



# Roadmap

- 1 Some Background
- 2 Origin and Development of WFC
  - Traditional description
  - Questions to be answered
- 3 Results and Discussion
  - First empirical results
- 4 Towards an analysis
  - Proposal
  - The origin, WPG
  - The change
  - The result, WFC
- 5 Conclusions

# Various Constructions

- A construction type of Present-Day German (PDG) to form WH-questions (1-a), exclamatives (1-b), free relatives (1-c):

- (1)    a.    *Was für ein Buch hat Maria gelesen?*  
               what for a    book has Mary read  
               ‘What kind of book did Mary read?’
- b.    *Was für ein Buch Maria gelesen hat!*  
               what for a    book Mary read    has  
               ‘(Impressive,) the kind of book Mary read!’
- c.    *Ich lese, was für ein Buch (auch immer) Maria*  
               I    read what for a    book also    ever    Mary  
               *gelesen hat.*  
               read    has  
               ‘I read whatever kind of book Mary read.’

PDG

# Salient properties

- Involves a WH-element *was* ‘what’ followed by *für* ‘for’ and an obligatorily indefinite NP:

- (2)    a.    *was für {ein/\*das} Buch ...*  
               what for a/the            book  
               ‘what kind of book’
- b.    *was für (\*die) Bücher*  
               what for the        books  
               ‘what kind of books’

*PDG*

→ as the glosses indicate, the WFC asks for the **kinds or sorts denoted by the NP**.

# Salient properties

- The preposition-like element *für* **does not assign case** to the NP (3), differing from the case-assigning properties of the preposition *für* (4):

(3) *Was für einem/\*einen Jungen hast du geholfen?*  
 what for a+DAT/\*ACC boy have you helped  
 ‘What kind of boy did you help?’

(4) *Dieses Geschenk ist für einen/\*einem Jungen.*  
 this present is for a+ACC/\*DAT boy

PDG

- The verb agrees with the nominal of the indefinite NP:

(5) *Was für Leute sind/\*ist angekommen?*  
 what for people are/is arrived  
 ‘What kind of people arrived?’

PDG

# Salient properties

- WFC can be **embedded under prepositions**:

(6) *Mit was für Leuten hast du gesprochen?*

with what for people have you spoken  
‘What kind of people did you talk to?’

*PDG*

- Under **split** *was* moves out of the DP:

(7) *Was hat Maria für ein Buch gelesen?*

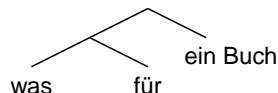
what has Mary for a book read  
‘What kind of book did Mary read?’

*PDG*

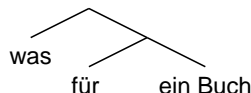
# Previous generative analyses

- **Previous generative analyses** of numerous languages/dialects, each highlighting different aspects: Bennis et al. (1998); Corver and Koppen (2005); Blümel (2012)
- **General division**: the *für*-element is (8) or is not (9) part of a constituent with the WH-element to the exclusion of the indefinite NP:

(8) Leu (2008b,a); Lohndal (2010)



(9) Corver (1991); Pafel (1996)



# Previous diachronic work

- Kwon (2013, 3): “Russian *čto za* phrase developed from a binominal sentence, which is constituted by a WH-pronoun *čto* and a lexical noun to the exclusion of the prepositional element *za*”

(10) *i čto jazykŭ ixŭ ...i čto věra ixŭ*  
 and what language their ... and what faith+NOM their  
 ‘[nor] what their language ... [nor] what their faith is.’



## Previous diachronic work

Kwon (2013, 3): “second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century at the latest”

- (11) Cto jesi dal namŁ za klucka za nasŁ ne  
 what+ACC are gave us for steward+ACC for us not  
 stot  
 stand  
 'What kind of steward did you assign to us?! He is worthless  
 for us.'
- Old Russian*

# Previous diachronic work

The development suggested in Kwon 2013:

- “the prepositional [FOR] cross-linguistically arose as a **predicator**, which scopes over a small clause”
- “[T]he construction goes through a stepwise development, expanding its domain, i.e., nominative to direct cases, then to oblique cases, and finally to prepositional cases.”  
**NOM → DIR → OBL → PREP**
- “*what for* undergoes a categorial change from a clause to a phrase, changing WH-predication to WH-modification in status.”

