

MANNER OF MOTION: A PRIVILEGED DIMENSION OF GERMAN EXPRESSIONS

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ABSTRACT

Within Talmy's (2000) and Slobin's (1996) typological framework, German belongs to satellite-framed languages, which generally express the path of motion in satellites and the manner of motion in the main verb. For Talmy (2000: 281), the expression of the path is the most basic information, it constitutes the core component; the manner expression is a subsidiary dimension.

Many studies have focussed on the typological differences between different languages based on the path expression and have paid less attention to the expression of the manner dimension.

Our study aims at taking a closer look at this neglected dimension of the manner of motion as it is realized in German. It will show that German is characterized by a manner salience which is realized at different levels of lexicalization and which is not restricted to motion and location verbs as the core of the lexicalization pattern.

The manner of motion is typically also expressed in complex prepositional groups, especially with the preposition *bis* ('up to/till/until'), or at the level of complex local adverbs or postpositions which are hardly translatable into other languages. Constructions with complex particle verbs which combine a particle expressing a path of motion with a simplex verb that expresses a manner (but not a motion), constructions with a non-motion manner verb accompanied by a path satellite, or syntactic structures that combine a modal verb with a path satellite are typical for the German language as they combine in one structure expressions of path and manner of motion.

The study presents the theoretical aspects of these different categories highlighting the «German way of thinking and speaking».

It further illustrates the difficulties encountered when trying to translate the above examples into the verb-framed language French, which often omits the expression of manner.

Keywords: typology, satellite-framed languages, verb-framed languages, path of motion, manner of motion, German

1. INTRODUCTION

Since Talmy's (1985, 2000) and Slobin's (1996, 2000) seminal works about the typological differences in the expression of motion and location in different languages, it is well-known that Romance languages belong to the category of verb-framed languages, whereas Germanic languages are characterized as being satellite-framed languages. This terminology finds its motivation in the lexicalization preferences for the expression of motion events in each typological group. Romance languages, e.g. French or Spanish, express the path of motion in the main verb, whereas Germanic languages like Dutch or German favour a so-called 'satellite' (see Talmy 2000 for the terminology) for the expression of a path or a trajectory. Compare the following underlined elements in the French and German examples (1) and (2).

(1) *Elle entra dans la cuisine, traversa la salle à manger, pour sortir de la maison.*

Lit. 'She entered the kitchen, crossed the living-room, to exit the house.

(2) *Sie trat in die Küche hinein, lief durch das Wohnzimmer durch, um aus dem Haus zu rennen.*

Lit. 'She walked into the kitchen, ran through the living-room (through), to run out of the house'.

In example (1) French selects three main verbs for the expression of the motion path, whereas German (example (2)) uses prepositions or particles to express the same path. Additionally, Germanic languages express the manner of motion in the main verb (e.g. in example (2): *trat*, *lief* or *rennen*). This dimension is not so relevant in Romance languages and consequently is often not expressed in these languages or alternatively is expressed with a gerund or an adverb.

Many studies have focussed on the typological differences between different languages. If we simply consider comparative studies of Romance languages with Germanic languages we can quote among others, Berthele (2004), (2006) and Hottenroth (2002) for a comparison of French and German, Pourcel and Kopecka (2005) for a comparative study of French and English, Lemmens and Perrez (2010) for Dutch as compared with French or De Knop and Perrez (under review) for a comparison of Dutch, German and French expressions of motion events. The studies by Lemmens and Perrez (2010) and by De Knop and Perrez (under review) further deal with the typologically motivated difficulties encountered by foreign language learners. It is interesting to observe that most studies pay less attention to the expression of the manner dimension (except for a few isolated studies, e.g. Pourcel (2009) for English as compared with French). This can probably be explained by the following assumptions:

- Talmy (2000: 281) claims that the expression of the path is the most basic information, it constitutes the core component; the manner expression on the other hand is a subsidiary dimension.
- The differentiation between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages is based on the expression of the path.

