

Appendix: other case combinations

(1) Vogel (2001: 343-345)

- a. Uns besucht wen/ *wer Maria mag.
Us visits_{nom} who.ACC/ who.NOM Maria likes_{acc}
'Who visits us likes Maria likes.'
- b. Uns besucht wessen/ *wer Maria sich erfreuen würde.
Us visits_{nom} who.GEN/ who.NOM Maria self be happy_{gen} would
'Who visits us, Maria would be happy about'
- c. Uns besucht wem/ *wer Maria vertraut.
Us visits_{nom} who.DAT/ who.NOM Maria trusts_{dat}
'Who visits us, Maria trusts.'
- d. Ich lade ein, wessen/ *wen sich auch Maria erfreuen
I invite_{acc} who.GEN/ who.ACC self also Maria be happy_{gen}
würde.
would.
'I invite whoever also Maria would be happy to meet.'
- e. Bodo entledigt sich, */?wem/ *wessen immer Gerhard misstraut.
Bodo rids_{gen} self who.DAT/ who.GEN ever Gerhard mistrusts_{dat}
'Bodo gets rid of whoever Gerhard mistrusts.'

(2) Vogel (2001: 344-345)

- a. *Ich lade ein, wen/ wer mir sympathisch ist.
I invite_{acc} who.ACC/ who.NOM me nice is_{nom}
'I invite who I like.'
- b. *Bodo entledigt sich, wessen/ wer immer andere Ansichten
Bodo rids_{gen} self who.GEN/ who.NOM ever other opinions
hat als er.
has_{nom} than he
'Bodo gets rid of whoever has different opinions than he.'
- c. *Ich vertraue, wem/ wer Hitchcock mag.
I trust_{dat} who.DAT/ who.NOM Hitchcock likes_{nom}
'I trust who likes Hitchcock.'
- d. *Bodo entledigt sich, wessen/ wen immer Henkel nicht
Bodo rids_{gen} self who.GEN/ who.ACC ever Henkel not
mag.
likes_{acc}
'Bodo gets rid of whoever Henkel does not like.'

- e. *Maria hilft, wem/ wessen andere sich entledigen möchten.
 Maria helps_{dat} who.DAT/ who.GEN others self rid_{gen} want
 ‘Maria helps whoever others want to get rid of.’

The genitive seems to be disappearing in German and taken over by for example ‘von + ACC’ (Sick 2015). For that reason, all given examples can sound archaic to some German speakers. Vogel (2001) reports that in (1e) both *wessen* ‘who.GEN’ and *wem* ‘who.DAT’ are ungrammatical. However, some German speaker I consulted do accept the sentence with *wem* ‘who.DAT’, whereas all of them reject the smaller case *wessen* ‘who.GEN’.

References

- Sick, Bastian. 2015. *Der Dativ ist dem Genitiv sein Tod*. Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch.
- Vogel, Ralf. 2001. Case conflict in German free relative constructions: An optimality theoretic treatment. In Gereon Müller & Wolfgang Sternefeld (eds.), *Competition in syntax*, 341–375. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110829068.341>.