# Traditional description

## Dating of the WFC

- According to a traditional view, WFC like (12) arose during the Early New High German (ENHG) period, **no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.** (cf. Grimm and Grimm 1960, 99 f.; Behaghel 1923, 364)<sup>1</sup>:

(12)     *Dieser erzehlete vns/was die Hispanier für einen*  
           this-one told            us what the Spaniards for a+ACC  
           *Wahn hetten [...]*  
           madness had+SBJV  
           ‘He told us how mad the Spaniards were [...]

- Paul (1919, 304) and Behaghel (1923, 364): the noun following *für* was inflected for **accusative case in the beginning**.

<sup>1</sup>The WFC comes in different spelling variants both w.r.t. *was* and *für*, e.g. respectively *wz*, *waz*, etc. and *für*, *fúr*, *vor*, etc..

# Traditional description

## Emergence of the different functions

Grimm and Grimm (1960, 99 f.)

- stage 1: in accusative constructions (→ **direct objects**)
- stage 2: in ENHG in nominative constructions (→ **subjects**)
- stage 3: in genitive and dative constructions (→ **genitive and dative objects**)

Ebert et al. (1993, 318):

- **nominative** case marking is attested from the **beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century**
- **dative and genitive** case marking from the **late 16<sup>th</sup> century**.

# Traditional description

## Emergence of the different functions

Grimm and Grimm (1960, 99 f.)

- stage 1: in accusative constructions (→ **direct objects**)
- stage 2: in ENHG in nominative constructions (→ **subjects**)
- stage 3: in genitive and dative constructions (→ **genitive and dative objects**)

Ebert et al. (1993, 318):

- **nominative** case marking is attested from the **beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century**
- **dative and genitive** case marking from the **late 16<sup>th</sup> century**.

# Traditional description

## (Dis-)continuity

→ Clajus (1578, cited in Grimm and Grimm 1960, 100):

*“pronomen interrogatium was / cum particula für omnium generum, numerorum et casuum substantiuis praeponitur, [...]”*

‘interrogative pronoun *was* with a particle *für* is preposed to nouns of all genders, numbers and cases,’

→ Gellert (18<sup>th</sup> c., cited in Grimm and Grimm 1960, 100):

*“das pronomen von der präposition zu trennen ist zwar im gemeinen leben sehr häufig, aber in der edlern schreibart unerlaubt, weil es die ganze construction zerrüttet: [...]”*

‘it often happens in common life that the pronoun is separated from the preposition, but it is disallowed in elegant writing, since it disrupts the whole construction:’

# Traditional description

## Was + partitive genitive

- Earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c., only **was + partitive genitive constructions** (WPG) like in (13) are attested in the same contexts:

(13) [...] **was** **gezügs** der chirurgicus haben sol.  
           what tool+GEN the surgeon have should  
           ‘What kind of tools the surgeon should have’ *Brunschwig*,  
           1497

- Behaghel (1923, 364) observes that the WPG exhibited some **contamination** of the WFC:

(14) **was** **für** *Uebels*  
           what for evil+GEN

# Traditional description

Provisional hypothesis (to be made explicit later)

WFC developed from WPG (WPG  $\rightarrow$  WFC)



# Traditional description

## Properties of WPG

- **Already attested in Old High German** (OHG), mainly in the same functions of PDG WFC (cf. Grimm and Grimm 1960, 98 f. and Behaghel 1923, 363):

(15)     *waz wortō*             *ist thiz?*

what words+GEN is this

*Tatian* 129, 4

- Behaghel (1923, 363) exemplifies the **loss of partitive genitive in WPG** with (16) and relates it to the general loss of genitive:

(16)     *waz kriece da ergie*

what war there took-place

*Berth. II*, 18, 5

- **Adjectival forms** (as in *was Neues* 'what new') were originally marked as genitive, but became case-transparent over time (Behaghel 1923, 363; Ebert et al. 1993, 334)

# The Origin and Development of WFC

- Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.? And what about WPG?
- In which dialects is the WFC first attested?
- Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning? Does it really function as a preposition proper?
- Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives predate the rise of nominatives, and that of genitives and datives?
- Does the possibility to split exist right from the start?

# The Origin and Development of WFC

- Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.? And what about WPG?
- In which dialects is the WFC first attested?
- Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning? Does it really function as a preposition proper?
- Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives predate the rise of nominatives, and that of genitives and datives?
- Does the possibility to split exist right from the start?

