

A constructionist approach of complex phrases with pleonastic adverbials

Sabine De Knop

Université Saint-Louis, Brüssel

sabine.deknop@usaintlouis.be



1. Introduction

- Talmy (2000, 2017) and Slobin (1996, 2017)

German = satellite-framed language

E.g. (1) Dt. *Er rannte durch den Garten.*

Lit. 'He ran across the garden'

(2) Fr. *Il traversa le jardin (en courant).*

Lit. 'He crossed the garden (running)'

➤ path of motion with satellites

➤ salience of manner of motion, expressed in main verb

➤ expression of path sustained by morpho-syntactic cases

German as satellite-framed language

- Consequences for syntactic structure of motion events
- Many structures in German with satellites

☐ Structures with non-motion V

- Berthele (2007)

to be + directional complement in some Swiss dialects

Sie ist ins Haus

Lit. 'She is into the house'

Modal V + directional complement

Er will auf den Baum

Lit. 'He wants on the tree ø'

'He wants to climb on the tree'.

❑ Structures with no V at all (elliptic)

- Jacobs (2008): verblose Direktiva ('verbless directives')

(3) *Ab ins Bett!*

lit. 'Off into the bed!'

(4) *Rauf auf den Berg!*

lit. 'Up onto the mountain!'

(5) *Hinein ins Vergnügen!*

lit. 'Into in the pleasure'

(6) *Los, ins Wasser!*

lit. 'Go, into the water!'

➤ Belong to direct speech

➤ Instructions, advice, commands

❑ Pleonastic constructions with satellites
realized as constructions with

(a) **pleonastic pronominal directionals** (Olsen 1996) (**PLEO-Pro**)

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

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

(8) *Sie legt eine Folie auf den Projektor drauf.*

lit. She lays the slide on the beamer upon.

(b) **pleonastic deictic directionals** (**PLEO-Dc**)

(9) *Er schüttet das Wasser aus dem Eimer heraus.*

lit. He pours the water out of the bucket out.

(10) *Ein herrlicher Wanderweg bis auf den Berg hinauf.*

lit. 'A wonderful hiking track up to on the mountain upon'.

Topic of my presentation

- Description of both pleonastic structures (De Knop fc. 2021; Diedrichsen 2017; Rehbein & van Genabith 2006)
- Assets of CxG for description
- PLEO-C part of “grammar network” (Diessel 2019) or “Constructicon for German” (Boas / Ziem 2018)

Data for C with pleonastic pronominal directionals

- Collected in DWDS (2000-2009; accessed 16.10.2019) (+ DeReKo)
- [PP + PLEO-Pro] / [PLEO-Pro + PP]
- **Frequency** of pleonastic construction in DWDS (Years 2000-2009):

	pleonastic		non-pleonastic	
<i>in...drin</i>	39	19 %	167	81 %
<i>auf...drauf</i>	15	11 %	125	89 %
<i>an...dran</i>	3	2 %	156	98 %
<i>über...drüber</i>	0	0 %	34	100 %
<i>unter...drunter</i>	0 (DeReKo 4)	0 %	8	100 %

Data for C with pleonastic deictic directionals

- Collected in DWDS + DeReKo (2000-2009; accessed in 2010)
- [PP_{bis} + PLEO-Dc] / [PLEO-Dc + PP_{bis}]

Semantische Funktion	<u>bis + PRÄP2 + N + RICHT-ADV</u>			<u>bis + RICHT-ADV + PRÄP2 + N</u>		
Verstärkung	<i>bis</i>	<i>in + N</i>	<i>hinein</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>hinein/herein</i>	<i>in + N</i>
	<i>bis</i>	<i>aus + N</i>	<i>hinaus</i>		-	-
	<i>bis</i>	<i>auf + N</i>	<i>hinauf/herauf</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>hinauf/herauf</i>	<i>auf + N</i>
	<i>bis</i>	<i>an + N</i>	<i>(hinan)/heran</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>heran</i>	<i>an + N</i>