- The manner dimension is not so relevant for speakers of Romance languages as it is often not expressed. In his contrastive study of translations of English sentences into the Romance language Spanish Slobin (2000) has shown that the manner expression is often missing which makes it further understandable why a description of this dimension is less attractive.
- The study by Pourcel (2009) aims at assessing which variable between path and manner is cognitively more salient to subjects. She provides evidence (2009: 385) for the fact that speakers of a Romance language, e.g. French, recall better the expression of path, whereas English speakers as representatives of a Germanic language better remember the expression of manner.

Our study aims at taking a closer look at this neglected dimension of the manner of motion as it is realized in German. It will show that German is characterized by a manner salience. The following section 2 will describe the different levels at which the manner of motion is realized in German. It will become obvious that the manner salience is not restricted to motion verbs as the core of the lexicalization pattern but that it pervades several levels in the German language. In section 3 we will illustrate the difficulties encountered by French-speaking students with the German expressions of manner of motion, thereby showing that many problems have something to do with the «German way of thinking and speaking» (Slobin 1996). Finally, section 4 will draw the conclusions and present the results of the study.

2. REALIZATION OF THE MANNER DIMENSION IN GERMAN

Talmy (1985 and 2000) and Slobin (1996 and 2000) concentrated their study of the expression of motion events on the lexicalization patterns realized by motion verbs and satellites. We will show in this section that the manner dimension is not only expressed at the level of motion or location verbs in German but that it pervades several levels of lexicalization. In the following we will offer a systematic overview of all the realization possibilities of the manner dimension in German. Let us start with simplex verbs.

2.1. Simplex Motion Verbs

German as a Germanic language expresses motion in a very differentiated way as it uses different motion verbs to express the way individuals are changing places or objects are being moved (see De Knop and Dirven 2008). Languages from a different typological category, e.g. Romance languages like French or Spanish, also have several motion verbs but these verbs are used very differently. In the German motion and posture expression there is an obligation to specify the manner of motion, which does not pertain to French (or even the Germanic language English). So consequently, the German speaker will alternatively use the verbs *fahren* ('to drive with a boat, car, ship'), *gehen* ('to go on foot'), *fliegen* ('to fly'), *stellen* ('to put in an upright position'), *setzen* ('to put in a sitting position') or *legen* ('to lay'), whereas French will rather use very general verbs like *aller* ('to go') or *mettre* ('to put'). If one is living in Europe or America he/she cannot say in German

(3) *Ich gehe nach Peking.* ('I go to Beijing'),
as this would imply that he/she goes on foot.¹

2.2. Simplex Location Verbs

A similar differentiation pertains to the expression of location² in German which focusses on the manner of location which is not the case in e.g. French (see also the studies by Ameka and Levinson (2007) for a comparison of different languages, by Kutscher and Schultze-Berndt (2007) or Serra-Borneto (1996) for a description of German and by Lemmens (2002) and Lemmens and Perrez (2010) for a study of Dutch posture verbs). In German there is an obligation to use different verbs to express the location of human beings, animals or objects, e.g.

- (4) *Die Vase steht auf dem Tisch.* Lit. 'The vase is standing on the table'.
(5) *Das Buch liegt auf dem Tisch.* Lit. 'The book is lying on the table'.

French (or even the Germanic language English) on the contrary favours very general verbs, e.g. *être* 'to be' or *se trouver* 'to be found'. Compare the following examples (4') and (5'):

- (4') *Le vase est/se trouve sur la table.*
(5') *Le livre est/se trouve sur la table.*

These differences based on simplex verbs are very well-known, they have already been described at great length, that is why we will not go further into the details. Let's now turn to other levels of lexicalization which are much more complex.

2.3. Complex Local Adverbs or Postpositions

Complex local adverbs or postpositions are a favoured expression of the manner dimension in German, they function as satellites. Compare the following examples from the German corpora of the Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache (DWDS) and of the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) in Mannheim:

- (6) *Dann kam der Tornado bis auf den See herunter.* (IDS: BRZ07/AUG.)
Lit. 'Then came the tornado up to on the lake downwards.'
(7) *Das Wetter bringt Schnee bis an den See hinunter.* (IDS: A00/MAR.16690)
Lit. 'The weather brings snow up to the lake downwards.'
(8) *Ein herrlicher Wanderweg bis auf den Berg hinauf.*
(www.peterkamin.de/Harz/harz.htm)
Lit. 'A wonderful path up to the mountain upwards.'

