

A contrastive study of Germanic satellite-framed languages: The role of prepositions, postpositions and morphosyntactic case-marking

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1. Introduction

Verb-framed vs. satellite-framed languages (Slobin 1996, 2017; Talmy 2000, 2017)

Satellite-framed languages: German, English, Dutch

- Genetically related
- Similar lexicalization patterns

E.g. GERM. *Er **rannte** **durch** den Garten.*

ENGL. *He **ran** **through** the garden.*

DUTCH *Hij **liep** **door** de tuin.*

FR. *Il **traversa** le jardin (**en courant**)*

- **path of motion** with satellites (SAT) (Matsumoto 2020; Meex 2020)
- salience of **manner of motion** (Akita & Matsumoto 2020; De Knop & Gallez 2011; Olofsson fc.)
- **manner of motion** in the main verb

1. Introduction

Satellite-framed languages: German, English, Dutch

Similar lexicalization patterns for expression of motion/location

- Reductive view, too general
- Takes into account only few elements like V and SAT
- Filipovic & Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2015: 533): “intratypological variation”, also for languages with same genetic filiation

1. Introduction

Satellite-framed languages: German, English, Dutch

Topic of our presentation

Show greater variation among **SAT-framed languages** in expressions of directed motion or location

- (1) degree of granularity of motion/location elements
- (2) salience of some semantic dimensions
- (3) syntactic realization of semantic dimensions (prep, postpositions, case-marking)
- (4) pragmatic dimensions

➤ DATA

- Kernkorpus (DWDS)
- DeReKo (IDS Mannheim)
- Corpora of Sketchengine
- Comic strips “The adventures of Tintin and Snowy” in French & German
 - Hergé (1947), *Les aventures de Tintin – Le sceptre d’Ottokar*. Tournai. Casterman.
 - Hergé (1958), *Les aventures de Tintin – Coke en stock*. Tournai : Casterman.
 - Hergé (1960), *Les aventures de Tintin – Tintin au Tibet*. Tournai : Casterman.
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Definition of satellites

- Talmy (1985: 103):

SAT = V particles, V prefixes

SAT in grammatical relation to V

Ground is optional with SAT but not with PREP

E.g. *I ran out (SAT) of (PREP) the house*

- Filipovic & Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2015: 531): Confusing definition, e.g. in English SAT & PREP have same form
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2017: 19): if we include PREP, “category too wide, it lacks explanatory power”

Definition of satellites

- Beavers et al. (2010: 338):
 - In English PART and PREP have same form
 - Distinction between obligatory vs. optional ground elements semantically unmotivated, e.g.

(a) *John ran in (SAT) (the house)*

(b) *John ran to (PREP) the store*

- if *the house* is not expressed in (a),
the sentence is complete and is still understood
- (a) + (b) express the goal of motion, alternative expressions of goal but (a) container and (b) destination

Definition of satellites

■ OUR VIEW:

- in German PREP conflate with morphosyntactic cases (= accusative or dative) and contribute to expression of path (ex. 1a) or location (ex. 1b)

(1a) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind aufs (= auf [PREP] das [ART]) Pferd.*

(lit. 'The mother sets the child upon the horse')

(1b) *Das Kind sitzt im (= in [PREP] dem [ART]) Kinderwagen.*

(lit. 'The child sits in the pram')

- especially clear with verbless directives, e.g.

(2) *Ins (= in [PREP] das [ART]) Boot bitte!* (lit. 'Into the boat please')

=> also consider PREP as SAT

Definition of satellites

- SAT can be:
 - PREP: *auf* in (1); *in* in (2)
 - double PART: *drauf* (3); *hinaus* (4) (with deictic element *hin*)

(3) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd drauf.*

(lit. 'The mother sets the child on the horse upon')

(4) *Wir gehen alle auf den Berg hinauf.*

(lit. 'We go all on the mountain upon')

(Dewell 2011, 2015; Lüdeling 2001; McIntyre 2001; Olsen 1999a; Thurmair 2008; Wunderlich 1983)

