

Meaning in order. On SOURCE-GOAL asymmetries in German *werden*-copula constructions

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werden – becoming something else

Copulas often admit a wide range of complements. Semi-copulas like *werden* (engl. *become*, *get*, *grow/turn into*) exhibit additional selectional restrictions:

- (1) Aaron will { $\emptyset$, ein, der beste} Youtuber werden. NP ✓
Aaron wants { $\emptyset$, a, the best} youtuber become
'Aaron wants to become {a, a, the best} youtuber.'
- (2) a. Aaron wurde panisch/mutlos. AP ✓
Aaron became panicky/discouraged
'Aaron panicked/lost courage.'
- b. * Aaron wurde in Panik/ohne Mut. PP_{pred} ⚡
Aaron became in panic/without courage
int.: 'Aaron panicked/became discouraged.'

werden – becoming something else

- (3) * Aaron wurde nackt/tot/pleite. AP ⚡
Aaron became naked/dead/broke
int.: 'Aaron got naked/died/became broke.'
- (4) a. Aus Aaron wurde ein weiser Mann. PP_{aus} ✓
Out Aaron became a wise man
'Aaron turned into a wise man.'
- b. Aaron wurde zu einem weisen Mann. PP_{zu} ✓
Aaron became to(wards) a wise man
'Aaron turned into a wise man.'
- c. * Aaron wurde in dem/zum dem/aus dem Garten. PP_{loc/dir} ⚡
Aaron became in the garden/towards the/out the garden
int.: 'Aaron got in the/towards/out of the garden.'

werden – becoming something else

- (5) * Aaron wurde dort(hin).

AdvP_{loc/dir} ⚡

Aaron became there
int.: 'Aaron got there.'

- (6) * Aaron wurde lesend/am Lesen.

VP_{prog} ⚡

Aaron became reading/on-the reading
int.: 'Aaron started to read.'

werden + past participle: passive reading only

- (7) Aaron wurde überrascht/geärgert/bemitleidet.

VP_{ppp} (✓)

Aaron became surprised/mock/pitied
'Aaron was surprised/mock/pitied (by someone).'

! (7) does not mean *started to be surprised/mock/pitied*

werden – change in order

Additionally, for *aus*- and *zu*-PPs, *werden* has rather strong linear preferences:

- (8) a. Aus Angst wurde Wut.
From fear became fury
'Fear turned into fury.'
- b. ?? Wut wurde aus Angst.
Fury became from fear
'Into fury, fear turned.'
- c. WUT wurde aus Angst (und nicht Mut).
FURY became from fear (and not courage)
'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

werden – change in order

- (9) a. Angst wurde zu Wut.
Fear became to fury
'Fear turned into fury.'
- b. ?? Zu Wut wurde Angst.
To fury became fear
'Into fury, fear turned.'
- c. Zu WUT wurde Angst (und nicht (zu) Mut).
Into FURY became fear (and not (into) courage)
'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

Towards an analysis



Towards an analysis

SEM – Transition between tropes

Building on Bücking/Scheifele (2021): *werden* depicts the transition of an entity from bearing one trope to another

SYN – Raising an argument

Building on Müller (2009): *werden* is a raising-to-subject predicate

Iconicity and order in complex predicates

- Linear order is a common semantic strategy in complex predicates.
- SOURCES precede GOALS, respecting iconic structure.

Tropes as an ontological category

- Trope theory in metaphysics: intermediate stance between realism and nominalism
- Key concept: tropes as **abstract particulars** (cf. Maurin 2013 & 2018, Schaffer 2001)
 - **abstract**: objects are not spatiotemporal, and/or cannot interact with the world causally (→ universals)
 - **particular**: objects not instantiable in other objects (→ concrete)
- Example:
 - (10) a. the redness of the apple
 - b. the redness of the cherry



Tropes as an ontological category

- (11) a. the redness of the apple
b. the redness of the cherry



- Contra realism: *apple* and *cherry* do not instantiate the universal *redness*
 - Contra nominalism: *apple* and *cherry* are not (incomparable) concrete particulars
- ⇒ Trope theory: *apple* and *cherry* have distinct but qualitatively identical tropes (i.e., *redness* or *roundness*, but not *taste* or *size*)
- ⇒ Tropes are what allows entities to be similar and distinct simultaneously.

