

A typology of case competition in headless relatives

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Syntax colloquium

November 30, 2020

Introduction — case

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

Introduction — case

- (1) Der Lehrer mag den Schüler.
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.'

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.'

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.'

Introduction — case in headless relative clauses

- (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)

Introduction — case competition (Harbert 1978)

- (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)

Introduction — case competition (Harbert 1978)

- (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)
- (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)

Introduction — case competition (Harbert 1978)

- (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)
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ussiggwaid
read.**[ACC]**
'and you read the one which is from Laodicea' (Gothic, COL 4:16)

- internal case
- external case

Two aspects

Two aspects

- Which case wins the case competition?

Two aspects

- 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 (Harbert 1978)

- (8) ei sa -ei pis matjai, ni gadaupnai
 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’ (JOHN 6:50)

Gothic — matching data (Harbert 1978)

- (8) ei sa -ei þis matjai, ni gadaupnai
 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’ (JOHN 6:50)
- (9) gaarma þan -ei arma
 pity.1SG_[ACC] REL.SG.M.**ACC** -COMP pity.1SG_[ACC]
 ‘I pity him, whom I pity’ (ROM 9:15)

Gothic — matching data (Harbert 1978)

- (8) ei sa -ei þis matjai, ni gadaupnai
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'that the one, who eats of this may not die' (JOHN 6:50)
- (9) gaarma þan -ei arma
pity.1SG_[ACC] REL.SG.M.**ACC** -COMP pity.1SG_[ACC]
'I pity him, whom I pity' (ROM 9:15)
- (10) nist mein du giban, alja þaim -ei
is not 1SG.POSS.NOM to give.INF_[DAT] except for REL.SG.M.**DAT** -COMP
manwip was
prepare.PTCP be.PRET.3SG_[DAT]
'it is not mine to give except for to the one, for whom it was prepared'
(MARK 10:49)

Gothic — overview matching

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

Gothic — NOM vs. ACC data (Harbert 1978)

- (11) **pan** **-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'

(JOHN 11:3)

Gothic — NOM vs. ACC data (Harbert 1978)

- (11) **pan** **-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' (JOHN 11:3)
- (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' (COL 4:16)

Gothic — overview NOM vs. ACC

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

Gothic — NOM vs. DAT data (Harbert 1978)

- (13) ip þamm -ei leiril fraletada leiril 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' (LUKE 7:47)

Gothic — NOM vs. DAT data (Harbert 1978)

- (13) ip **ḡamm** -ei leitiḡ fraletada leitiḡ 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’ (LUKE 7:47)
- (14) ḡaim -ei iupa sind fraḡjaip
REL.PL.N.**DAT** -COMP above be.PRES.3PL_[NOM] think about.OPT.PRES.2PL_[DAT]
‘think about those which are above’ (COL 3:2)

Gothic — overview NOM — DAT

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

Gothic — ACC vs. DAT data (Harbert 1978)

- (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' (LUKE 5:25)

Gothic — ACC vs. DAT data (Harbert 1978)

- (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’ (LUKE 5:25)
- (16) ei galaubjaip 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)

Gothic — overview ACC — DAT

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

Gothic: overview summary

INT^{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?

Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?

- Is the internal case allowed to surface?
- Is the external case allowed to surface?

4 possible language types

The unrestricted type

the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

The unrestricted type

the internal and the external case are allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

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

The internal-only type

only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition

The internal-only type

only the internal case is allowed to surface when it wins the case competition

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

The external-only type

only the external 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

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

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 matching type

neither the internal case nor in the external case is allowed to surface when either of them wins the case competition

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

All types together

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	ACC	*
[DAT]	DAT	DAT	DAT

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

Gothic as the unrestricted type

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

German as the internal-only type

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

German — matching data (Vogel 2001)

- (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.'

German — matching data (Vogel 2001)

- (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.'
- (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.'

German — matching data (Vogel 2001)

- (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.'
- (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.'
- (19) Ich foLavendere, **wem** **immer ich**
1SG.NOM foLavendere.PRES.1SG_[DAT] REL.AN._{DAT} ever 1SG.NOM
vertraue.
vertraue.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
'I follow whoever I trust.'

German — overview matching

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

German — NOM vs. ACC data (Vogel 2001)

- (20) Uns besucht, **wen** **Maria** **mag.**
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.ACC MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
‘Who visits us, Maria likes.’

