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Multiple Fronting vs. VP Fronting in German

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Outline

Background

Multiple fronting vs. VP fronting

Corpus study

German as a V2 language

- Exactly one constituent before the finite verb in declarative main clauses
- Can be a verb phrase

(1) [Ganz ins   Privatleben zurückziehen] **will**   Höffler sich nicht
    fully into.the private.life withdraw   wants Höffler self not
    'Höffler doesn't want to completely withdraw from public' M08/JAN.06537
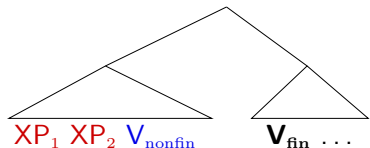
Multiple fronting

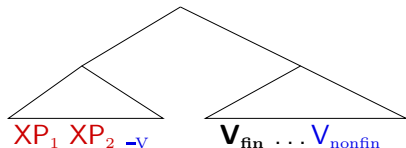- Sometimes, more than one constituent before the finite verb

(2) [Dem Saft] [eine kräftigere Farbe] **geben** Blutorangen.
      to.the juice a   more.vivid colour give   blood.oranges
     'What gives the juice a more vivid colour is blood oranges.' R99/JAN.01605

Multiple fronting II

- ▶ Can be analyzed as *apparent* multiple fronting
- ▶ Involves VP headed by a verb trace
  (Fanselow 1993, G. Müller 1998, S. Müller 2005)
- ▶ But: licensing conditions still unclear

XP$_1$ XP$_2$ V$_\text{nonfin}$ **V$_\text{fin}$** $\cdots$

VP fronting

XP$_1$ XP$_2$ $_{-\text{V}}$ **V$_\text{fin}$** $\cdots$ V$_\text{nonfin}$

(Apparent) Multiple fronting

Multiple fronting III

MF is possibly an instance of pars-pro-toto fronting (Fanselow 2004):

- ▶ Entire VP has discourse function (focus/topic)
- ▶ Only part of it is fronted

(5) a. Was ist mit dem Buch passiert?
         'What happened to the book?'

    b. [Meiner Freundin] **hab** ich's geschenkt
         my.dat girlfriend have I it   given
         'I gave it to my girlfriend as a present'

    c. [Meiner Freundin geschenkt] **hab** ich's.
         my.dat girlfriend given   have I it
         'I gave it to my girlfriend as a present'

Contextual licensing of multiple fronting

Two predominant patterns:

1. *Presentation*:
   The verb's "designated topic" is introduced into the discourse; typically the subject.

   [Dem Saft] [eine kräftigere Farbe] **geben** Blutorangen.
    to.the juice a   more.vivid colour give   blood.oranges
   'What gives the juice a more vivid colour is blood oranges.' R99/JAN.01605

▶ In line with findings from other SFB-projects on subject focus (Fiedler et al. 2009)

Contextual licensing of multiple fronting II

2. *Propositional Assessment*:
   Prominent adverbial spells out the degree to which the main
   predication holds of a specific discourse referent, realized in the
   middlefield; typically the subject.

   [Nach Brüssel] [zum Demonstrieren] **ist** Gerd Knecht *nicht* gefahren
    to   Brussels   to demonstrate is G.   K.   not   gone
   'G. K. did not go to Brussels for the demo' M99/FEB.12802

VPF vs. MF
└─ Multiple fronting vs. VP fronting

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Multiple fronting vs. VP fronting

- ▶ Sometimes, alternation between "exceptional" multiple fronting and "canonical" VP-fronting

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(6) a. [Positiv   auf das Ergebnis ausgewirkt] **habe** sich auch die 1998
        positively on the result   affected   has self also the 1998
        eingeführte teilweise Globalbudgetierung.
        introduced partial global.budgeting
        'The partially global budgeting which was introduced in 1998 also had
        a positive effect on the result.' P98/OKT.39922

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     introduced partial   global.budgeting
     'The partially global budgeting which was introduced in 1998 also had
     a positive effect on the result.' P98/OKT.39922

   b. [Positiv] [auf das Ergebnis] **habe** sich der starke Dollar ausgewirkt
      positively on the result   has   self the strong Dollar affected
      'The strong Dollar had a positive effect on the result.' N98/NOV.43897

