

# **Resisting the adverbial temptation: On *Hingeh-und*-structures in German**

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Adverbial clauses between subordination and coordination,  
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# Topic of the talk

- ▶ Many languages support peculiar multiverbal patterns of type **V1+AND+V2**:
  - ▶ V1 is typically a **(semantically bleached) motion/position/TAKE-verb**.
  - ▶ V1 and V2 have a **'fused' interpretation**.

(1) a. It was going to be a surprise, but he went and told her.

b. Margarita agarró y salió.

*Margarita took and left*

'Margarita unexpectedly left.'

[s. Stefanowitsch 1999, (1c), Arnaiz & Camacho 1999, (3a)]

- ▶ While the pattern is generally taken to barely exist in standard German (e. g. Ross 2021, 90f.), Proske (2017, 2019) argues for **varying degrees of grammaticalization in German** as well, based on corpus data.
- ▶ Wrt. the criterion ' $\pm$ semantically bleached', **hingeh-und-structures (= HUS)** are the most prominent candidates; s. also Lehmann (1991, 20f.).

(2) Und was macht er? Er geht hin und schreibt ihr eine Mail.

*and what does he he goes to and writes her a mail*

However, to date, there is no detailed analysis of such HUS.

# Aims of the talk

- ▶ In my talk, I will
  - ▶ provide an overview of what characterizes the **form and interpretation** of HUS;
  - ▶ propose a **compositional analysis** of HUS based on a semantically bleached *hingehen*.
- ▶ Overall, I aim to clarify the status of HUS **between coordination and subordination** and to thereby shed light on the **systematicity of their structural and functional properties**.

# Properties: Form

- ▶ I will argue for hypothesis  $H_{Form}$  in (3) (following analogous considerations for so-called implicative *und*-constructions in Reis 1993).

(3) HUS are **regular coordinations**, with properties that indicate a **fused interpretation of both conjuncts**.

- ▶ *Und* **does not affect verbal position / form**; HUS license **ellipses**:

(4) a. Er meinte, Ben sei hingegangen und habe ihr geschrieben.  
*he held Ben be:SUBJV to:gone and have:SUBJV her written*

b. Keiner wagt, einfach hinzugehen und eine Mail zu schreiben.  
*nobody dares simply to:to:go and a mail to write*

c. Geh doch hin und schreib ihr eine Mail!  
*go:IMP after all to and write:IMP her a mail*

(5) a. Ob wohl Ben hingehen \_ und ihr eine Mail schreiben würde?  
*whether perhaps Ben to:go and her a mail write would*

b. Ben soll hingegangen sein und \_ ihr geschrieben haben.  
*Ben should to:gone be and her written have*

- ▶ HUS license **symmetric and asymmetric** coordination (as defined by  $\pm$ homogeneity; e. g., Reich & Reis 2013); s. for asymmetric examples:

(6) a. Vielleicht geht er hin und sagt den Vortrag ab.  
*perhaps goes he to and cancels the presentation*

b. Wenn er hinginge und würde absagen, wäre ich überrascht.  
*if he to:went and would cancel, were I surprised*

# Properties: Form

- ▶ HUS enforce **subject gap in 2nd conjunct, 1 focus-background struct., und:**

(7) Ben ging hin und {er/der Idiot} hat eine Mail geschrieben. (\*HUS)  
*Ben went to and {he/the idiot} has a mail written*

(8) Ben ging HIN und er hat eine MAIL geschrieben. (\*HUS)  
*Ben went to and he has a mail written*

(9) a. Er ging hin oder hat eine Mail geschrieben. (\*HUS)  
*he went to or has a mail written*

b. Er ging hin, aber sagte den Vortrag ab. (\*HUS)  
*he went to but cancelled the presentation*

S. Proske (2017, 2019) for a partially dissenting opinion; however,  $\pm$ semantical bleaching of the verb is not controlled for properly.

