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PARTICLE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN HISTORICAL GERMAN AND WHAT CORPUS STUDIES REVEAL ABOUT THEM

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CURRENT TOPIC

- status and annotation of compond verb forms of the type in (1)a-d found in historical stages of German (e.g. OHG)

(1) a. Prep + V   *in*bizan 'eat', *duruh*bizan, *uf*gan 'emerge'
     b. Adv + V   *dana*neman 'take away', *hina*werfan 'throw away'
     c. Adj + V   *eban*wirken 'take part', *folla*singan 'sing completely'
     d. N + V   *fuoz*fallon 'bow to so', *aband*muosen 'eat supper'

- forms in (1)a-d are treated as lexicalized compounds and listed as dictionary entries (e.g. Schützeichel ⁶2006)

- but they do not behave in a uniform way

- Wilmanns (²1930), Henzen (³1965) distinguish two categories similar to well-known types of componds in modG:

  - **separable** compounds: *an*rufen 'call', *wieder*kommen 'return', *fertig*stellen 'complete', *preis*geben 'reveal'
  - **non-separable** componds: *über*winden 'overcome', *wieder*holen 'repeat', *voll*bringen 'complete', *lob*singen 'glorify'

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BASIC PROPERTIES – SEPARABLE COMPOUNDS

- separable componds share basic topological properties of complex predicates, e.g. resultative and similar constructions (Lüdeling 2001, Müller 2002, Kolehmainen 2005)

  – PRT appears immediately to the right of V in basic order

(2) *dass Peter Maria **an**ruft / die Tür **grün** streicht*
     that Peter Mary   PRT-calls   the door green paints

(3) a. *dass Peter Maria **nicht an**ruft / die Tür **nicht grün** streicht*
     b. *dass Peter Maria ***an nicht** ruft / die Tür ***grün** **nicht** streicht*

  – PRT does not move with Vfin to C in main clauses

(4) a. *Peter ruft$_i$ Maria **an** t$_i$ 'Peter calls Mary'*
     b. *Peter ***an**ruft Maria*

  – scrambling of PRT and fronting to SpecC are restricted (5)-(6)

(5) dass *die Sonne **AUF** im **OS**ten und **UN**ter im **WES**ten geht*

(6) ***Auf** geht die Sonne im Osten / **Fest** steht, dass,… / **Los** ging die Geschichte / ***Los** ist die Geschichte gegangen*

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BASIC PROPERTIES – NON-SEPARABLE COMPOUNDS

- non-separable compounds pattern with prefix verbs in (7), where the first component is a bound morpheme

(7) *be*handeln 'treat', *er*reichen 'reach', *ver*suchen 'try', *zer*reißen , 'tear in pieces', etc.

- no separability

  – Prefix/PRT immediately precedes V in all contexts, both in basic order and in contexts requiring verb fronting

  – in the latter case, Prefix/PRT +Vfin are both in C, another XP may go to SpecCP

(8) a. *dass Peter alles*   *erreicht* / *hinterfragt*
      that Peter everything achieves / questions
      'that Peter succeeds in everything/puts everything into question'

    b. [$_{\text{SpeCP}}$ *Peter*$_j$ [$_{c^\circ}$ *er*reicht$_i$/*hinter*fragt$_i$ t$_j$ *alles* t$_i$]

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ADDITIONAL FEATURES

- in special contexts, separable compounds require obligatory morphological separation, while non-separable compounds, like prefix verbs, dissallow it

  – *zu*-Infinitive (e.g. modal *zu*-Inf. with *haben* and *sein*)

(9)   a. *Peter hat **anzu**rufen vs. Peter hat ***zu anrufen***
         'Peter has to call'