2.1. Construction form

- “pleonastic (deictic) adverbials” (Olsen 1996; Diedrichsen 2017; Rehbein & van Genabith 2006)
 - duplication of Prep in **PLEO-Adv**; anaphoric use of **PLEO-Adv**
 - “Recycling” (Ágel 2017: 585); “preposition copying” (McIntyre 2001: 65)
 - different instantiations of **PLEO-Adv** (Haggblade 1994; Poitou 2003; Schröder 1983)
 - 2 constituents:
 - **Pronominal** [*d(a)*_(shortform)-*r*_(after vowel)-PREP1]
 - **Deictic** [*hin*_(deictic ‘towards’)-PREP1] / [*(he)r*_(deictic ‘from’)-PREP1]

2.1. Construction form

- possible constructions

- causative motion C with motion V

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

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

- intransitive motion/locative C with motion/localization V

(11) *Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte drin ist.*

lit. 'decisive is the content, what is in the bag in it'

(12) *Getanzt wurde bis in die Morgenstunden hinein.*

lit. 'People danced until the early hours of the morning'

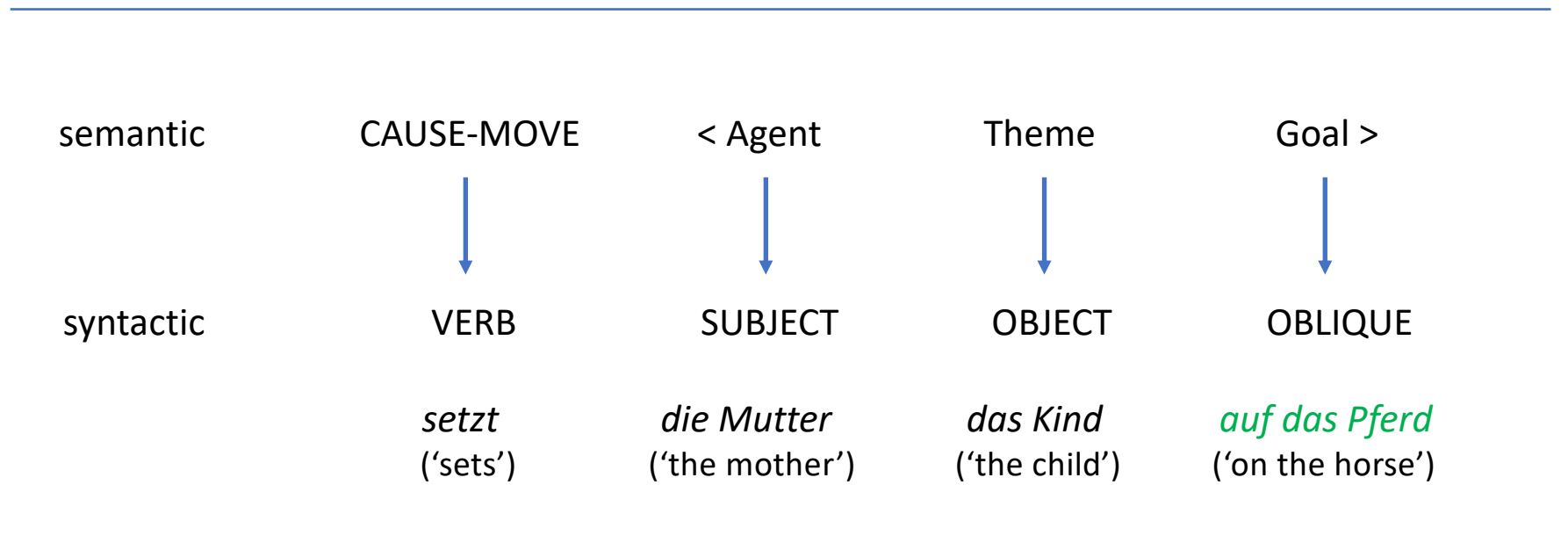


Fig. 1: The causative motion C according to Goldberg (1995)

