

Case attraction in headless relatives

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The topic of this thesis is case attraction in headless relative clauses.

1.1 Case attraction

normal headed relatives, cases can differ in most languages, element takes case of its clause see here an example of modern german.

in other languages (mostly ancient, but also modern Greek) cases do not match within their clauses, but they match with each other. relative pronoun takes case from the NP in the main clause: case attraction example from old high german

there is a generalization here: more complex case wins

1.2 Headless relatives

proper attraction headless inverse attraction headless

1.3 The variation

Part I

Morphological case

Chapter 2

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

2.1 Headless relative clauses

2.1.1 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

(3) Old High German

- a. ih bibringu fona Juda dhen mina berga chisetzt
 ‘
 (Old High German, Isidor 34,3, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- b. aer antwurta demo za imo sprah
 ‘
 (Old High German, Monsee Fragments 7,24, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- c. gaat uz diu halt za dem iz forchaufent
 ‘
 (Old High German, Monsee Fragments 20,14, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- d. thisiu fon thiū, iru wan ist, siu alla iru libnara santa (ex eo, quod)
 ‘
 (Old High German, Tatian 118,1, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- e. er spráh zi then es rúhtun
 he spoke to those.DAT
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid I,23,35, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- f. thaz iru thiū sin guati nirzigi, thes siu bati
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid II,8,24, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- g. bistu furira Abrahame, ouh then man hiar nu zalta.
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid III,18,33, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- h. thia laz ih themo iz lisit thar
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid I,19,25, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- i. suachit thes nan sentit
 ‘
 (Old High German, Otfrid III,16,21, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- j. noh so neduohti in gnuoge des si habetin
 ‘
 (Old High German, Notker I,63,29, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)
- k. tannoh pito ih tes noh fore ist (id quod)
 ‘
 (Old High German, Notker 193,19, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

(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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761), trans. Hartmann von Aue-Portal

(5) ?

a. diu habe niemer niht entuot, des der seele schaden si

“ (?, Warn. 2490, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

b. des himels unt der erde und swes din kint dar inne begriffen hat

“ (?, R. v. Zw. 21,8, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

c. die bevogtet werden sollen mit dem nechsten vattermagen oder dem

dazu erkoren wird

“ (?, Weist. 1,65, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

d. diese Handlung der Merope gefalle, wem da will

“ (?, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing 11,203, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

e. dem Wanderer zu bieten Schutz und Rast und wen’s auch sei zu

wärmen und zu laben

“ (?, Redwitz, Amaranth (Bl), Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 761)

(6) Magst gefallen wem du wilt

“ Adversus - Komm’ oh Tod

2.2 Headless relative clauses

2.2.1 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 756, glosses and translation by Pittner 1995, p. 199)

b. Do sagete er Parziwale danc prises des erwarf 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 Helgander 1971, p. 174 after Pittner 1995, p. 198)

(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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 756, glosses and translation by Pittner 1995, p. 198)
- 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, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 756, glosses and translation by Pittner 1995, p. 198)

(10) DAT instead of ACC?

(11) DAT instead of NOM

(12) ACC instead of NOM

- a. unde ne wolden nîet besên den mort den dô was
 and not wanted not see the murder.ACC that.ACC there had
 geschên
 happened
 ‘and they didn’t want to see the murder that had happened.’ (Middle High German, Nibelungenlied 1391,14, Behaghel 1923-1932, p. 756, glosses and translation by Pittner 1995, p. 198)

Part II

Prepositional case

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