Tropes linguistically

- many dimensions: *texture, size, color, weight, intensity, ...*
 - "concrete manifestations of a property in an individual" (Moltmann 2009, 51):
 - **maximally specific**: *happiness* vs. *Aaron's happiness, open* vs. *open for new approaches to global governance*
 - **particular**: bound to a specific bearer (existence and identity dependent on bearer, cf. Moltmann 2013), instantiate abstract properties in concrete individuals
 - "immediate objects of perception" (Schaffer 2001, 247):
- (12) a. Everybody could see Aaron's happiness/?being happy in Norway.
- b. I felt the panic/*being in panic of the people in the streets.

Tropes linguistically

- act as causal affects (like events, states, and facts)

(13) Aaron's happiness made everybody happy as well.

- temporally/spatially located through the event of an individual bearing it

(14) Aaron's happiness only lasted two hours.

(15) Aaron's happiness yesterday/in Norway

- different from states describing a property (Bücking 2012):

(16) Aaron bewunderte Stephanies Fleiß.

Aaron admired Stephanie's diligence

(17) * Aaron bewunderte Stephanies Fleißig-Sein.

Aaron admired Stephanie's being diligent

available readings:

Aaron admired Stephanie for being diligent/because she is diligent.

Aaron admired the fact that Stephanie is diligent.

Tropes linguistically

- internal structure and/or measurable/comparable:
- (18) a. Stephanie konnte all seine Fröhlichkeit/*Nacktheit spüren.
Stephanie could all his happiness/*nakedness feel
'Stephanie could feel all his happiness/*nakedness.'
- b. Nun war Stephanies halbe Schwangerschaft schon fast vorbei.
Now was Stephanie's half pregnancy already almost over
'Stephanie's pregnancy was already almost over now.'
- c. Das Ausmaß von Aarons Fröhlichkeit/*Nacktheit war unglaublich.
The extent of Aaron's happiness/*nakedness was unbelievable
'The extent of Aaron's happiness/*nakedness was unbelievable.'

Tropes and *werden*

Bücking/Scheifele's (2021) suggestion: valid *werden*-complements denote a trope

1. NPs in *werden*-constructions denote a role (Zobel 2017) – an abstract particular w.r.t a bearer of it. Even strong definites can be coerced into tropes.
 - (1) Aaron will { $\emptyset$, ein, der beste} Youtuber werden.
'Aaron wants to become {a, a, the best} youtuber.'
 - (19) Til Schweiger könnte Deutschlands George Clooney werden.¹
Til Schweiger could Germany's George Clooney become
'Til Schweiger could become Germany's Georgy Clooney.'

¹<https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2015-08/til-schweiger-fluechtlingsheim-debatte-held>.

Tropes and *werden*

2. APs: some denote a trope

- (2a) Aaron wurde panisch/mutlos.
'Aaron panicked/lost courage.'

The tropes Panik (panic) and Mutlosigkeit (despondency) are tropes, since they are borne by Aaron.

- (3) * Aaron wurde nackt/tot/pleite.
int.: 'Aaron got naked/died/became broke.'

The universals Nacktheit (nakedness), Tod (death), and Pleite (pennilessness) cannot apply in a particularized way.

- ☐ Aaron's nakedness = Stephanie's nakedness: no clothing
- ☐ Aaron's death = Stephanie's death: dead (non-eventive reading!)
- ☐ Aaron's pennilessness = Stephanie's pennilessness: no money

Tropes and *werden*

3. 'stative'/locative/directional phrases do not denote tropes

- (2b) * Aaron wurde in Panik/ohne Mut.
int.: 'Aaron panicked/became discouraged.'
- (6) * Aaron wurde lesend/am Lesen.
int.: Aaron started to read.'
- (4c) * Aaron wurde in dem/zu dem/aus dem Garten.
int.: 'Aaron got in the/towards/out of the garden.'
- Tropes **Panik** (panic) and **Mut** (courage) are bound in a state. States apply universally (you're in it, or not), not particularly. That also excludes the progressive VPs in (6).
 - Locatives: being somewhere $\approx$ state
(also applies to AdvPs: **dort(hin) werden* (become there))
 - Directionals: changing location applies universally to entities.