(7) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd.*

(9) *Er schüttet das Wasser aus dem Eimer.*

semantic	LOC-STATE	< Agent	Goal/Loc >
	↓	↓	↓
syntactic	Verb	Subject	oblique
	<i>ist</i> (‘is’)	<i>was</i> (‘what’)	<i>in der Tüte</i> (‘in the bag’)

Fig. 2: The intransitive locative C

(11) *Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte ist.*

- PronADV or deictic ADV: extension of causative motion C / intransitive locative C
→ extra slot
- PronADV redundant (Knobloch 2009: 553)

semantic	CAUSE-MOVE	< Agent	Theme	Goal 1	Goal 1' >
	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
syntactic	VERB	SUBJECT	OBJECT	OBLIQUE	
	<i>setzte</i> (‘set’)	<i>die Mutter</i> (‘the mother’)	<i>das Kind</i> (‘the child’)	<i>auf das Pferd</i> (‘on the horse’)	<i>drauf</i> (‘on it’)

Fig. 3: The causative motion C with PLEO

- (7a) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd drauf.*
 (9a) *Er schüttet das Wasser aus dem Eimer heraus.*

semantic	LOC-STATE	< Agent	Loc 1	Loc 1'>
	↓	↓	↓	↓
syntactic	Verb	Subject	oblique	
	<i>ist</i> (‘is’)	<i>was</i> (‘what’)	<i>in der Tüte</i> (‘in the bag’)	<i>drin</i> (‘in it’)

Fig. 4: The intransitive locative C with PLEO

(11a) *Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte drin ist.*

Alternative form 1: [PLEO-Pron + PP]

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

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

(14) *Mehr ist ja auch gar nicht **drin** **in** so einem Beruf, der ein Ersatz für die Liebe ist.*

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

- **catadeictic function** of **PLEO-Pron** (Ágel 2017: 200ff)
 - Anticipation of goal/endpoint

Alternative form 2: [PP_{bis} + PLEO-Dc]

➤ Additional prep *bis* ('up to/until')

(15) ... *schafften es die Knaben bis auf den Sitz hinauf*

lit. '... the boys made it up to the seat upon'

(16) *Getanzt wurde bis in die Morgenstunden hinein*

lit. 'People danced until the early hours of the morning'

Alternative form 3: [bis + PLEO-Dc + PP]

(17) *Ausspracheabende im ganzen Reich bis hinein ins kleinste Dorf*

lit. ‘Debate evenings in the whole empire up to into in the smallest village’

(18) *... und viel wilder Wein, bis hinauf auf das Dach*

lit. ‘... and much wild wine, up to upon on the roof’

➤ **catadeictic function** of PLEO-Dc (Ágel 2017: 200ff)

– Anticipation of goal/endpoint

Alternative forms non-PLEO: [PREP ≠ PLEO-Dc]

(19) ... Handelsplatz für Textilien mit Beziehungen *bis über Europa hinaus*.

lit. 'Trading centre for textiles with relations up to over Europe further'

(20) Sie will auf ihn warten *bis über den Tod hinaus*.

lit. 'She wants to wait for him until over the death further'

➤ non-PLEO semantics

- Completion of spatial motion or temporal process
- Final meaning

➤ Alternative forms non-PLEO: [PREP ≠ PLEO-Dc]

➤ **non-PLEO semantics:**

- Different motion dimensions in 1 PP + Adv

(21) Sie fahren *bis an den See hinunter*.

(Lit. 'They drive up to the lake downwards')



(rabe-bike.de)

(22) *Sie laufen **bis an den See** hinauf*

(Lit. 'They run up to the lake upwards')



(alpinforum.com/1234gifs.de)

2.2. Semantics and pragmatics of PLEO-C

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

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

(24) *Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte drin ist.*

lit. 'Decisive is the content, what in the bag in it is: sawdust or pancakes'

(25) *Wir gehen alle bis auf den Berg hinauf.*

lit. 'We go all up to on the mountain upon'

➤ Meaning of PLEO-C?

➤ PronAdv necessary or superfluous ?

