing case

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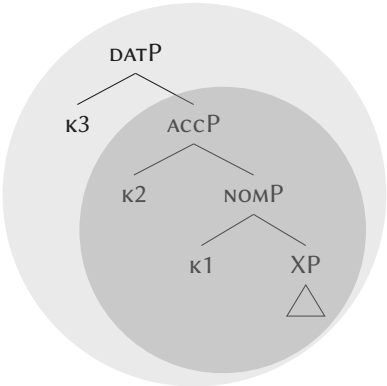

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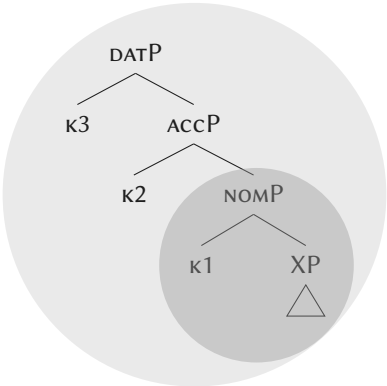

NOM < ACC < DAT can be reduced to containment

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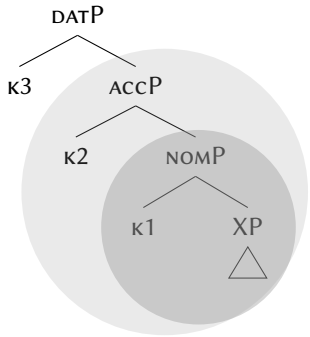

NOM < ACC < DAT can be reduced to containment

INT/EXT case

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Table 5: Modern German pattern

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

Table 6: Polish pattern

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

Table 7: Old High German pattern

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

INT/EXT case

Table 5: Modern German pattern

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

Table 6: Polish pattern

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

INT/EXT case

Table 5: Modern German pattern

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

Table 6: Polish pattern

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

parameter =
INT may win case competition
OR
INT may win case competition

INT/EXT case

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

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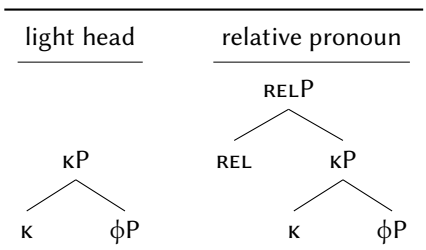
- the relative pronoun contains the features of the light head plus an additional one



The pattern in Modern German

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INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
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Light head and relative pronoun in Modern German

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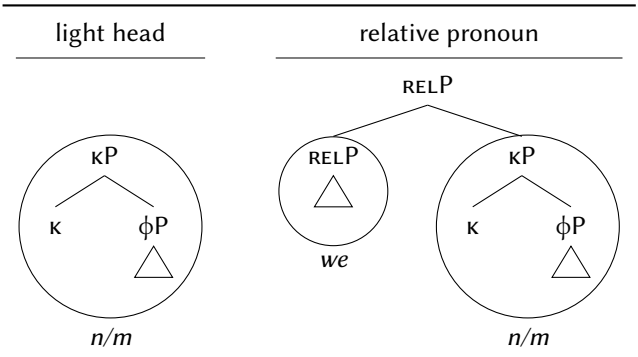

EXT_{ACC} vs. INT_{ACC} $\longrightarrow$ *wen* in Modern German

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(14) Ich lade ~~n~~ ein, **wen** **auch Maria mag**.
I invite$_{[\text{ACC}]}$ LH.ACC RP.ACC also Maria like$_{[\text{ACC}]}$
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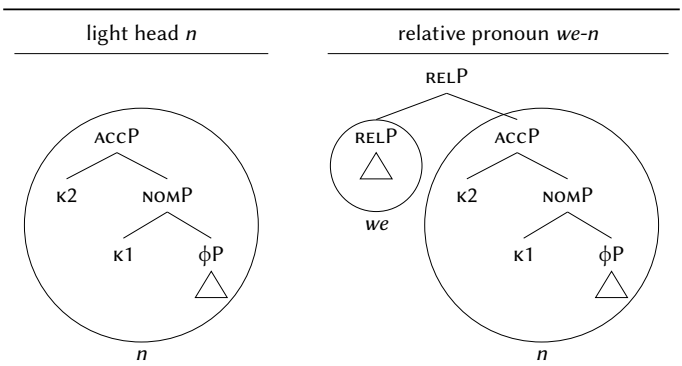

