

GERMAN DOUBLE-ACCUSATIVE VERBS

DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS FOR AVOIDING A MARKED CONSTRUCTION

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THE FIVE GERMAN DOUBLE-ACCUSATIVE (DA) VERBS

- *lehren*
 - ‘teach’ (ditransitive or intransitive)
 - ‘be instructor of someone or something’ (monotransitive)
- *abfragen*
 - ‘quiz/test’ (ditransitive or monotransitive)
 - ‘request, check (computer query)’ (monotransitive)
- *abhören*
 - ‘quiz/test’ (ditransitive or monotransitive)
 - ‘spy on, listen in (bugging a phone line or a doctor using a stethoscope)’ (monotransitive)
- *fragen*
 - ‘ask’ (ditransitive or monotransitive)
- *kosten*
 - ‘cost’ (ditransitive or monotransitive)
 - ‘taste, try food’ (monotransitive)

German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013:

	frequency per million	number of attestations
fragen	227.31	4,502,536
kosten	97.59	1,933,098
lehren	19.24	381,166
abfragen*	5.57*	110,233*
abhören*	.68*	13,392*

*the vast majority of these attestations are monotransitive

STRUCTURE AND GOALS OF THE TALK

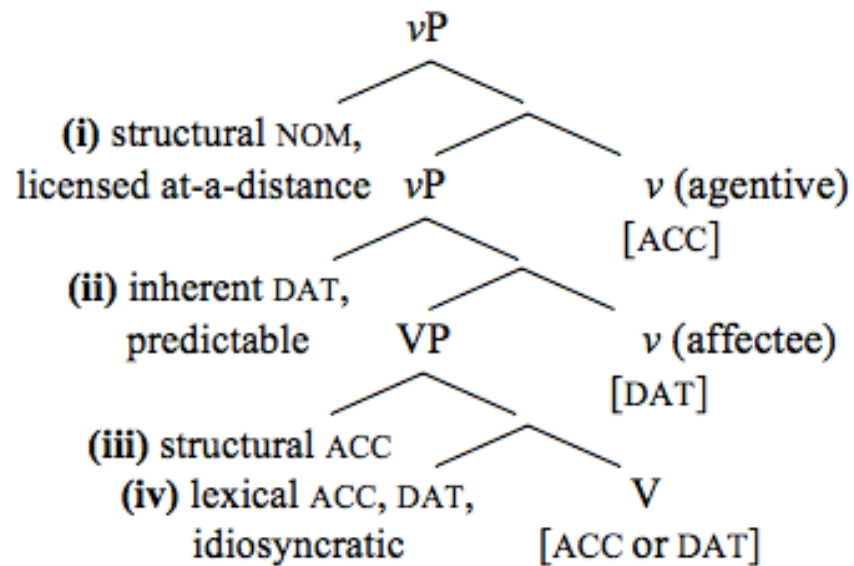
- **Part I:** A thematic role and case-based formal analysis of ACC>ACC/DAT>ACC variation, built on an earlier study of *lehren*, and results of a synchronic corpus search of DA verbs
- **Part II:** A closer look at *kosten* based on synchronic corpus work, providing evidence for ACC>ACC vs. DAT>ACC correlating with different verb meanings
- **Part III:** Diachronic corpus work on *abfragen*, *abhören*, and *kosten*, offering a qualitative analysis of gradual change and diversion, leading to a new outlook on the ACC>ACC/DAT>ACC variation
- **The main goals** are to show that:
 - the highly marked ACC>ACC pattern is unstable and subject to rapid diachronic change
 - there are different “strategies” for avoiding the ACC>ACC pattern in the five verbs

