What-for-Splits and the analysis of dative objects in German

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Maria Melchiors

EBERHARD KARLS
UNIVERSITÄT
TÜBINGEN

The Phenomenon

What-for-Splits

1. Was   für   Bücher hast   du   damals gelesen?
   What   for   books   have   you   then   read?
   „What kind of books did you read at that time?"

2. Was   hast du   damals für   Bücher   gelesen?
   What   have you   then   for   books   read?
   „What kind of books did you read at that time?"

Languages:
German, Dutch, Danish √
English ÷

Abbreviations

Verbs with two arguments:

3.   weil   der Junge   dem Nachbarn   hilft

        because   [the boy]$_{NOM}$ [the neighbour]$_{DAT}$ helps

        „because the boy helps the neighbour"

4.   weil   dem Nachbarn   der Junge   hilft

        because   [the neighbour]$_{DAT}$ [the boy]$_{NOM}$ helps

        „because the boy helps the neighbour"

5.   weil   der Sänger   dem Jungen   gefällt

        because   [the singer]$_{NOM}$ [the boy]$_{DAT}$ pleases

        „because the singer pleases the boy"

6.   weil   dem Jungen   der Sänger   gefällt

        because   [the boy]$_{DAT}$ [the singer]$_{NOM}$ pleases

        „because the singer pleases the boy"

→verbs like *help* = N-D-Verbs

→verbs like *gefallen* = D-N-Verbs

Judgements

Fanselow (1987):

Only by accusative objects

Besten (1985:36)

7.   *Was   hast du   für Leuten   deinen Aufsatz   geschickt?
     What   have you   for people   your paper   sent?
     "What kind of people have you sent your paper to?"

Müller (1995:201)

8.   *Was   hat   der Fritz   für Leuten Briefe   geschickt?
     What   has   the Fritz   for people letters   sent?
     "What kind of people has Fritz sent letters to?"

Judgements

Lutz (2004:88)

9.   Was   hat   sie   für Leuten ein Buch   gegeben?
     What has   she   for people a book   given?
     "What kind of people has she given a book to?"

Pafel (1996:53)

10. Was hat   er   für Leuten vertraut?
     What has   he   for people trusted?
     "What kind of people has he trusted?"

Judgements

Bayer et al (2001:489)

11. Was   hast du   für   einem Buch einen Aufsatz   zugefügt?
    What   have you   for   [a book] $_{DAT}$ [a paper]$_{AKK}$ added?
    "What kind of book have you added a paper to?"

12. Was   hast du   für   Leuten   geholfen?
    What   have you   for   people   helped?
    "What kind of people have you helped?"

Magnitude estimation methodology

- Own scale of grammaticality
- Relative judgements

Task:

A: The food and drink fetches the father for the child.   =20
B: The father fetches for the child food and drink.   =30

If example A is worth 20 and sentence B is worth 30, how natural does this sound?

C: The father fetches the child the food and drink.

Standard examples

A: In   der Mensa   essen viele Studenten   zu Mittag.
   In   the canteen   eat   many students   at lunch.time
   „*Many students eat in the canteen at lunch time*"

B: Welche Zahnpasta hat   der Zahnarzt welchem Patienten empfohlen?
   What toothpaste   had   the dentist   which patient   recommended?
   „*What toothpaste did the dentist recommend to which patient?*"

C: Ich   habe dem Kunden   sich selbst   im Spiegel   gezeigt.
   I   have [the customer]$_{DAT}$ himself   in the mirror   showed
   „*I have showed the customer himself in the mirror*"

D: Der Stürmer hat dem Torwart   vorsätzlich   gefoult
   The forward   has [the goalkeeper]$_{DAT}$ deliberately   fouled
   „*The forward fouled the goalkeeper deliberately* "

E: Dem Geburtstagskind   hat der Gast   gestern   auf der Party geschenkt.
   [The birthday child] $_{DAT}$ has the guest   yesterday   at the party given
   „*The guest has given the birthday child yesterday at the party*"

First Experiment

Factors:

- the grammatical function

Ideal experimental construction:

- Intransitive verbs. Subject splits
- Transitive verbs: Subject splits, accusative splits
- Ditransitive verbs: Subject splits, accusative splits, dative splits
- N-D-Verbs: Subject splits, dative splits

First Experiment

The actual experimental design:

- Ditransitive verbs: Dative splits
- N-D-Verbs: Dative splits

- Intransitive verbs: Subject splits
- Transitive verbs: Accusative splits

First Experiment

Factors:

- the grammatical function

- the insertion of an adverb

13. Was haben für Arbeiter protestiert?
    What have for workers protested?
    „What kind of workers did protest?"

14. Was haben damals für Arbeiter protestiert?
    What have then for workers protested?
    „What kind of workers did protest at that time?"

Design

Choice of subject type

- Full DPs
- Pronouns

15. Was   hat   der Student   damals   für   Bücher   gelesen?
    What   has   the student   then   for   books   read?
    „What kind of books did the student read at that time?"

16. Was   hat   er   damals   für   Bücher   gelesen?
    What   has   he   then   for   books   read?
    „What kind of books did he read at that time?"

