A typology of case competition in headless relatives

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(1)   Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler.
       the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC pupil
       'The teacher likes the pupil.'

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the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC pupil
'The teacher likes the pupil.'

(2) Der   Schüler mag den   Lehrer.
the.NOM pupil   likes the.ACC teacher
'The pupil likes the teacher.'

(3)   Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler, der   nach draußen guckt.
       the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC pupil   REL.SG.M.NOM to   outside looks
       'The teacher likes the pupil that is looking outside.'

Introduction — case in relative clauses

(3) Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler, der   nach draußen guckt.
the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC pupil   REL.SG.M.NOM to   outside looks
'The teacher likes the pupil that is looking outside.'

(4) Der   Lehrer mag den   Schüler, den   er beim
the.NOM teacher likes the.ACC pupil   REL.SG.M.ACC he at the
Versteckspiel   sucht.
hide-and-seek game searches
'The teacher likes the pupil that he is searching for playing hide-and-seek.'

(5)   gaarma   þan   -ei   arma
      pity.PRES.1SG[ACC]   REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP   pity.PRES.1SG[ACC]
      'I pity him whom I pity'

                                    (Gothic, ROM 9:15, adapted from (Harbert, 1978) 339)

(6) **þan   -ei   frijos**   siuks ist
     REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP love.PRES.2SG.[ACC] sick   be.PRES.3SG[NOM]
     'the one whom you love is sick'
                                   (Gothic, JOHN 11:3, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(6) **þan   -ei   frijos**   siuks ist
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    'the one whom you love is sick'
                              (Gothic, JOHN 11:3, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(7) jah þo   **-ei   ist**   **us Laudeikaion** jus
    and REL.SG.N.ACC -COMP be.PRES.3SG[NOM] from Laodicea   2PL.NOM
    ussiggwaid
    read.[ACC]
    'and you read the one which is from Laodicea'
                              (Gothic, COL 4:16, adapted from citetharbert1978357)

(6) **þan**   **-ei frijos**   siuks ist
    REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP love.PRES.2SG.$_{[ACC]}$ sick be.PRES.3SG$_{[NOM]}$
    'the one whom you love is sick'
                          (Gothic, JOHN 11:3, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(7) jah þo   **-ei ist**   **us Laudeikaion** jus
    and REL.SG.N.ACC -COMP be.PRES.3SG$_{[NOM]}$ from Laodicea   2PL.NOM
    ussiggwaid
    read.$_{[ACC]}$
    'and you read the one which is from Laodicea'
                          (Gothic, COL 4:16, adapted from citetharbert1978357)

- internal case
- external case

Two aspects

- Which case wins the case competition?

- Which case wins the case competition?
- Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

Which case wins the case competition?

Which case wins the case competition?

NOM < ACC < DAT

Gothic — matching data

(8)   ei   **sa**   **-ei þis**   **matjai**,   ni gadauþnai
        COMP REL.SG.M.NOM -COMP DEM.SG.M.GEN eat.OPT.3SG$_{[NOM]}$ not die.OPT.3SG$_{[NOM]}$
        'that the one, who eats of this may not die'
                                (Gothic, JOHN 6:50, after citetharbert1978337)

Gothic — matching data

(8)   ei   **sa**   **-ei**   þis   **matjai**,   ni gadauþnai
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(9)   gaarma   **þan**   **-ei**   **arma**
        pity.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP pity.1SG$_{[ACC]}$
        'I pity him, whom I pity'   (Gothic, ROM 9:15, after citetharbert1978339)

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'that the one, who eats of this may not die'

(Gothic, JOHN 6:50, after citetharbert1978337)

(9) gaarma   **þan**   **-ei** **arma**
pity.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP pity.1SG$_{[ACC]}$
'I pity him, whom I pity'   (Gothic, ROM 9:15, after citetharbert1978339)

(10) nist mein   du giban,   alja   **þaim**   **-ei**
is not 1SG.POSS.NOM to give.INF$_{[DAT]}$ except for REL.SG.M.DAT -COMP

manwiþ   **was**
prepare.PTCP be.PRET.3SG$_{[DAT]}$
'it is not mine to give except for to the one, for whom it was prepared'

