A typology of case competition in headless relatives

Fenna Bergsma

Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

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Introduction — case

(1) Der Lehrer mag den Schüler. the.Nom teacher likes the.Acc student 'The teacher likes the pupil.'

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- (2) Der Schüler mag den Lehrer. the.Nom student likes the.Acc teacher 'The pupil likes the teacher.'

Introduction — (headless) relative clauses

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

Introduction — (headless) relative clauses

- (3) Der Lehrer mag den Schüler, der nach draußen guckt. the.Nom teacher likes the.Acc student 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 student 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 — (headless) relative clauses

- (3) Der Lehrer mag den Schüler, der nach draußen guckt. the.nom teacher likes the.Acc student 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 student 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) Der Lehrer mag, wen er beim Versteckspiel sucht. the.Nom teacher likes REL.SG.M.ACC he at the hide-and-seek game searches 'The teacher likes the pupil that he is searching for playing hide-and-seek.'

Introduction — case competition

(6) 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 **harbert1978**: 339)

Introduction — case competition

- (6) 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 **harbert1978**: 339)
- (7) **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 **harbert1978**: 342)

Matching cases

(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 **harbert1978**: 337)

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- (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 **harbert1978**: 337)
- (9) gaarma **þan -ei arma**pity.1sc_[Acc] REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP pity.1sc_[Acc]
 'I pity him, whom I pity' (Gothic, ROM 9:15, after **harbert1978**: 339)

Matching cases

- (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 **harbert1978**: 337)
- (9) gaarma **ban -ei arma**pity.1sG_[ACC] REL.SG.M.ACC -COMP pity.1sG_[ACC]

 'I pity him, whom I pity' (Gothic, ROM 9:15, after **harbert1978**: 339)
- (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 harbert1978: 339)

Gothic headless relatives (matching)

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

NOM VS. ACC

(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 **harbert1978**: 342)

NOM VS. ACC

- (11)ban -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 harbert1978: 342)
- (12)Laudeikaion jus jah þo -ei ist us 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 harbert1978: 357)

Gothic headless relatives (NOM - ACC)

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

NOM VS. 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 harbert1978: 342)

NOM VS. 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 **harbert1978**: 342)
- (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 harbert1978: 339)

Gothic headless relatives (NOM - DAT)

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

ACC VS. 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 harbert1978: 343)

ACC VS. DAT

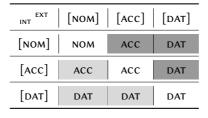
- (15)ushafjands bamm -ei ana pick up.pres.ptcp[acc] on[dat] rel.sg.n.dat -comp lie.pret.3sg 'picking up that what he lay on' (Gothic, LUKE 5:25, adapted from harbert1978: 343)
- (16)galaubjaib bamm -ei insandida that believe.opt.pres.2pl[DAT] REL.SG.M.DAT -COMP send.PRET.3SG[ACC] jains DEM.SG.M.NOM

'that you believe in him whom he sent' (Gothic, JOHN 6:29)

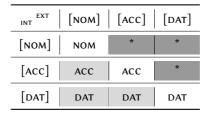
Gothic headless relatives (ACC - DAT)

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

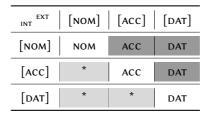
Internal and external case allowed



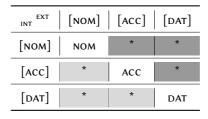
Only internal case allowed



Only external case allowed



Only matching allowed: Modern German



Modern German: matching

(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 vogel2001: 343)

Modern German: matching

(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 vogel2001: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 344)

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(17) Uns besucht, wer Maria mag.

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'I invite who Maria also likes.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 344)

(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 vogel2001: 342)

Modern German headless relatives (matching)

EXT INT	[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 vogel2001: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 343)

(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 **vogel2001**: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 343)

(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 **vogel2001**: 344)

(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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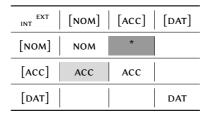
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 'I invite who I like.' (Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 344)

Modern German headless relatives (NOM - ACC)



(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.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 343)

Modern German: NOM VS. DAT

(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.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 343)

(25) *Uns besucht, **wer Maria vertraut**.

2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.NOM Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]

'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'

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Modern German: NOM VS. DAT

(24) Uns besucht, **wem Maria vertraut**.

2PL.ACC visit.PRES.3SG_[NOM] REL.AN.DAT Maria.NOM trust.PRES.3SG_[DAT]

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(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 343)

(25) *Uns besucht, wer Maria vertraut. $2PL.ACC\ visit.PRES.3SG_{[NOM]}\ REL.AN.NOM\ Maria.NOM\ trust.PRES.3SG_{[DAT]}$ 'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 345)

Modern German: NOM VS. DAT

(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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(25) *Uns besucht, wer Maria vertraut. $2PL.ACC\ visit.PRES.3SG_{[NOM]}\ REL.AN.NOM\ Maria.NOM\ trust.PRES.3SG_{[DAT]}$ 'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 343)

(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 vogel2001: 345)

(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 vogel2001: 345)

Modern German headless relatives (NOM - DAT)

[NOM] NOM * * [ACC] ACC ACC [DAT] DAT DAT	EXT INT	[NOM]	[ACC]	[DAT]
	[NOM]	NOM	*	*
[DAT] DAT DAT	[ACC]	ACC	ACC	
£ 3	[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 vogel2001: 344)

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'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 344)

(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 **vogel2001**: 345)

(28) Ich lade ein, **wem auch Maria vertraut**.

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'I invite whoever Maria also trusts.'

(Modern German, adapted from vogel2001: 344)

(30) *Ich vertraue, wem **auch Maria mag**.

1sc.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 vogel2001: 345)

(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'

Modern German headless relatives (ACC - DAT)