2. Germanic language English

(5a) *Peter ran in the garden*

(5b) *Peter ran into the garden*

(6a) *Maria climbed on the mountain*

(6b) *Maria climbed onto the top of the mountain*

- (a) locative ; (b) directional → different PREP
- (a) is locative, can be interpreted as directional
“if a goal interpretation is intended” (Beavers et al. 2010: 363;
cf. Nikitina 2008)

2. Germanic language English

(5a) *Peter ran in the garden*

(5b) *Peter ran into the garden*

(6a) *Maria climbed on the mountain*

(6b) *Maria climbed onto the top of the mountain*

- Distinction between (a) and (b):
 - also depends on the V;
 - ‘kick-V’ (= directional) vs. ‘swim-V’ (= locative) (Gehrke 2007)
 - notion of **boundary-crossing** (in b) is necessary

3. Germanic language Dutch

(7a) *Willemijn zwom in het meer* (Gehrke 2007: 248) [locative with PREP]

(lit. 'Willemijn swam in the lake')

(7b) *Willemijn zwom het meer in* (Gehrke 2007: 248) [directional with POSTPOS]

(lit. 'Willemijn swam the lake in' = 'Willemijn swam into the lake')

(8a) *Brigit dansde op het podium* (Gehrke 2007: 248) [locative with PREP]

(lit. 'Brigit danced on the stage')

(8b) *Brigit dansde het podium op* (Gehrke 2007: 248) [directional with POSTPOS]

(lit. 'Brigit danced the stage on' = 'Brigit danced onto the stage')

➤ If boundary-crossing (b), then structure with a POSTPOSITION

4. Germanic language German

4.1. Morphosyntactic case-marking

Accusative case vs. dative case after 'two-way PREP'

(9a) *Peter geht auf die Straße* [Accusative for directed motion]

(lit. 'Peter goes/walks on(to) the street' (he is not there yet))

(9b) *Peter geht auf der Straße* [Dative for location]

(lit. 'Peter goes up and down on the street')

GERMAN: Distinction between location vs. directed motion
with same PREP, but different morphosyntactic cases

Morphosyntactic case-marking in verbless directives

(Jacobs 2008; De Knop & Mollica 2018)

➤ Reduced syntactic structure

(10) Ins *Boot bitte!* (lit. 'Into the boat please')

(11) Ab ins *Bett!* (lit. 'off to bed')

(12) *Hosen runter, rein ins Wasser* (St. Galler Tagblatt, 13.10.2008)
(lit. 'trousers down, into in the water')

(13) Rauf auf *den Berg!* (lit. 'Upwards on the mountain')

- Verbless directives express a **motion event** with **illocutionary force** (commands, invitations, advice) (Jacobs 2008: 15)
- Consist of **PP with SAT** (also single PREP!) for expression of goal/location
- **Predominant role of morphosyntactic case-marking**: ACC for directed motion

3 possible structures with verbless directives (Jacobs 2008)

Construction type	Motion start	Path	Goal	Theme argument
Type 1	<i>Auf</i> ,Off‘	<i>zum</i> ,to the‘	<i>nächsten Ziel</i> ,next goal‘	
Type 2	---	<i>Runter</i> ,Down‘	---	<i>mit den Steuern</i> ,with the taxes‘
Type 3	---	<i>In den</i> ,Into the‘	<i>Müll</i> ,garbage‘	<i>mit den Klamotten</i> ,with the clothes‘

- Type 2 and 3: fixed structures (cf. ‚phaseme-constructions‘ Dobrovol’skij 2011)
- Type 3 is also present in Dutch, but not very common:
(14) *In de gevangenis met die crimineel* (M. Rigterink in Gehrke 2007: 257)
(lit.) ‘In the prison with that criminal’

Verbless directives

Type 1: Syntactic & semantic constraints

Large variety of SAT, either simplex or complex:

- motion ADV: *ab, los, her, zurück, ...*
- PRON ADV with deictic element: *hinein, rauf, rein, runter, ...*
- MOTION/LOCATION PREP: *in, auf, mit, aus, ...* introducing NP

Morphosyntactic case:

- ACC for directed motion along a trajectory towards a goal (= incipient, see Willems (2011); Willems et al. (2018))