(Gothic, MARK 10:49, after citetharbert1978339)

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

(11) **þan   -ei   frijos**   siuks ist
      REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP love.PRES.2SG.[ACC] sick   be.PRES.3SG[NOM]
      'the one whom you love is sick'
                              (Gothic, JOHN 11:3, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

Gothic — NOM vs. ACC data

(11) **þan -ei frijos** siuks ist
REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP love.PRES.2SG.[ACC] sick be.PRES.3SG[NOM]
'the one whom you love is sick'

              (Gothic, JOHN 11:3, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(12) jah þo **-ei ist us Laudeikaion** jus
and REL.SG.N.ACC -COMP be.PRES.3SG[NOM] from Laodicea 2.PL.NOM
ussiggwaid
read.[ACC]
'and you read the one which is from Laodicea'

              (Gothic, COL 4:16, adapted from citetharbert1978357)

Gothic — overview NOM vs. ACC

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

(13) iþ **þamm** **-ei** **leitil fraletada** leitil frijod
but REL.SG.M.DAT -COMP little forgive.PASS.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$ little love.$_{[NOM]}$
'but the one whom little is forgiven loves little'
(Gothic, LUKE 7:47, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(13)   iþ **þamm** **-ei** **leitil fraletada** leitil frijod
but REL.SG.M.DAT -COMP little forgive.PASS.PRES.3SG[DAT] little love.[NOM]
'but the one whom little is forgiven loves little'
(Gothic, LUKE 7:47, adapted from citetharbert1978342)

(14)   þaim **-ei** **iupa sind** fraþjaiþ
REL.PL.N.DAT -COMP above be.PRES.3PL[NOM] think about.OPT.PRES.2PL[DAT]
'think about those which are above'
(Gothic, COL 3:2, adapted from citetharbert1978339)

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

(15) ushafjands **ana þamm -ei lag**
      pick up.PRES.PTCP[ACC] on[DAT] REL.SG.N.DAT -COMP lie.PRET.3SG
      'picking up that what he lay on'
                          (Gothic, LUKE 5:25, adapted from citetharbert1978343)

(15) ushafjands   **ana þamm   -ei   lag**
      pick up.PRES.PTCP[ACC] on[DAT] REL.SG.N.DAT -COMP lie.PRET.3SG
      'picking up that what he lay on'
                                  (Gothic, LUKE 5:25, adapted from citetharbert1978343)

(16) 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)

	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC *NOM	DAT *NOM
[ACC]	*NOM ACC	ACC	DAT *ACC
[DAT]	*NOM DAT	*ACC (DAT)	DAT

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

Which case wins the case competition?

NOM < ACC < DAT

Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

- The unrestricted type: the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

- The unrestricted type: the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition
- The internal-only type: only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition

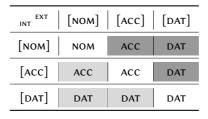# Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

- The unrestricted type: the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition
- The internal-only type: only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition
- The external-only type: only the external case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition

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- The unrestricted type: the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition
- The internal-only type: only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition
- The external-only type: only the external case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition
- The matching type: neither the internal case nor in the external case is allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

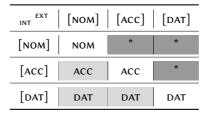# Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

- The unrestricted type: the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition
- The internal-only type: only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition
- The external-only type: only the external case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition
- The matching type: neither the internal case nor in the external case is allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

The unrestricted type

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

The internal-only type

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

The external-only type

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

Modern German as the internal-only type

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

(17)   Uns   besucht,   **wer**   **Maria**   **mag**.
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG[NOM] REL.AN.NOM Maria.ACC like.PRES.3SG[NOM]
'Who visits us likes Maria.'
(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

Modern German — matching data

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

                         (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(18)   Ich   lade ein,   **wen**   **auch**   **Maria**   **mag**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG[ACC] REL.AN.ACC Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG[ACC]
'I invite who Maria also likes.'

                         (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

Modern German — matching data

(17) Uns   besucht,   **wer   Maria   mag**.
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(18) Ich   lade ein,   **wen   auch   Maria   mag**.
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      'I invite who Maria also likes.'