Problems with Bücking/Scheifele (2021)

$$(20) \quad \llbracket \textit{werden} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle \text{BEARER}, \langle \text{TROPE}, t \rangle \rangle} \lambda x_{\text{BEARER}} \lambda e_{\text{EVENT}}. \exists r_{\text{TROPE}} [e : \textit{become}'(P(x)(r))]^2$$

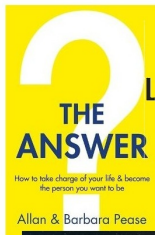
- 1 *aus*-PPs and *zu*-PPs
Neither their a) combinatory potential, nor b) the linear effects are discussed.
- 2 Circular analysis
The meaning term of *werden* (become) includes the opaque event $\textit{become}'(P(x)(r))$. We still don't know what becoming really means.
- 3 No syntax-interface
They don't elaborate on the syntactic analysis of the semi-copula.

Roadmap: 1a) & 2), 3), 1b)

²Ex. (53) in their paper.

Tropes and *werden*

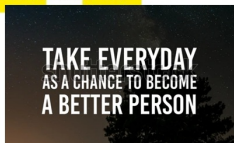
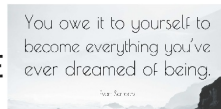
You cannot essentially *become* anything.*



**TAKE WHAT YOU
LEARNED AND BECOME
A BETTER PERSON**

**[Wir] müssen nichts seyn, sondern
alles werden wollen.**

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

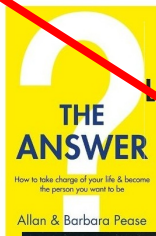


**IT IS BY DOING
ANYTHING THAT WE
BECOME ANYONE**

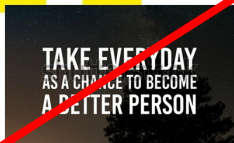
REMI GAILLARD

Tropes and *werden*

You cannot essentially *become* anything.*



**TAKE WHAT YOU
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[Wir] müssen nicht seyn, sondern
alles werden wollen.
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe



**IT IS BY DOING
ANYTHING THAT WE
BECOME ANYONE**
REMI GAILLARD

*at least in German

Transition between tropes I

Refining the analysis:

- ① *werden/become* inherently depicts an event of change (Hengeveld 2010). Change can be understood as an abstract motion through time.
- ② The change is not essential. Aspects of an individual change, but not the individual itself. Only particular aspects change non-essentially.

(21) ?? Aaron wurde Lehrer, und jetzt ist er nicht mehr Aaron.
Aaron became teacher, and now is he no longer Aaron
int.: 'Aaron became a teacher, and now 'he' and 'Aaron' are
not the same individual anymore.'

Transition between tropes II

- ③ As an abstract motion, change depicted by *werden* has a SOURCE and a GOAL (22). Both are always present, but SOURCES can be implicit (23). If SOURCES surface explicitly, they can 'hide' the referential individual underlying the change, cf. (24).

(22) [Die Moleküle]_{ind} wurden [von Wasser]_{SOURCE} [zu Gas]_{GOAL}.

The molecules became from water to gas
'The molecules turned from water to gas.'

(23) [Die Moleküle]_{ind} wurden [(zu) Gas]_{GOAL}.

The molecules became (towards) gas
'The molecules became gas.'

implicit SOURCE: $\neg \text{gas}'(x)$

Transition between tropes III

- (24) a. [Aus Wasser]_{SOURCE} wurde [Gas]_{GOAL}.

From water became gas

'Water turned into gas.'

- b. [Wasser]_{SOURCE} wurde [zu Gas]_{GOAL}.

Water became to gas

'Water turned into gas.'

implicit referent for both: some certain H₂O molecules

Intermediate summary – Semantics

- ➊ Introduction of a type *trope* (subtype of *ref*)
- ➋ Two relations, where *werden-rel* is a subtype of *motion-rel*.

