Bavarian complex *der*-verbs and temporal adverbials

Jakob Majdič & Sarah Zobel

Universität Wien & Universität Oslo

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Bavarian *der*-verbs

- ▶ Bavarian *der*-verbs: complex verbs built with the Bavarian prefix *der-*

  (1) a. *essen* 'eat' ⤳ *der-essen*   (ROOT: *essen*)
       b. *aufessen* 'eat up' ⤳ *auf-der-essen*   (ROOT: *aufessen*)

Bavarian *der*-verbs

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       b. *aufessen* 'eat up' ⤳ *auf-der-essen*   (ROOT: *aufessen*)

▶ Bavarian *der-* may correspond to Standard German *er-*, *ver- zer-* but has also independent uses   (e.g., Sonnenhauser 2012)

  (2)   a. *er-arbeiten* 'acquire' ⤳ *der-arbeiten*
       b. *ver-faulen* 'rot' ⤳ *der-faulen*
       c. *zer-stechen* 'prick all over' ⤳ *der-stechen*

Focus: *der*-verbs conveying "successful realization"

Purely Bavarian use: the complex verb encodes roughly that the agent managed to perform the action described by the verbal material *der-* combines with

(3) *Der Alex hat das Schnitzel auf-der-essen.*
the Alex has the schnitzel up-der-eaten
(≈ 'Alex managed to eat the schnitzel.')

(4) *Der Alex hat den Ball gegen die Wand der-schmissen.*
the Alex has the ball against the wall der-thrown
(≈ 'Alex managed to throw the ball against the wall.')

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- ▶ the agent performed the action
- ▶ the agent intended to perform the action

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the Alex has the ball against the wall der-thrown
(≈ 'Alex managed to throw the ball against the wall.')

▶ the agent performed the action
▶ the agent intended to perform the action
▶ the speaker believes that the action was not easy to complete

Goals of this talk

▶ Starting point: What is the aktionsart of *der*-verbs?

⇒ we show that they are achievement predicates

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▶ The result that *der*-verbs describe achievements, leads to a puzzle:

　– *der*-verbs can combine with temporal adverbials that are otherwise
　　incompatible with achievement predicates

　– the resulting interpretation cannot be explained by aspectual coercion

Goals of this talk

- ▶ Starting point: What is the aktionsart of *der*-verbs?

  ⇒ we show that they are achievement predicates

- ▶ The result that *der*-verbs describe achievements, leads to a puzzle:
  - *der*-verbs can combine with temporal adverbials that are otherwise incompatible with achievement predicates
  - the resulting interpretation cannot be explained by aspectual coercion

- ▶ We discuss two potential solutions to the puzzle and present further data that, we believe, favors one of the two solutions.

Roadmap

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Aktionsart
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Puzzle: temp. adverbials
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Conclusion
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der-verbs are not states or activities

Behavior with time-point adverbials

▶ Observation: time-point adverbials temporally locate the event
   described by *der*-verbs

(5) *Der Alex hat die Kiste um Punkt 12h der-zogen.*
     the Alex has the box   at   point 12h der-pulled
     'At 12h sharp, Alex managed to pull the box.'

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der-verbs are not states or activities

Behavior with time-point adverbials

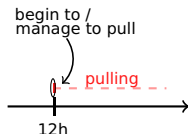▶ Observation: time-point adverbials temporally locate the event described by *der*-verbs

(5) *Der Alex hat die Kiste um Punkt 12h der-zogen.*
the Alex has the box at point 12h der-pulled
'At 12h sharp, Alex managed to pull the box.'

▶ with activities and states, they localize an instance within the runtime

(6) *Die Susi lief um Punkt 12h.*
the Susi ran at point 12h
'Susi was running at 12h sharp.'   (activity)

(7) *Die Ida war um Punkt 12h glücklich.*
the Ida was at point 12h happy
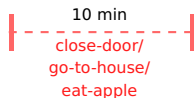'Ida was happy at 12h sharp.'   (state)

⇒ *der*-verbs denote neither activities nor states

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

der-verbs: achievements or accomplishments?