Predicates

Verbs for subject splits:
arbeiten (to work), leben (to live), protestieren (to protest),reiten (to ride),schlafen (to sleep), spielen (to play), tanzen (to dance) and *zelten (to camp)*

Verbs for accusative splits:
bauen (to build), bestellen (to order), besuchen (to visit), hören (to listen), lesen (to read), sehen (to watch), treffen (to meet) und malen (to draw)

Verbs for dative split (D-A-verbs):
erlauben (to allow) , liefern (to supply), schicken (to send), spendieren (to donate), stiften (to donate), vermitteln (mediate), versprechen (to promise) and *wegnehmen (to take away)*

Verbs for dative splits (N-D-verbs)
begegnen (to meet) ,ausweichen (to avoid), gratulieren (to congratulate), helfen (to help), nachlaufen (to run after) , schmeicheln (to flatter), widersprechen (to contradict) and *zujubeln (to cheer)*

Results
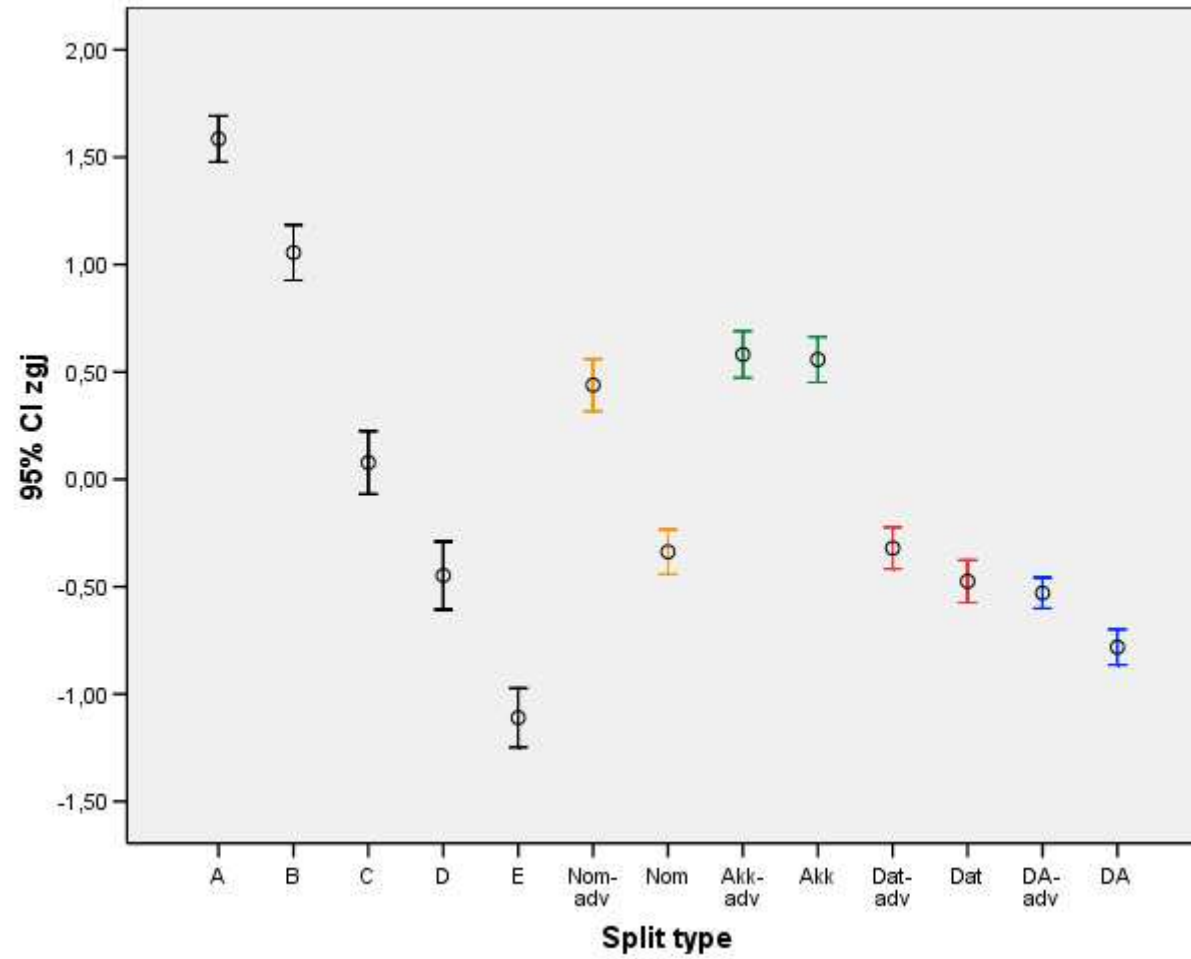
Results
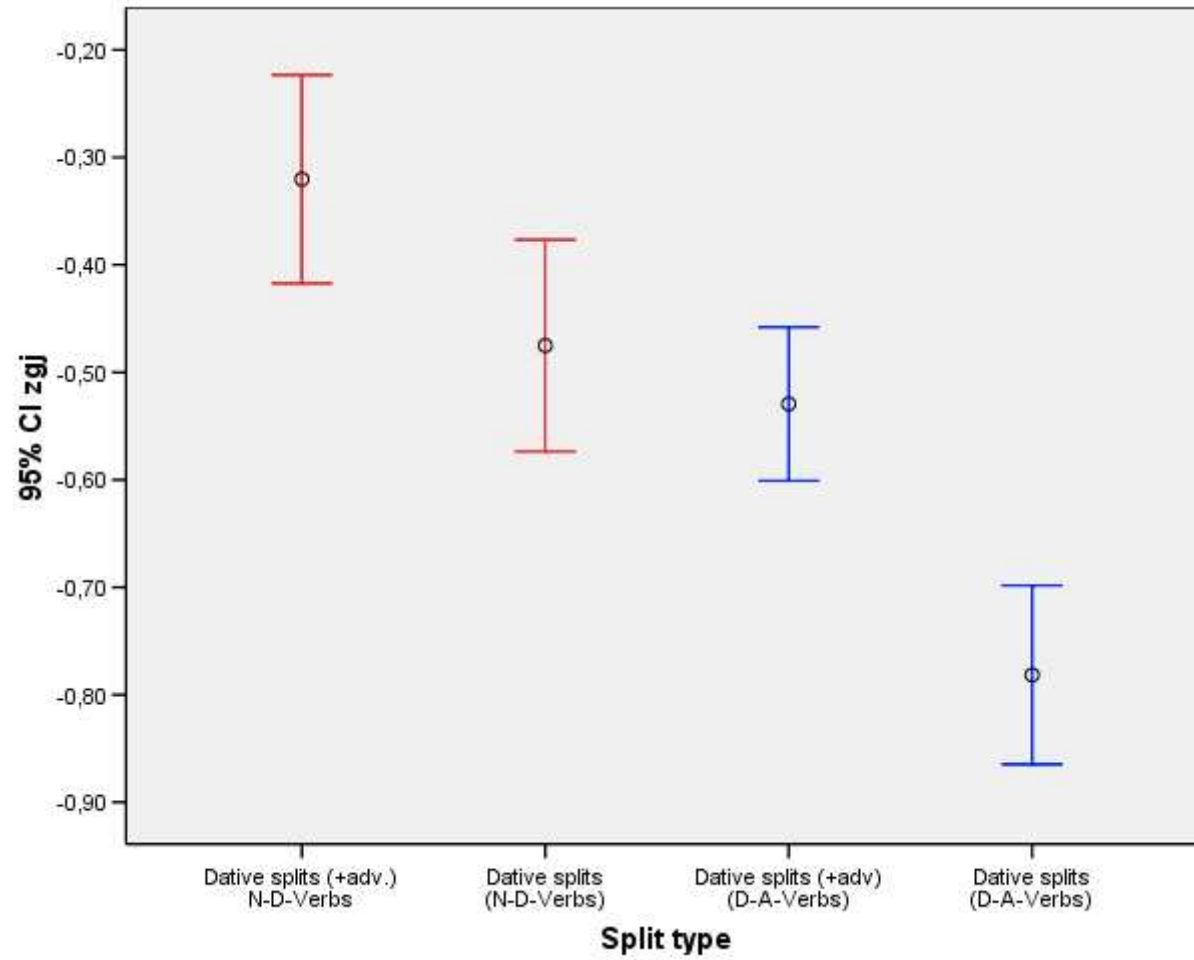
What about animacy?