- ▶ In HUS, conjuncts **share sentence mood, sentence adverbials, negation:**

(10) Du gehst hin und sag den Vortrag ab! (\*HUS)  
*you go:IND to and cancel:IMP the presentation*

(11) a. Er geht vielleicht hin und sagt den Vortrag ab.  
*he goes perhaps to and cancels the presentation*

b. Er ist sicher nicht hingegangen und hat den Vortrag abgesagt.  
*he is surely not to:gone and has the pres. cancelled*  
( $\rightsquigarrow$  if HUS, presentation is epist. relativized / not cancelled)

# Properties: Interpretation

- ▶ HUS and related patterns are often associated with ‘intentionality’ and ‘topicality’ (in some sense) (e. g., Proske 2017, 2019, Arnaiz & Camacho 1999, Bravo 2020).
- ▶ For HUS, I propose a specification along the lines of hypothesis  $H_{Int}$  in (12) and the corresponding adverbial paraphrase in (13):

(12) HUS yield the **conceptualization of an action as an intended reaction to a topic situation**.

(13) Ada geht hin und schreibt Ben eine Mail.

*Ada goes to and writes Ben a mail*

≈ ‘Ada is reacting to a discourse prominent situation by writing Ben a mail.’

Correspondingly, the fused interpretation of HUS is characterized by a:

- ▶ **bipartition** into a superordinate abstract reaction and a subordinate more concrete action;
- ▶ **quasi-identifying link** between both events via a conceptualization relation.

S. Anscombe (1957), Sæbø (2008), Bücking (2014) and the analysis below for the corresponding ‘paradox’ of the so-called *by*-locution.

# Properties: Interpretation

- ▶ For HUS, **neither a sequential nor a parallel interpretation** of the conjuncts is allowed (s. Reis 1993 for implicative *und*-construction):

(14) Er geht hin und reißt {dann/zudem} das Kabel aus der Wand.  
*he goes to and wrench. {then/in add.} the wire from the wall*

(15) Er geht hin UND reißt das Kabel aus der Wand.  
*he goes to and wrenches the wire from the wall*

(\*HUS)

- ▶ The **subject argument** needs to be an **agent controlling** the event in the 2nd conjunct (s. Bravo 2020 for *agarrar* 'take' in Spanish):

(16) a. # Der Apfel ging hin und fiel vom Baum.  
*the apple went to and fell from the tree*

b. # Der Wind ging hin und öffnete die Tür.  
*the wind went to and opened the door*

(17) Er ging hin und {fiel / wurde benachrichtigt / war glücklich /  
*he went to and {fell / was informed / was happy /*  
erreichte den Gipfel}.  
*reached the summit}*

(\*HUS)

# Properties: Interpretation

- ▶ Evidence in favor of a **relation to a discourse prominent situation**:
  - ▶ HUS are infelicitous in contexts that lack a relation to a topic situation:

(18) # Was macht Ben so? – Der geht hin und schreibt einen  
*what does Ben so – he goes to and writes a*  
Roman.  
*novel*
  - ▶ HUS are particularly good in contexts that make a relation to a topic situation explicit:

(19) **Und was macht der?** Der geht hin und schreibt ihr 'ne Mail.  
*and what does he he goes to and writes her a mail*

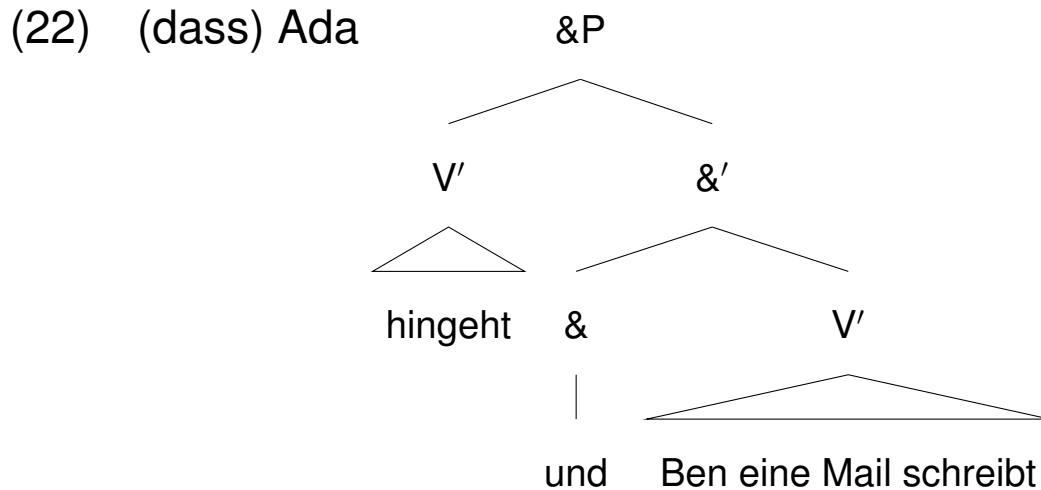
(20) **Da** geht sie hin und reißt das Kabel aus der Wand.  
*there goes she to and wrenches the wire from the wall*
  - ▶ The topic situation provides a linguistic anchor for variable pragmatic enrichments that are considered typical of HUS / related structures (e. g., evaluation of an event as surprising / negative; e. g., Stefanowitsch 1999, Bravo 2020, Proske 2017, 2019).