LEHREN, ABFRAGEN, ABHÖREN: ANALYSIS

- Lang 2007 and Lee-Schoenfeld & Diewald 2017: Ditransitive *lehren* ‘teach’ is undergoing a change from the exceptional ACC > ACC pattern to the prototypical ditransitive DAT > ACC pattern. This is evident from its acceptable use in the *kriegen*-passive construction, which targets DAT arguments
- (1) *Er kriegt den Seiltrick gelehrt => active: Jemand lehrt ihm den Seiltrick*
the.NOM gets.PASS the.ACC ropetrick taught someone teaches him.DAT the.ACC ropetrick
‘He’s getting taught the rope trick.’
- Case-marking: first, animate object is structurally ACC-marked; second, inanimate object is lexically (idiosyncratically) case-marked
- First object: corresponds to the indirect (DAT) object of the normal ditransitive pattern, typically a Recipient
- Second object: was originally an “inner object” (already included in the meaning of the verb itself) but can often be interpreted as a more Patient-like (ACC) object
- This causes the prototypical ditransitive schema, a scene of transfer, with an inherently DAT-marked Recipient/Source (Affectee)¹ and a structurally ACC-marked Patient/Theme (Undergoer), to become available:
 - *lehren* ‘give someone(DAT) something(ACC) to learn’
 - *abfragen/abhören* ‘elicit from someone(DAT) some(ACC) info’

¹“Affectee” in the sense of sympathy-invoking co-participant (Lehmann et al. 2004)

LEHREN, ABFRAGEN, ABHÖREN: ANALYSIS²



- **(iii)**: Spec VP = structural ACC case / proto-patient position, licensed by agentive v (Burzio 1986), hosts first object of DA verb; **(iii)** is sister-to-V when position **(iv)** is not needed; hosts direct object of simple transitive and prototypical ditransitive verbs like *lieben* ‘love’ and *geben* ‘give’, respectively

- **(iv)**: sister-to-V = lexical (idiosyncratic) ACC case or clausal complement position, licensed by V, hosts second object of DA verb; **(iv)** also hosts inanimate DAT of exceptionally patterning verbs like *aussetzen* ‘expose’; lexical DAT licensed by V
- **(ii)**: Spec affectee vP = inherent (predictable) DAT case position, licensed by affectee (Recipient) v, hosts first object of DA verb when this is reinterpreted as indirect object of prototypical ditransitive construction to avoid ACC > ACC; **(ii)** also hosts argument of monotransitive verbs selecting DAT, like *helfen* ‘help’, *gratulieren* ‘congratulate’, and *widersprechen* ‘contradict’; inherent DAT licensed by affectee (Beneficiary) v
- **(i)**: Spec agentive vP = external argument / proto-agent position, NOM-case licensed at a distance by finite T (tense/agreement), hosts subject of any (di)transitive/unergative verb

² Lee-Schoenfeld 2018, based on parts of Grewendorf 2002, McFadden 2006, Woolford 2006, Haider 2010, and Bruening 2010.

LEHREN, ABFRAGEN, ABHÖREN: NEW DATA

- Like *lehren*, *abfragen* and *abhören* are hardly used ditransitively anymore
- Only 25 of 30,956 attestations (.081%) of *abfragen* (with explicit ACC or DAT case-marking) were ditransitive:
 - (2) *Das sehr umfangreiche Wissen wurde den angehenden Gruppenführern abgefragt.*
the.NOM very comprehensive knowledge was.PASS the.DAT soon-to-be group-leaders tested
'The very comprehensive knowledge was elicited from the group leaders in training via an oral exam.'
[From feuerwehr-hamburg.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]
- *werden*-passive construction: inanimate ACC-object has become the subject; animate object is DAT-marked => evidence of a *lehren*-like development from ACC > ACC to DAT > ACC
- Only 9 out of 7,992 attestations (.112%) of *abhören* (with explicit ACC or DAT case-marking) were ditransitive:
 - (3) *Ich weigere mich auch, ihr die Vokabeln zum 5. Mal abzuhören...*
I refuse REFL also her.DAT the.ACC vocabulary for-the 5th time quiz.TO-INF
'I also refuse to quiz her on the vocabulary for the fifth time...'
[From grundschultreff.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]
- In 6 examples, the animate object was DAT-marked (as in (3)), a name or the pronoun *uns* (DAT or ACC); in the other 3, it was ACC-marked => again, evidence of development from ACC > ACC to DAT > ACC

FRAGEN

- The pattern of *fragen* is different. Only ACC > ACC, not DAT > ACC is allowed, and the second argument is limited to a clause or indefinite generic:

(4) *Der Ranger fragt ihn noch so Einiges und...*
the.NOM ranger asks him.ACC still like things.ACC and
'The ranger was still asking him this and that and...'