- Animacy wasn´t tested as a factor in the first experiment

- Does animacy matter?

17. Was hast du damals für Fächer gemocht?
    What have you then for subjects liked?
    „What kind of subjects did you like at that time?"

18. Was hast du damals für Lehrer gemocht?
    What have you then for teachers liked?
    „What kind of teachers did you like at that time?"

Control sentences

19. Welche Lehrer hast du damals gemocht?
    What teachers have you then liked?
    „What teachers did you like at that time?"

Second Experiment

Transitive Verbs:

mögen (to like), besuchen (to visit), bewundern (to admire), akzeptieren
(to accept), sehen (to watch), ignorieren (to ignore), finden (to find) and haben
(to have)

N-D-Verbs:

gehorchen (to obey), ausweichen (to avoid), entfliehen (to escape),entgegen-
kommen (to come towards), nachtrauern (to mourn),nachlaufen (to run after),
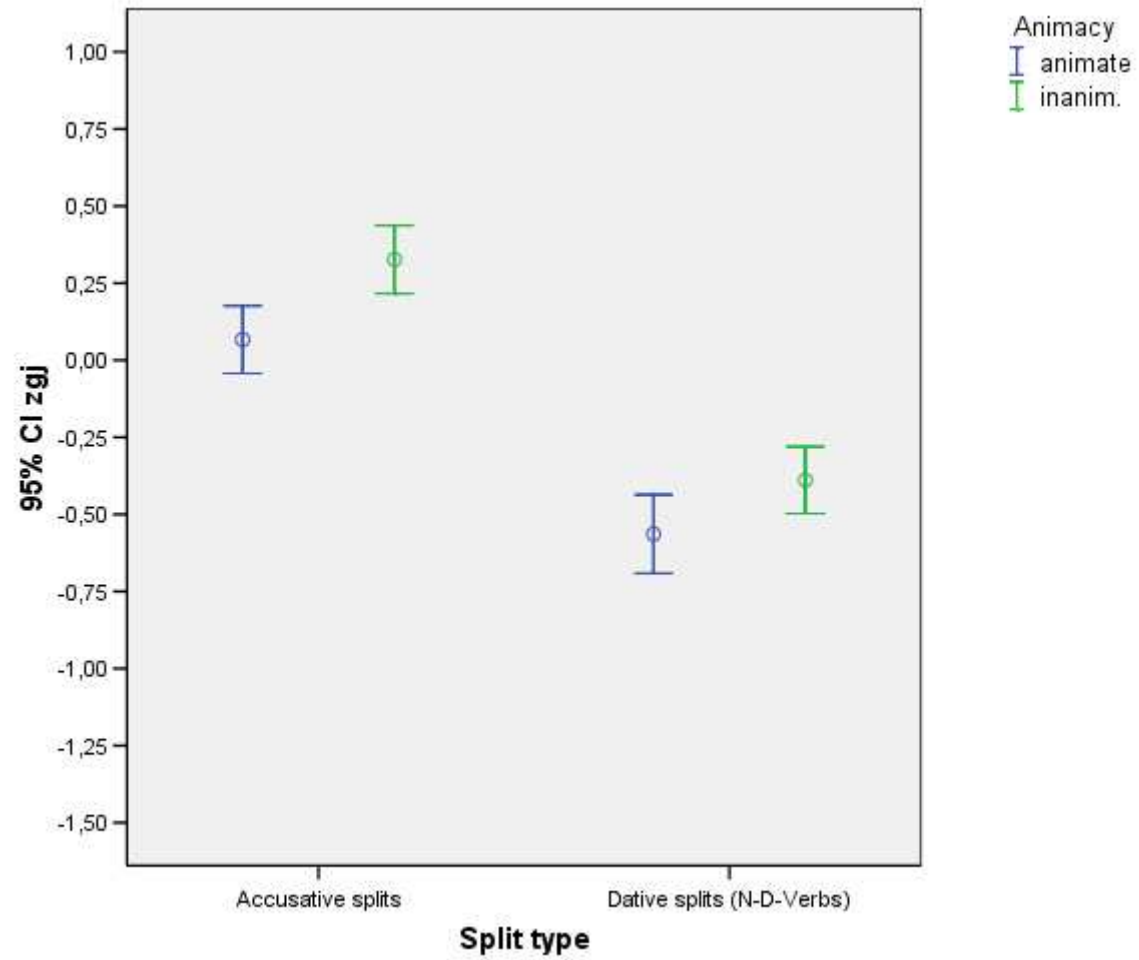zustimmen (to agree) and trotzen (to defy)