¹ Still there is one possibility where such a sentence would be acceptable, but with a different meaning. It would then imply that one is moving to Beijing, to work there for instance.

² Talmy considers location to be motion but in a wider sense (2000: 28).

The complex local adverbs or postpositions consist of two elements: (i) The first constituent is a particle expressing the vantage point (Langacker 1987: 122-126) or the perspective of the speaker, i.e. a (fictive) movement towards the speaker (with *her-*) or away from him/her (with *hin-*). (ii) The second element of the complex local adverb is a preposition which also expresses a path but additionally a manner, e.g. *unter* ('under'), *hinter* ('behind'), *über* ('over'), *an* ('at'), *auf* ('on'), *vor* ('before'),...

Complex local adverbs are favoured in German but hardly translatable into other languages (See De Knop *fc.* 2013), as testified by the awkward English translations above or the corresponding translations into French hereunder:

- (6') Lit. 'Alors la tornade vint jusque sur le lac (vers le bas).'
- (6'') 'Alors la tornade s'abattit sur le lac.'
- (7') Lit. 'Le temps amène de la neige jusqu'au lac (en bas).'
- (7'') 'Le temps amène de la neige jusqu'au bord du lac.'
- (8') Lit. 'Un chemin merveilleux jusqu'à la montagne (en haut).'
- (8'') 'Un chemin merveilleux qui monte jusqu'à la montagne.'

The English translations skip the first part of the complex local adverb, i.e. the vantage point, whereas the French translations have a tendency to skip the local adverbs altogether. If French speakers want to express the local dimension at all they will rather use other lexicalization patterns, i.e. full verbs (example 6''), another nominal group (*au bord* in (7'')) or a relative clause, e.g. *qui monte* in (8'').

German is characterized by a wide variety of possible combinations between the two constituents as illustrated in the following examples:

- (9) *Die Häuser reichen bis ans Wasser heran.* (DWDS Kernkorpus)
Lit. 'The houses reach up to the water to at.'
- (10) *Getanzt wurde bis in die Morgenstunden hinein.* (IDS: A00/APR.26150)
Lit. 'It was being danced up to the morning hours into.'
- (11) *Sie will auf ihn warten bis über den Tod hinaus.* (IDS: A01/AUG.24164)
Lit. 'She wants to wait for him up to over the death over'.

For an overview of the possibilities see De Knop (*fc.* 2013).

2.4. Complex Prepositional Groups with *bis*

Prepositional groups introduced by *bis* ('up to/until') are complex in the sense that the following nominal group after *bis* is often introduced by another preposition³. Let's look at some examples.

- (12) *Ich werde dich lieben bis in den Tod.* (DWDS Kernkorpus)
Lit. 'I will love you till into death.'

³ Except for a few examples where *bis* is followed by a noun without article, e.g. *Wir bleiben bis Morgen/kommenden Montag* ('We stay until tomorrow/until next Monday') or *Der Zug fährt bis Paris/Frankreich* ('The train goes/travels till Paris/France').

(13) *Die Wut steht ihm bis über den Kopf.* (DWDS Kernkorpus)

Lit. 'Anger stands till over his head.' = 'is overwhelming him'

(14) *Er arbeitete (spät) bis in die Nacht.* (IDS: I00/DEZ.75273)

Lit. 'He worked (late) till into the night.'

In these complex groups the preposition *bis* expresses the path of motion, either a spatial trajectory, e.g. example (13), a temporal path like in example (14) or a metaphorical trajectory, e.g. example (12). The following preposition often expresses the manner, sometimes also a path. Unlike other languages German is characterized by a great diversity of manner prepositions after *bis* (for an overview see De Knop (2010); compare also Hottenroth (2002)): *bis an die Grenze* ('up to the border'), *bis in die Nacht* ('till into the night'), *bis in den Tod* ('till into death'), *bis über den Kopf* ('up to over the head'), *bis unter das Dach* ('up to under the roof'), *bis hinter den Horizont* ('up to behind the horizon'), *bis zum Gartentor* ('up to the garden gate'), *bis ans Knie* ('up to at the knee'), *bis vor Jahren* ('until before years'),... The selection of the second preposition depends on the noun in the prepositional group whose lexical frame presupposes a built-in scale determining the choice of this preposition. *Bis* evokes the notion of limit exemplified in the so-called 'collocates' (Stefanowitsch/Gries 2003), e.g., *Grenze* ('border'), *Rand* ('side'), *Horizont* ('horizon'), *Tür/Tor* ('door/gate'), but also in body-parts like *Ohren* ('ears') or *Zähne* ('teeth'),... Here too it seems that German offers many possibilities to express the manner of motion which are not really present in French or even English.