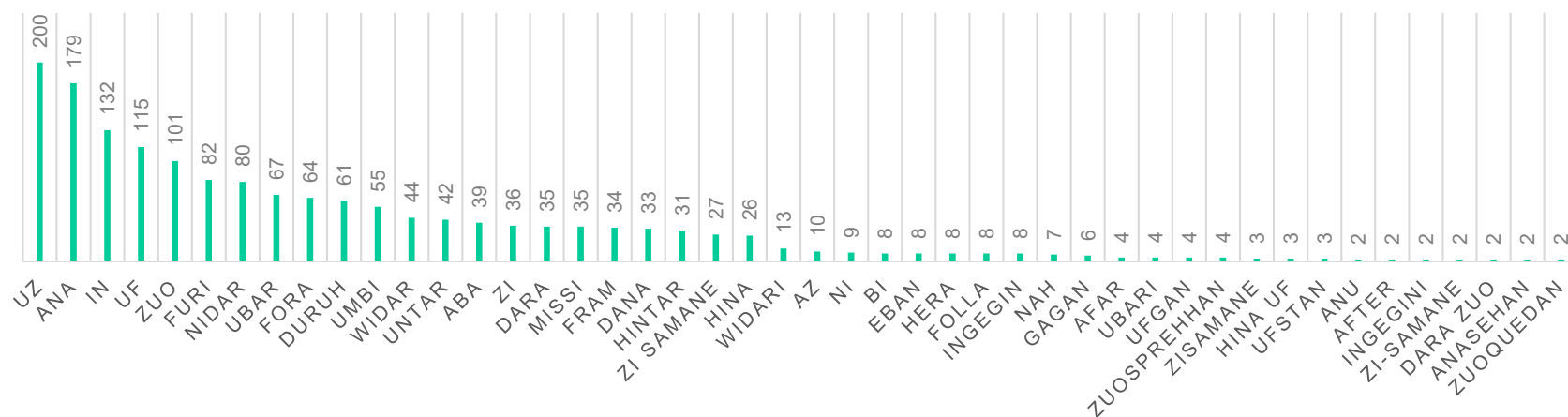   b. *Alles ist **zu er**reichen / **zu hinter**fragen vs. ***erzu**reichen /*
         ***hinterzu**fragen*

  – *ge-Prefixation of Past Participles*

(10) a. *Peter hat **an-ge-**rufen / alles **er-**reicht / ***ge-er-**reicht / ***er-ge-**reicht/*
         *alles **hinter**fragt / **ge-hinter-**fragt / **hinter-ge-**fragt*

      'Peter has called / has succeeded in everything/ has questioned everything'

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TREATMENT IN DDD-REA 1.0

- DDD-*Referenzkoprus Altdeutsch* (REA) 1.0,
  https://korpling.org/annis3/ddd/

- DDDTS: tagset includes PKTVZ 'abtrennbarer Verbzusatz'

(11)   pos="PTKVZ" & lemma & #1_=_#2 & meta::language="ahd."

- Result: 1699 hits / 103 lemmata

GRAPH 1: INVENTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF PTKVZ IN DDD-REA 1.0

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CONSISTENCY CHECK AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

- some obvious misparsings
  - *ni* (Negation Particle, 9x)
  - graphical variation *zisamane* / *zi-samane* / *zi samane* 'together', *gagen* / *gagan* 'against'
  - more than 50 „hapax legomena" → different problems

(12) *umbifahan, umbihaben, ur, dar, fol, lib, ana, fuoz, hant, inne, ouga, wola, zuotuon, aband, gagen, umbiringen, ingan, wider, untartuon, forastan, uzfrummen, nidarsehan, hera in, hinasin, hinafaran,* etc.

- most frequent items are equivalents of well-known separable particles in modG, but we also find some potential equivalents of prefixes (*zi* 'zer-', *bi* 'be-') and particles with double status, both separable and non-separable (*ubar*?)

- Do the items attnotated as PTKVZ really behave like separable particles in compounds?