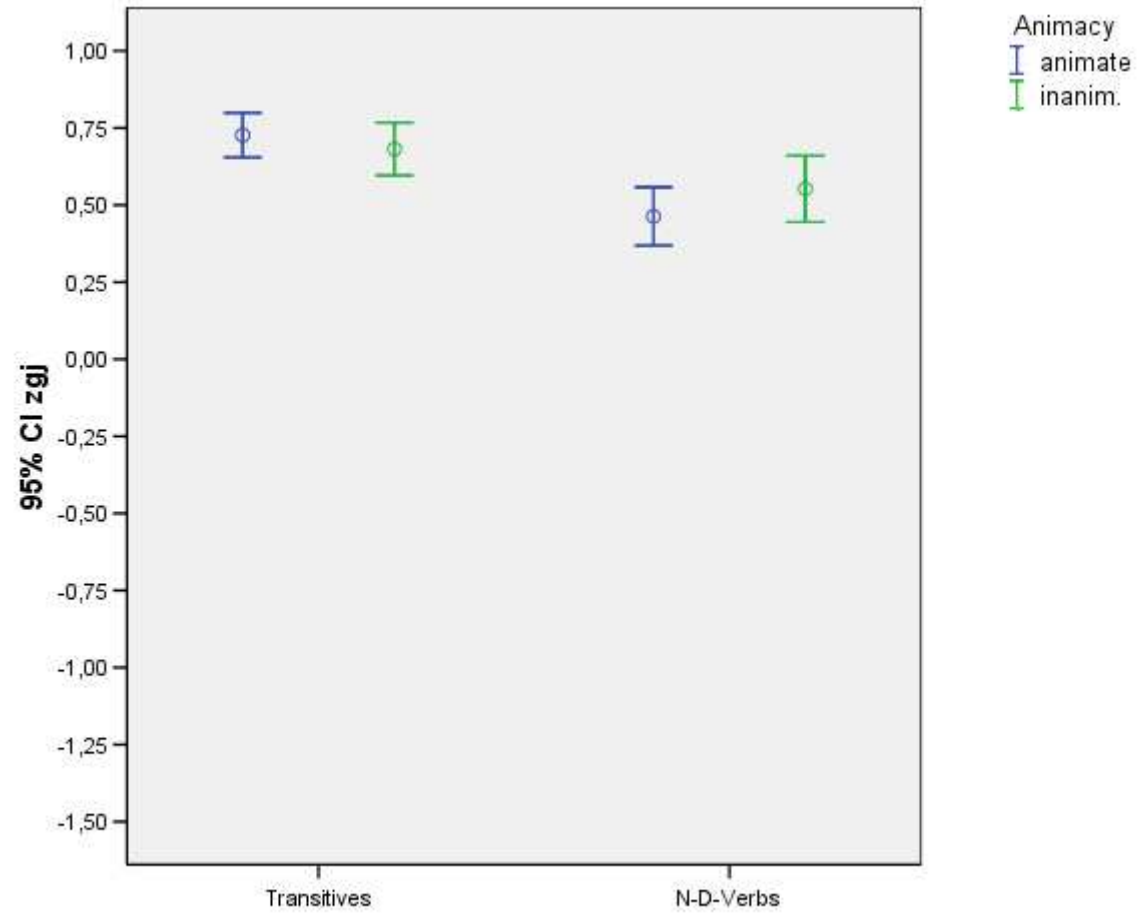**D-N-Verbs:**

entgehen (to escape/to miss) and gefallen (to please)

D-A-Verbs:

abgewinnen (to win something from sb) and abringen (to force sth from sb
/wrestle)

Results

Results

Third Experiment

Study of N-D-Verbs and D-N-Verbs:

Hypotheses for N-D-Verbs:

- Dative splits are acceptabel
- Subject splits are rather bad

20. Was haben die Teenager damals für Sängern zugejubelt?
    What have the teenagers then for singers cheered?
    „What kind of singers did the teenagers cheer at that time?"

21. Was haben für Teenager dem Sänger zugejubelt?
    What have for teenagers [the singer]$_{DAT}$ cheered?
    „What kind of teenagers cheered the singer?"

Third Experiment

Hypotheses for D-N-Verbs:

- Dative splits are rather bad
- Subject splits are acceptabel

22. Was ist für Schülern das Problem aufgefallen?