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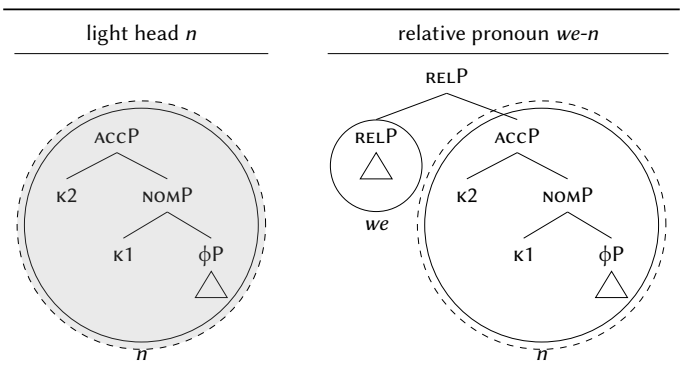

EXT_{ACC} vs. $\text{INT}_{\text{DAT}} \longrightarrow$ *wem* in Modern German

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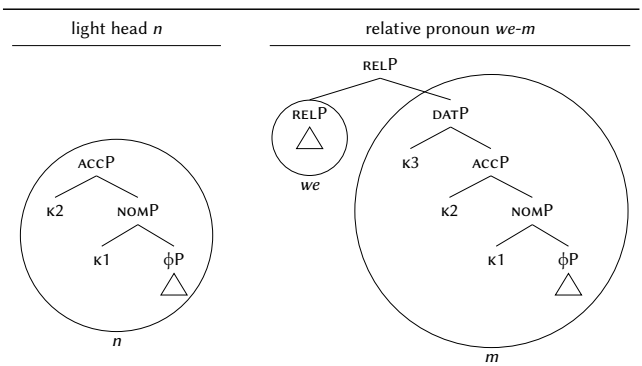

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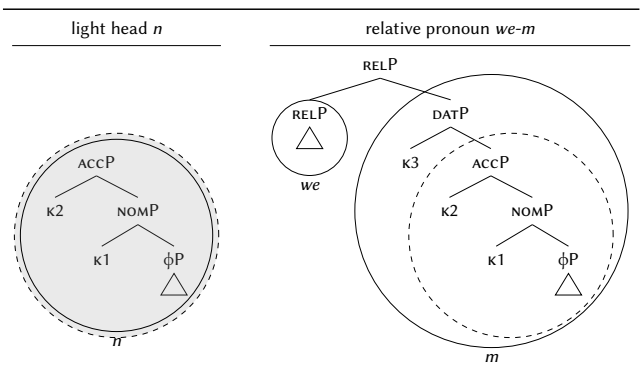

Differences in the lexicon

Differences in the lexicon

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

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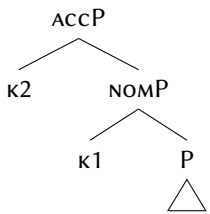

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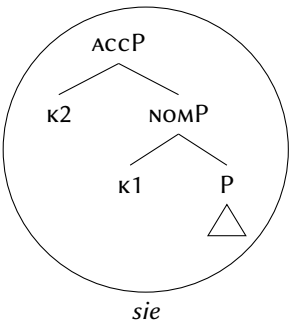

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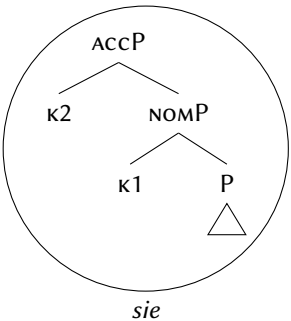

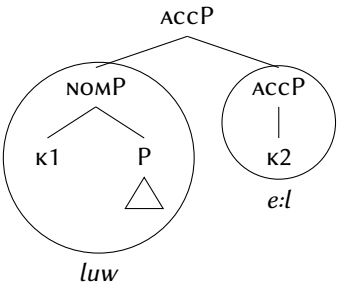

The pattern in Polish

INT \ EXT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
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Light head and relative pronoun in Polish