# The Origin and Development of WFC

- Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.? And what about WPG?
- In which dialects is the WFC first attested?
- Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning? Does it really function as a preposition proper?
- Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives predate the rise of nominatives, and that of genitives and datives?
- Does the possibility to split exist right from the start?

# The Origin and Development of WFC

- Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.? And what about WPG?
- In which dialects is the WFC first attested?
- Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning? Does it really function as a preposition proper?
- Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives predate the rise of nominatives, and that of genitives and datives?
- Does the possibility to split exist right from the start?

# The Origin and Development of WFC

- Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.? And what about WPG?
- In which dialects is the WFC first attested?
- Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning? Does it really function as a preposition proper?
- Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives predate the rise of nominatives, and that of genitives and datives?
- Does the possibility to split exist right from the start?

# The Origin and Development of WFC

## Methods

- Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus<sup>2</sup>
  - High German prose texts
  - Texts from the second half respectively of the 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.
- Exhaustive extraction of all the tokens of the WFC (69) and WPG (155)
- Enrichment of the tokens by means of further syntactic information (e.g. case assignment, split/unsplit, etc.)

---

<sup>2</sup><http://www.korpora.org/fnhd/>

# The Origin and Development of WFC

## Methods

- A similar method was adopted for two further corpora in order to explore the development of the construction in the following period:
  - Fürstinnenkorrespondenz 2.0<sup>3</sup> (Princesses Correspondences)
    - 1546-1756
    - Middle German
    - private mail
  - RIDGES 4.1<sup>4</sup> ("Register in Diachronic German Science")
    - 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> c.
    - Germany, Austria, Switzerland
    - scientific texts

---

<sup>3</sup>[http://dwee.eu/Rosemarie\\_Luehr/?Projekte\\_\\_\\_DFG-Projekte\\_\\_\\_Fruehneuzeitliche\\_Fuerstinnenkorrespondenz\\_im\\_mitteldeutschen\\_Raum](http://dwee.eu/Rosemarie_Luehr/?Projekte___DFG-Projekte___Fruehneuzeitliche_Fuerstinnenkorrespondenz_im_mitteldeutschen_Raum)

<sup>4</sup>Lüdeling, Odebrecht, and Zeldes (Lüdeling et al.)



# Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.?

- WFC starts from 16<sup>th</sup> c. as claimed in the traditional literature

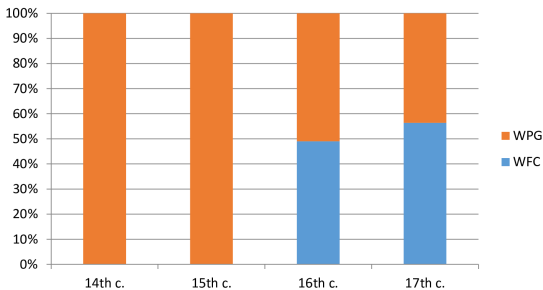
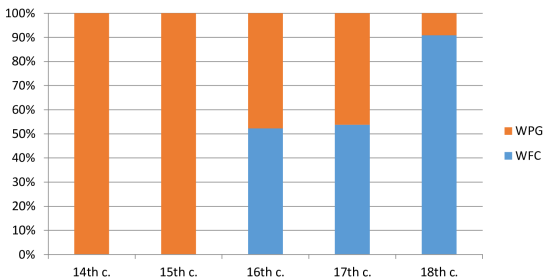


Figure: Distribution of WFC and WPG in the *Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus*

# Does WFC arise no earlier than the 16<sup>th</sup> c.?

- Its occurrence continuously rises at the expense of WPG. WPG became rarer (and eventually extinct)



**Figure:** Distribution of WFC and WPG in the three corpora (including 18<sup>th</sup> c.)

- This lends initial plausibility to our main claim: WPG was the diachronic source of WFC.

# In which dialects is the WFC first attested?

- In the Bonner corpus, it is **difficult to track the diffusion** of the new construction (the corpus only contains one text for each dialect region for each period considered).
- The new construction seems to be rapidly adopted in all dialects. But, interestingly, the Bonner corpus does not provide **any evidence for WFC in (Middle) Bavarian until the 17<sup>th</sup> c.**
- That seems to indicate that the new construction probably spread starting **from Northern or Western dialects.**

# Is the WFC an autochthonous construction? Or are its distinctive features loaned from other languages?

- The diffusion of WFC could have been facilitated by the **contact with Low German**, in which this construction might be attested earlier.<sup>5</sup>

(17) *wat de vor recht vindet*

what they for right find

*Herforder Rechtsbuch, Westphalian, Herford, 1375*

- Probably, High German dialects underwent an **analogous process** to Low German and developed a new construction in which the **genitive marking is substituted by means of the marker *für/vor***.