# Compositional analysis

- **Standard structure** for symmetric coordination (e. g., Reich & Reis 2013; surface-oriented version without Across-the-Board movement):

(21) (dass) Ada hingeht und Ben eine Mail schreibt  
*(that) Ada to:goes and Ben a mail writes*



- *Und* links **arguments of the same semantic type**; following Lang (1991), I assume the lexical entry in (23), where *simul'* encodes a search warrant for a **common integrator of the same type**.

(23)  $\llbracket \text{und} \rrbracket = \lambda Y \lambda X. \text{simul}'(X, Y)$

# Compositional analysis

- ▶ Proposed **lexical entry for *hingeh-*** (simplified implementation in terms of Type Composition Logic; s. Asher 2011, Bücking 2014):

$$(24) \quad \llbracket \text{hingeh-} \rrbracket = \lambda x_{\text{AG}} \lambda e \exists s^* \exists e' [\text{react}'(e, x, s^*) \wedge \text{o-elab}'(e, e')]$$

- ▶ The subject argument  $x$  is assigned an agent role.
  - ▶ The referential event argument  $e$  provides a reaction to a topic situation  $s^*$ ; in addition,  $e$  'object-elaborates' an event  $e'$  (that is,  $e'$  is conceptualized as a reaction).
- ▶ **Compositional derivation** for &P (provided that the binding of events precedes the coordination):

$$\begin{aligned} (25) \quad & \llbracket \text{hingehet und Ben eine Mail schreibt} \rrbracket \\ &= \llbracket \text{und} \rrbracket (\llbracket \text{Ben eine Mail schreibt} \rrbracket) (\llbracket \text{hingehet} \rrbracket) \\ &= \text{simul}'(\lambda x_{\text{AG}} \exists e \exists s^* \exists e' [\text{react}'(e, x, s^*) \wedge \text{o-elab}'(e, e')], \\ & \quad \lambda y \exists e'' [\text{write}'(e'', y, \text{Ben}, \text{indef-}m[\text{mail}'(m)])]) \end{aligned}$$

Search for common integrator prompts the **identification of the open subject slots and of  $e'$  and  $e''$** , which yields the following simplified result:

$$\begin{aligned} (26) \quad & \llbracket \text{hingehet und Ben eine Mail schreibt} \rrbracket \\ &= \lambda x_{\text{AG}} \exists e \exists s^* \exists e' [\text{react}'(e, x, s^*) \wedge \text{o-elab}'(e, e') \wedge \\ & \quad \text{write}'(e', x, \text{Ben}, \text{indef-}m[\text{mail}'(m)])] \end{aligned}$$

# Compositional analysis

- ▶ **Integration of the subject** yields (27) for the clause as a whole:

$$(27) \quad \llbracket (\text{dass}) \text{ Ada hingeht und Ben eine Mail schreibt} \rrbracket \\ = \quad 1 \text{ gdw. } \exists e \exists s^* \exists e' [\text{react}'(e, \text{Ada}, s^*) \wedge \text{o-elab}'(e, e') \wedge \\ \text{write}'(e', \text{Ada}, \text{Ben}, \text{indef-}m[\text{mail}'(m)])]$$