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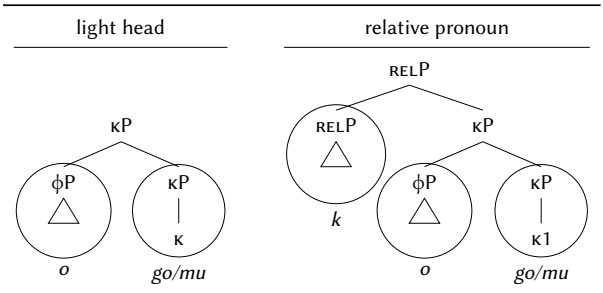

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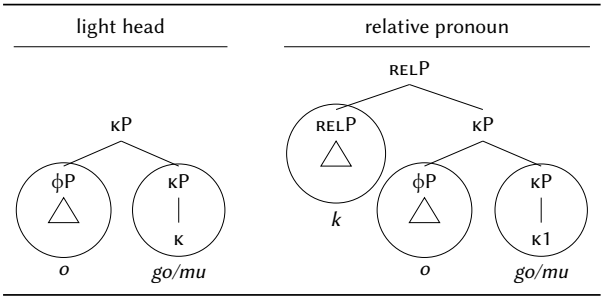

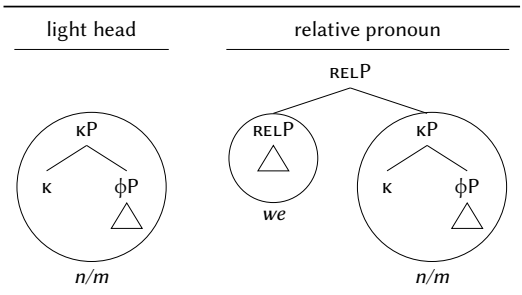

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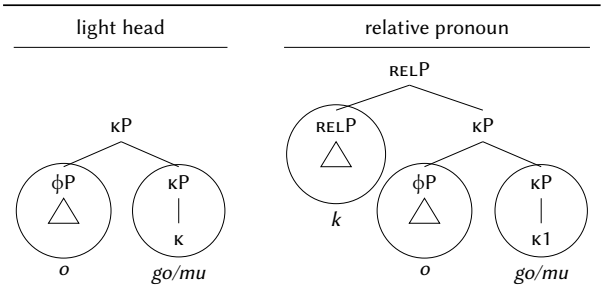

EXT_{ACC} vs. INT_{ACC} $\longrightarrow$ *kogo* in Polish

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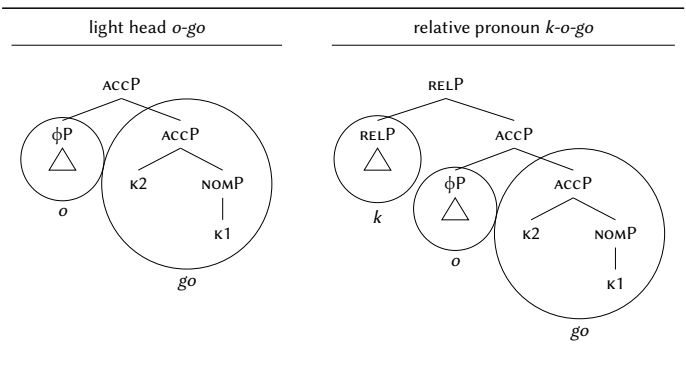

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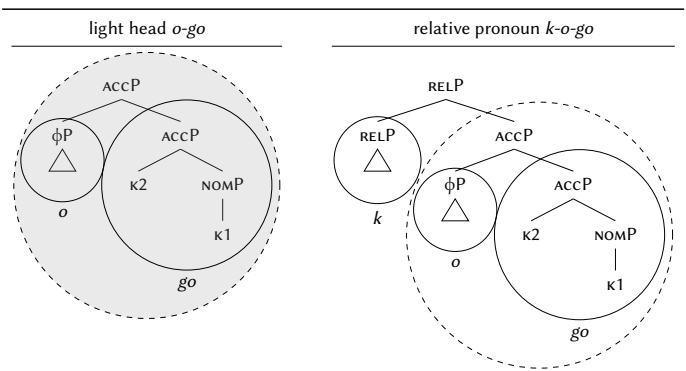