[From womo-abenteuer.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

- It's the person being asked that is interpreted as Patient, not the often clausal second argument, so no scene-of-transfer interpretation involving Affectee and Patient/Theme becomes available, and thus no development from ACC > ACC to DAT > ACC is expected
- When the second argument is not an indefinite generic or a clause, a preposition (e.g. *nach*, *wegen*) is used

KOSTEN

- Patterns more robustly as ACC > ACC than *lehren*, *abfragen*, and *abhören* and disallows passivization

(5) *Siebenhundert Galleonen haben mich die Karten gekostet.*
seven-hundred galleons.ACC have me.ACC the.NOM tickets cost
'The tickets cost me seven hundred galleons.'

[From akbi.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

- Does exhibit DAT > ACC when particular affectedness is expressed ('indirectly cause someone to lose something'):

(6) *Die letzte Runde hätte ihm beinahe das Leben gekostet.*
the.NOM last round would-have him.DAT nearly the.ACC life cost
'The last round nearly cost him his life.'

[From swnation.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

- If the cost-incurring participant isn't analyzable as an external argument, like *die Karten* in (5), the impossibility of passivization is unsurprising. If it is analyzable as a cause, as perhaps *die letzte Runde* in (6), on the other hand, we might expect passivization to be possible. Since it's clearly bad (**Er kriegte beinahe das Leben gekostet*), we're looking into *kosten* as an anticausative and thus unaccusative (Doron & Labelle 2011, Labelle & Doron 2010)

DISTRIBUTION OF CASE PATTERNING WITH *KOSTEN*

- Consistent variation between ACC>ACC and DAT>ACC, here using SpiderLing's German Web Corpus DeTenTen from 2013:

construction	Total with explicit DAT or ACC marking	ACC>ACC	DAT>ACC	ACC/DAT>ACC
<i>Kosten</i> in sentence final position	20,120	12,631	1132	6357
		62.8%	5.63%	31.6%
<i>Kosten</i> in second position	36,003	23,102	1856	11,045
		64.13%	5.155%	30.65%
Total	56,123	35,733	2988	17,402
		63.69%	5.32%	31.01%

ABSTRACTION AND EMERGING MEANINGS

- While *kosten* still favors ACC>ACC, DAT>ACC occurs much more frequently in certain situations, namely, those that show particular affectedness
 - This greater frequency corresponds to emerging meaning of *kosten* ‘indirectly cause to lose’ rather than simply ‘have a price’
 - Reanalysis as scene of transfer with a malfactive first object
 - Compare the concrete (7) with the more abstract and affective (8) and (9)

(7) *Der Anruf hat mich pro Minute 1,86 Euro gekostet ..*

‘The call cost me 1.86 Euro per minute.’

[From amichan,de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

(8) *Wer glasubt, ich sei sauer auf die Alte, der liegt richtig. 1700,- hat sie uns gekostet.*

‘Whoever believes I’m sour towards the old woman is right. 1700, she cost me.’

[From amichan,de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

(9) *[...] Der Oberhofmeister riskierte nicht, dem Kaiser so eine Botschaft zu überbringen - das hätte ihm den Kopf gekostet !*

‘[...] The minister did not risk bringing the Kaiser a message - that would have cost him his head!’

[From internet-maerchen,de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

CASE DISTRIBUTION FOR SPECIFIC OBJECTS

	Total DAT, ACC, or DAT/ACC marked	ACC>ACC constructions	% of ACC>ACC	DAT>ACC constructions	% of DAT>ACC	DAT/ACC>ACC constructions	% of DAT/ACC>ACC
Euro	1204	949	78.82%	42	3.49%	213	17.69%
Vermögen	107	88	82.22%	3	3.41%	16	18.18%
Leben	509	396	77.80%	97	19.06%	16	3.14%
Job	112	93	83.04%	17	18.28%	2	2.15%
Kopf	63	39	61.90%	12	30.77%	12	19.05%
Nerv	1518	1228	80.90%	86	7.00%	204	13.44%

- When the second object of *kosten* is something that is central to the life or livelihood of the affectee, frequency of DAT>ACC increases as the meaning ‘indirectly cause to lose’ becomes available
 - Subject is often something abstract; usually inanimate
 - Objects of inalienable possession, *Leben* ‘life’, *Job*, and *Kopf* ‘head’, occur with DAT>ACC relatively frequently
 - *Nerv* remains an outlier with very strong ACC>ACC patterning, possibly due to idiomatic usage among majority high register speakers