„Ada is reacting to a discourse prominent situation by writing Ben a mail.“

- ▶ The interpretation of HUS follows from **independently motivated properties of coordination** and a **semantically bleached motion verb**; the relevant metaphorization of *hingeh* is not arbitrary:
  - ▶ *Gehen* is an unmarked motion verb, which supports its metaphorization; the selection of an agent follows from *gehen* being intentional (s. Proske 2017, 239, building on Di Meola 1994).
  - ▶ *Hin* gives an unspecific direction, which supports its metaphorization; its presence prevents *gehen* from focusing the mode of motion.
- ▶ Metaphor pertains to V1, **coord. bipartition is preserved**; contra Stefanowitsch (1999, 130): „The *and* in *go and Verb* does not function as a coordinator, but as a semantic instruction to blend (a variant of) the image-schematic structure evoked by *go* with the event structure evoked by the main verb.“

# A reason *for* coordination?

- ▶ Reis (1993) argues that the interpretation of implicative *und*-constructions (= IUC) such as (28) involve a **double asymmetry**:

(28) Ada war so nett und half Ben.  
*Ada was so nice and helped Ben*

- ▶ Semantically, the 2nd conjunct is subordinate to the 1st conjunct, as it fills a structural complement of the 1st conjunct.
- ▶ Pragmatically, the 2nd conjunct is superordinate to the 1st conjunct, as it provides the core information.

The **communicative balance** between these forces is reflected rather by coordination than by subordination; s. (29) following Reis (1993, (H3)):

(29) Coordination correlates with equal weights of given information, while subordination correlates with their inequality.

- ▶ For HUS, one can invoke an **analogous compromise** and, thus, an analogous reason for coordination:
  - ▶ Semantically, the 2nd conjunct is subordinate to the 1st conjunct, as it specifies an underspecified semantic argument of the 1st conjunct.
  - ▶ Pragmatically, the 2nd conjunct is superordinate to the 1st conjunct, as it provides the core information.

# Reasons *against* subordination?

- ▶ Why do HUS **exclude subordinate infinitival variants**, in contrast to IUC?

- (30) a. Ada ist so nett, Ben zu helfen.  
*Ada is so nice Ben to help*
- b. \* Ada geht hin, Ben eine Mail zu schreiben.  
*Ada goes to Ben a mail to write*

In HUS, the relevant argument cannot be governed, as it is **not a  $\lambda$ -bound structural complement**.

- ▶ Why do HUS **exclude adverbial variants**?

- (31) \* Ada geht hin, indem sie Ben eine Mail schreibt.  
*Ada goes to in that she Ben a mail writes*

- ▶ Adverbial clauses and their hosts provide autonomous info units, which are related to each other secondarily; s. Reich (2009, 147f.).
- ▶ **Autonomy of the 1st clause undermines the metaphorical interpretation** of *hingehen*; s. Laptieva (2022) for other domains:

- (32) a. Sie basteln am Aufstieg in die 1. Liga. ✓ metaph.  
*they tinker at the moving up in the 1st league*
- b. Sie basteln (#den Aufstieg in die 1. Liga). \*metaph.  
*they tinker the moving up in the 1st league*

# Conclusion: I have

- ▶ argued that *hingeh-und-structures* (= HUS) in German come with specific formal and functional properties:
  - ▶ HUS are **regular coordinative structures** with properties that indicate a **fused interpretation of both conjuncts** (subject gap, obligatory *und*, 1 focus-background structure).
  - ▶ HUS yield the **conceptualization of an action as an intended reaction to a topic situation** (conjuncts are neither sequential nor parallel, but ordered in a specific hierarchical way; agentive subject).
- ▶ proposed a **lexicon-based compositional analysis**:
  - ▶ The motion verb *hingehen* has a **regular metaphorical reading**, which introduces an intended reaction to a topic situation.
  - ▶ The metaphorical reading renders a **local specification of the reaction** necessary; this can be achieved only by a **fused conjunct**.

**Thanks for your attention!**

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