$\mathsf{EXT}_{\mathsf{ACC}}$ vs. $\mathsf{INT}_{\mathsf{DAT}} \not\rightarrow$ *komu*

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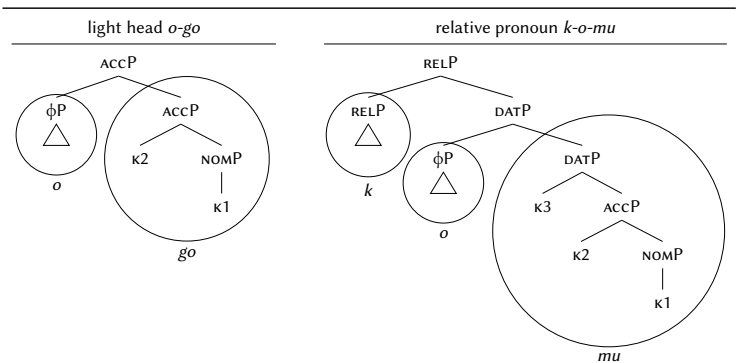

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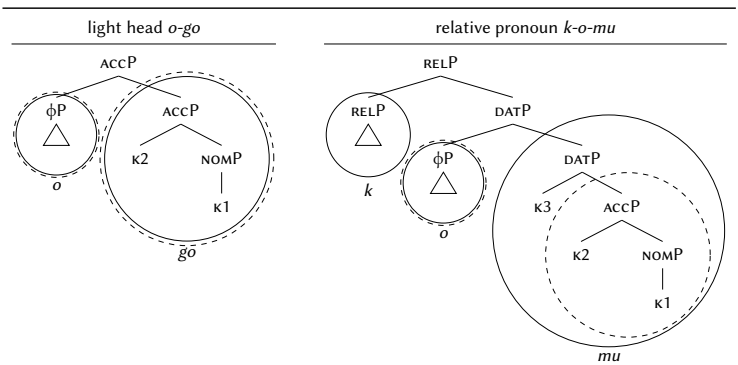

The difference between Modern German and Polish

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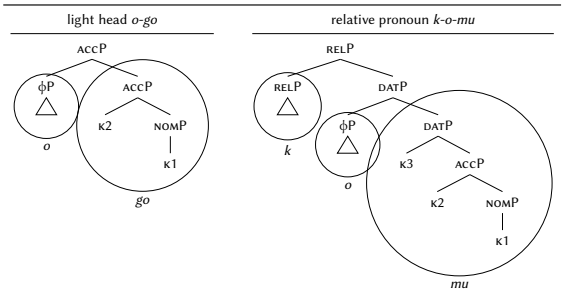

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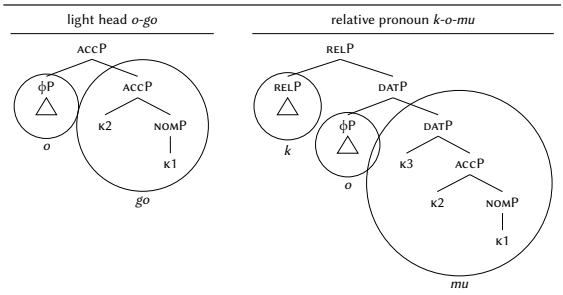

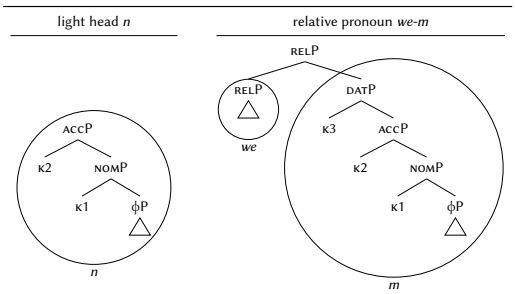

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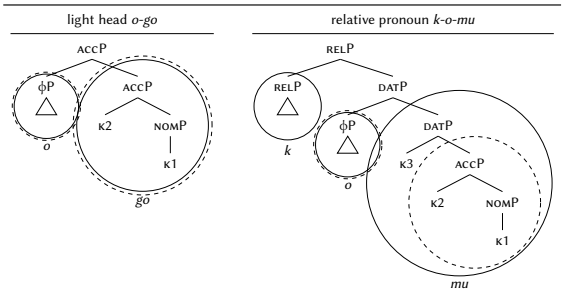

