

Report

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LO 454/4-1 – Statische Dimensionsverben

Project heads

Prof. Dr. Löbner, Sebastian,
Prof. Dr. Geisler, Hans

Staff

Dr. Thomas Gamerschlag since Aug 05
Dr. des. Brigitte Schwarze since Apr 06 (half-time position)

Student research assistants:

Robert Keller since Aug 05, 10 hours/week
Monika Peters since Nov 07, 10 hours/week
Stephanie Schnabel Aug 06 – Oct 06, 6 hours/week
 Nov 06 – Aug 07, 6 hours/week
Nathalie Voß May 06 – Jul 07, 6 hours/week

1. State of knowledge and goals

Stative dimensional verbs (SDVs) such as *kosten/coûter* ‘cost’, *wiegen/peser* ‘weigh’, *heißen/s’appeler* ‘be called’ encode a dimension (attribute) of the subject referent and, in addition, allow for the realization of a specific value along this dimension. SDVs systematically correspond to functional nouns (e.g., *Gewicht/poids* ‘weight’) and dimensional adjectives (e.g., *schwer/lourd* ‘heavy’). The project investigates the grammatical and semantic properties of SDVs and their relation to the nominal and adjectival expression of dimensionality. Typologically, SDVs exhibit considerable variation. Therefore, we approach the phenomenon from different languages, such as German, French and Korean, in order to find regularities in these contrasts and isolate specific language profiles.

The major goals of the first project phase can be summarized as follows: (1) assembly and characterization of the grammatical and semantic properties of primary SDVs, (2) exemplary analyses of specific SDVs, (3) strategies of deriving secondary SDVs, (4) functional comparison between SDVs and the corresponding nominal and adjectival construction. As will be shown below, these goals were addressed with a different focus and from a different perspective (synchronic vs. diachronic) depending on the particular language.

At the time we started the project, SDVs had not been a matter of research of their own. Therefore, empirical aspects of the phenomenon were given priority over aspects of formal representation.

2. Results and their significance

2.1 SDVs in German

2.1.1 Survey of SDVs in German

In order to assemble the inventory of SDVs in German, Gamerschlag (in prep.) investigated 13,575 verbal entries in the 2003 CD-ROM edition of the German standard dictionary ‘Duden – Deutsches Universalwörterbuch’. All of the lemmata that qualified as SDV were characterized by a key, which contains information about the encoded dimension(s) (e.g., DURATION, TASTE), the availability of an absolute use, the paraphrasability by an adjectival construction, the type of the value specification (scalar vs. non-scalar, predicative vs. non-predicative), the grammatical realization of the value specification (e.g., NP, PP), and the overall valency of the SDV. The investigation was designed to arrive at an exhaustive inventory of primary (or ‘born’) SDVs. However, when a lemma was used as a secondary SDV in a lexical entry, it was characterized by a key, in which the strategy of secondary SDV formation was additionally recorded (e.g. reflexivization, passivization, generic/habitual reading). As a consequence, we have gathered about 215 (1.6% of the overall verb lemmas) instances of secondary SDVs, which can be considered to reflect the distribution of secondary SDVs in a standard German dictionary. With respect to primary SDVs, the major statistical results of the survey can be summarized as follows:

- Of the 13,575 verbal entries approx. 380 (2.8%) qualify as primary SDVs. (This number does not include complex lemmas, such as *herstammen* ‘descend from’, *zugehören* ‘belong to’, *anhaften* ‘stick to’, which were not be considered, since they can be related transparently to the respective simplex SDVs *stammen* ‘descend’, *gehören* ‘belong’, and *haften* ‘stick’.)
- The primary SDVs encode about 100 different dimensions with varying degrees of specificity, such as PRICE, WEIGHT, DURATION, MEANING, NAME, FORM, SOURCE, LOCATION, PROFESSION, POSTURE.
- There is a clear asymmetry with respect to the dimensions encoded by primary SDVs. The majority of SDVs refer to one of three dimensions: a) 13.6% of the SDVs belong to the class of location verbs, which can be subdivided into monodimensional location verbs such as *sich befinden* ‘be/stand’ and bidimensional location verbs such as *stehen* ‘stand’ and *hocken* ‘crouch’. The former merely express the dimension of LOCATION, whereas the latter additionally refer to an accompanying mode such as POSTURE. b) 12.6% are verbs of light emission, such as *glitzern* ‘glitter’ and *glühen* ‘glare’, which encode the dimension OPTICAL APPEARANCE. c) 26.7% are verbs of sound emission, such as *rauschen* ‘rustle’ and *dröhnen* ‘drone’, which refer to the dimension ACOUSTIC APPEARANCE. The rest of the dimensions are encoded only by a handful of verbs. Verbs referring to sound or light emission are characterized by an inherent value specification. For example, *glitzern* ‘glitter’ specifies the value ‘emitting flashing points of light’ for the dimension optical appearance. Verbs of this type can be treated as special instances of SDVs that can be separated from SDVs with an external value specification.
- Only 15% of the dimensions exhibited by primary SDVs have a scalar value range, whereas the majority has a non-scalar value range.
- The availability of an adjectival paraphrase is confined mostly to SDVs with a scalar value range such as *dauern* ‘last’ and is therefore only given for a minority of SDVs.

The data about primary and secondary SDVs are converted into an Access database which will be made available via internet.

Occurrences of SDVs were analyzed in a number of expository texts on different topics, such as the anatomy of the eye, rabbit breeding, and car design. The results indicate a ratio of SDVs from 17.5 to 47.8% of all the verb tokens contained in the text. This confirms our assumption that texts of this sort are characterized by a high frequency of SDVs and validates their significance for these texts.

A2

2.1.2 Analysis of SDVs in German

a. Subclassification

A central aim of our analysis of SDVs in German was to investigate the relation between the different dimensions and establish semantic verb classes based on identical or similar dimensions. We have succeeded in bundling similar dimensions as specific instances of a more general ‘super’ dimension (Gamerschlag, in prep.). For example, the verbs *abstammen* ‘descend from’, *entspringen* ‘arise from’, *entströmen* ‘flow from’, *kommen* ‘come from’, and *liegen an* ‘be due to’ encode dimensions such as ORIGIN, SOURCE, and CAUSE, all of which can be considered as specific instances of some abstract dimension SOURCE, while the verbs *dauern* ‘last’, *reichen* ‘range’, *sich beziehen* ‘refer to’, *sich erschöpfen* ‘do not extend beyond’, *sich erstrecken* ‘extend to’ all refer to some more or less abstract instance of the dimension EXTENT. Many SDVs derive historically from dynamic verbs, a phenomenon that has been investigated in detail by Schwarze for French (see below). Against this background, the fact that SDVs encode similar or identical dimensions can in part be motivated by a similar underlying dynamic concept. Thus, many of the SDVs referring to source derive from verbs denoting a directed motion starting from a source.

b. Relation between dimension and value specification

The relation between dimension and value specification is determined by the type of dimension, e.g., verbs of location combine with a non-directional PP which specifies a location whereas measure verbs require the explication of a metric value and thus require a measure phrase. However, as a further result of the investigation, the interaction between dimension and value specification has turned out to be more intricate (Gamerschlag & Schwarze, in prep.). For example, the verb *klingen* ‘sound’ basically refers to the ACOUSTIC APPEARANCE of an object, as in *schrill klingen* ‘sound shrill’, but can also be used with value specifications not referring to sound quality, as in *hohl klingen* ‘sound hollow’, *nach Mozart klingen* ‘sound like Mozart’, *vielversprechend klingen* ‘sound promising’. To account for this flexibility, we assume that a value specification which is not compatible with the original dimension leads to a ‘dimensional shift’, i.e. the inference of an appropriate dimension resulting from the interaction of subject referent, value specification and basic dimension. Other SDVs, mostly bidimensional verbs of location, involve a process of ‘dimensional reduction’. An example is *liegen* in such uses as *Paris liegt an der Seine* ‘Paris is situated at the Seine’, in which the verb loses the dimension of POSTURE and merely expresses LOCATION. Moreover, *liegen* also allows for a dimensional shift from LOCATION to CAUSE, which is indicated overtly by the idiosyncratic occurrence of the preposition *an* as in *Das liegt am Wetter* ‘This is due to the weather.’