KOSTEN IN COMPETITIVE CONTEXTS

- In a competitive context (e.g. game or sport), *kosten* can have a much more eventive reading, ‘be responsible for a competitive loss/failure to win something’
 - Second object is something quantitative (here, *Punkte* ‘points’) but not just a price
 - Subject frequently animate
- (10) *24 Fehlwürfe und 12 technische Fehler hätten uns beinahe wieder die Punkte gekostet.*
‘24 false throws and 12 technical errors would have nearly cost us points again.’
[From hsg-wetter-grundschoettel.de.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]
- (11) *Das Team ist hinüber, und diesmal war es Gekas, der es zerstört hat. 7 Punkte in 3 Spielen hat er uns gekostet.*
‘The team is ruined, and this time it’s Gekas who destroyed it. He cost us 7 points in 3 games.’
[From akbi.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]
- (12) *Er hat uns mehr Punkte gekostet als gerettet.*
‘Has has cost us more points than saved.’
[From abendblatt.de via German Web Corpus DeTenTen 2013]

CASE SYNCRETISM LEADS TO REANALYSIS

- Ambiguity from morphological case syncretism (the ambiguous DAT/ACC pronouns *uns* and *euch*) reinforces the scene of transfer analysis
 - Much lower frequency of ACC>ACC suggests that it is distinct from double accusative ‘have a price’ reading

	Total with explicit ACC>ACC, DAT>ACC, or DAT/ACC>ACC constructions	ACC>ACC constructions	% ACC>ACC	DAT>ACC constructions	% DAT>ACC	DAT/ACC>ACC constructions	% DAT/ACC>ACC
<i>Punkt(e)</i>	271	33	12.18%	10	3.69%	228	84.13%
<i>Sieg(e)</i>	270	40	14.81%	20	7.38%	210	77.78%

DIACHRONIC STUDY OF *ABFRAGEN*, *ABHÖREN* & *KOSTEN* FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN FOUR TIME SPANS

	Time span (size in tokens)	<i>abfragen</i> absolute numbers (tokens per million)	<i>abhören</i> absolute numbers (tokens per million)	<i>kosten</i> absolute numbers (tokens per million)
T1	1800-1850 DTA Kern & erweitert (47 965 607)	46 (0.96)	38 (0.79)	2541 (52.98)
T2	1900-1950 DTA Kern & erweitert (16 566 682)	4 (0.24)	9 (0.54)	685 (41.35)
T3	1950-1960 Zeitkorpus (26 117 293)	7 (0.27)	51 (1.95)	2558 (97.94)
T4	2000-2010 Zeitkorpus (110 586 477)	432 (3.91)	498 (4.50)	15858 (143.40)

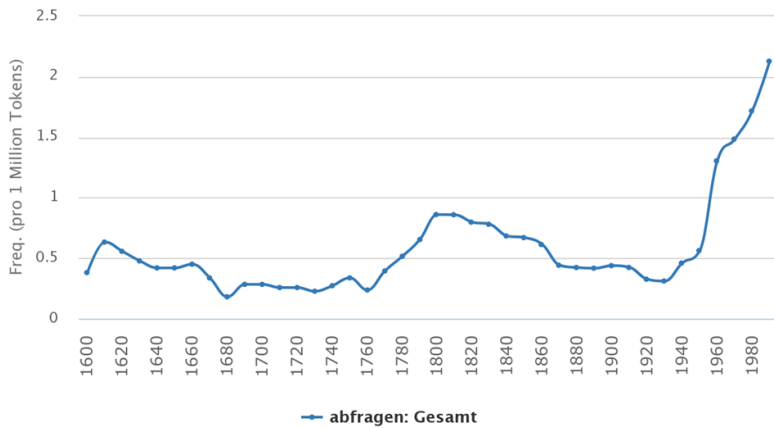
- wide difference in terms of token frequency
- corresponding with the overall word frequency count in the DWDS for these verbs

DWDS Frequency Charts

[DWDS-Wortverlaufskurven, erstellt durch das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, <https://www.dwds.de/r/plot/?view=1&corpus=dta%2Bdwds&norm=date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=10&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&xrange=1600%3A1999&q1=___>, queried 30.1.2021]