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FIRST ACCESS

- some of the items annotated as PTKVZ display separablitiy in the proper contexts

(13) a. *aba za snidanne ist*
      'is to be cut off' / lat. *amputandum est*
      DDD-AD-Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_33 (edition 3 - 13)

    b. *uzkikanganer* / lat. *egressurus*
      uzgan-PastPart.Masc.Nom.Sg 'whoever will go away'
      DDD-AD-Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_35 (edition 87 - 97)

    c. *uzkakangan uuesan* / lat. *egredi*
      uzgan-PastPart be 'whoever has gone out'
      DDD-AD-Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_58 (edition 278 - 288)

(14) *so losét sih alliu íre hût ábo*
    so peels REFL all her skin PRT
    'then all its skin peels off'
    DDD-AD-Physiologus_1.0 > APh_11_Schlange(edition 144 - 154)

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…BUT

- there is data suggesting that no separation takes place

(15) *craft,   tiuflon   za uuidarstantanne*
power devils-DAT.PL to   resist-INF.DAT.SG
'power to resist the devils' DDD-AD-
Kleinere_Althochdeutsche_Denkmäler_1.0 > W_Wess (edition 107-118)

(16) *Vuer uuirdit rehtere kikagenmazzit demo husherren*
'Wer wird zurecht mit dem Hausherrn verglichen'
DDD-AD-   Kleinere_Althochdeutsche_Denkmäler_1.0 >
APB_PredigtsammlungB (edition 456 - 466)

(17) *so siu uuíle drinkán, so uzspîget siu zerest dáz eitér*
'whenever it wants to drink, it spits out the poison first'
DDD-AD-Physiologus_1.0 > APh_11_Schlange (edition 180 - 190)

(18) *So danne div iungîde giuuáhssent in iro uuanbe, so durehbîzzent sîe
sî unde gant so v̂z*
'when the babies have gown in her womb, they bite ît through and
go out in this way ' DDD-AD-Physiologus_1.0 > APh_11_Schlange
(edition 60 - 70)

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GOALS OF STUDY IN PROGRESS

- Investigation (Petrova, i.prep.) into the behaviour of **each individual compound** wrt morphological and syntactic separability

  - in contexts requiring morphological separabiltiy (*zu*-Inf, *ge*-PastPart)

  - in clauses involving verb fronting, taking into consideration potential Latin influences

  - in those cases in which we find evidence for systemantic separability: what about the syntactic behaviour of the particle, e.g. wrt movement (topicalisation and scrambling)?

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SOME OBSTACLES

- some compounds never occur in contexts triggering separation, and consequently, nothing can be said about the status of PTKVZ, e.g. (19)

(19) *alles des ih io **missa**sprah eddo **missa**teta eddo **missa**dahta*
     'all I spoke bad things about or I did evil to or thought badly of' DDD-AD-Kleinere_Althochdeutsche_Denkmäler_1.0 >AB_AltbairischeBeichte (edition 12 - 22)

- the properties of PTKVZ in (20) cannot be determined

(20) *abandmuosen* 'eat supper', *ebanbringan* 'use', *ebengesizzan* 'sit with so.', *ebansprehan* 'discuss with', *ebanstan* 'stand up', *ebanwirken* 'participate', *follasingan* 'sing to the end', *follastan* 'remain', *follawahsan* 'become full', *fuozfallon* 'bow to so.', *innestekkian* 'sink', *libfestigon* 'reanimate', *missisprehhan* 'speak badly about', *missidenken,* 'think badly of', *ougazorhton* 'reveal'

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RESULTS 1: *ZU*-INF

- *zu*-Inf. is tagged as PTKZU at the level of parts of speech/pos

    –PTKZU precedes PTKVZ in non-separable compounds

(21) pos="PTKZU" & pos="PTKVZ" & #1. #2 & meta::language= "ahd."
      (5 hits / 4 lemmata) → **PTKVZ inappropriate**

(22) *inbiotan* 'command', *ubarmuoton* 'become proud', *ubarscricken*
      'overleap', *widarstantan* 'resist'

    –PTKZU follows PTKVZ in separable compounds

(23) pos="PTKZU" & pos="PTKVZ" & #2. #1 & meta::language= "ahd."
      (13 hits /12 lemmata, except (25)) → **PTKVZ is justified**

(24) *abasnidan*, *anafahan*, *anaqueden*, *furegezihen*, *duruchgefreman*,
      hinaufspringan, *ingangan*, *nidarneman*, *umbestriten*, *uzgangan*,
      zuotuon, *zuosezzen*

(25) *inti árstuont úf zi lesanne* 'stood up to read' DDD-AD-Tatian_1.0 >
      T_Tat18 (edition 20 - 31)