---

<sup>5</sup>Thanks to Melissa Farasyn (p.c.).

# Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning?

## ● No!

- In all the three corpora, we found 19 cases in which the predicate unambiguously assigns case to the NP.
- In one dubious sentence (a translation from Latin), case is not assigned by the predicate. But since this is a late example (from the 17<sup>th</sup> c.), we can exclude that it may be prototypical for the first stage of the reanalysis.

→ **Hardly any evidence** in the corpus **for the idea that *für* functions as a preposition proper** (pace Paul 1919, 303 f.; Behaghel 1923, 364; Pafel 1996, 49).

→ *für* has **never** been **a preposition or case assigner in WFC**

- But probably the claim is right that the **relevant meaning of *für*** in WFC was ***als* ‘as’, *an Stelle von* ‘in place of’** (cf. Paul 1919, 303 f.; Behaghel 1923, 364; Ebert et al. 1993, 318).
- In fact, ***für*** was very often independently used in **predicative constructions as a copular element**:

(18) [...] er mercket das sie in für ain gûten man hat  
 er notices that she him for a good man has  
*Neidhart. 1486*

# Does *für* really assign accusative at the beginning?

- A vestige of this meaning and use is still observable in PDG small clauses *halten für* 'consider as' (cf. Corver 1991, 209 f.)

(19) *Ich halte ihn für einen Idioten.*

I hold him for an+ACC idiot+ACC  
'I consider him an idiot.'

Crucially, *für* is case-transparent, e.g. *under passivization*, suppression of accusative affects subject and the predicative of the small clause alike (20):

(20) a. *Er wird für ein Idiot gehalten.*

he is for an+NOM idiot+NOM hold  
'He is considered an idiot.'

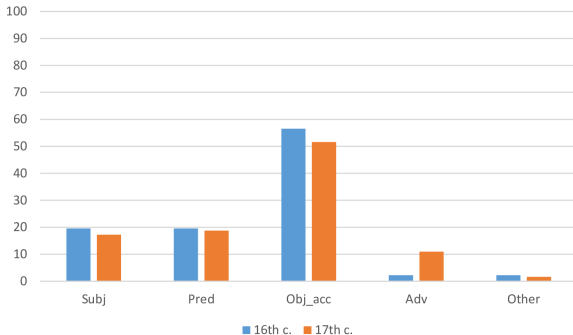
b. \*?*Er wird für einen Idioten gehalten.*

he is for an+ACC idiot+ACC hold

## First empirical results

# Does the occurrence of WFC-accusatives (in object function) predate the other functions?

- No!



**Figure:** Distribution of the gramm. functions in the three corpora (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> c.)



# Does the possibility to split exist from the start?

- Yes!

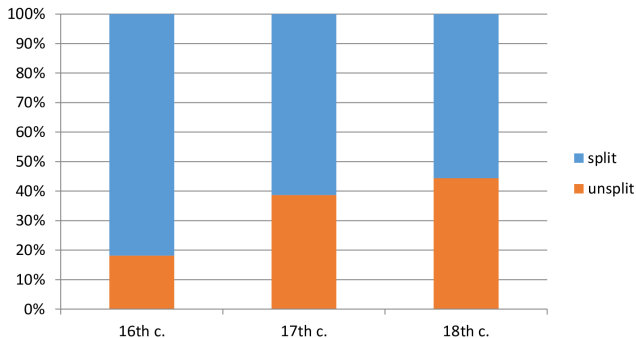


Figure: Distribution of split and unsplit WFC in the three corpora

# Does the possibility to split exist from the start?

- The possibility to split seems to exist **right from the start** for the WFC (21) (which also held for the WPG, (22)):

- (21) *Was* *ists* *dañ* *fúr* *ain* *hawß* [...] *Andreae, 1557*  
 what is-it then for a house  
 ‘What kind of house is it then [...]’
- (22) [...] *waz* *si* *fundend* *junger* *edler* *frawen*  
 what they found young+GEN noble+GEN women  
*und junkfrawen* [...] *Mair, 1392*  
 and unmarried-women  
 ‘whatever young noble women and unmarried women  
 they could find’