Translation difficulties (see e.g. the translations of the above examples) often result from the combination of *bis* which expresses a particular trajectory towards a goal and the second preposition which focusses on a different path, e.g. examples (12) and (13). But they can also depend on the prominence of the manner dimension in German like in example (14).

2.5. Constructions with Complex Particle Verbs

German being a satellite-framed language it favours the expression of the path of motion in satellites, e.g. within constructions featuring complex particle verbs. This explains for instance why a sentence like (a) *Die Kinder laufen rüber (über die Straße)* ('The children go/run over (over the street)') sounds more natural than (b) *Die Kinder überqueren die Straße* ('The children cross the road'). In the first sentence (a) the path is expressed by a satellite, i.e. *rüber*, whereas in (b) the path is expressed by a full verb (which corresponds to the lexicalization pattern of Romance languages). The satellite in (a) is compounded with a main verb expressing a manner of motion, i.e. *laufen* ('run'). Interestingly, this lexicalization possibility is extended in German to such compounds consisting of a path of motion satellite with a non-motion simplex verb, e.g.

(15) *Bürgerliche, die in die Kaiserfamilie einheiratete.* (IDS: A09)

Lit. 'Bourgeoise who married into the imperial family.'

One can also 'marry into a country, a region', e.g.

(16) ..., *der vor 36 Jahren nach Waldsassen einheiratete.* (IDS: M05)

Lit. '...who married into Waldsassen 36 years ago.'

Here are some more examples:

(17) *Wer sich so nach oben durchgeboxt hat...* (IDS: BRZ05)

Lit. 'Who has boxed himself through upwards...'

(18) *Michael Schumacher lächelt alle Zweifel weg.* (Berliner Morgenpost, 27.12.2009)

Lit. 'Michael Schumacher smiles all doubts away.'

The non-motion verb often expresses a manner, as illustrated in example (17) or (18). But a simple action, process or state verb which does not as such express a manner is also possible in such constructions, e.g. *heiraten* ('to marry so.') in example (15) or (16), *lachen* ('to laugh') or *arbeiten* ('to work') in the following examples:

(19) *So schön lacht Sylvie van der Vaart (31) den Krebs weg...*

(Bild.de, 14.07.2009 - 19:04)

Lit. 'Sylvie van der Vaart laughs the cancer away in a pretty way'.

(20) *Man muss sich mit dem Auto - teilweise - durch ein Menschengewühl durcharbeiten, so viele Menschen stehen einfach herum.* (IDSSOZ10/JAN.03268)

Lit. 'One must – partly – work oneself through through a crowd of people, so many people simply stand around'.

In order to describe such German examples the whole construction in which these particle verbs are embedded has to be considered. The syntax of the examples can best be studied within the framework of Goldberg's Construction Grammar (1995 and 2006). According to Goldberg the examples under investigation in this paper correspond to 'caused motion constructions'. These consist of several elements:

- (i) at the semantic level: of an agent, a patient, a verb and an oblique argument;
- (ii) at the syntactic level: of a subject, a direct object, an oblique object and a verb (see Table 1 below).

As Construction Grammar postulates a narrow link or continuum between syntax and lexicon both levels are strongly interrelated and cannot be separated from each other. The particle contributes to the meaning of the construction, and conversely, any verb associated with a particle in such a construction becomes either transitive or reflexive and can be interpreted as a 'caused motion verb'.