▶ Background: only accomplishments are compatible with *dauern*

  ⇒ predicates describing an event with a left and a right boundary

(8) Accomplishments

   a. *Die Susi hat die Türe zugemacht.*
      the Susi has the door closed
      'Susi closed the door'.

   b. *Die Ida ist zum Haus gegangen.*
      the Ida is to.the house went
      'Ida went to the house.'

   c. *Die Ina hat einen Apfel gegessen.*
      the Ina has a apple eaten
      'Ina ate an apple.'

      ✓...Es hat 10 min gedauert.
      ✓...'It lasted 10 minutes.'

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

dauern-test: *der*-verbs behave like achievements

der-verbs and achievement predicates are incompatible with *dauern*

▶ Achievements

   (9)   *Der Tom hat die Partie gewonnen/verlassen.*
        the Tom has the game won/left
        'Tom won/left the game.'
        ??...Es hat 10 min gedauert.
        ??...'It lasted 10 min.'

▶ *der*-verbs

  (10) *Der Alex hat die Kiste der-zogen.*
        the Alex has the box der-pulled
        'Alex managed to pull the box'.
        ??...Es hat 10min gedauert
        ??...'It took 10min.'

wrt *dauern*: *der*-verbs behave like achievement predicates

in-adverbials as an aktionsart-test

▶ Background: achievements describe left or right boundaries of events
(Piñón 1997; Zybatow 2004, 2008)

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

in-adverbials as an aktionsart-test

▶ Background: achievements describe left or right boundaries of events

(Piñón 1997; Zybatow 2004, 2008)

▶ Zybatow 2004, 2008: *in*-adverbials are potentially ambiguous
between two readings
  ▶ *within*-reading: measures the runtime of the event described by the
    modified predicate
  ▶ *after*-reading: measures the time from reference time to some boundary
    of the event described by the modified predicate

⇒ accomplishments and achievements show distinct interpretation
patterns with *in*-adverbials

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

in-adverbials as an aktionsart-test
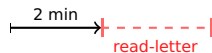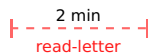
- ▶ Background: achievements describe left or right boundaries of events
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- ▶ Zybatow 2004, 2008: *in*-adverbials are potentially ambiguous between two readings
  - ▶ *within*-reading: measures the runtime of the event described by the modified predicate
  - ▶ *after*-reading: measures the time from reference time to some boundary of the event described by the modified predicate

  ⇒ accomplishments and achievements show distinct interpretation patterns with *in*-adverbials

- ▶ We show
  - ▶ *der*-verbs do not pattern with accomplishments
  - ▶ they pattern with both types of achievements: right boundary achievements (rAs) and left boundary achievements (lAs)

Accomplishments + *in*-adverbials (Zybatow 2004, 2008)

Interpretation-pattern of accomplishments + *in adverbials*

▶ *within*-reading available

▶ *after*-reading targets left boundary

(11) a. *Er liest den Brief in 2 min*
         He reads the   letter in 2 min.
         'It takes him 2 min to read the letter.'

      b. *Er liest in 2 min den Brief.*
         he reads in 2 min the   letter
         'In 2 min, he starts reading the letter.'

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

Achievements + *in*-adverbials (Zybatow 2004, 2008)

1) right boundary achievements (= right boundary of an inferred event)
  – *within*-reading available
  – *after*-reading targets right boundary

(12) a. *Der Alex gewinnt das Spiel in 2 min.*
       the Alex wins   the game in 2 min
       'It takes Alex 2 min to win the game.'

   b. *Der Alex gewinnt in 2 min das Spiel.*
      'In ten minutes, Alex wins the game.'

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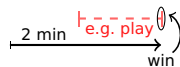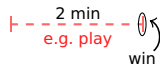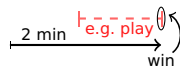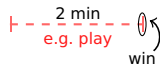*der*-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

Achievements + *in*-adverbials (Zybatow 2004, 2008)

1) right boundary achievements (= right boundary of an inferred event)
  – *within*-reading available
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          the Alex wins   the game in 2 min
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     b. *Der Alex gewinnt in 2 min das Spiel.*
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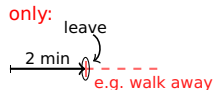2) left boundary achievements (= left boundary of an inferred event)
  – *within*-reading unavailable
  – *after*-reading targets left boundary

(13) a. *Der Alex verlässt den Platz   in 2 min.*
          the Alex leaves   the square in 2 min
          #'It takes Alex 2 min to leave the square.'

     b. *Der Alex verlässt in 2 min den Platz.*
          'In 2 min, Alex leaves the square.'

