

Case attraction in headless relatives

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Part I

Morphological case

Chapter 1

Case attraction

- (1) a. Aer antuurta demo zaimo sprah.
he replied_{DAT} who.DAT to him spoke_{NOM}
'He replied to the one who spoke to him.' Pittner 199
- b. Der bewist in d.es er suochte.
he showed_{GEN} him what.GEN he looked for_{ACC}
'He showed him what he was looking for.' Pittner 199

1.1 Headless relative clauses

1.1.1 Proper attraction

- (2) Old Saxon
- a. bôttā, them thar blinde uuârun
comfort.3.SG.PRÄT_{DAT} that.PL.DAT there blind were_{NOM}
'He comforted those that were blind' (Old Saxon, Heliand 2358, **behaghel1923**)
- b. them mannun, the hêr minniston sindun, [thero] nu undar
the men, that here lowest are.3PL_{GEN} that.PL.GEN now under
thesaru menegi [standad]
these crowd stand.3.PL.PRÄS_{NOM}
'To the men who are the least of those standing here 'mid the many,' (Old Saxon, Heliand 4411, **behaghel1923**)
- c. bethiu he thes uuiht ne bisprak,
therefore he that.M.SG.GEN something.SG.ACC not speak about.3.SG.PRÄT
thes sie imu thurh inuuidnîð ôgean uueldun.
that.M.SG.GEN they ? through hostility show want.3.PL.PRÄT
'therefore he reproached them no whit, for that which they would do unto him in their hatred and anger.' (Old Saxon, Helian 4923, **behaghel1923**)
- d. huat, thu mahtis man uuesan, giungaro fan
what.ACC 2.SG may.2.SG.PRÄT.CONJ man.NOM.SG be.INF disciple from

Galilea, thes the thar genouuer
 Galilee.DAT.PL that.M.SG.GEN that.NOM.SG.M there there
 stêd
 stood.3.SG.PRÄT
 ‘what, you might have been a man, disciple from Galilee, of him who
 stood there’ (Old Saxon, Heliand 4957-4958, **behaghel1923**)

(3) Old High German

- a. ih bibringu fona Juda dhen mina berga chisetzt
 ‘
 (Old High German, Isidor 34,3, **behaghel1923**)
- b. aer antwurta demo za imo sprah
 ‘
 (Old High German, Monsee Fragments 7,24, **behaghel1923**)
- c. gaat uz diu halt za dem iz forchaufent
 ‘
 (Old High German, Monsee Fragments 20,14, **behaghel1923**)
- d. thisiu fon thiu, iru wan ist, siu alla iru libnara santa (ex eo, quod)
 ‘
 (Old High German, Tatian 118,1, **behaghel1923**)
- e. er spráh zi then es rúahtun
 he spoke to those.DAT
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid I,23,35, **behaghel1923**)
- f. thaz iru thiu sin guati nirzigi, thes siu bati
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid II,8,24, **behaghel1923**)
- g. bistu furira Abrahame, ouh then man hiar nu zalta.
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid III,18,33, **behaghel1923**)
- h. thia laz ih themo iz lisit thar
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid I,19,25, **behaghel1923**)
- i. suachit thes nan sentit
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid III,16,21, **behaghel1923**)
- j. noh so neduohti in gnuoge des si habetin
 ‘
 (Old High German, Notker I,63,29, **behaghel1923**)
- k. tannoh pito ih tes noh fore ist (id quod)
 ‘
 (Old High German, Notker 193,19, **behaghel1923**)

(4) Middle High German

- a. der bewiset in des er suochte
 he directed_{GEN} him that.GEN he sought_{ACC}
 ‘He directed him to what he sought.’ (Middle High German, Iwein 988,

behaghel1923), trans. Hartmann von Aue-Portal

- (5) ?
- a. diu habe niemer niht entuot, des der seele schaden si
 ‘
 (?, Warn. 2490, **behaghel1923**)
 - b. des himels unt der erde und swes din kint dar inne begriffen hat
 ‘
 (?, R. v. Zw. 21,8, **behaghel1923**)
 - c. die bevogtet werden sollen mit dem nechsten vattermagen oder dem
 dazu erkoren wird
 ‘
 (?, Weist. 1,65, **behaghel1923**)
 - d. diese Handlung der Merope gefalle, wem da will
 ‘
 (?, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing 11,203, **behaghel1923**)
 - e. dem Wanderer zu bieten Schutz und Rast und wen’s auch sei zu
 wärmen und zu laben
 ‘
 (?, Redwitz, Amaranth (Bl), **behaghel1923**)
- (6) Magst gefallen wem du wilt
 ‘
 Adversus - Komm’ oh Tod

1.2 Headless relative clauses

1.2.1 Proper attraction

- (7) GEN instead of DAT?
- (8) GEN instead of ACC
- a. alles des ich ie gesach
 all.GEN that.GEN I ever saw
 ‘All that I ever saw.’ (Middle High German, Nibelungenlied 1698,1,
behaghel1923, glosses and translation by **pittner1995**)
 - b. Do sagete er Parziwale danc prises des erwarp sin
 there said he Parzival thanks_{GEN} prize.GEN that.GEN acquired_{ACC}
 hant
 ‘He thanked Parzival for the prize that he acquired’ (Middle High
 German, Parzival 3:1209, glosses and translation by **helgander1971** after
pittner1995)
- (9) GEN instead of NOM

- a. daz er [...] alles des verplac des im ze schaden
 that he all that.GEN abandoned_{GEN} that.GEN him to damage might
 mohte komen
 come_{NOM}
 ‘that he abandoned all that might cause damage to him’ (Middle High German, Iwein 5338, **behaghel1923**, glosses and translation by **pittner1995**)
- b. sie gedâht’ ouch maniger leide, der ir dâ héimé
 she thought_{GEN} also some sufferings.GEN that.GEN her at home
 geschach
 happened_{NOM}
 ‘she thought about some misfortunes that happened to her at home.’ (Middle High German, Nibelungenlied 1391,14, **behaghel1923**, glosses and translation by **pittner1995**)
- (10) DAT instead of ACC?
- (11) DAT instead of NOM
- a.
- ‘‘
- (12) ACC instead of NOM

Part II

Prepositional case