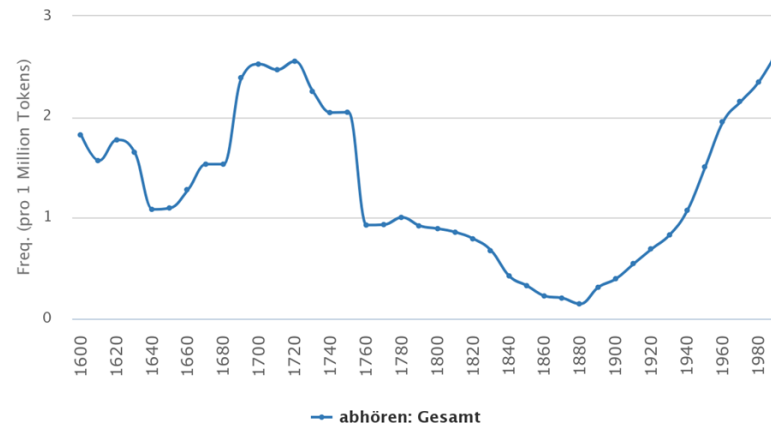
abfragen - Verlaufskurve

Basis: DTA-Gesamt+DWDS-Kernkorpus



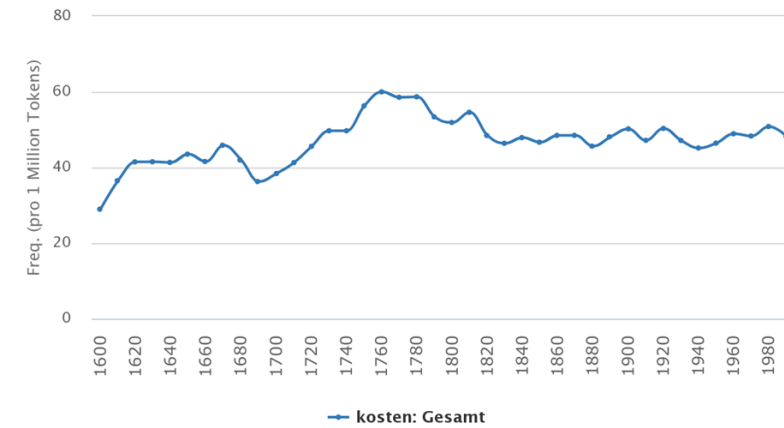
abhören - Verlaufskurve

Basis: DTA-Gesamt+DWDS-Kernkorpus



kosten - Verlaufskurve

Basis: DTA-Gesamt+DWDS-Kernkorpus



DIFFERENT “STRATEGIES” FOR AVOIDING THE ACC > ACC PATTERN

- Diachronic development > divergency towards different favored verbal scene constructions
- So far we know that
 - *lehren* has developed a ditransitive prototype: a typical scene of transfer as well as more monotransitive and intransitive uses (cf. Lee-Schoenfeld & Diewald 2017, Lang 2007)
 - *kosten*: additional ditransitive prototype: a less typical transfer scene, meaning ‘indirectly cause someone to lose something’
- In the following: closer look at *abfragen/abhören* and specification of data on *kosten* in their respective verbal scene constructions through time

RELEVANT TRIGGERS & CONTEXTS FOR CHANGE (CF. GRAMMATICALIZATION)

- Morphological: case syncretism of DAT and ACC (see Part II and more evidence later)

(13) *Die Lehrer begnügten sich, uns die Lektion abzuhören.*

‘The teachers were content with testing us on the lesson.’

(Bahr, Hermann: Selbstbildnis. Berlin, 1923, B)

- Syntactic: passive marking, i.e. pushing participant out > valency change

abhören & passive:

‘learn something from someone by asking’ > ‘tap a technical instrument/the wire’ > ‘exert control, monitor’

(14) *Auch sollten dort mit Hilfe eines selbstgebastelten Rundfunkapparates Auslandssender abgehört worden sein.*

‘With the help of self-made radios, foreign channels were said to have been tapped there.’