c. Formal representation

The formal representation of SDVs depends on the type of dimension, in particular on the value range determined by the dimension. For the exemplary representation of some SDVs, especially for measure verbs and verbs of location, we could draw on existing proposals in the literature (Kaufmann 1995, Eschenbach 1995) which already involve (implicitly or explicitly) the notion of functionality.

2.1.3 Primary vs. secondary SDVs

Though the focus of the investigation was on primary SDVs, we have also taken secondary SDVs into account, since they occur in dictionary entries to some extent and are also found side by side with primary SDVs in expository texts. With regard to secondary SDVs, the results can be summarized as follows. First, we have revised the primary/secondary distinction. Now, we consider only those SDVs to be secondary which are the result of a transparent and productive operation. Characteristically, such operations affect the argument structure of the underlying verb, as is the case in middle formation. As a consequence, a number of SDVs, which are clearly related metaphorically to dynamic verbs but do not result from a productive argument alternation, such as *sich verjüngen* ‘taper (lit. rejuvenate)’, are rendered as instances of primary SDVs. Second, alternations that make a former adjunct PP the subject as in *Der Weg führt in die Stadt*. ‘The way leads to the city.’ (dimension: DIRECTION) have proven to be a productive and transparent strategy for the formation of SDVs. The SDVs resulting from these PP → Subject alternations are therefore characterized as secondary SDVs. Third, during the investigation we have come across a number of stative verbs which are left- but not right-deterministic as *anführen* in ‘The Rangers lead the Scottish Premier League.’ These verbs can be converted into right-deterministic SDVs via passivization: *Die schottische Premier League wird von den Rangers angeführt*. ‘The Scottish Premier League is led by the Rangers.’ (dimension: LEADER) Consequently, passivization of left-deterministic statives has been added to the repertoire of strategies for secondary SDV formation.

2.1.4 Relation of SDVs to the nominal/adjectival paraphrase

Since only a restricted set of dimensions is encoded by primary SDVs, the majority of functional nouns lack a corresponding SDV. For example, typical instances of functional nouns, such as kinship terms (*father, wife*) and body parts (*head, heart*), do not have an analogous SDV. Moreover, the most frequent subtypes of SDVs, namely bidimensional verbs of location as well as verbs of sound and light emission, do not have a natural nominal paraphrase based on the underlying functional concept. Obviously, this is due to the fact that these types are characterized by an inherent value specification. These subtypes of SDVs fill a functional gap not covered by nouns.

On the other hand, there are also primary SDVs assembled in our survey which lend themselves more easily to a nominal paraphrase. Many of these verbs are morphologically related to the noun though this need not be the case as is apparent with SDV-noun pairs, such as *gehören* ‘belong to’ - *Besitzer* ‘owner’, *heißen* ‘be called’ - *Name* ‘name’, *kosten* ‘cost’ - *Preis* ‘price’. Both, nouns derived from SDVs and SDVs formed from nouns are attested. Instances of the former process are *klingen* ‘sound’ > *Klang* ‘sound’, *anfangen* ‘begin’ > *Anfang*