    What is for pupils the problem occur to?
    „What kind of pupils did the problem occur to?"

23. Was sind den Schülern damals für Probleme aufgefallen?
    What are the pupils then for problems occurred?
    „What kind of problems occured to the pupils at that time?"

Predicates

N-D-Verbs:

Nachlaufen (to run after) , ausweichen (to avoid), begegnen (to meet), helfen (to help), zujubeln, (to cheer), gratulieren (to congratulate) , schmeicheln (to flatter), folgen (to follow) and *widersprechen (to contradict)*

D-N-Verbs:

entgehen (to escape) , unterlaufen (to befall), passieren (to happen to someone), gefallen (to please), auffallen (to strike someone), einfallen (to occur to somebody), missfallen (displease), passen (to suit) and zustoßen (to happen to someone)
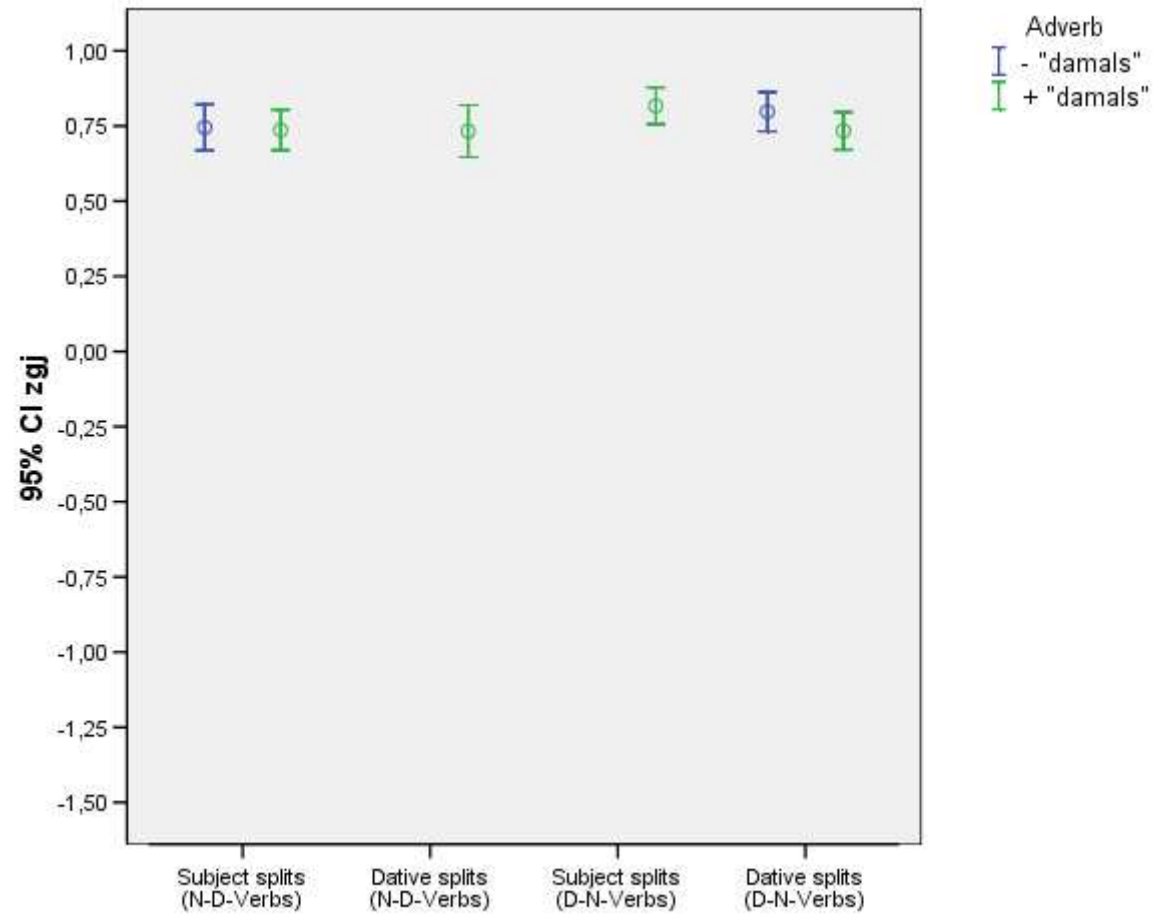
Predicates