Table 1. Caused motion construction (Goldberg 1995: 3-4)

Caused motion C°	X causes Y to move Z	Sub	V	Obj	Obl
		<i>Pat</i>	<i>sneezed</i>	<i>the napkin</i>	<i>off the table</i>

The oblique argument which represents the path of motion is expressed by the particle and/or by another satellite (prepositional phrase/adverbial) which can sometimes be redundant with the particle, e.g. (17') *Er hat sich durch die Menschenmenge durchgeboxt*, 'He fought himself through [verb particle] through [preposition] the crowd of people'. In the case of our

examples the separable particle which appears in the compound verb is the oblique argument; the non-motion verb becomes transitive in the particular construction.

The motion expressed with the particle verb is often metaphorical:

(21) *Du hast etwas (in den Text) hineininterpretiert.* Lit. 'You have interpreted something into the text.' = 'You've added a meaning to the text.'

(22) *Sie konnten das Problem wegdiskutieren.* Lit. 'They could discuss the problem away.' = 'They could eliminate the problem by discussion.'

(23) *Heute hat sich Lea ins Leben zurückgekämpft* (Welt.de, 16. Februar 2007)
Lit. 'Today Lea has fought herself back into life.'

(24) *Die Regierung hat sich bis Oktober durchgelogen.* (Spiegel.de, 21. Oktober 2003)
Lit. 'The government has lied itself through until October.' = 'The government has come through until October by lying.'

For further details see Talmy (2000: 248) and Gallez (in preparation).

Because of the synthetic character of the German compound verbs, which ally in one and the same verb the expression of path with the satellite and the expression of manner in the simplex verb, the translation of such constructions into French is often problematic. In the translations the German satellite particle for the path of motion will be expressed by the main verb in French, the manner of motion will be expressed in French by a gerund or an adverbial, e.g. example (23) here above would be translated into French as 'Léa est revenue à la vie en se battant'. As the manner of motion is more scarcely expressed in French the translated construction will sound rather unnatural.

2.6. Constructions with Non-Motion Manner Verb + Path Satellite

The following category is close to the preceding one in that the path of motion is also expressed by a satellite and the manner with a simplex non-motion verb, but in the examples of this category the simplex verb and the satellite appear separated in the construction and not as a compound.

Again, the whole construction has to be considered because the different syntactic elements that realize the motion event are spread over several words in the construction. Let's have a look at some examples:

(25) *Die Mutter hat ihren kleinen Sohn in den Schlaf gewiegt.*

Lit. 'The mother has rocked her little son into the sleep.'

(26) *Ein Unbekannter klingelte die Bundeskanzlerin Merkel aus dem Schlaf.*

(http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/sicherheitspanne-unbekannter-klingelt-merkel-aus-dem-schlaf_aid_439422.html, 26.09.2009, 16:21)

Lit. 'An unknown (person) rang the chancellor Merkel out of the sleep.'

(27) *Mein Bruder heiratete nach Amerika.* Lit. 'My brother married to America.'

(28) *Colin Firth hat sich im neuen Film «The King's speech» zum Oscar gestottert.*

(<http://www.abendblatt.de/kultur-live/article1799316/Colin-Firth-stottert-sich-zum-Oscar-Portman-brillant.html> 28.02.2011, 10:43 Uhr)

Lit. 'Colin Firth stuttered himself in his new film «The King's speech» to the Oscar.'

The translation of these examples into French is problematic. A translation is sometimes possible and acceptable but it expresses something completely different, e.g. in example (25') or (27'):

(25') Lit. 'La mère a bercé son jeune fils dans le sommeil.'

(27') Lit. 'Mon frère se marie en Amérique.'

In these French translations it is simply expressed that the mother is rocking her young son while he is asleep (25') or that my brother marries in America (27'); the German examples additionally express a path of motion, i.e. that the mother rocks her son until he falls asleep (25)⁴ or that he marries an American woman (27).

This last example is even more intricate as *America* stands metonymically for the American woman the man is going to marry. In order to express this additional meaning of the path of motion French speakers will have to use other patterns which privilege additional full verbs (e.g. *réveilla*, 'woke her up' in (26')) or secondary clauses (*pour qu'il s'endorme* 'so that he falls asleep' in (25')), e.g.

(25'') 'La mère a bercé son jeune fils pour qu'il s'endorme.'

(26'') 'Un inconnu sonna chez la chancelière Merkel et la réveilla.'