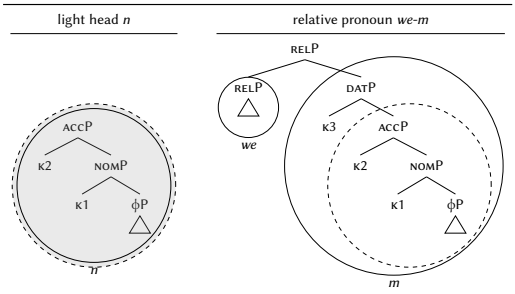

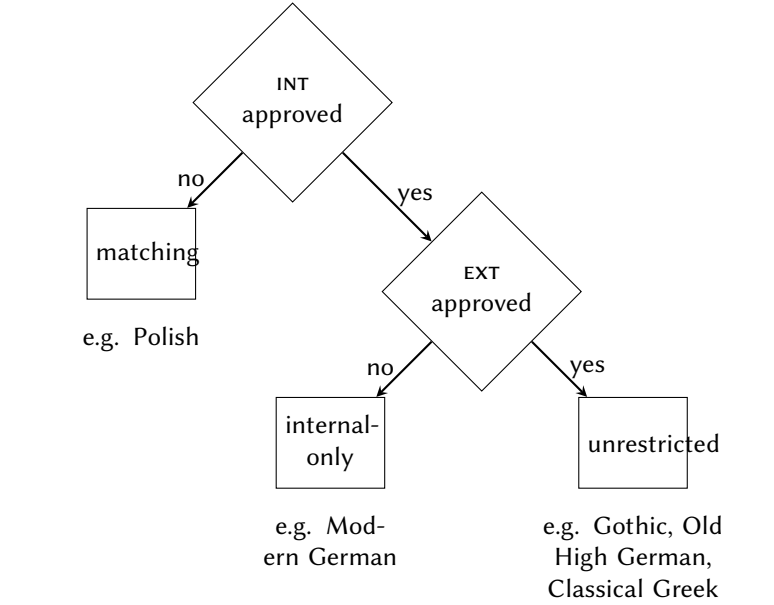
INT
approved
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matching
e.g. Polish
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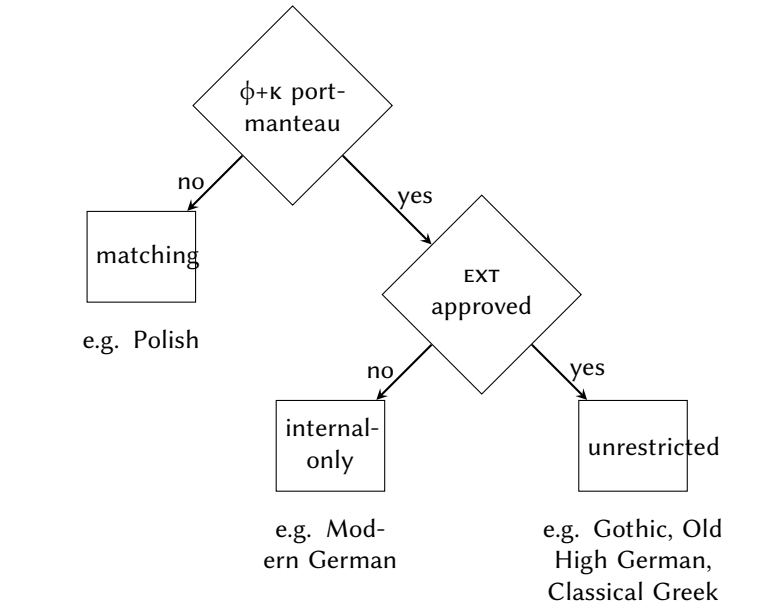
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Again

Conclusion

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2. whether the winner gets approved
   - differs across languages
   - INT/EXT approved

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It's all about containment

References

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