Control sentences

24.   Welche Fehler sind   dem Mitarbeiter   unterlaufen?
        What mistakes are   [the employee]$_{DAT}$ befell?
        „What mistakes did the employee make?"

25.   Was   sind   dem Mitarbeiter   für Fehler   unterlaufen?
        What   are   [the employee]$_{DAT}$ for mistakes   befell?
        „What kind of mistakes did the employee make?"

Results
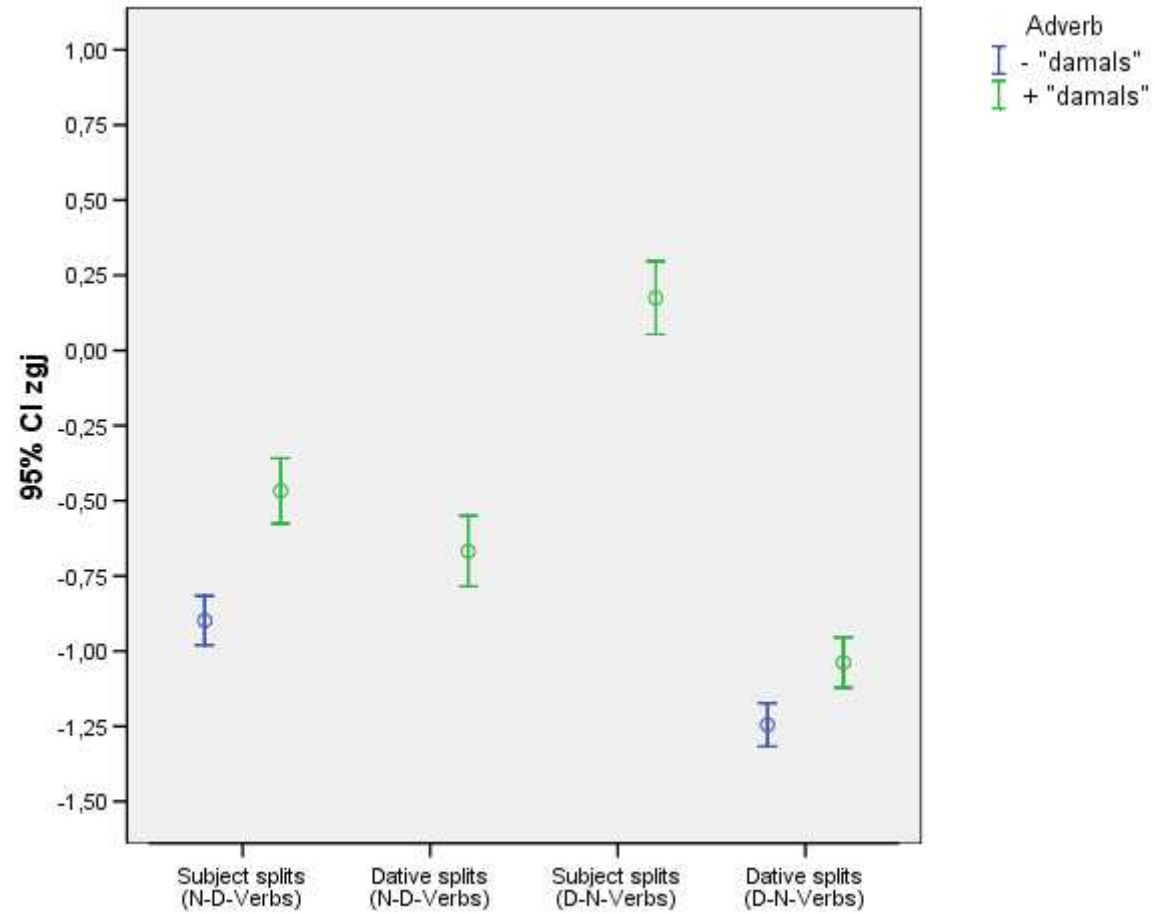
Results

The traditional analysis

Corver (1991) and Pafel (1996):

What-for-Splits = Extractions

Corver's Explanation:

Accusative split = ECP isn't violated

Subject splits   = ECP is violated

Drawbacks

- Dative splits should be grammatical
- Dative splits should behave in the same way
- All subject splits should be ruled out

How to account for *What-for*-splits?