This corresponds to the lexicalization patterns in Romance (as verb-framed) vs. Germanic (as satellite-framed) languages described by Talmy. What is unusual with these examples and therefore problematic for French learners for instance is that the expression of motion is only present at the level of the satellite and not at the level of the simplex verb; the German verb is a non-motion verb that expresses a manner. This is particularly obvious in example (28) which French speakers would probably translate with an additional gerund:

(28'') 'Colin Firth a remporté l'Oscar pour son film « The King's speech » en bégayant.'

In this example it is impossible to translate the path of motion into French. So, the great difference between German and French is that German expresses motion solely with a satellite expressing the path of motion whereas French expresses the path of motion with a full verb. The German expression of manner (but not of motion) is in a way "alien" in the French translations.

2.7. Patterns with Modal Verb + Path Satellite

Let us close the description of the different realizations of the manner dimension in expressions of motion with a closer look at patterns with a modal verb and a path satellite. The main verb (= infinitive) expressing motion is missing (but in a deeper structure present):

⁴ The expression of the path of motion is also sustained by the German morphosyntactic case-marking as it is the accusative which is being used for the expression of a motion along a path towards a goal (for more details see De Knop 2010).

- (29) *Mein Bruder will in die Schule (gehen)*. Lit. ‘My brother wants (to go) to school.’
 (30) *Er darf über die Straße (gehen)*. Lit. ‘He may (go) over the street.’

The main verb expressing the path of motion can be skipped because the path of motion is expressed by the prepositional group (*in die Schule/über die Straße*). Here we can refer to the ‘economy-of-form factor’ described by Filipovic and Vidokovic (2010: 284). With the modal verb it is the expression of manner which is prevailing. Such patterns are not possible in Romance languages because the path of motion cannot be expressed by a satellite like in German.

2.8. Summary

With the description of the expression of motion events in German it has become clear that the expression of manner pervades all levels of linguistic complexity, i.e. the level of simplex verbs, of complex local adverbs, of complex prepositional groups or of complex constructions. The expression of the manner of motion is often conflated with the expression of path. This is particularly obvious with complex local adverbs, with complex prepositional groups, or with particle verbs. The different possibilities are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Different expressions of manner and path of motion

	SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE	PATH EXPRESSION	MANNER EXPRESSION
(i) Motion verbs	Simplex V	(Satellite)	Different motion Vs
(ii) Location verbs	Simplex V	(Satellite)	Different location Vs
(iii) Complex local adverbs	Compound adverb	Particle for expression of vantage point (<i>hin-/her-</i>)	Preposition 2
(iv) Complex prepositional groups	Complex prepositional group (<i>bis</i> + Prepos. Phrase introduced by Prepos. 2)	Preposition <i>bis</i>	Preposition 2
(v) Constructions with complex particle verbs	Compound V (+ Satellite)	Particle (+ Satellite)	Non-motion V
(vi) Constructions with non-motion verbs	Simplex V + Satellite	Satellite	Non-motion V
(vii) Patterns with modals	Modal V + Satellite	Satellite	Modal V

The strength of the German language is its great flexibility in the combination of path and manner expression in compact or synthetic groups, e.g. compound verbs, compound adverbs or prepositional groups. Translation difficulties of German expressions of motion into a Romance language very much result from the synthetic character of these expressions conflating path and manner in one (compound) expression. Romance languages favour more analytic expressions of these two dimensions, clearly separating path from manner, often even omitting the expression of manner. Let us now turn to the difficulties encountered by French-speaking learners of German.

3. DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY FRENCH-SPEAKING LEARNERS OF GERMAN

Since Slobin's contrastive studies (1996 and 2000) of English and Spanish it is clear that learners belonging to a verb-framed language like Spanish encounter difficulties when learning a satellite-framed language. In the previous section we have described the differences in the expressions of manner (and path) between the satellite-framed language German and the verb-framed language French. This section will present and discuss the results of some tests done with French-speaking learners of German which confirm these difficulties.