(25)

<i>werden-rel</i>	
ARG0	➊ <i>event</i>
L-SUBJ	➋ <i>ref</i>
SOURCE	➌ <i>trope</i>
GOAL	➍ <i>trope</i>

(26)

<i>trope-bearer-rel</i>	
BEARER	➋
TROPE	➌ (∨ ➍)

Copulas as raising predicates I

Following (Geist 2006, Müller 2002, 2009, 2013): Like the copula *sein* (be), the semi-copula *werden* is a raising verb (subject-to-subject).

1 Semantic underspecification

- a) No assignment of thematic roles by the (semi-)copula
- b) Expletive subjects or subjectless constructions

- (27) a. So langsam wird es Herbst.
So slowly becomes it.EXPL fall
'Slowly, fall is arriving.'
- b. Es war plötzlich wahnsinnig heiß geworden.
It.EXPL was suddenly insanely hot become.PPART
'Suddenly, it started to be insanely hot.'
- (28) a. Mir wurde dort zu kalt, also bin ich weggezogen.
I.DAT became there too cold, so have I moved
'It was starting to get too cold for me there, so I moved.'

Copulas as raising predicates II

b. Den Kindern wurde plötzlich ganz elend.

The kids.DAT became suddenly very miserable

'Suddenly, the kids started to feel very miserable.'

- ② "[...] the raised element has identical syntactic properties (for instance, part of speech and case) as far as the embedded predicate and the matrix predicate are concerned." (Müller 2002, 48) – here: nominative/unmarked

! Can be overridden by further raising (cf. Reis 1973):

(29) Lass mich dein Tanzpartner sein (Song: Funny Van Dannen – Tanzpartner)

Let me.ACC your dancing.partner.NOM be

'Let me be your dance partner.'

- ③ no passivization (Rogler 2009)
- ④ nonverbal predicate (mainly) determines selection, not the matrix predicate

Copulas as raising predicates III

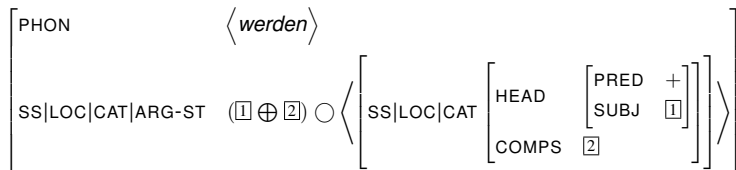
- (30) a. * Der Tisch war/wurde krank.
'The table was/became sick.'
- b. Aaron war/wurde krank.
'Aaron was/became sick.'

- 5 Since the embedded predicate is nonverbal, tests are not applicable for
- lack of existence entailment (*The unicorn* [?]*(seems) to approach us.*)
 - passive paraphrasing (*The police seemed to arrest the thief* vs. *The thief seemed to be arrested by the police.*)
 - idiom embedding (*The cat {is, seems to be} out of the bag.*)

Intermediate summary – Syntax I

Thus, the syntax of *werden* can be analyzed with Müller (2009):

(31)



- The copula needs a predicative element (phrase type not fixed), with which it forms a complex predicate.

Intermediate summary – Syntax II

- If applicable, the predicative might additionally select its complement(s) ^[2] (optional and obligatory):

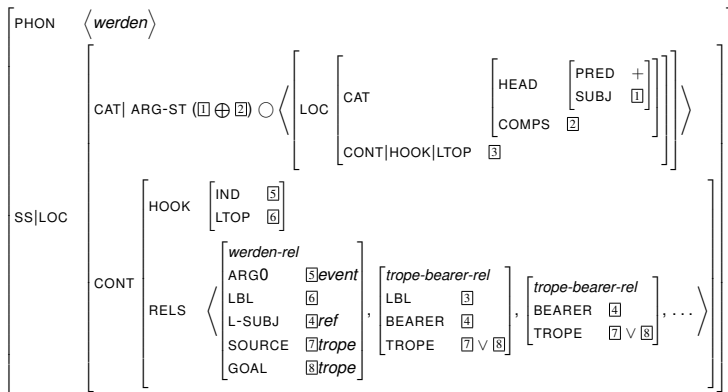
- (32) a. *(der Angelegenheit) überdrüssig werden
the matter weary become
'grow weary (of the matter)'
b. (auf etwas) wütend werden
(on something) furious become
'become furious (about something)'

- The subject ^[1] of the predicative element (and the complement, if existent) are then raised into the matrix clause.
- Shuffle ○ allows both predicative and specificational order.