The Data

- Prefer accusative
- Avoid complexity.. Dative splits of ditransitive verbs are less good
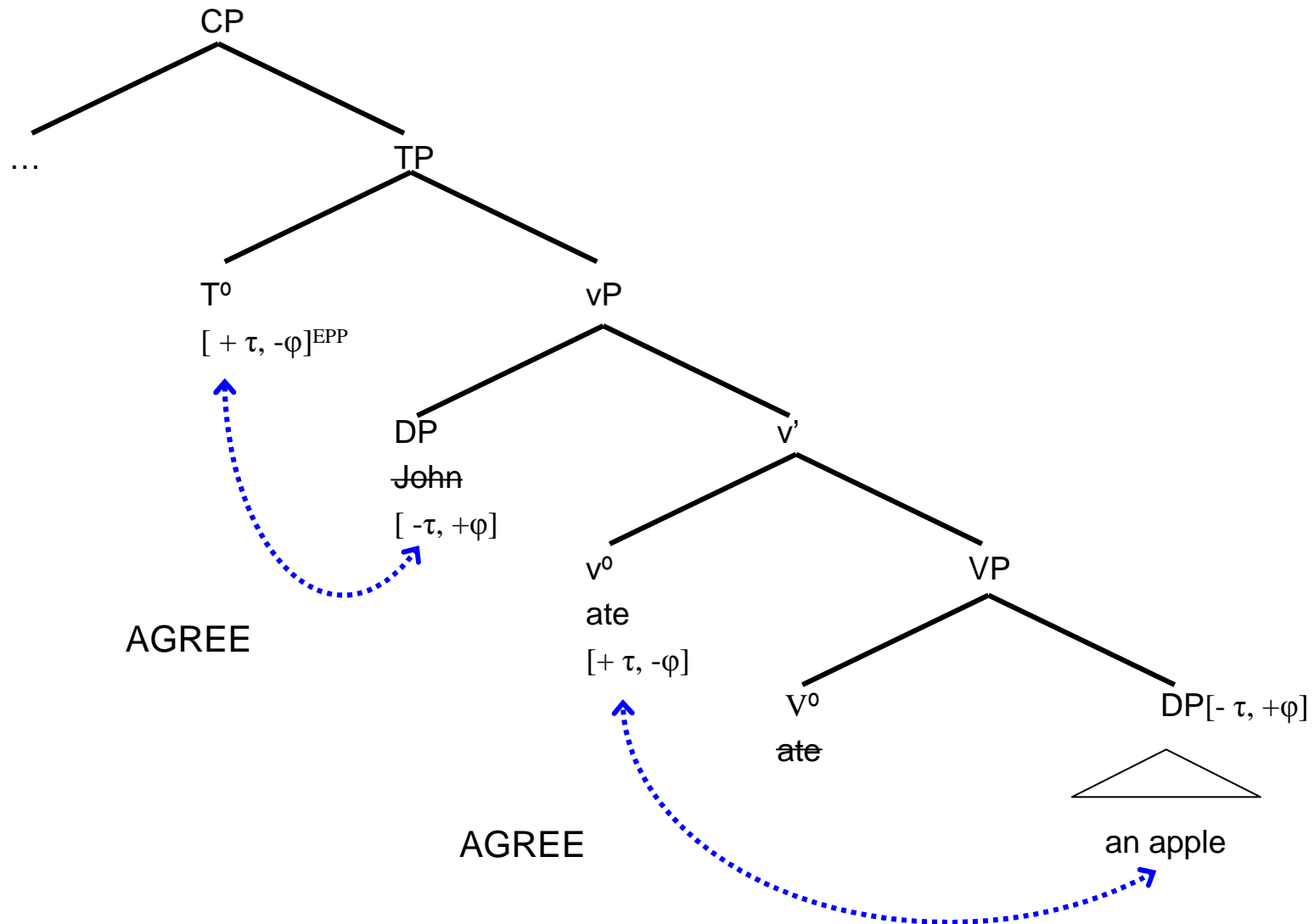- Avoid a too short movement

26. Was$_1$ haben   t$_1$ für Leute   gearbeitet?
     What$_1$ have   t$_1$ for people   worked?
     "What kind of people worked?"