‘begin’, *ergeben* ‘result in’ > *Ergebnis* ‘result’, *wirken* ‘exert a certain effect’ > *Wirkung* ‘effect’, *dauern* ‘last’ > *Dauer* ‘duration’. Examples of SDVs derived from nouns are *füßen* ‘to be based on s.th.’, *münden* ‘flow into’, *gipfeln* ‘culminate’, *wurzeln* ‘root’, *enden* ‘end’, *beinhalten* ‘comprise’ some of which involve a figurative drift/metaphorical shift. A small number/special subtype of denominal SDVs are verbs, such as *hausen* ‘dwell’, *lagern* ‘camp’, *stallen* ‘be in the stable’, *baumen* ‘sit on a tree’, *alpen* ‘be on the alp’, which incorporate a noun denoting location. Typically, many verbs of this type belong to special terminologies such as hunter’s jargon, indicating their peripheral status. Interestingly, some denominal SDVs such as *enden* ‘end’ and *münden* ‘flow into’ are part of a derivational chain N > V > N such as *Ende* ‘end’ > *enden* ‘end’ > *Endung* ‘ending’ and *Mund* ‘mouth’ > *münden* ‘flow into’ > *Mündung* ‘mouth’, in which the original noun and the deverbal noun have different meanings.

The availability of an adjectival paraphrase is primarily confined to SDVs with a scalar value range such as *dauern* ‘last’, thus, only to a minority of SDVs. There is also a small subset of SDVs such as *bauchen* ‘belly out’ and *beulen* ‘bulge’, which refer to the FORM of an object. For some of these there are corresponding adjectives, such as *bauchig* ‘bellied’ and *beulig* ‘bulgy’, which are derived from the same nominal source *Bauch* ‘belly’ and *Beule* ‘bulge’. Other subtypes of SDVs allow for a close paraphrase: verbs of perception such as *aussehen* ‘look’ in *intelligent aussehen* ‘look intelligent’ can roughly be paraphrased by a copula construction such as *intelligent sein* ‘be intelligent’, which, however, lacks the evidential interpretation of the SDV construction. Yet, for the majority of SDVs investigated in the survey a corresponding adjectival paraphrase is not available. This corroborates our assumption that the functions of SDVs and adjectives overlap only partially, since they involve different types of value ranges.

2.1.5 Dimensionality as a class-defining feature in a parallel classification of nouns and verbs

The cooperation between the projects A1 and A2 is manifest in the cowork by Gamerschlag & Ortmann (in prep.). We have developed a parallel classification of nouns and verbs which is based on dimensionality as a binary, class-defining feature [\pm functional]. [\pm functional] is supplemented by the two features [\pm structured]¹ and [\pm transitive]. [\pm structured] captures the count/mass distinction for nouns and the dynamic/static distinction for verbs, whereas [\pm transitive] differentiates monadic nouns/verbs from polyadic ones. The resulting classes are ordered into a lattice structure dependent on their degree of markedness. Thus, stative, copula-like verbs, such as *exist*, and monadic sortal mass nouns, such as *water*, are instances of the least marked type [$-$ transitive, $-$ structured, $-$ functional], whereas the most marked type [$+$ transitive, $+$ structured, $+$ functional] is represented by accomplishment verbs, such as *shorten*, and polyadic functional count nouns, such as *mother*. Gamerschlag & Ortmann show that a number of grammatical properties typically associated with the classes situated between these poles can be tied to the presence/absence of functionality. For instance, [\pm functional]

¹ With regard to verbs, [\pm functional] and [\pm structured] can be rendered more precisely as [\pm dimensional] and [\pm dynamic], respectively (see section 3.1 of the proposal).

distinguishes unergative (*run*) from unaccusative verbs (*grow*), causative change of state verbs (*kill*) from transitive activities (*hit*), and SDVs (*weigh*) from non-dimensional state verbs (*possess*). For nouns, [\pm functional] differentiates between nouns with unique and non-unique reference, a distinction overtly marked by the presence/absence of the definite article (*the pope/the weight of the table* vs. *a dog/a friend of mine*). Gamerschlag & Ortmann also discuss the transitions between the classes. They demonstrate that only transitions involving no more than one feature change (i.e., stepwise transitions) can occur without morphological marking, whereas transitions characterized by more than one feature change ('diagonal' transitions) require morphological marking. Gamerschlag & Ortmann supply a system for the analysis of functionality encoded in nouns and verbs that goes beyond the goals of the current project phase. However, as far as verbs are concerned, their system integrates SDVs as the simplest instances of functional verbs and thus provides a foundation for the research envisaged in the next phase.