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RESULT 2: *GE*- IN PAST PARTICPLES

(26) pos="PTKVZ" & pos="VVPP|VVPPA|D|N|S" & #1.#2 &
    meta::language="ahd." (154 hits, 2 misparsings)

■ caveats: separablitiy cannot be determined on this criterion

–no *ge-* in the PastPart, e.g. compounds of *queman, werdan* or *bringan* (13 hits), see (27)

–no *ge-* in compounds with double prefixes, e.g. *uf-ir-heffen* 'elevate' (22 hits), see (28)

–*ge-* already in the infinitive of some verbs, e.g. *ebangisizzen* 'sit together' (14 hits), see (29)

(27) *si* […] ***duruhqhueman*** 'be-SUBJ PRT come-PAST.Part '/lat. *pervenietur* Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_0 (edition 737 - 747)

(28) *ther sih giodmotigot uuirdit* ***ufarhaban*** 'whoever humiliates himself will be elevated' DDD-AD-Tatian_1.0 > T_Tat110 (edition 219 - 229)

(29) ***ebankesizzan*** / lat. *consedere* DDD-AD-Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_63 (edition 338 - 348)

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RESULT 2: *GE*- IN PAST PARTICPLES

■ separable compounds in (30): → **PTKVZ is justified**

(30) *abaneman, abazucken, anafahan, analeggen, analeiten, anascinan,
anaspiwan, anazeihhanen, dananeman, daraladon, darasenten,
forastrecken, foraquedan, hinawerfan, ingangan, inladon, nidarbiogan,
niderhelden, nidarleggen, nidarwelzen, ubariquedan, ufgangan, ufleggen,
umbibiogan, umbinuscen, uzfrummen, uzgangan, uzgiozan, uzsendten,
uztragan, zisamanebintan, zisamaneduhen,   zisamanefuogen,
zisamanegiozan, zisamaneheften, zisamanerennen, zisammaneknupfen,
zisamanezellenzuobouhhan, zuomanon, zuotuon*

■ non-separable compounds in (31) → **PTKVP is inappropriate**

(31) *bituon* 'close'*, duruhfremmen, duruhfullen, duruhmiscen, duruhspanan,
duruhstehhan, duruhtulten, duruhtuon, follawahsan, furifaran, furiilen,
furiloufan, gaganmezzon, inbizan, inbrennen, intuon, ubardenen,
ubarkoboron, ubarneman, ubarsagen, ubarstigan, ubarwinnan,
ubarwintan, umbiringen, untardionon, untardiuten, untarfolgen,
untargeban, untarquedan, untarslihhan, untartuon, untarweban,
untarwerfan, widarmezzan, widarstozen, zigangan, ziteilen, ziwerfan*

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SYNTACTIC SEPARABILITY

- clauses in which PTKVZ precedes a fronted V

- the verbs in (32) always precede Vfin when fronted

(32) *duruhbīʒan* 'bite throught', *duruhfremman, duruhwonen* 'remain', *ebanbruhhen* 'interact', *folla-trinkan/queman/stan, gaganloufan* 'meet, attend', *gagenmâzzen* 'compare', *hantslagon* 'applaud', *hintarqueman* 'marvel', *missetoun* 'treat badly', *ubarfaran, ubarwinnan, ubarwintan* 'overcome'

- General non-separablity, Latin immitation or PRT-tolicalization?

  –PRT+V against Latin

(33) ***Hant**slagot · allo deotun / lat. Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*
    DDD-AD-Monsee_1.0 > MF_2_VG.XXVIII (edition 60 - 70)

  –PRT+V like in Latin?