3.1. Simplex Motion Verbs

As we saw in 2.1., German will use a variety of motion verbs depending on the manner of motion whereas French uses a very general verb, e.g. *aller* for all sorts of motion. This differentiated use in German is not optional but belongs to the correct way of expressing motion. This difference between the Germanic and the Romance language leads to difficulties which were confirmed by a test conducted with 34 French-speaking students of the B2/C1 proficiency level of the bachelor studies of Germanic languages. They were asked to translate 20 motion and location sentences from French into German. Here are some examples:

(31) *Cet été ma tante ira aux Etats-Unis.* 'This summer my aunt will go to the United States.'

(32) *Pierre entre dans la cuisine.* 'Pierre goes into the kitchen.'

(33) *En été, nous allons à la mer du Nord.* 'In the summer we go to the North Sea.'

The results confirmed our expectations: only 31 % of the students used the correct motion verb in their German translation, which suggests that the great majority of French-speaking students (69 %) underused the motion verbs as needed in German. In most wrong answers we found the very general verb *gehen* 'to go' which is a reproduction of the French lexicalization pattern with *aller*. Sometimes, a wrong motion verb was used, e.g. the verb *setzen* 'to set' for a bottle that is put into the fridge in a vertical or horizontal position.

3.2. Simplex Location Verbs

The same problems occurred with another translation test that concerned the use of German location verbs like *sitzen* ‘to sit’, *stehen* ‘to stand’ or *liegen* ‘to lie’ (see 2.2.). Fifteen French-speaking students (B2/C1 level) of the bachelor studies of Germanic languages were asked to translate 20 motion and location sentences from French into German, e.g.

(34) *Le bébé est dans sa chaise d’enfant (der Kinderstuhl).* ‘The baby is in its high-chair.’

(35) *Où est le téléphone ? Sur la table près du fauteuil.* ‘Where is the telephone? On the table near the settee.’

(36) *L’enfant est dans son lit.* ‘The child is in its bed.’

Here again the translations by the French-speaking students were characterized by an underuse of the proper German location verb: only 38 % of the students used the correct German verb. The incorrect answers (62 %) were characterized by a predominance of the very general verb *sein* ‘to be’. Consequently, the manner of motion is not expressed by French learners of German.

3.3. Constructions with Complex Particle Verbs

Examples of compound verbs consisting of a path particle and a non-motion simplex verb are very productive in the German press, e.g.

(37) *Am selben Abend wurde in Jette Joops 40. Geburtstag hineingefeiert.*

(*netzzeitung.de* 18. Feb 2008 13:20)

Lit. ‘On the same evening Jette Joop’s birthday was celebrated into.’

It seems that French speakers have many difficulties in understanding such examples, as shown by a translation test from German into French. Eighteen French-speaking students (B2/C1 level) from a Department of translation and interpretation studies at a Brussels high school were asked to translate 10 German sentences with such complex particle verbs. The manner dimension – which in German is expressed by the non-motion simplex verb with which the satellite is compounded – was translated in 40.6 % of the examples. This last figure has to be relativized as some of the translations into French proposed by the students were in principle correct but very unusual (2.8 %), so that only 37.8 % of the translations were considered to be acceptable. Still, this figure remains rather high compared with the claims in different studies (see e.g. Slobin 2000) that the manner of motion is scarcely translated or even completely omitted in translations by speakers of Romance languages. We can imagine that it is the focus on the main German verb – the main verb being the privileged lexicalization pattern for the expression of path in French – which allows us to explain why students translated the manner of motion at such a high rate. This assumption would also justify why the path of motion in the German examples was correctly translated in only 30.6 % of the examples: as the path of motion is expressed by a satellite, i.e. a particle as the first constituent of the compound verb – a lexicalization pattern which is not present in French – there is a tendency not to express it at all in the translated sentences. Also the synthetic

character of the German motion expression altogether (path + manner in one single compound) seems to be problematic for French speakers. Last but not least, the whole German construction in which the compound is being used is completely different from the French construction (see Section 2.5.); this can be a further cause for the impossibility to translate the German sentences at all (in 13.3 % of the cases).