2.2. Semantics and pragmatics of PLEO-C

➤ Structural ambiguity (Olsen 1996: 320)

(26) *Er kletterte auf den Wasserturm **hinauf***

lit. 'He climbed on the water tower upon'

(26a) *Er ist [**auf den Wasserturm**] hinaufgeklettert*

lit. 'He is on the water tower uponclimbed'

(26b) *Er ist [**auf den Wasserturm hinauf**] geklettert*

lit. 'He is on the water tower upon climbed'

➤ Olsen's (1996: 320) claim:

- (26a) and (26b) equivalent
- "same compositional semantics"

➤ Difference between (26a) and (26b) (cf. Diedrichsen 2017):

(26) *Er kletterte auf den Wasserturm hinauf*

(26a) *Er ist [auf den Wasserturm] hinaufgeklettert*

(26b) *Er ist [auf den Wasserturm hinauf] geklettert*

- Sentence intonation: different speech break
- Semantics of (26b) → Intensification, reinforcement

➤ Which element is pleonastic/redundant?

(27) *Sie legt eine Folie auf den Projektor drauf.*

lit. 'She lays a slide on the projector upon'

- **PronAdv** can be omitted → redundant

➤ CxG: postulate

- If alternating forms → different semantics
- Possible to describe PLEO-Adv in both C as extra-slot => no V particle

- Compare Grice (1975: 45): conversational principle
 - Maxim of quantity: “Do not make your contribution more informative than required”
 - Hearer/reader can expect PLEO-C to be full-motivated; they convey a specific meaning

- Hypothesis:
 - Use of PLEO-Adv is motivated
 - PLEO-C express **intensification, reinforcement**
 - “Facultative reinforcer” (Krause 2019: 130)

- Assertive speech act (Searle 1982)
 - Reinforcement of the assertive speech act

2.3. Survey with German natives – in progress

Hypothesis

- Meaning difference (semantic & pragmatic) between [+PLEO-C] & [-PLEO-C]

(a) *Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd.*

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

Participants

- German native speakers (non-experts)

Survey design

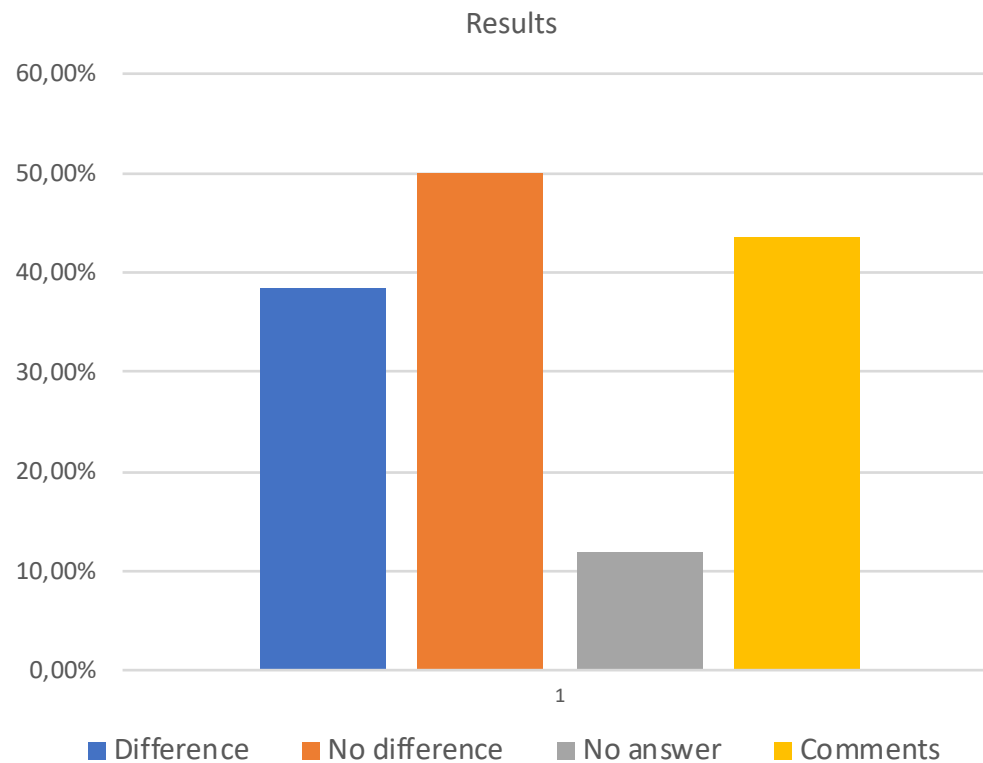
- Lime Survey questionnaire
- 10 sentence pairs (a) [-PLEO-C] & (b) [+PLEO-C]