German — NOM vs. ACC data (Vogel 2001)

- (20) Uns besucht, **wen** **Maria** **mag.**
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.ACC MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
‘Who visits us, Maria likes.’
- (21) *Uns besucht, wer **Maria** **mag.**
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.NOM MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
‘Who visits us, Maria likes.’

German — NOM vs. ACC data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — NOM vs. ACC data (Vogel 2001)

- (20) Uns besucht, **wen** **Maria** **mag**.
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG[NOM] REL.AN.ACC MarianOM like.PRES.3SG[ACC]
'Who visits us, Maria likes.'
- (21) *Uns besucht, **wer** **Maria** **mag**.
2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG[NOM] REL.AN.NOM MarianOM like.PRES.3SG[ACC]
'Who visits us, Maria likes.'
- (22) *Ich lade ein, **wen** **mir** **sympathisch**
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG[ACC] REL.AN.ACC 1SG.DAT nice
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'I invite who I like.'
- (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.'

German — overview NOM — ACC

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

German — NOM vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

- (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.’

German — NOM vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — NOM vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — NOM vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — overview NOM — DAT

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

German — ACC vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — ACC vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

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

German — ACC vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

- (28) Ich lade ein, **wem** **auch Maria** **vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.**DAT** also MarianOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'
- (29) *Ich lade ein, **wen** **auch Maria** **vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.**ACC** also MarianOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'
- (30) *Ich vertraue, **wem** **auch Maria** **mag**.
1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG_[DAT] REL.AN.**DAT** also MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

German — ACC vs. DAT data (Vogel 2001)

- (28) Ich lade ein, **wem** **auch** Maria **vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.**DAT** also MarianOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'
- (29) *Ich lade ein, **wen** **auch** Maria **vertraut**.
1SG.NOM invite.PRES.1SG_[ACC] REL.AN.**ACC** also MarianOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]
'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'
- (30) *Ich vertraue, **wem** **auch** Maria **mag**.
1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG_[DAT] REL.AN.**DAT** also MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'
- (31) *Ich vertraue, **wen** **auch** Maria **mag**.
1SG.NOM trust.PRES.1SG_[DAT] REL.AN.**ACC** also MarianOM like.PRES.3SG_[ACC]
'I trust whoever Maria also likes.'

German — overview ACC — DAT

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

No external-only type

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

Polish as the matching type

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

Polish — matching data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (32) Jan lubi **kogo** **-kolkwiek** Maria lubi.
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever Maria like.3SG_[ACC]
'Jan likes whoever Maria likes.'

Polish — matching data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (32) Jan lubi **kogo** **-kolkwiek** Maria lubi.
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever Maria like.3SG_[ACC]
'Jan likes whoever Maria likes.'
- (33) Jan pomaga **komu** **-kolkwiek** ufa.
Jan help.3SG_[DAT] REL.**DAT**.AN.SG ever trust.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan helps whomever he trusts.'

Polish — overview matching

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

Polish — ACC vs. DAT data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (34) *Jan lubi **komu** **-kolkwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL._{DAT}.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
‘Jan likes whoever he teases.’

Polish — ACC vs. DAT data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (34) *Jan lubi **komu** **-kolkwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**DAT**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'
- (35) *Jan lubi **kogo** **-kolkwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
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Polish — ACC vs. DAT data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (34) *Jan lubi **komu** **-kolkwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**DAT**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'
- (35) *Jan lubi **kogo** **-kolkwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'
- (36) *Jan ufa **komu** **-kolkwiek wpuścil do domu.**
Jan trust.3SG_[DAT] REL.**DAT**.AN.SG ever let.3SG_[ACC] to home
'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'

Polish — ACC vs. DAT data (Citko 2013 after Himmelreich 2017)

- (34) *Jan lubi **komu** **-kolwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**DAT**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'
- (35) *Jan lubi **kogo** **-kolwiek dokucza.**
Jan like.3SG_[ACC] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever tease.3SG_[DAT]
'Jan likes whoever he teases.'
- (36) *Jan ufa **komu** **-kolwiek 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.'
- (37) *Jan ufa **kogo** **-kolwiek wpuścił do domu.**
Jan trust.3SG_[DAT] REL.**ACC**.AN.SG ever let.3SG_[ACC] to home
'Jan trusts whoever he let into the house.'