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MF-VPF Alternation II

(7)   a.   [Ganz vom   Tisch wischen] **kann** man das Thema freilich   nicht.
           fully from.the table wipe   can   one the issue   of.course not
           'Of course, one can't brush the issue aside completely'
           RHZ00/MAI.05627

     b.   [Ganz] [vom   Tisch] **will** er es aber   nicht wischen
           fully   from.the table   will he it however not   wipe
           'He doesn't want to brush it aside completely though'
           NON08/NOV.01483

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MF-VPF Alternation III

(8) a. [Gänzlich auf Derbys verzichten] **will** Nix aber auch künftig   nicht
       fully   on Derbys renounce   will Nix but also in.future not
       'Nix doesn't want to completely give up Derbys in the future either
       though' RHZ99/MAI.16980

   b. [Gänzlich] [auf seine Erfahrung] **will** "Py" aber   nicht verzichten.
      fully   on his experience will "Py" however not renounce
      '"Py" doesn't want to completely do without his experience though'
      M03/MAR.14862

VPF vs. MF
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MF-VPF Alternation IV

(9) a. [Ganz ins   Privatleben zurückziehen] **will**   Höffler sich nicht
       fully into.the private.life withdraw   wants Höffler self not
       'Höffler doesn't want to completely withdraw from public'
       M08/JAN.06537

   b. [Ganz] [ins   Privatleben] **wird** sich Karl Popp (...) freilich
       fully   into.the private.life will self Karl Popp   of.course
       nicht zurückziehen.
       not   withdraw
       'Of course, Karl Popp doesn't want to completely withdraw from
       public' N00/DEZ.59676

VPF vs. MF
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Explaining the MF-VPF alternation

Can we isolate factors that determine the MF-VPF alternation?

- Information-structural factors?
- Other factors?

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Examine via corpus study

Corpus studies of MF constructions

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  No general way of sampling instances of MF

▶ Workaround: Search by relatively concrete patterns
  (e. g. lexically provide one or both of the fronted constituents)

Corpus study: Data

[1   2 V_{nonfin}] $\mathbf{V_{fin}}$ . . . . . .   = VPF

[1]   [2] $\mathbf{V_{fin}}$ . . . . . . V_{nonfin} = MF

- V_{nonfin} is a modal/auxiliary verb: {*haben*, *sein*, *wollen*, *sollen*, *können*, *dürfen*, *müssen*, *werden*, *mögen*}
- 2 is an NP or PP
- 1 is an Adjective or Adverb

Synsets: Selected from Germanet semantic network

[1   2 V_{nonfin}] **V_{fin}** . . . . . .   = VPF

[1] [2]   **V_{fin}** . . . . . . V_{nonfin} = MF

Set	
GANZ	POSITIV
'completely'	'positively'
ganz	positiv
gänzlich	guenstig
ganz und gar	vorteilhaft
völlig	glücklich
komplett	negativ
vollständig	ungünstig
	nachteilig
	ungluecklich

Example

(10) VP fronting

    a. [Adv PP V_{nonfin}] $\mathbf{V_{fin}}$ ($XP_3 \ldots XP_n$)

    b. [Ganz aus den Augen verloren] habe er die Kunst ohnehin nie.
       fully out the eyes lost has he the art anyway never
       'He has never fully lost sight of art anyway.' RHZ08/NOV.19605

(11) Multiple fronting

    a. [Adv] [PP] $\mathbf{V_{fin}}$ ($XP_3 \ldots XP_n$) V_{nonfin}

    b. [Ganz] [aus dem Auge] will man das Thema nicht verlieren
       Fully out the eye wants one the subject not lose
       'They don't want to lose sight of the issue completely.'
       RHZ06/MAI.21197

Procedure: Data extraction

Extract all sentences from the corpus that...

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	Set		TOTAL
	ganz	*positiv*	
VPF	114	93	207
MF	83	102	185
TOTAL	197	195	382

Manually annotate the remaining 382 tokens.

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Factors related to information structure

Givenness and **Focus**

- ► Relatively "low-level" concepts
- ► Can be operationalised (more or less) straightforwardly

Annotation based on guidelines by Götze et al. (2007)

Factors related to information structure II

Givenness of the second fronted element (NP or PP):

▶ Levels: *given*, *non-given*, *non-referential*

Givenness of the subject (in the middlefield):

▶ Levels: *given*, *non-given*, *non-referential*

Main focus (mostly in the middlefield):

▶ *subject*, *quantifying-adverbial*, *other-middlefield*, *other-prefield*

Factors *not* related to information structure

► Length/heaviness of fronted constituents

(12) a. [Ganz auf eine Beschränkung im Herzen Nürnbergs verzichten]
         fully on a restriction in.the heart Nuremberg renounce
       will die Stadt aber nicht
       wants the city but not
       'The city doesn't want to give up on a regulation for the heart of
       Nuremberg.'

     b. [Ganz] [auf Fleisch] **mögen** viele Gourmets nicht verzichten.
        fully on meat want many gourmets not renounce
        'Many gourmets don't want to give up meat completely.'