                                  (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

(19) Ich   folge,   **wem   immer ich**
      1SG.NOM folge.PRES.1SG[DAT] REL.AN.DAT ever   1SG.NOM
      vertraue.
      vertraue.PRES.3SG[DAT].
      'I follow whoever I trust.'

                                  (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001342)

INT ᴱˣᵀ	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
[NOM]	NOM		
[ACC]		ACC	
[DAT]			DAT

(20) 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.'
(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

Modern German — NOM vs. ACC data

(20)   Uns   besucht,   **wen**   **Maria**   **mag**.
       2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG$_{[\text{NOM}]}$ REL.AN.ACC Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG$_{[\text{ACC}]}$
       'Who visits us, Maria likes.'

                            (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(21)   *Uns   besucht,   **wer**   **Maria**   **mag**.
       2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG$_{[\text{NOM}]}$ REL.AN.NOM Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG$_{[\text{ACC}]}$
       'Who visits us, Maria likes.'

                            (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(20) 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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      'Who visits us, Maria likes.'

                                        (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(22) *Ich   lade ein,   wen   **mir**   **sympathisch**
      1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[ACC]}$ REL.AN.ACC 1SG.DAT nice
      ist.
      be.PRES.3SG$_{[NOM]}$
      'I invite who I like.'   (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

Modern German — NOM vs. ACC data

(20) 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.'

                                    (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

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

                                    (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(22) *Ich   lade ein,   wen   **mir sympathisch**
      1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG[ACC] REL.AN.ACC 1SG.DAT nice
      ist.
      be.PRES.3SG[NOM]
      'I invite who I like.'   (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

(23) *Ich   lade ein,   wer   **mir sympathisch**
      1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG[ACC] REL.AN.NOM 1SG.DAT nice
      ist.
      be.PRES.3SG[NOM]
      'I invite who I like.'   (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

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

Modern German — NOM vs. DAT data

(24) Uns   besucht,   **wem**   **Maria**   **vertraut**.
      2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.DAT Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
      'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'
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(24)   Uns   besucht,   **wem**   **Maria**   **vertraut**.
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           'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'
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      'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'

                                        (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001343)

(26) *Ich   vertraue,   wem   **Hitchcock   mag**.
      1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG[DAT] REL.AN.DAT Hitchcock.ACC like.PRES.3SG[NOM]
      'I trust who likes Hitchcock.'

                                        (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001345)

Modern German — NOM vs. DAT data

(24) Uns   besucht,   **wem   Maria   vertraut**.
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      'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'

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(27) *Ich   vertraue,   wer   **Hitchcock   mag**.
      1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG[DAT] REL.AN.NOM Hitchcock.ACC like.PRES.3SG[NOM]
      'I trust who likes Hitchcock.'

                                     (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001345)

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

(28)   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.'
(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

Modern German — ACC vs. DAT data

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

(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

Modern German — acc vs. dat data

(28)   Ich   lade ein,   **wem**   **auch Maria**   **vertraut**.
       1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[Acc]}$ REL.AN.DAT also   Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$.

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       1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG$_{[Acc]}$ REL.AN.ACC also   Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG$_{[DAT]}$.

       'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'
                                 (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

(30)   *Ich   vertraue,   wem   **auch Maria**   **mag**.
       1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG$_{[DAT]}$ REL.AN.DAT also   Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG$_{[Acc]}$.
       'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'
                                 (Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001345)

Modern German — ACC vs. DAT data

(28) 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.'

(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

(29) *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.'

(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001344)

(30) *Ich vertraue, wem **auch Maria mag**.
1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG$_{[DAT]}$ REL.AN.DAT also Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG$_{[Acc]}$.
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, adapted from citetvogel2001345)

(31) *Ich vertraue, wen **auch Maria mag**.
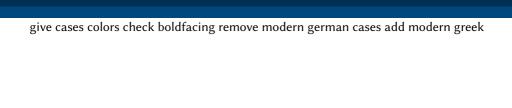1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG$_{[DAT]}$ REL.AN.ACC also Maria.NOM like.PRES.3SG$_{[Acc]}$.
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

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

Polish data and overview

give cases colors check boldfacing remove modern german cases add modern greek

References