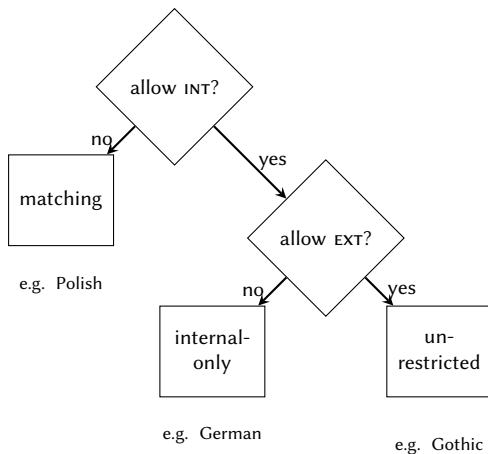
Polish — overview ACC vs. DAT

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

The table again

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

Is the winner of the case competition allowed to surface?



Two aspects

Two aspects

- Which case wins the case competition?

NOM < ACC < DAT

Two aspects

- Which case wins the case competition?

NOM < ACC < DAT

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

INT + EXT, INT or none

No case competition: always internal vs. always external

No case competition: always internal vs. always external

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

No case competition: always internal vs. always external

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

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

No case competition: always internal vs. always external

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

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

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

No always internal type

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

Greek as always external type

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

Greek NOM_{INT} vs. ACC_{EXT} (Daskalaki 2011)

- (38) Efxarístisa ópjus **me** **voíθisan.**
thank.PST.3PL_[ACC] REL.PL.M.**ACC** CL.1SG.ACC help.PST.3PL_[NOM]
'I thanked whoever helped me.'

Three possibilities for Greek

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

Three possibilities for Greek

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

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[GEN]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	GEN
[GEN]	GEN	GEN	GEN

Three possibilities for Greek

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

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[GEN]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[ACC]	ACC	ACC	GEN
[GEN]	GEN	GEN	GEN

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[GEN]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[ACC]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[GEN]	NOM	ACC	GEN

Greek NOM_{INT} vs. ACC_{EXT} (Daskalaki 2011)

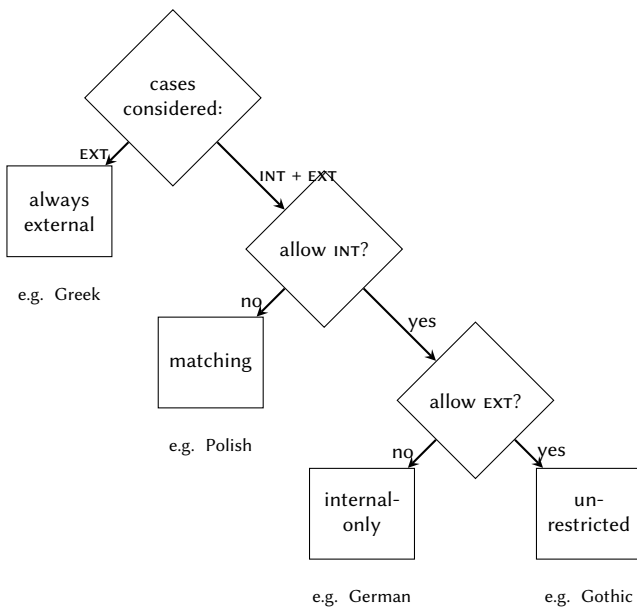
- (39) Irθan ópji **káleses.**
come.PST.3PL_[NOM] REL.PL.M.**NOM** invite.PST.2SG_[ACC]
'Whoever you invited came.'

Greek NOM_{INT} vs. ACC_{EXT} (Daskalaki 2011)

- (39) Irθan ópji **káleses.**
come.PST.3PL_[NOM] REL.PL.M.**NOM** invite.PST.2SG_[ACC]
'Whoever you invited came.'
- (40) *Irθan **ópjus** **káleses.**
come.PST.3PL_[NOM] REL.PL.M.**ACC** invite.PST.2SG_[ACC]
'Whoever you invited came.'

Greek: always external

INT^{EXT}	[NOM]	[ACC]	[GEN]
[NOM]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[ACC]	NOM	ACC	GEN
[GEN]	NOM	ACC	GEN



Possible patterns for headless relatives

	[INT]>[EXT]		[EXT]>[INT]		language
	INT	EXT	INT	EXT	
1	✓	*	✓	*	n.a.
2	✓	*	*	✓	e.g. Gothic
3	✓	*	*	*	e.g. German
4	*	✓	✓	*	n.a.
5	*	✓	*	✓	e.g. Greek
6	*	✓	*	*	n.a.
7	*	*	✓	*	n.a.
8	*	*	*	✓	n.a.
9	*	*	*	*	e.g. Polish

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