27. Was$_1$ haben   dort t$_1$ für Leute   gearbeitet ?
     What$_1$ have   there t$_1$ for people   worked?
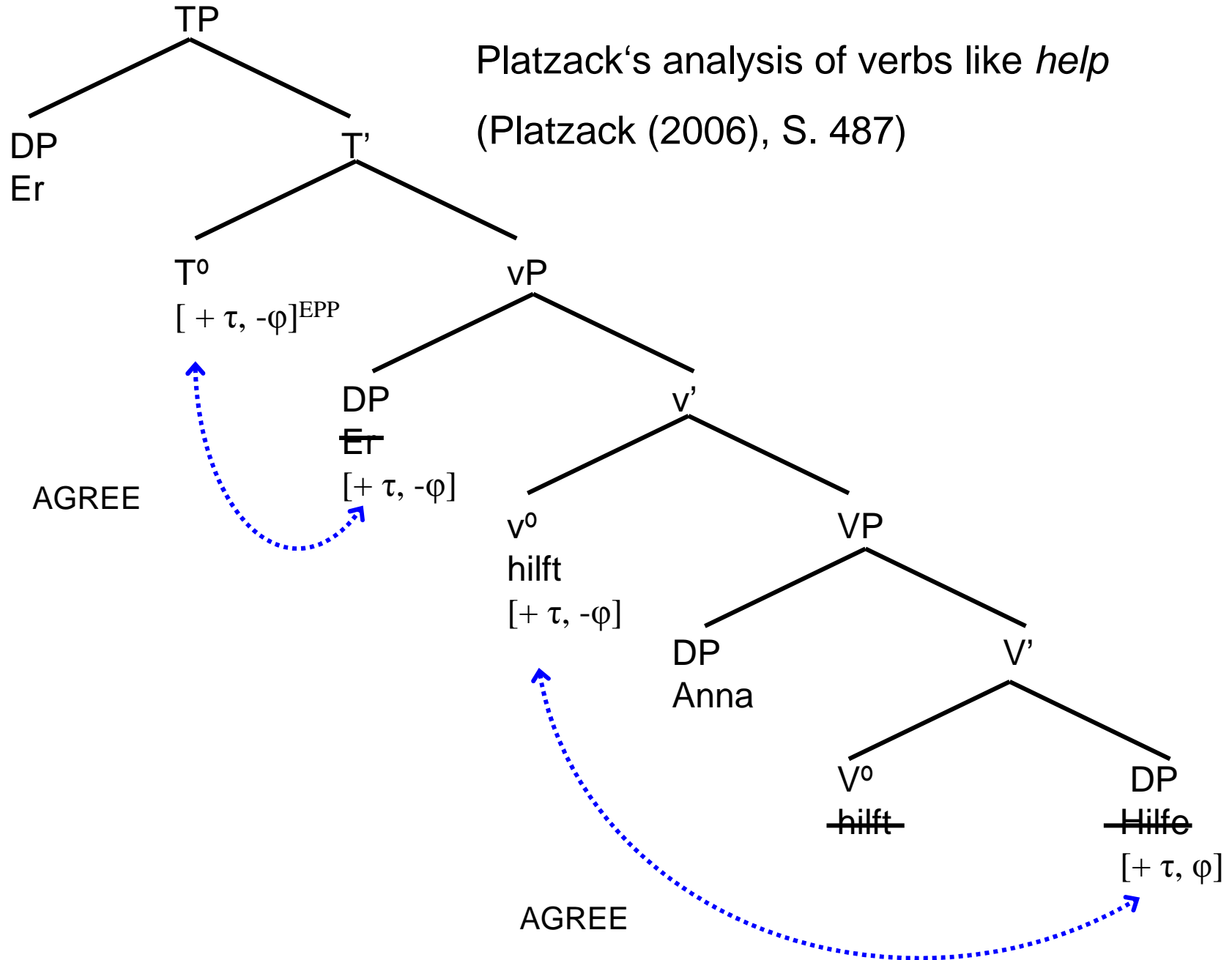   *"What kind of people worked there?"*

Another account?

28.

Platzack's analysis of transitive verbs (Platzack (2006), S. 486)

CP
...
TP
T⁰
$[+ \tau, -\varphi]^{EPP}$
vP
DP
~~John~~
$[-\tau, +\varphi]$
v'
v⁰
ate
$[+ \tau, -\varphi]$
VP
V⁰
~~ate~~
DP$[- \tau, +\varphi]$
an apple

AGREE

AGREE

29.

TP

DP
Er

T'

T⁰
$[+\tau, -\varphi]^{EPP}$

vP

Platzack's analysis of verbs like *help*

(Platzack (2006), S. 487)

DP
~~Er~~
$[+\tau, -\varphi]$

v'

AGREE

v⁰
hilft
$[+\tau, -\varphi]$

VP

DP
Anna

V'

V⁰
~~hilft~~

DP
~~Hilfe~~
$[+\tau, \varphi]$

AGREE

Problems with Platzack's analysis

Conceptual problem:

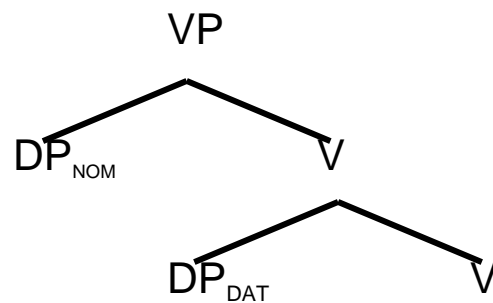- Cognate objects normally occur with intransitive verbs

Empirical problem:

- Platzacks analysis predicts that all datives behave in the same way

Consequences of the third experiment

The results would support a rather simpler analysis of verbs with
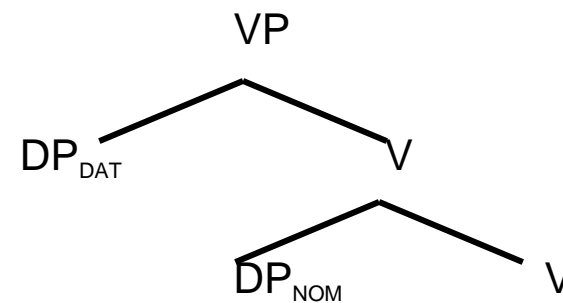two arguments like the following structures:

N–D-Verbs   **D-N-Verbs**

30.   31.

Literature

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