(Die Zeit, 11.12.1959, Nr. 50, Z)

RELEVANT TRIGGERS & CONTEXTS FOR CHANGE (CF. GRAMMATICALIZATION)

Semantic: metaphorical/metonymic extension; host class expansion > verbal polysemy (Himmelmann 2004, Diewald, Dekalo Czigca [to appear])

- Ex.1: **concrete** > **abstract** in *kosten*: ‘to have a price / to be worth a price’ > ‘indirectly cause someone to lose something’
 - (15) [...]; was also einem Privatmanne 50 Dollar kostet, wird den Editoren für einen Dollar mitgeteilt.
‘... what costs a private citizen 50 dollar, is distributed to the editors for one dollar.’
(Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Nr. 188. Köln, 6. Januar 1849. Beilage, Z)
 - (16) Um diesen großen Unglücksfällen, die schon zahlreichen Menschen das Leben gekostet haben, vorzubeugen, hat man mehrere Vorschläge gethan.
‘In order to prevent these large accidents, which have already cost the lives of numerous people, several suggestions were made.’
(Brandes, Heinrich Wilhelm: Vorlesungen über die Naturlehre. Bd. 3. Leipzig, 1832, G)
- Ex. 2: **abstract** > **concrete** in *abhören*, leading from ‘to find out something by asking someone’ > ‘to auscultate an organ’
 - (17) Jch habe die Magd des Pfarrers von Coserow mitgebracht, um ihr Zeugniß abzuhören.
‘I brought along the maid of the priest of Coserow to hear her testimony.’
(Laube, Heinrich: Die Bernsteinhexe. Leipzig, 1846, B)
 - (18) Während er die Lungen eines Häuers abhört und gebrochene Glieder in Gips legt, träumt er von Ansehen [...]
‘While he auscultates the lungs of a hewer and put broken limbs in plaster, he dreams of fame.’
(Die Zeit, 23.04.1953, Nr. 17, Z)

TAGGING: CONSTRUCTIONAL LABELS

- Double object construction
 - type 1: **ditransitive** (DAT > ACC)
 - type 2: **double accusative** (ACC > ACC)
 - type 3: **case syncretism** (DAT/ACC > ACC)
- Monotransitive
- Valence Change (passive morphology, *sich lassen*-construction)
- Others (prepositional object, intransitive usage...)
- Additional (only for *kosten*): Homophonous verbs (to single out *kosten* ‘taste’, ‘try’)

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

TYPE 1: DAT > ACC

- *abfragen*: prototypical ditransitive construction: transfer scene ‘get something from someone by asking’
 - (19) *Walt fragte ihm sanft seine Leidensgeschichte ab.*
‘Walt asked him about his story of sufferings.’
(Jean Paul, Flegeljahre, 1804 B)
 - (20) *Er besitzt die Gabe, den Erscheinungen der Welt den von Tausenden ungeahnten Kern ihres Wesens abzufragen, und die Kraft, ihn künstlerisch zu gestalten..*
‘He has the gift to extract from the world’s appearances the core of their being, which is unknown to thousands of people, and the power to turn it into a work of art.’
(Betty Paoli, Gesammelte Aufsätze. Hrsg. v. Helene Bettelheim. Wien, 1908. B)
- *abhören*: prototypical ditransitive construction: transfer scene ‘learn something from someone by listening’
 - (21) *So gewiß der eine dem andern die beiden ersten Zeilen abgehört haben muß.*
‘As certainly one of them must have heard the first lines from the other one.’
(Grimm, Jacob: Über den altdeutschen Meistergesang. Göttingen, 1811 W)
- These meanings (which may be subsumed under ‘elicit from someone (DAT) some (ACC) info’) of *abfragen* and *abhören* have been extinct since T3 (second half of 20th century)

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION

TYPE 1: DAT > ACC

kosten: prototypical ditransitive schema (cf. parts I and II)

- Meaning: ‘indirectly cause someone to lose something’

(22) *Er stand auf dem Punkte, sich zu vermählen und der Schmerz über seinen Verlust hat auch der unglücklichen Braut das Leben gekostet.*
‘He was about to get married, and the pain from his terrible loss also cost the life of the unfortunate bride.’
(Lewald, Fanny: Jenny. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1843, B)

- Meaning: ‘have a price for someone’ (malefactive)

(23) *Das wird dem armen Lande wieder sechs Schimmel, einen schönen Wagen und eine Statue kosten.*
‘This is going to cost the poor country six white horses, a beautiful coach and a statue.’
(Börne, Ludwig: Briefe aus Paris. Bd. 1. Hamburg, 1832, B)

- Both meanings are found with the ditransitive construction in *kosten* from T1 onward

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION TYPE 2: ACC > ACC

- *kosten* is found in this construction in all periods in all meaning variants

(24) *Ich will Sie nicht 3 oder 4 Menschen kosten durch Warten.*

‘I do not want to cast you 3 or 4 people by waiting.’