2.2 SDVs in French

Schwarze has worked on SDVs in French and on the relation between verbal, adjectival and nominal expressions. A first survey of the expression of (stative) dimensionality in Romance and of some major synchronic contrasts between German and Romance Languages has been presented in Schwarze (in press). Her publication also analyzes how SDV readings are treated in monolingual dictionaries. Since dictionaries are used as a basic means in detecting SDVs, it seemed necessary to test the reliability of the available information. As a result, in most cases general monolingual dictionaries did not yield sufficient information about SDV readings and their corresponding syntactic properties. Therefore, verb dictionaries (Busse/Dubost 1977) and the verb tables offered in the realm of lexicon-grammar (cf. <http://infolingu.univ-mlv.fr>; *Données Linguistiques, Lexiques-Grammaire*) were used as additional tools for building an inventory of French SDVs which subsequently were analyzed diachronically.

2.2.1 Diachrony of SDVs in French

Our inventory of French SDVs has mainly been developed by analyzing approximately 2500 entries in the verb dictionary that Busse/Dubost (1977) compiled.² The SDVs and SDV readings identified here were revised and extended on the basis of other (synchronic) dictionaries (*Petit Robert* and *TLF*) and the data provided by lexicon-grammar (see above). We eventually distinguished about one hundred items³ which – in the following research phase – were examined with respect to their diachronic sources and stages of development using different etymological dictionaries. All in all, the results of this first historical analysis confirm our hypothesis:

The majority of SDVs in our corpus originate from dynamic verbs. In many cases these are prototypically transitive, both at the syntactic as well as at the semantic level. That means that they denote some kind of action, which is performed volitionally by a controlling human

² We analyzed the letters A, B, C, D, E, G, J, M, S, T, V.

³ Note that the number of SDV readings is actually higher than the number of items (verbs) in our inventory, since in general one verb displays several SDV readings (see below).

agent; on the other hand, there is a non-controlling, non-volitional object affected by this action. Some examples of the action concepts originally expressed are ‘drag’, ‘put’, ‘give’, ‘hold’, ‘take’, ‘touch’, ‘carry’/‘bring’ etc. This can be illustrated by the following SDV uses, which ultimately go back to ‘drag’ (1, 2), ‘give’ (3, 4) and ‘carry/bring’ (5):

- (1) *Le chemin conduit à la gare.*
 ‘This way leads to the station.’
 [Fr. *conduire* (à) < VLat. *conducere* < Lat. *ducere* ‘drag’]
- (2) *Les vêtements traînaient dans l’appartement.*
 ‘The clothes were lying all over the apartment.’
 [Fr. *traîner* < VLat. **traginare* < **tragere* < Lat. *trahere* ‘drag’]
- (3) a. *Ce contrat date de 1989.*
 ‘This contract dates from 1989.’
 b. *Ce prénom date.*
 ‘This first name is old-fashioned.’
 [Fr. *dater* (*de*) < *date* (noun) < Lat. (*littera*) *data* ‘(letter) given’ < *dare* ‘give’]
- (4) *La pièce donne sur la mer.*
 ‘The room faces the sea.’
 [Fr. *donner* (*sur*) < Mlt. *donare* ‘give’]
- (5) a. *La chatte porte soixante jours.*
 ‘Cats’ pregnancy lasts sixty days.’
 b. *Tout l’édifice porte sur des colonnes.*
 ‘The whole building is supported by columns.’
 c. *Cette étude porte sur le chômage.*
 ‘This study deals with unemployment.’
 d. *Le canon porte (jusqu’) à 10 km.*
 ‘The range of the cannon is 10 km.’
 e. *Un argument qui porte.*
 ‘A convincing/valid argument.’
 [Fr. *porter* (*sur/à*) < Lat. *portare* ‘carry/bring’]

The evolution of dynamic, transitive verbs to SDVs is characterized by specific semantic as well as formal changes. The semantic changes consist in a loss of agentivity and (semantic) transitivity motivated by associative processes, such as metonymical shifts and metaphorical leaps. The formal changes include different alternations in the argument structure, such as the coding of some non-controlling direct or oblique object (like Instrument, Path or Goal) in the subject position. Furthermore, the verb might cease to be syntactically transitive and take on a certain preposition, on the basis of which the value specification can be realized (see above: *dater de*, *donner sur* etc.). Another characteristic change consists in the emergence of the re-

flexive construction (cf. *composer* ‘put together’/‘compose’ vs. *se composer de* ‘be composed of’/‘consist of’, *appeler* ‘call’ vs. *s’appeler* ‘be called’ etc.).