Survey design

“Is there a meaning difference between the a- and b-sentences ?” + please justify

		Ja	Nein	Weiß nicht
1a	Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd.			
1b	Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd drauf.			
	ERKLÄRUNG:			
2a	Manchmal ist mir, als schaue sie auf mich etwas länger als auf all die anderen.			
2b	Manchmal ist mir, als schaue sie auf mich etwas länger drauf als auf all die anderen.			
	ERKLÄRUNG:			
3a	Die Ausbreitung der Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika bis in das Seegebiet.			
3b	Die Ausbreitung der Mission in Deutsch-Ostafrika bis in das Seegebiet hinein.			
	ERKLÄRUNG:			
4a	Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte ist: Sägespäne oder Pfannkuchen.			
4b	Entscheidend ist der Inhalt, was in der Tüte drin ist: Sägespäne oder Pfannkuchen.			
	ERKLÄRUNG:			

Preliminary results (De Knop & Gallez 2021)



- 23 fully completed questionnaires (27.6.21)
- Overall frequency:
 - 38 % see a difference between [+PLEO-C] & [-PLEO-C]
- Interesting Comments
 - Not only for YES

Comments by participants

	Comments per question	96 altogether	Frequency
1.	Reinforcement/RI	25	26.0 %
2.	Specification/Extension /CT	20	20.8 %
3.	Different perspective/P	10	10.4 %
4.	Superfluous/S	6	6.3 %
5.	Redundancy/Re	6	6.3 %
6.	Different registers (written/oral)/WO	5	5.2 %
7.	Aesthetics/A	4	4.0 %
8.	Bad language/Wrong language/BL	15	15.6 %
9.	No difference/O	1	1.0 %

➤ Hypothesis confirmed: for 47 % motivated use, reinforcement + specification

2.4. Assets of CxG for description of PLEO-C

- PLEO-Adv used in 2 possible C as extra-slot for oblique element:
 - Causative motion C
 - Intransitive locative/motion C
- Both C linked to each other by 'part-whole' inheritance link:
 - Similar oblique elmt in both C + theme
 - PLEO-C linked to causative motion C + intransitive locative/motion C with same oblique elmt + theme
 - PLEO-C = member of the German family of motion & location C as it shares similar syntactic structure + semantics (= motion/location)
 - PLEO-C: additionally meaning of intensification/reinforcement
- PLEO-C = part of the German motion/location construction

3. Conclusion

In language typology (Talmy (2000, 2017) and Slobin (1996, 2017))

➤ Properties of Germanic languages:

- Favorite use of satellites
- prevalence of manner dimension

➤ German PLEO-C realize these dimensions

➤ Study on PLEO-C illustrates:

- Great flexibility and variety in German expressions of motion/location events
- Degree of complexity with satellites, esp. with PLEO-Dc

(28) *Er wird dich lieben bis in den Tod hinein*

lit. 'He will love you until in the death within'

- (i) *Bis* expresses stretch along a path
- (ii) *in* as Prep2 specifies (fictive) motion into an event conceptualized as 'container'
- (iii) *hinein* as PLEO-Dc reinforces the motion expression
- (iv) *hin-* in PLEO-Dc specifies perspective of speaker (= away from him)
(„vantage point“, Langacker 1987: 122-126)

➤ German: a rich manner language!