Verbless directives

Type 1: Pragmatic constraints

- Directive illocutionary speech act (Searle 1979):
 - express orders, instructions, recommendations,...
 - Speaker expects action to be executed (Finkbeiner 2015: 18)
 - Verbless directives especially in oral discourse
 - Intonation typical for directive speech act
e.g. *Ab ins Bett! Ins Boot bitte!*
 - Dependent on situative context
 - Sometimes gestures (multimodality)
- Verbless directives with SAT dependent on **pragmatic factors**

4.2. NP + POSTPOSITION with deictic element

(15) *Peter läuft die Straße runter* [POSTPOS with deictic]
(lit. 'Peter walks the street downwards')

(16) *Hans klettert den Berg hinauf* [POSTPOS with deictic]
(lit. 'Hans climbs the mountain upon')

➤ Similarity with Dutch, but deictic element obligatory in POSTPOS

GERMAN: Goal in the ACC + POSTPOS with deictic element
for expression of directed motion

4.3. PP + POSTPOSITION with deictic element

(17) *Die Motorräder fahren an den See hinunter* [POSTPOS with deictic]

(lit. 'The motorcycles drive to the lake downwards')

(18) *Hans klettert auf den Berg hinauf* [POSTPOS with deictic]

(lit. 'Hans climbs on the mountain upon')

GERMAN: directional PP + POSTPOS with deictic element
for expression of directed motion

4.4. PP + pleonastic PRON-ADV

(“Pleonastic adverbials” Olsen 1996; De Knop *fc.* 2023; Diedrichsen 2017; Rehbein & van Genabith 2006)

(19) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd drauf.* [directed motion]

(lit. ‘The mother sets the child on the horse upon’)

(20) *Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte drin ist: Sägespäne oder Pfannkuchen.* (Kant, Hermann: *Die Aula*, Berlin: Rütten & Loening 1965, S. 65) [location]

(lit. ‘Decisive is the content, what in the bag in it is: sawdust or pancakes’)

- PREP introducing Goal is duplicated in **pleonastic pronominal ADV**
- Pleonastic pronominal ADV: **anaphoric** use
- Reinforcement, intensification semantics

GERMAN: PP + pleonastic PRON-ADV for motion or location expressions

Pleonastic PRON-ADV + PP

➤ Alternative construction

(21) *Mehr ist ja auch gar nicht drin in so einem Beruf, der ein Ersatz für die Liebe ist.* (Walser, Martin: Halbzeit, Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp 1997 [1960], S. 189)

(Lit. 'No more is in it in such a profession, which is a substitute for the love')

(22) *Und war man dann erst wieder drauf auf der Yorikke, hatten sie das Recht, draußen am Kai zu stehen.*

(Traven, B.: Das Totenschiff, Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg 1929 [1926], S. 215)

(Lit. 'And was one then again upon on the Yorikke, had you the right, outside on the quay to stay')

➤ Pleonastic pronominal ADV: cataphoric use

➤ Stronger expression of intensification (De Knop fc. 2023)

Summary: 3 Germanic Languages

	English	Dutch	German
Verb Semantics	✓	✓	✓
PP with different PREPs	✓	0	0
PP with PREP vs. NP with POSTPOS	0	✓	0
PP with same PREP + different CASES (also verbless directives)	0	0	✓
NP with POSTPOS (with DEICTIC ELEMENT)	0	()	✓
PP with POSTPOS with DEICTIC ELEMENT	0	0	✓
PP with PLEONASTIC PRON-ADV / PLEONASTIC PRON-ADV + PP	0	0	✓

5. Conclusions

- Class of Germanic languages has to be refined
- see it as a **continuum** with different strategies for expression of directed motion/location:

2 different strategies

4 strategies



ENGLISH/DUTCH

GERMAN

5. Conclusions

GERMAN: distributed expression of motion/location events

- SAT: not only PREP, but also POSTPOSITIONS, sometimes combined with deictic elements
- specific constructions, i.e. verbless directives and pleonastic motion constructions
- morphosyntactic case-marking
- Pragmatics incl. multimodality/gesture

GERMAN: rich language for the expression of motion/location events

Thank you very much for your interest!

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