# Proposal of the stages

- Conjecture: WPG (Stage 1) undergoes a **syntactic reanalysis** leading to WFC (Stage 3), arguably via an intermediate mixed Stage 2:

## Stages in the evolution of WFC

Stage 1 [ $DP_1$  WH [ $NP_1$   $N_1=\emptyset$   $DP_2$ -GEN ]]

( Stage 2 [ $DP_1$  WH [ $NP_1$   $N_1=für/\emptyset$   $DP_2$ -GEN/INERT ] ] )

Stage 3 [ $SortP$  WH [ $Sort'$   $Sort=für$  NumP ]]

- In effect, the binominal structure of the WPG gives rise to a **small-clause-like unit** of WFC.

# A null nominal head

- Plausibly, the partitive genitive case on  $DP_2$  in the WPG is a reflex of a **null nominal head  $N_1$**  (23).

(23)  $[_{DP_1} WH [_{NP_1} N_1=\emptyset DP_2\text{-GEN}]]$

It is  $N_1$  which assigns genitive.

- Support for the idea comes from the straightforward fact that **this head is pronounced** in, say, certain partitives in English:

(24) Three **books** of these

# Phonological deletion of N

- More specifically, we adopt the analysis of partitives in Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2004) and suggest that  $N_1$  is a deleted head noun.  $N_1$  is not restricted to a single element but can be a lexical noun of various kinds, giving rise to different meanings.
  - (25)
    - a. Most parts of the book
    - b. Most books of the books
    - c. One book of the books
- Sauerland and Yatsushiro (2004, 103-104): “Semantically, the deleted noun provides a way of dividing up the plurality the argument of *of* denotes into countable units.”

# Grammaticalization

- The change involved the **grammaticalization of this deleted lexical noun** as the functional head of the small clause we call Sort.

(26) *Was gezügs* → *Was für Werkzeuge*  
 what tool                  what for tools

(27) **WPG** [<sub>DP<sub>1</sub></sub> [*was*] [<sub>NP<sub>1</sub></sub> N<sub>1</sub>=~~part~~ [<sub>DP<sub>2</sub>-GEN</sub> *gezügs* ]]]

(28) **WFC** [<sub>SortP</sub> [*was*] [<sub>Sort'</sub> Sort=*für* [<sub>NumP</sub> *Werkzeuge* ]]]

- In fact, Roehrs and Sapp (2016, 253) tentatively suggest that already WPG (invariably?) involves a silent noun KIND. This is compatible with our view, insofar as at least sortal readings in WPG involve the noun 'kind' or 'sort'.
- In the new construction (WFC, (28), Stage 3), **für functions as a (nominal) copula element, realizing Sort**. With lexical N<sub>1</sub> absent, genitive is unavailable.

# Grammaticalization

- Genitive marking in WPG was sometimes **already absent in Middle High German(!)** and was maybe favored by case syncretism (genitive is not always clearly distinguished from other cases) and from the more general loss of genitive partitive.
- The phonetic realization of the head Sort by the predicator *für* is **possibly due to its use in other predicative contexts.**

# Grammaticalization and Fusion

An account for the obligatory indefiniteness of WFC

- Geist (2016): Nominals feature **different functional layers corresponding to different interpretations**.
  - Crucially, **indefinite articles occupy the Num-head** and NumP denotes a set of objects.<sup>6</sup>
  - Definite articles, by contrast, realize D.

$$(29) \quad [_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num \dots \underbrace{[_{NP} N \dots]}_{\text{descriptive content}} ] ]$$

$\underbrace{\hspace{10em}}_{\text{quantization}}$   
 $\underbrace{\hspace{15em}}_{\text{reference}}$

<sup>6</sup>According to Geist, the indefinite article itself denotes an identity function on predicates.

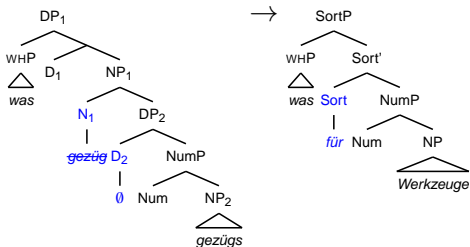


# Grammaticalization and Fusion

An account for the obligatory indefiniteness of WFC

- Proposal: The change from WPG to WFC involves the **fusion of  $N_1$  and  $D_2$** .
- In effect, **two phrases of the WPG collapse to yield one functional category Sort**, the most prominent category of WFC.