⇒ More on order: up next

SYN & SEM – The lexical entry

(33)



Order in copula constructions

For *sein* (*be*), predication (SUBJ<PRED) & specificational (PRED<SUBJ) orders are well attested and discussed.

- (34) a. Aaron ist mein Lieblingslehrer.
'Aaron is my favorite teacher.'
b. Mein Lieblingslehrer ist Aaron.
'My favorite teacher is Aaron.'

In general, we can observe the same pattern for nominal predicates under *werden*:

- (35) a. Aaron wurde mein Lieblingslehrer.
'Aaron became my favorite teacher.'
b. Mein Lieblingslehrer wurde Aaron.
'My favorite teacher became Aaron/The person who became my favorite teacher was Aaron.'

Order in *werden* I

Recall: stronger sensitivity to linearization for *werden* with PP-predicatives

- (8) a. Aus Angst wurde Wut.
From fear became fury
'Fear turned into fury.'
- b. ?? Wut wurde aus Angst.
Fury became from fear
'Into fury, fear turned.'
- c. WUT wurde aus Angst (und nicht Mut).
FURY became from fear (and not courage)
'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

Order in *werden* II

- (9) a. Angst wurde zu Wut.
Fear became to fury
'Fear turned into fury.'
- b. ?? Zu Wut wurde Angst.
To fury became fear
'Into fury, fear turned.'
- c. Zu WUT wurde Angst (und nicht (zu) Mut).
Into FURY became fear (and not (into) courage)
'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

Linear order as a semantic strategy?

- Q1 Why does it seem like $PRED < SUBJ$ is acceptable for the nominals in (35), but less so for *aus-* & *zu-*PPs? Are nominal predicatives different from other phrase types wrt linear order?
- Q2 More generally: What role does linear order play in copulas (and related structures)?

Linear order of SOURCE and GOAL

Recall again (35):

- (35) a. Aaron wurde mein Lieblingslehrer.
'Aaron became my favorite teacher.'
- b. Mein Lieblingslehrer wurde Aaron.
'My favorite teacher became Aaron.' (int.: The person who became my favorite teacher was Aaron)
- The two NPs are of different cognitive salience: You cannot *turn into Aaron*. Proper names are rigid designators for the entities they reference.
 - Testing methodology: Subject and predicative must not be asymmetric wrt cognitive salience (for *werden*: It must, in theory, be possible for the subject to turn into the predicative, and vice versa).

Linear order of SOURCE and GOAL

For symmetric salience, order then is now relevant:

- (36) a. Ein Freund wurde ein Feind.
A friend became an enemy
'A friend turned into an enemy.'
- b. Ein Feind wurde ein Freund.
An enemy became a friend
'An enemy turned into a friend.'
- a. and b. seem to express different propositions.
 - The interpretation uses order: a preverbal SOURCE and a postverbal GOAL.
 - *werden* is a directed motion from SOURCE to GOAL – the interpretation seems to respect that iconicity.

Linear order of SOURCE and GOAL

The order SOURCE < GOAL is not particular to *werden*. It can be observed for other transfer/motion verbs:

- (37) a. Bitte stell die Stühle [von hier]_{SOURCE} [nach dort]_{GOAL}.
Please put the chairs from here to there
'Please move the chairs [from here]_{SOURCE} [to over there]_{GOAL}.'
- b. ?? Bitte stell die Stühle [nach dort]_{GOAL} [von hier]_{SOURCE}.
Please put the chairs to there from here
int.: 'From over there, please move the chairs to here.'
- (38) a. Sie flohen [aus der Stadt]_{SOURCE} [in den Wald]_{GOAL}.
They fled from the city into the forest
'They fled [from the city]_{SOURCE} [to the forest]_{GOAL}.'
- b. ? Sie flohen [in den Wald]_{GOAL} [aus der Stadt]_{SOURCE}.
They fled into the forest from the city
int.: 'From the city, they fled into the forest.'