► Measured as number of syllables

Potential factors *not* related to information structure II

- Length/heaviness of the middlefield subject

(6) a. [Positiv auf das Ergebnis ausgewirkt] **habe** sich auch die 1998
         eingeführte teilweise Globalbudgetierung.
     b. [Positiv] [auf das Ergebnis] **habe** sich der starke Dollar
         ausgewirkt

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Model

- ▶ Logistic regression
- ▶ Multiple Fronting coded as "1"
- ▶ Stepwise model selection (optimizing AIC)

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Factors contained in optimal model:

1. Set
2. Givenness of second fronted element
3. Focus
4. Length (i. e., difference in length)
5. Interaction: Set * Foc
6. Interaction: Set * Givenness of second fronted element

Results

	Coef	S. E.	Wald Z	P
Intercept	-0.03111	0.25987	-0.12	0.9047
Set=positiv	1.06440	0.40895	2.60	**0.0092**
XP2.giv=giv	-0.16177	0.36799	-0.44	0.6602
XP2.giv=non.ref	-0.45948	0.39542	-1.16	0.2452
Foc=qadv	-0.33804	0.32916	-1.03	0.3044
Foc=other	-0.19246	0.81288	-0.24	0.8128
Foc=vf	2.25827	1.08922	2.07	**0.0381**
Diff	0.03130	0.01376	2.27	**0.0229**
Set=positiv*Foc=qadv	-0.42943	1.01120	-0.42	0.6711
Set=positiv*Foc=other	-2.07765	1.44120	-1.44	0.1494
Set=positiv*Foc=vf	-10.40430	36.76462	-0.28	0.7772
Set=positiv*XP2.giv=giv	0.45825	0.54270	0.84	0.3984
Set=positiv*XP2.giv=non.ref	-4.00293	1.13074	-3.54	**0.0004**

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Main effect: Focus

Main focus in prefield: MVB

(13) a. Bereits im Gründungsjahr präsentierte sich das neugegründete
         Streichorchester in Dortelweil das erste Mal der Öffentlichkeit
         . . .

      b. [Ganz] [der Barockmusik] hatte man sich   in diesen Jahren
          entirely to.the baroque.music had   one himself in these years
         verschrieben.
         dedicated
         'During these years, they dedicated themselves entirely to baroque
         music.'

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Main effect: Length

Long fronted XP, short subject: MF (Difference = 7)

(14) [Ganz] [auf die Tätigkeit mit Büchern] wollte sie jedoch nicht
      verzichten

Main effect: Length

Long fronted XP, short subject: MF (Difference = 7)

(14) [Ganz] [auf die Tätigkeit mit Büchern] wollte sie jedoch nicht
      verzichten

Short fronted XP, long subject: VPF (Difference = -21)

(15) [Völlig aus den Schlagzeilen verschwunden] ist hingegen die so bitter
      nötige Diskussion über Deponien und Verbrennungsanlagen für
      Sondermüll.

Results

	Coef	S. E.	Wald Z	P
Set=positiv	1.06440	0.40895	2.60	**0.0092**
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Interaction: Set * Givenness

When Set=positiv and second fronted element=non-referential: VPF

(16) [Negativ zu Buche geschlagen habe vor allem das Saisonende in den
Wintersportzentren
negatively to book hit has before all the season.end in the
winter.sports.centers
'The end of the winter sports season had a negative financial effect.'

Accuracy

	OBSERVED		
PREDICTED	**VPF**	**MF**	Correct
VPF	157	66	70%
MF	50	119	70%
		Total	70%

- Model classifies 70% of data correctly.
- Simply guessing (VPF) yields 52.8% correct classifications.

Summary

- ▶ Length and focus play a role across synonym sets
- ▶ Influence of Set, Interaction Set*Givenness:
  point to "local" (more low-level) generalizations (synonym sets)

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Thank you.

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