

Semantic and syntactic effects of alternative direct and oblique argument realizations

There is a minor class of German matrix predicates the argument realization of which can vary while the argument structure remains unchanged – e.g. (*es*)/(*darüber*) *diskutieren*, (*es*)/(*davon*) *hören*. All predicates exhibit an *es*-correlate or a prepositional correlate (ProPP) or occur without any correlate – cf. (1-3).

- (1) a. *Leo fühlt, dass Mia kommt / ob Mia kommt / wer kommt.*
b. *Leo hört, dass Mia kommt / ob Mia kommt / wer kommt.*
- (2) a. *Leo fühlt es, dass Mia kommt / ob Mia kommt / wer kommt.*
b. *Leo hört es/davon, dass Mia kommt / ob Mia kommt / wer kommt.*
- (3) *Leo diskutiert (es)/(darüber), dass Mia kommt / ob Mia kommt / wer kommt.*

The talk will show how particular semantic features of these matrix predicates license the variation in argument realization and how the use of correlates modifies the predicate meaning. It underpins theoretically that accusative or the *es*-correlate, respectively, express a direct relationship between the matrix subject and the embedded clause and that the oblique or the ProPP, respectively, indicate that something else is involved in the relationship.

The features which are responsible for the argument realizations as well as for the embedded clause types in (1) to (3) divide matrix predicates into: the VER(IDICAL)-*objective verbs* (1), the VER-*objectively based predicates* (2), and the *non-objective/non-objectively-based predicates* (3) – cf. Schwabe & Fittler (pub.).

VER-objective *verbs* (1) like *wissen dass* 'know' and *fühlen dass* 'feel', which license the *Exhaustive wh-form* (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1997), allow direct objects, i.e. *es*-correlates. If they are used with an *es*-correlate, most of them become factive – cf. Sudhoff (2003). Whereas a verb like *fühlen dass*, which does not exhibit a ProPP, is *deductively closed* [any non-tautological logical consequence τ of a set of embedded clauses σ_i fulfilling x *fühlt dass* σ_i also fulfills x *fühlt dass* τ], a verb like *hören dass* is *deductively open*. It becomes deductively closed with a ProPP. By definition, VER-objective verbs are VER-objectively based with a legitimate correlate - cf. (2). VER-objectively-based predicates license the *Non-exhaustive wh-form*.

A non-objective predicate like *diskutieren* 'discuss' is characterized by simple properties of the embedded statements for which it may hold true. For instance, *Frank diskutiert, dass σ* 'Frank discusses that σ ' may only hold true (i) for an *invalid* σ or (ii) for a σ that follows from what Frank knows. The correlate-rules determine that specific purely logical conditions warrant the legitimacy of the *es*-correlate while conditions involving the knowledge of the subject warrant the legitimacy of a ProPP.

References

- Groenendijk, Jeroen and Martin Stokhof (1997): Question. In: *Handbook of Logic and Language*, eds. Johan van Benthem and Alice ter Meulen, Amsterdam, Lausanne, New York, Oxford, Shannon, Tokio, pp. 1055-1124.
- Schwabe & Fittler pub. *Über semantische Konsistenzbedingungen deutscher Matrixprädikate*. ZAS Ms. 1-38.
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