Although not all dynamic verbs giving rise to SDVs display the same degree of semantic transitivity, and although not all of them are syntactically transitive, even less transitive or intransitive verbs (such as *descendre* ‘go down’) originally denote some kind of motor movement typically performed by a human agent. Like with transitive verbs, all anthropomorphic and dynamic aspects are lost in course of the evolution of SDV readings, while other components of the respective verb frame are highlighted and one specific attribute is finally isolated. According to the specific attribute that is isolated different SDV readings will emerge out of one underlying frame. For *descendre* (at least) three SDV readings can be distinguished, cf.:

- (6) a. ORIGIN: *Elle descend d’une ancienne famille./L’homme descend du singe.*
 ‘She descends from an ancient family.’/‘Man descends from ape.’
- b. GRADIENT: *La route descend fort.*
 ‘The street falls away/drops steeply.’
- c. DEPTH: *Le puits descend à 40 mètres.*
 ‘The well goes down to 40 meters’/‘The well is 40 meters deep.’

The reading given below (a), first attested in the mid 12th century, is metaphorically motivated. The underlying conceptual metaphor is GENEALOGY IS A PATH. The relevant aspect of the *descendre* concept is that *descendre* is a movement that implies a change of location of the subject referent leading from a starting point A (down) to another point B (*descendre* = ‘move (down) from A to B’).⁴ The starting point of the (downwards) movement is overtly expressed when *descendre* is followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *de* (e.g. *descendre du grenier* ‘go down from the loft’). Transferred to the concept of genealogy *descendre de* acquires a purely relational meaning. Since movement is lost, it serves to express the ‘starting point’ or ‘origin’ of the subject referent.

The SDV reading in example (b) dates back to the 17th century. Since the *descendre* concept always implies a Path argument (‘going down *on a certain way*’) the coding of the Path argument in the subject position constitutes a metonymical shift, which leads to the isolation of the downwards orientation.

Finally, the reading given in (c) is best interpreted as the outcome of a metaphorical transfer. Due to its downwards orientation *descendre* can be applied to (subterranean) vertical cavities such as wells and shafts. From the point of view of the observer, objects of this nature are essentially characterized by the directional dimension ‘down’ (or ‘having depth’). Now, *descendre à*, which originally serves to express the endpoint of the downwards movement (cf. *descendre à la cave* ‘go down to the cellar’), allows specifying the value the object acquires along the dimension of depth.⁵

⁴ In our opinion, the downwards orientation of *descendre* does not play any crucial role for the metaphorical transfer. Nevertheless, *descendre* originally may have been preferred against other options due to its orientation, since family trees, for example, are usually arranged in a top-down manner.

⁵ For the emergence of different SDV readings out of one underlying verb frame cf. also the examples given above in (5).