(1.1.1806 Jean Paul: Dritte Abteilung Briefe. In: Jean Pauls Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Abt. 3, Bd. 5. Berlin, 1961, B).

(25) *Es bleibt mir ewiglich im Sinn, daß Dich's Dein Blut gekostet, daß ich erlöst bin.*

‘It will stay in my mind forever that it cost you your blood that I am redemed.’

(Feuerbach, Ludwig: Das Wesen des Christentums. Leipzig, 1841, W)

- *abfragen* with the double accusative is extremely rare throughout
- In T1 it is synonymous with the old ditransitive meaning ‘get something from someone by asking’

(26) *Der fromme Vater fragt' ihn theilnehmend sein voriges und jetziges Leben ab.*

‘The pious father emphatically asked him about his previous and present life.’

(Jean Paul: Titan. Bd. 2. Berlin, 1801, B)

- In T4 it is restricted to the new meaning ‘to check/quiz/test someone’s knowledge by asking’

(27) *Es bedeutet: wäre es nicht günstiger, in Zukunft beispielsweise einen Studenten der Germanistik nicht mehr das ganze Stoffgebiet von Roswitha von Gandersheim bis zu Hermann Hesse abzufragen, sondern sich mit ihm auf - wieder als Beispiel - das deutsche Drama von Lessing bis Schiller zu einigen?*

‘... not to quiz a student of German over the entire subject matter, from Roswitha of Ganderheim to Hermann Hesse, anymore...’

(Die Zeit, 07.08.1952, Nr. 32, Z)

- *abhören* is not testified in the double accusative construction at all

DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTION TYPE 3: DAT/ACC IN FIRST OBJECT

- Case syncretism of dative and accusative is found in pronouns (personal, reflexive, reciprocal) and proper names
- Found for the three verbs in T1, later mostly restricted to *kosten*

(29) *Die Lehrer begnügten sich, uns die Lektion abzuhören.*

‘The teacher was content with testing us on the lessons.’

(Bahr, Hermann: Selbstbildnis. Berlin, 1923, B)

(30) *Rechnen wir nur, was es uns gekostet hat, um die äußeren gouvernementalen Elemente unserer jetzt gesonderten Nationalität uns zu verschaffen, und um das wenige, was uns noch geblieben war, uns zu erhalten und anzueignen.*

‘Let us calculate what it cost us to provide the external governmental elements ...’

(Die Grenzboten. Erster Jahrgang. Leipzig, 1841, G)

(31) *Beide Jünglinge liebten und übten sich eine Zeitlang in romantischer Freiheit, ohne einander nur die Nahmen abzufragen*

‘Both youngsters loved and practised romantic freedom for a while, without even asking each other’s names.’

(1803, Jean Paul, B)

(32) *Die Bildungsbürger zur Linken lernen derweil gemeinsam mit ihren Freunden aus der Projektgruppe den Italienisch-Sprachführer auswendig und fragen sich Vokabeln ab.*

‘Meanwhile, the educated citizens on the left, together with their friends from the project group, are memorizing the Italian phrasebook and asking each other vocabulary questions.’

(Die Zeit, 27.07.2000, Nr. 31, Z)

MONOTRANSITIVE USE & VALENCY CHANGE

Monotransitive constructions are present in all verbs throughout with heavily increasing numbers in all verbs

- *abfragen/abhören*: steep increase in T4 with change of meaning
- *kosten*: steady increase throughout

(33) [...] *es heißt Vokabeln abfragen, Konditionalsätze entwirren, mit Xenophon etliche Parasangen marschieren.*

‘[...] it means checking vocabulary, ...’

(Zeitung Die Zeit, 29.07.1954, Nr. 30)

(34) *Die Einzelnummer kostet 10 Heller.*

‘The single issue costs 10 Heller.’