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der-verbs are achievements, not accomplishments

der-verbs and *in*-adverbials

1) *der*- + ROOT$^+_{\text{acc/rA}}$ ⇒ rA pattern

(14) a. *Er der-liest   den Brief in 2 min.*
he der-reads the letter in 2 min
'He manages to read the letter within 2 min.'

b. *Er der-liest in 2 min den Brief.*
'In 2 min, he manages to read the letter.'
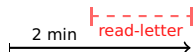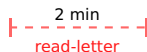
2) *der*- + ROOT$^+_{\text{act/lA}}$ ⇒ lA pattern

(15) *Die Ida der-zieht die Kiste in 2 min.*
the Ida der-pulls the box   in 2 min
'In 2 min, Ida manages to pull the box.'

(16) *Sie der-haut   in 2 min ab.*
she der-beats in 2 min PART
'In 2 min, she manages to leave.'

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Conclusion: the aktionsart of *der*-verbs
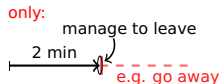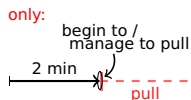
Aktionsart: conclusion

▶ Time-point adverbials: *der*-verbs do not denote states or activities

▶ *dauern*-test: *der*-verbs do not denote accomplishments

  ⇒ like achievements, *der*-verbs are incompatible with *es hat x-Zeit gedauert*

▶ *in*-adverbials: *der*-verbs pattern exactly like achievements

  – *der*- + ROOT$^+$$_{acc/rA}$ pattern like right boundary achievements

  – *der*- + ROOT$^+$$_{act/lA}$ pattern like left boundary achievements

⇒ Prefixion of *der*- creates achievements by introducing a boundary of the event described by the ROOT$^+$.

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The puzzle

Puzzle: combination with temporal adverbials

▶ Observation: only the boundary described by the full *der*-verb is accessible to negation

(17) *Der Alex hat das Schnitzel nicht auf-der-essen.*
the Alex has the Schnitzel not up-der-eaten
'Alex did not manage to eat the schnitzel.'
(*not:* 'Alex managed to not eat the schnitzel.')

↝ event described by ROOT is not compositionally accessible

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     (*not:* 'Alex managed to not eat the schnitzel.')

⤳ event described by ROOT is not compositionally accessible

▶ Puzzle: when *der-halten* 'der-hold' combines with a durative adverbial, the sentence has an interpretation (R2) that cannot be explained via aspectual coercion

(18) *Der Alex hat die Kiste zwei Stunden lang der-halten.*
     the Alex has the box two hours long der-halten.
     R1: 'For two hours, Alex repeatedly managed to hold the box.'
     R2: 'Alex managed to hold the box for two hours.'

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The puzzle

How to proceed?

Assuming the following contribution for durative adverbials:

(19) ⟦zwei Stunden lang⟧ $= \lambda e.$ for$(e,$ two-hours$)$ (Dölling 2014)

there are two ways to deal with this puzzle:

(A) the prefix *der-* does not fix the aktionsart of the complex verb, the verbal root does (cf. Sonnenhauser 2012)

(B) *der*-verbs are achievements and the interpretation R2 can be explained by independent means

⇒ we see two ways to make (B) concrete:

    (B1) temporal adverbials can be internal modifiers

    (B2) *der*-verbs are morpho-syntactically complex

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Proposal B1: temporal adverbials as internal modifiers

Maienborn (2001, 2003): internal locative modifiers

Internal locative modifiers adjoin low in the VP and locate an entity involved in the eventuality:

(20) Eva signed the contract on the last page.