- Likewise: *senden* (*send*), *werfen* (*throw*), (*weg*)*nehmen* (*take* (*away*)), *fallen* (*fall*), (*zurück*)*kommen* (*come* (*back*)), ...

Linear order as a general semantic strategy I

Linear order can be used as a semantic strategy beyond SOURCE-GOAL-constructions, especially in complex predicates.

- Aboutness/subject-matter (cf. Yablo 2014) in small clauses and copulas (cf. Hartmann 2020)

- (39) a. [My husband] [the culprit]? (No, he isn't guilty!)
→ QUD: What about your husband/Is your husband the culprit?
- b. [The culprit] [my husband]? (No, I don't know the alleged criminal personally!)
→ QUD: What about the culprit/Is the culprit your husband?

Linear order as a general semantic strategy II

- Availability of subject-matters with the copula (ex. from Campbell 1996)

- (40) Under the table is a good place to hide.
- a. 'There is a space under the table which is a good place to hide.'
locative PP reading
 - b. 'The space denoted by *under the table* is a good place to hide.'
subject PP reading
- (41) A good place to hide is under the table.
- a. 'There is a good place to hide and it is under the table.'
locative PP reading
 - b. ? 'A good place to hide can be identified with the space denoted by *under the table*.'
subject PP reading

Linear order as a general semantic strategy III

- Serial verbs (cf. Durie 1997³, e.g., ex. (62)): serialization into a complex predicate/unitary event only possible for iconic event order

(42) Yorùbá (org. Bamgboṣe 1974)

- a. o ra iṣu wá
 she bought yams come
 'She bought the yams and came.'
- b. * o ta iṣu wá
 she sold yams come
 int.: 'She sold the yams and came.'

³Thank you, Reviewer 3!

SOURCE topicality?

General pattern:

(43) SOURCE *werden* GOAL

V2-clause

(44) SOURCE GOAL *werden*

embedded clause

? SOURCES in the topic position? (with INF-STR as in de Kuthy 2002)

(45) **SOURCE topicality**

$$\left[\text{SS|LOC|CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HOOK|LTOP } \boxed{1} \\ \text{RELS} \left\langle \begin{array}{l} \text{motion-rel} \\ \text{LBL} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{SOURCE} \quad \boxed{2} \end{array} \right\rangle, \dots \right\rangle \right] \right] \Rightarrow \left[\text{SS|LOC|INF-STR|TOPIC} \quad \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \right]$$

SOURCE topicality?

While (45) works for many instances, it makes too strong predictions for

① *werden* with both *von-* and *zu*-PP:

(22) [Die Moleküle]_{ind} wurden [von Wasser]_{SOURCE} [zu Gas]_{GOAL}.
The molecules became from water to gas
'The molecules turned from water to gas.'

(22') ? [Von Wasser]_{SOURCE} wurden [die Moleküle]_{ind} [zu Gas]_{GOAL}.
from water became the molecules to gas
'From water, the molecules turned into gas.'

② constructions with only SOURCE, no GOAL

(46) What about Aaron?

broad QUD

a. Er kommt gerade [vom Mittagessen]_{SOURCE}.
'He's just coming back from lunch.'

b. # [Vom Mittagessen]_{SOURCE} kommt er gerade.
'It is lunch, where he is currently coming back from.'

Iconicity constraint for SOURCE and GOAL

Importantly, constituent order is relatively free if only the SOURCE or only the GOAL is present.

⇒ **Only if** both are present, we need to respect the inherent iconicity.

(47) SOURCE <^{*} GOAL

- * The LP statement is defeasible, as the order can be inverted in certain scenarios (see appendix).
- Notably, for *werden+aus*-PP: Iconicity overrides the preference for topical subjects.⁴

⁴Cf. Goldin-Meadow et al. (2008) for iconicity and word order across language families.

Conclusion

Summary

- *werden* denotes a transition between tropes, modeled as directed motion from SOURCE to GOAL.
- The semi-copula is analyzed as a raising predicate, following Müller (2009).
- Selectional restrictions follow from the semantic requirement that complements denote tropes (Bücking & Scheifele 2021).
- SOURCE-GOAL asymmetries reflect an iconicity constraint on linear order.
- The analysis links semantic structure, syntactic raising, and word order within a unified HPSG account.