(34) *so thin fuoz bisuuicha thih, **aba**snit inan inti aruuirf fon thir*
    'if your feet irritates you, cut it off and throw it away from you'
    T_Tat95 (edition 89 - 99) / = lat. ***abscide** eum et proice abs te*

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CASE STUDY – RESULTS (I)

- compounds in Monsee Fragments (free translation, n=41 / 2 misparsings)

- non-separation displays a Latin counterpart

(35) *Dese ni   uz   tribit tiubila / lat. hic non **eicit** demones* (MF V. 20)
      DEM NEG PRT drives devils 'He does not expel [the] devils'

(36) ***ubar** ferita=**trans**ferauit* (I. 5)
      ***ubar** saita = **super**seminavit* (IX. 26)
      *ni **uui dar** stritit=non **con**tendit* (V. 9)
      *uuart … **fram** brungang=**ob**latus est* (V.14)
      ih uz fuor= exivi (VII. 14)

- no separation, no direct Latin influence

(37) ***hant**schlagot=plaudite manibus* (XXVIII. 15)

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CASE STUDY – RESULTS (II)

- ## OHG PRT in distance from V against Latin

  - ### a Latin compond verb ist present

(38)   *In demo   tage   **genc** iħs   **uz**   fona hûs = **ex**iens*
        in that-DAT day-DAT went Jesus PRT from house
        'on that thay, Jesus went out from the house'
        MF_Monsee-fragment-1_M.VII (edition 362 - 372)

(39)   *fuor **uz**=**ex**iit (VIII. 4), fuorun **uz**=**e**gressi (XV. 21), uurphun uz=foras*
        *misserunt (X.20), ken gun **zuo**=**ac**cesserunt (XXIII. 13), steic*
        ***nidar**=**dis**cendit (XXXVIII. 23), faru **fora**=ante te ibo (XXXIV. 6) (???*
        Preposition)

  - ### no Latin compound present

(40)   ***ferit** auuar **uz**=ite ergo (XV. 20), genc **uph**=ceciderunt (VIII.8),*
        *sprah im filu **zuo**=locutus est eis (VIII. 3)*

- ## separablity is a genuine property of native grammar

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TOPICALIZATION OF PARTICLES?

- Maybe the particle precedes V because it has been topicalized itself, see (41)-(42)

(41) *úzgiang   sar   tho   líndo   ther   díufeles   gisindo*
    PRT-went quickly then smoothly   the   devil-GEN   friend
    'at once, the friend of the devil went out smoothly'
    O_Otfr.Ev.4.12 (edition 459 - 469)

(42) ***ana   si   kimahchot*** *imu   uuerah*
    PRT   be-SUBJ   done   him-DAT work
    'he should be given some work to do' / *iniungatur ei opus*
    DDD-AD-Benediktiner_Regel_1.0 > B_48 (edition 509 - 519)

- but if we assume topicalization, we get V3-effects, see (43)

(43) *Thô uespera uuas, **ûzgiengun** fon thero burgi*
    when evening was PRT-went from the-DAT town
    'When it was evening, [they] went out from the town' / *Et cum vespera facta esset, egrediebantur de civitate* T_Tat121 (edition 72 - 82)

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MOVEMENT WITHIN THE MIDDLEFIELD

- Obviously possible in OHG, but without a contrastive interpretation required in modG

(44) *Ward   tho ménnisgen wé, /   thaz er nan* **úz** **thoh** *ni* **spe**
  became then people   sorrow that he him PRT though NEG spit
  'It brought great sorrow to the people that he [Adam] did not spit it [the apple]' O_Otfr.Ev.2.6 (edition 301 - 311)

(45) *diu   bezeichenet unsirin   trotin, ter   al   manchunne* **zu** *zimo*
  DEM represents   our   lord   who all mankind   PRT to-him
  geladita *turih   tie   suzi   sinero   genadon*
  invited   through the   sweetness   his-GEN   mercy
  APh_physit-Text_collection_Phys.2_Panther (edition 118 - 138)

- Indicative of substantial differences in syntactic behaviour between OHG and modG separable compounds, but maybe modern dialects can tells another story (Schallert, p.c.)

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CONCLUSION

- Although I reject the general use of PTKVZ as a tag for all OHG conpound verbs, this annotation was useful to detect the respective instances

- consequences → in a new reliese, the annotation at that point should be reconsidered

- overall picture
  - we find clear instances of non-separable compounds for which the tag PTKVZ is definitely inappropriate
  - we find clear cases in which separation applies, but the behaviour of the particle does not exactly map their modG couterparts
  - in a class of cases, we still cannot deside if separation applies

References can be provided upon request

MANY THANKS AND DISCUSSION