⇒ interpretation via a flexible modification template

(21) MOD*: $\lambda Q.\lambda P.\lambda x.\ P(x)\ \&\ R(x, v)\ \&\ Q(v)$
      (R and v are contextually instantiated)

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      (R and v are contextually instantiated)

⇒ combination of on the last page with sign in (20)

(22) $[\![$ sign [MOD* on the last page]$]\!] =$
      $\lambda e.\ \text{sign}(e)\ \&\ R(e,v)\ \&\ \text{on-the-last-page}(v)$

⇒ R is instantiated as a part-of relation
⇒ v is inferred to denote Eva's signature

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Bavarian complex der-verbs and temporal adverbials

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Proposal B1: temporal adverbials as internal modifiers

B1: Possible analysis for (18)

(18) *Der Alex hat die Kiste zwei Stunden lang der-halten.*
the Alex has the box two hours long der-halten.
'Alex managed to hold the box for two hours.'

– Assume: *der-halten* describes a boundary *e* of a holding-event
– Assume: *zwei Stunden lang* 'for two hours' adjoins between the direct object and the *der*-verb

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Proposal B1: temporal adverbials as internal modifiers

B1: Possible analysis for (18)

(18) *Der Alex hat die Kiste zwei Stunden lang der-halten.*
     the Alex has the box   two   hours   long der-halten.
     'Alex managed to hold the box for two hours.'

- Assume: *der-halten* describes a boundary e of a holding-event
- Assume: *zwei Stunden lang* 'for two hours' adjoins between the direct object and the *der*-verb

▶ use MOD* to compose *zwei Stunden lang* with *der-halten* in (18)

(23) $[\![[[\text{MOD}^* \text{ zwei Stunden lang}] \text{ derhalten}]]\!] =$
      $\lambda e. \text{ der-hold}(e) \text{ \& } R(e, e') \text{ \& for-two-hours}(e')$

$\Rightarrow R$ is plausibly instantiated by a part-of relation
$\Rightarrow v$ is inferred to denote the holding-event e' performed by Alex

(cf. Zybatow 2008 for *in*-adverbials)

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Proposal B2: *der*-verbs are morpho-syntactically complex

A syntactic analysis of complex verbs

Wurmbrand (1998), Zeller (2001): complex verbs in German are built in the syntax
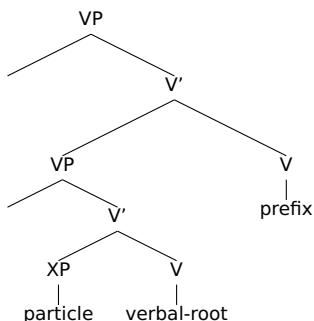
- ▶ prefixes have scope over a lower VP that introduces the particle and verbal root
- ▶ the verbal root is combined with the prefix via head movement but reconstructs into the lower VP

⇒ adjunction sites in lower and higher VP

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Proposal B2: *der*-verbs are morpho-syntactically complex

B2: Possible analysis for (18)

(18) *Der Alex hat die Kiste zwei Stunden lang der-halten.*
      the Alex has the box   two   hours   long der-halten.
      'Alex managed to hold the box for two hours.'

- Assume: *zwei Stunden lang* 'for two hours' adjoins to the lower VP
- Assume: *der-* has scope over the lower VP, closes off the
  holding-event described there, and introduces a boundary event for it

▶ *zwei Stunden lang* composes with *halten* 'hold' as a "regular modifier"

  (24) VP_{low}: [.VP [.DP *the box*] [.V' [.*for-two-hours*] [.V *hold*]]]

  (25) VP_{high}: [.VP [.V' VP_{low} [.V *der-*]]]

  ⇒ no inference-based composition step needed

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B1 vs. B2: aspectual coercion

B1 or B2? – A look at aspectual coercion

Observation:

If a *der*-verb combines with a temporal adverbial that does not readily
combine with the complex verb *and* the internal verbal material,

we observe aspectual coercion readings with both parts.

(26) *Der Alex hat 10 Minuten lang einen Reifen über einen Zaun*
     the Alex has 10 minutes long a tire over a fence
     drüber-der-schmissen.
     over-der-thrown

▶ temporal adverbial: *10 Minuten lang* 'for 10 Minutes'
▶ ROOT: *drüberschmeissen* 'throw across'

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B1 vs. B2: aspectual coercion

Aspectual coercion: scenario 1

Scenario 1: Alex participates in a Spartan Race. His final task is to throw a tire across a fence for as long as he can manage. The longer he manages, the more points he gets.