(30)



- What is the postnominal layer in the WPG is the nominal head of the WFC. Since the D-layer of WPG fuses into Sort, only NumP remains for WFC.

# Case inert

- We share the intuition that *für* is analogous to PDG *als* ‘as’ as in the run-of-the-mill small clause (31) (cf. Behaghel *ibid.* on *als* and the semantics of *für*).

(31) *Fritz erachtet ihn als einen guten Schwimmer.*  
 Fritz considers him as a<sub>acc</sub> good<sub>acc</sub> swimmer

PDG

Notably, *als* does not assign case in (31), its subject and predicate being transparent for case assignment by the verb *erachten*. WFC appears to behave similarly in the relevant respects, *für* being “case inert” (Pafel 1996).

# Agreement

- How to account for the fact that **the lexical noun** but not **was** **controls agreement on the verb**?

(32) a. *Was für Leute **sind**/\***ist** angekommen?*

what for people are/is arrived

'What kind of people arrived?'

PDG

b. *Was **ist**/\***sind** euch passiert?*

what is/are you happened

'What happened to you?'

- In principle, the contrast in (32) can be captured in at least two ways: **the feature composition of was is identical in both cases, or it differs.**

# Agreement

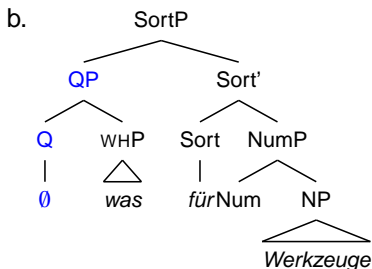
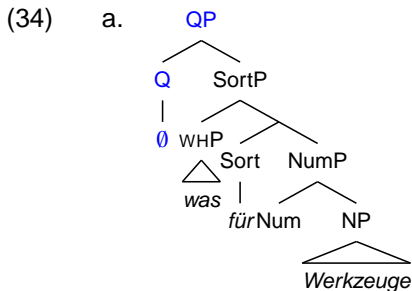
- We propose that *was* invariably **lacks relevant features to count as a suitable goal for an inflectional agreement probe**.
- For the WFC this means that a  $\phi$ -probe searches past the WH-phrase (33).  $\phi$ -probing must reach the indefinite NP, otherwise its [uCase]-feature remains unvalued, causing crash.

(33) [ T/v<sub>[u $\phi$ ]</sub> ... [[*was*<sub>[wh]</sub>] SORT [<sub>NumP</sub> Num NP<sub>[ $\phi$ ]] ] ]</sub>

- When *was* alone functions as a subject as in (32-b)  $\phi$ -probing does not result in feature matching → **AGREE fails**, i.e. the  $\phi$ -probe remains unvalued. We suggest that this is **not fatal for the derivation** (cf. Preminger 2014). The morphological result of this syntactic failure is default 3SG on the verb.

# Splitting

- The derivation of optional pied-piping/split: [the Q-based analysis of WH-questions in Cable 2010](#).
- A silent interrogative morpheme – Q – selects
  - either the small clause as in (34-a)
  - or the WH-phrase as in (34-b),
 entertaining a nominal-internal AGREE-relation with the WH-element in both cases.

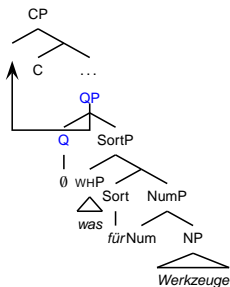


# Splitting

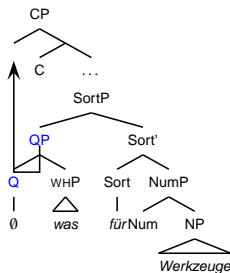
- The different units Q can select lead to **different derivations**: by assumption, WH *ex-situ* questions involve AGREE between interrogative C and QP, and are invariably instances of QP-movement. This way, pied-piping (35-a) and split (35-b) are derived respectively.

(35)

a.



b.



# Conclusions

- Our corpus-based study **confirms the emergence of WFC during the 16<sup>th</sup> c.** to the detriment of the older WPG.
- We proposed that a binominal structure of WPG, in which a partitive genitive DP<sub>2</sub> is syntactically embedded in the DP<sub>1</sub> containing *waz* 'what', is **reanalyzed as a predicative (or quasi-mononominal) structure**, in which the WH-Phrase *was* and a Number Phrase are linked by the predicator *für* 'for'.
- Even if homophonous with a preposition requiring accusative case, **the case-inert predicator *für* was shown to have never functioned as a preposition.** This allows for external case assignment to the indefinite NumP.