Conclusion

Outlook/Questions

? How do free relatives fit into the picture?

- (48) Letztendlich wurde Aaron, was er nie sein wollte.
Lastly became Aaron what he never be wanted
'In the end, Aaron became what he never wanted to be.'

? Influence of definiteness

- (49) Aus (den) Mädchen wurden (*die) Frauen.
from (the) girls became (*the) women
'(The) Girls grew into (*the) women.'

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Roles and tropes

- While for adjectives, tests for tropes can be applied w.r.t. their nominalizations, the same is not immediately possible for NPs.
- Perception and (comparative) measurement still work as a test:
 - (50) Man sieht ihm den Lehrer sofort an.
One sees him the teacher immediately at
'One immediately recognizes him as a teacher/the teacher within him.'
 - (51) Aaron ist im Vergleich zu Stephanie nur ein halber Lehrer.
Aaron is in comparison to Stephanie only a half teacher
'In comparison with Stephanie, Aaron is only half a teacher.'
- Additional nominals illustrate internal structure/quantification:
 - (52) Sein ganzes Lehrerdasein träumte Aaron von der Rente.
His whole teacher.being dreamt Aaron about the retirement
'During the whole time of being a teacher, Aaron dreamt about retirement.'

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- Additionally: ILP-predicates can often receive a SLP-predicate reading (cf. Maienborn 2003 for a pragmatic reanalysis of the distinction)

(53) Aaron betrat den Salon blond und verließ ihn brünett.
'Aaron entered the salon as a blond and left it brunette.'

Other approaches to *werden*

- Musan (1999) focusses on event semantics (is *werden* a process or an accomplishment?), no discussion of selectional properties.
- Steinitz (1999) also discusses event semantics and excludes locative PPs for predicatives (without semantically motivating the reason for this).
- Härtl (2005, 2007) enumerates four distinct categories of blocked predicatives:
 - ① encyclopedic/ontological knowledge: **teilbar werden* (*become divisible*)
 - ② lexical blocking: **kaputt werden* vs. *kaputt gehen* (*break*)
 - ③ semantic/conceptual factor of CONTROL: **nackt werden* (*become naked*)
 - ④ forbidden redundancy due to telicity: **in den Garten werden* (*become in the garden*)
- Rogler (2009) also enumerates a variety of excluding factors, with some 'blocked for no apparent reason' (cf. *ibid.*, 86).

Against natural order I

Constituent order is free if only SOURCE or only GOAL is present. If both are present. . .

. . . under which conditions is a deviation from SOURCE < GOAL possible?

- For NP-NP constructions: Cognitive salience is 'asymmetric enough':

- (35) a. Aaron wurde mein Lieblingslehrer.
'Aaron became my favorite teacher.'
- b. Mein Lieblingslehrer wurde Aaron.
'The person who became my favorite teacher was Aaron.'
- (54) a. Der Lärm jeden Morgen wurde das drängendste Problem der Nachbarn.
'The noise every morning became the most urgent problem of the neighbours.'

Against natural order II

- b. Das drängendste Problem der Nachbarn wurde der Lärm jeden Morgen.
'The issue which was the most urgent problem for the neighbours was the noise every morning.'

Against natural order III



- (55) minister.of.transport should.EPIST Bilger become
'Bilger is set to become minister of transport.'

Against natural order IV

- Contrastive focus/stress:

(8c) WUT wurde aus Angst (und nicht Mut).

FURY became from fear (and not courage)

'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

(9c) Zu WUT wurde Angst (und nicht (zu) Mut).

Into FURY became fear (and not (into) courage)

'It was fury, the fear turned into (but not courage).'

(38b') In den WALD flohen sie aus der Stadt (und nicht in die Berge).

They fled into the forest from the city (and not into the mountains)

'It was in the forest, where they fled to (and not into the mountains).'

Against natural order V

- Broad vs. narrow QUDs:

(56) What kind of trip did you plan?

broad QUD

a. From Germany to Norway.

b. # To Norway from Germany.

(57) With Germany as your starting point, what kind of trip did you plan?

narrow QUD

a. From Germany to Norway.

b. To Norway from Germany.