(Marburger Zeitung, Nr. 76, Marburg, 27.06.1911 Z)

Valency change with auxiliary *werden*:

- Non-existent in *kosten* (some instances with *sich lassen* in T3 and T4)
- Increase in *abfragen/abhören* in T4

(35) *Telefone werden abgehört, ...*

‘Telephones are tapped.’

(Die Zeit, 08.06.2000, Nr. 24 Z)

(36) *Auch die Angebote koennen kostenlos abgefragt werden.*

‘The offers can also be queried free of charge.’

(Die Zeit, 21.09.2000, Nr. 39 Z)

CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE THREE VERBS IN THE FOUR TIME SPANS

		Ditransitive DAT > ACC (%)	DoubleAcc ACC > ACC (%)	CaseSync DAT/ACC > ACC (%)	Mono- transitive (%)	Val- Change (%)	Others (%)	Σ
T1 1800- 1850	abfragen	33 (71.74)	1 (2.17)	6 (13.04)	3 (6.52)	3 (6.52)	0	46
	abhören	10 (26.32)	0	2 (5.26)	16 (42.11)	10 (26.32)	0	38
	kosten	18 (19.35)	6 (6.45)	5 (5.38)	62 (66.67)	0	2 (2.15)	93*
T2 1900- 1950	abfragen	2 (50)	0	0	0	2 (50)	0	4
	abhören	3 (33.33)	0	1 (11.11)	3 (33.33)	1 (11.11)	1 (11.11)	9
	kosten	8 (8.70)	7 (7.60)	0	73 (79.35)	2+ (2.17)	2 (2.17)	92**
T3 1950- 1960	abfragen	1 (14.29)	1 (14.29)	0	1 (14.29)	2 (28.57)	2 (28.57)	7
	abhören	1 (1.96)	0	0	39 (76.47)	8 (15.69)	3 (5.88)	51
	kosten	6 (6.38)	10 (10.64)	3 (3.19)	72 (76.60)	3+ (3.19)	0	94***
T4 2000- 2010	abfragen	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	69 (69%)	27 (27%)	1 (1%)	100
	abhören	1 (1.03)	0	0	61 (62.89)	32 (32.99)	3 (3.09)	97****
	kosten	0	10 (10.20%)	3 (3.06%)	83 (84.70)	0	2 (2.04)	98*****

DIACHRONIC TRAJECTORY: *ABFRAGEN / ABHÖREN*

- Change of major/common valency frame to monotransitive in *abfragen* and *abhören* from T1 to T4
- Steep decline of double object construction to almost zero in T3 and T4
 - Similar to *lehren*, which also highly favors monotransitive and intransitive uses today
 - Different from *lehren*: *abfragen/abhören* had a different meaning when productively used ditransitively
 - Different from *lehren*: double accusative in *abfragen/abhören* almost non-existent
- Accompanying semantic change in *abfragen/abhören*: verb of communication, ditransitive scene of transfer > monotransitive action verb
- Residues of double object construction in T4:
 - ‘to make someone display their knowledge of something’ (*ich frage/höre dich/dir die Vokablen ab*); close to causative meaning; partly lexicalized (idiomatic)
 - double accusative probably in analogy to *lehren*

DIACHRONIC TRAJECTORY: *KOSTEN*

- Double object and monotransitive construction in all periods, with monotransitive being the dominant construction
- Within double object constructions: ongoing semantic change which points to split of DAT > ACC and ACC > ACC pattern:
 - T1: free dative construction (malefactive), *Das kostet mir fünf Gulden*, in free variation with double accusative, *Das kostet mich fünf Gulden*
 - Later periods: meaning ‘indirectly cause someone to lose something’ seems to have a preference for DAT > ACC in inalienable possession patterns and high affectedness of first object
 - However, no overall rise in frequency of DAT > ACC
 - Persistence of ACC > ACC
 - Polysemy not (yet) clearly associated with particular constructional patterns

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

- No homogeneous double accusative construction in German, no distinct constructional meaning
- Different diachronic paths of avoiding this construction:
 - strengthening the ditransitive usage pattern by developing/highlighting a transfer meaning (*lehren, kosten*) without or with increasing polysemy
 - discarding double object construction (*abfragen, abhören*)
- Persistence of double accusative construction:
 - probably strongly influenced by normative grammar
 - *lehren* being the model for analogical constructions in the other verbs
- The double accusative construction might have developed towards a stylistic marker of educated language

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