3.4. Constructions with Non-Motion Verb + Path Satellite

Similar observations have been made with a test which concerned German constructions with a non-motion (manner) verb and a separate particle, e.g. (28) *Colin Firth hat sich im neuen Film «The King's speech» zum Oscar gestottert* (Lit. 'Colin Firth stuttered himself in his new film «The King's speech» to the Oscar'). The same group of eighteen French-speaking students was asked to translate 10 sentences with a non-motion verb accompanied by a path satellite. The translation of the manner of motion succeeded in 37.2 % of the sentences, but again some of them were awkward or unusual (5 %), which means that only 32.2 % of the translations were acceptable. The path of motion was correctly translated in 31.1 % of the examples.

In 26.1 % of the sentences the students were unable to propose a translation at all. This is probably due to the difference between the German and the French constructions. It is not enough to know the meaning of the non-motion verb and of the path satellite to understand what is exactly meant. Here again the problems can be explained by the use of a satellite in German to express the path but which is combined with a non-motion verb expressing the manner of motion, a lexicalization pattern not available in French.

The manner dimension is more rarely expressed in French but if it is expressed at all then with different means:

(i) with a gerund, e.g.

(26) *Letzte Nacht klingelte ein Unbekannter die Bundeskanzlerin Merkel aus dem Schlaf.*

Lit. 'Last night an unknown (person) rang the chancellor Merkel out of the sleep.'

→ 'La nuit dernière, un inconnu a réveillé la chancelière Angela Merkel en sonnant'.

(ii) with a nominal group, e.g.

→ 'La nuit dernière, un inconnu a réveillé la chancelière Merkel à coups de sonnette'.

(iii) with different main verbs:

→ La nuit dernière, un inconnu sonna chez la chancelière Merkel et la réveilla.

3.5. Summary

The following Table 3 brings a summary of the test results for the translation of simplex motion or location verbs. There is an underuse of different motion verbs by French-speaking learners of German and consequently a lack of expression of the manner of motion.

Table 3. Results of the translation test (simplex motion and location verbs)

	Correct translation : several distinctive motion verbs	Uncorrect translation : one single general verb
Simplex motion verbs	31 %	69 %
Simplex location verbs	32 %	68 %

The following Table 4 summarizes the results of the translation tests of complex particle verbs and constructions with a path satellite + a non-motion verb.

Table 4. Results of the translation tests (complex particle verbs and path satellite + non-motion verb)

	Translation of manner	Unusual translation of manner	Translation of path	Impossibility to translate
Complex particle verb	37.8 %	2.8 %	30.6 %	13.3 %
path satellite + non-motion verb	37.2 %	5 %	31.1 %	26.1 %

Both tables clearly show that the expression of the path and the manner of motion is not so explicit in the French translation of the German constructions.

CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES

In his description of motion events Talmy claims (2000: 152) that the path of motion is the most basic information in a motion event, while manner is a subsidiary one. After we have shown that German is very much characterized by a salience of the manner expression at different linguistic levels, this claim can be revisited and differentiated; in German it seems that the two dimensions of the path and the manner of motion play an almost equally important role. This is sustained by the German categories of examples in which the path and manner of motion are concomitantly realized in one and the same word, i.e. compound particle verbs, or one and the same construction, i.e. with a path satellite and a non-motion manner verb. Such constructions are problematic for French speakers as the motion event is realized by a particle satellite in German which expresses the path of motion. French on the contrary generally expresses the path with a full verb. Manner is additionally expressed in German at the level of the non-motion verb.

The translation tests with our French-speaking students learning German brought to the fore that the typological differences between French and German are not unproblematic in the learning process: (i) the manner dimension is often skipped, e.g. with motion and location verbs, and (ii) constructions with particle verbs consisting of a path particle and a manner verb or constructions with a non-motion verb and a path satellite are difficult to understand and to translate.

The question now arises of how to deal with the differences between French and German in foreign language teaching. First, it will be necessary to do some awareness-raising

exercises which show the different conceptualizations in Germanic languages and the salience of the manner dimension in German. In a second step it will be necessary to illustrate in which patterns manner salience is realized in German. And finally a methodology for the teaching of the more difficult constructions will have to be developed. To put it with Lantolf (1999: 29-30) the real issue is “to what extent is it possible for people to become cognitively like members of other cultures; that is, can adults learn to construct and see the world through culturally different eyes?” This will require some more research and hence belongs to future perspectives.

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