# References

- Behaghel, O. (1923). *Deutsche Syntax* (Band 1 ed.). Heidelberg: Winter.
- Bennis, H., N. Corver, and M. den Dikken (1998). Predication in nominal phrases. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1, 85–117.
- Blümel, A. (2012). Towards a novel analysis of *was-für*-split. In *Proceedings of ConSOLE XIX*, pp. 105–123.
- Cable, S. (2010). Against the Existence of Pied-Piping: Evidence from Tlingit. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41, 563–594.
- Corver, N. (1991). The internal syntax and movement behavior of the Dutch 'wat voor'-construction. *Linguistische Berichte* 133, 190–228.
- Corver, N. and M. V. Koppen (2005). Microvariation and ellipsis in the *wat voor*-construction. Talk handout, *Sounds of Silence* workshop, Tilburg.
- Ebert, R. P., O. Reichmann, H.-J. Solms, and K.-P. Wegera (1993). *Frühneuhochdeutsche Grammatik*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Geist, L. (2016). From Indefinite NP to bare NP: Why does the indefinite article disappear? Talk given at the 38<sup>th</sup> DGfS-conference in Konstanz 2016.
- Grimm, J. and W. Grimm (1960). *DWB = Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, Volume 14. WENIG-WIKING.
- Kwon, K. (2013). *What for* diachronically. In A. Podobryaev (Ed.), *Annual Workshop on Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Second MIT Meeting 2011*, Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic publications, pp. 138–153.
- Leu, T. (2008a). *The Internal Syntax of Determiners*. Ph. D. thesis, New York University.
- Leu, T. (2008b). 'What for' internally. *Syntax* 11, 100–124.
- Lohndal, T. (2010). Silent elements and some Norwegian exclamatives. *Linguistic Analysis* 34, 245–270.
- Lüdeling, A., C. Odebrecht, and A. Zeldes. Ridges-herbology. (Version 5.0).
- Pafel, J. (1996). Die syntaktische und semantische Struktur von *was für* Phrasen. *Linguistische Berichte* 161, 37–67.
- Paul, H. (1919). *Deutsche Grammatik* (Band III. Teil IV: Syntax (Erste Hälfte) ed.). Halle: Niemeyer.
- Preminger, O. (2014). *Agreement and its Failures*. MIT Press.
- Roehrs, D. and C. Sapp (2016). *Quantifying Expressions in the History of German*. John Benjamins.
- Sauerland, U. and K. Yatsushiro (2004). A silent noun in partitives. In K. Moulton and M. Wolf (Eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 34*, Volume 11. Amherst: GLSA.
- Zimmermann, I. (2008). On the syntax and semantics of *kakoj* and *čto za* in Russian. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 16(2), 289–305.





# Appendix

- Attested in at least **Germanic** (Leu 2008b,a, Lohndal 2010) ...

- (36) a. *Hva har du lest for slags bok?*  
 what have you read for sort book  
 'What kind of book did you read?' Norwegian
- b. *Vad för slags/sorts bil köpte du?*  
 what for sorts car bought you  
 'What kind of car did you buy?' Swedish
- c. *Wat voor (een) jongens zijn dat?*  
 what for (a) boys are that  
 'What kind of boys are that?' Dutch
- d. *Was für-ig-ä wi hesch kauft?*  
 what for+ADJ+MASC wine have-you bought  
 'What kind of wine did you buy?' Swiss

# Appendix

- ... and **Balto-Slavic** (Zimmermann 2008, Kwon 2013).

- (37) a. *Čto za knigu ty čitaesh'?*  
 what for book+ACC you read+PRS+2SG  
 'What kind of book are you reading?' *Russian*
- b. *Kas tas par putni?*  
 what it for bird+ACC  
 'What kind of a bird is this?' *Lithuanian*

# Appendix

- Splitting disambiguates in scope interactions with quantifiers (Pafel 1996):

(38) a. *Was für ein Buch hat jeder gelesen?*

what for a book has everyone read

$WH > \forall, \forall > WH$

b. *Was hat jeder für ein Buch gelesen?*

what has everyone for a book read

$\forall > WH, *WH > \forall$