(26)   *Der Alex hat 10 Minuten lang einen Reifen über einen Zaun*
       the Alex has 10 minutes long a   tire   over a   fence
       drüber-der-schmissen.
       over-der-thrown
       'For 10 minutes, Alex managed to throw a tire across a fence.'

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B1 vs. B2: aspectual coercion

Aspectual coercion: scenario 1

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(26) *Der Alex hat 10 Minuten lang einen Reifen über einen Zaun*
     the Alex has 10 minutes long a tire over a fence
     drüber-der-schmissen.
     over-der-thrown
     'For 10 minutes, Alex managed to throw a tire across a fence.'

Interpretation: the *der*-verb plus its internal arguments and modifiers are coerced to get an iterative interpretation

(27) For 10 minutes, Alex repeatedly managed to throw a tire across a fence. Then he didn't manage another throw.

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B1 vs. B2: aspectual coercion

Aspectual coercion: scenario 2

Scenario 2: Alex participates in a Spartan Race. His final task is to throw a tire across a fence for 10 minutes. If he takes a break during those 10 minutes, he won't get any points.

(26) *Der Alex hat einen Reifen 10 Minuten lang über einen Zaun*
      the Alex has a   tire   10 minutes long over a   fence
      drüber-der-schmissen.
      over-der-thrown
      'Alex managed to throw a tire over a fence for 10 minutes.'

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B1 vs. B2: aspectual coercion

Aspectual coercion: scenario 2

Scenario 2: Alex participates in a Spartan Race. His final task is to throw a tire across a fence for 10 minutes. If he takes a break during those 10 minutes, he won't get any points.

(26)   *Der Alex hat einen Reifen 10 Minuten lang über einen Zaun*
       the Alex has a   tire   10 minutes long over a   fence
       drüber-der-schmissen.
       over-der-thrown
       'Alex managed to throw a tire over a fence for 10 minutes.'

Interpretation: the verbal material without *der-* but including the internal argument and modifiers is coerced to get an iterative interpretation

(28)   Alex managed to throw a tire across a fence for a duration of 10 minutes. He didn't take a break.

B1 or B2?

How B1 and B2 account for the aspectual coercion reading in scenario 2:

- ▶ B1 – Flexible modification template: combining the temporal adverbial with the verb requires inferring an event that cannot combine with the adverbial unless the combination is repaired by aspectual coercion

- ▶ B2 – Complex syntax: combining the temporal adverbial with the verb requires no additional inference step; the compositional mismatch is repaired by aspectual coercion

⇒ to our minds, B2 is a more parsimonious account of the data
⇒ But: we still lack clear evidence for or against either B1 or B2

Summary

▶ Bavarian *der*-verbs that describe the successful realization of an action are achievement predicates.

▶ The type of achievement depends on the ROOT that *der-* combines with.

▶ While negation cannot access the eventuality described by the verbal ROOT material, temporal adverbials seem to be able to modify this eventuality.

▶ Two possible ways to account for this:
  1. temporal adverbials can serve as internal modifiers
  2. complex verbs provide low adjunction sites that give access to the eventuality described by the verbal ROOT material

▶ The aspectual coercion data, to our mind, favors the second account.

Thank you!

We would like to thank our friends and families for acting as our native speaker consultants!

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Appendix: rA

- ▶ *der*-verbs + rAs also describe rAs

- ▶ Zybatow 2004: *einlösen* is a right boundary achievement

  (29) *Er der-löst   den Gutschein in 1 min ein.*
       he der-solves the voucher   in 1 min PART
       'He manages to redeem the voucher within 1 min.'

  (30) *Er der-löst   in 1 min den Gutschein ein.*
       he der-solves in 1 min the voucher   PART
       'In 1 min, he manages to redeem the voucher.'

Appendix: other adverbials

(31) *Die Johanna hat das Buch mit meiner Brille der-lesen.*
the Johanna has the book with my glasses der-read
R1: 'With my glasses, Johanna managed to read the book.'
R2: 'What Johanna managed, was reading the book with my glasses.'

(32) *Der Alex hat das Schnitzel ohne Training auf-der-essen.*
the Alex has the schnitzel without training PART-der-eaten
R1: 'Without training, Alex managed to eat the schnitzel.'
R2: 'What Alex managed, was eating the schnitzel without training.'