Only a restricted number of SDVs do not evolve from dynamic verbs but from other sources. One possible source is stative verbs which already specify a basic dimension (e.g. POSTURE). A new SDV reading could arise in specific contexts and subsequently become more general. French *coûter* is a case in point here: *coûter* can be traced back to Lat. *constare*, which is composed of the prefix *con* (derived from the OLat. preposition *com* ‘with’) and the verb *stare* ‘stand’. The meaning ‘cost’ developed in commercial discourse and this development is rooted in the respective business frame, especially in the technique of fixing the price by means of a balance: the scales have to ‘stand together’ or ‘come to stand’ at the same level. Another source is denominal derivation from sortal nouns designating (classes of) objects with specific salient characteristics or from concrete functional nouns. The first kind of derivation seems to be typical of particular semantic groups of SDVs, such as SDVs denoting light emission (cf.: *chatoyer* ‘shimmer’ < *chat* ‘cat’ (because of the cat’s eyes), *étinceler* ‘sparkle’ < *étincelle* ‘spark’, *flamboyer* ‘blaze’ < OFr. *flambe* ‘flame’/‘blaze’, *luire* ‘shine’ < Lat. *lucere* ‘shine’ < *lux* ‘light’ etc.). As to the second kind, we assert that functional nouns, such as *bout* ‘limit’/‘endpoint’, constitute the basis for the derivation of verbs displaying a SDV reading (cf. *aboutir* (à) ‘lead to an end’).⁶

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the historical lines of development of SDVs can be captured synchronically in terms of polysemy to a certain degree. Our study on SDVs has shown that in many cases the different readings of a polysemous verb do, in fact, reflect its historical evolution (and this is what Raible (1992: 263) has called „die Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen”).

2.2.2 Synchronic contrasts (French vs. German)

Synchronically, French and German display various considerable contrasts. They diverge according to:

- 1) the inventory of SDVs in certain semantic groups,
- 2) the number of complex SDVs,
- 3) the range of use of specific SDVs,
- 4) the absolute use of certain SDVs and subsequent more idiosyncratic readings,
- 5) the frequency of specific SDVs and their diaphasic (stylistic) characteristics.

The most striking differences regarding the inventory of SDVs (contrast 1) are to be found in the domain of posture verbs. In contrast to German, which disposes of a rich inventory of posture verbs, and in contrast to Latin and Old French, SDVs denoting posture are almost non-existent in Modern French. Even the most basic human postures like standing, sitting and lying are *not* expressed as simple verbs but as more complex phrases (cf.: *être debout* ‘stand’, *être assis(e)* ‘sit’, *être couché(e)/allongé(e)* ‘lie’ etc.). Salient discrepancies do also occur

⁶ Note that, in many cases, denominal derivation does not *immediately* lead to a SDV reading. As for *déboucher* (*dans/sur*) ‘disembogue’/‘lead to an end’ (< *bouche* ‘mouth’) and *dater* (*de*) ‘date (from)’ (< *date* ‘date’, see above) dynamic uses might be prior (*déboucher* is first used in the sense of ‘appear’/‘come out of’, *dater* first means ‘put the date on something’). Moreover, the nominal base of the verb in question might ultimately go back to a dynamic verb (cf. *bout* which, according to most scholars, is derived from *bouter* < OFrk. *bōtan* ‘push’/‘beat’).

within the group of perception-based SDVs. In French only *sentir* allows for an SDV reading comparable to German *riechen* ‘smell’, while the German SDVs *sich anhören* ‘sound’, *schmecken* ‘taste’, *aussehen* ‘look’ and *sich anfühlen* ‘feel’ have no direct verbal equivalent. The underlying dimensions may be encoded by a verb taken from another semantic class (e.g. *sonner* lit. ‘ring’, cf. German *klingen*) or they are expressed via functional nouns or dimensional adjectives in copula or copula-like constructions (e.g. *La soupe a un goût salé* ‘The soup has a salty taste’, *Elle a l’air jeune/Elle paraît jeune* ‘She seems (to be) young’, *La couverture est douce (au toucher)* ‘The blanket is soft (when touched)’).⁷ Additionally, the dimensional use of ‘alternative’ verbs, such as *sonner*, may show restrictions vis-à-vis the German counterparts (contrast 3), since they do not allow the same dimensional shifts; cf.: *Das klingt schwierig/Das hört sich schwierig an* ‘It sounds difficult’ vs. **Cela sonne difficile* or *Das klingt nach/wie Bach/Das hört sich nach/wie Bach an* ‘It sounds like Bach’ vs. **Cela sonne (du) Bach* (see Gamerschlag & Schwarze in prep.).

With respect to complex SDVs (contrast 2) we state that verbs denoting several dimensions can be said to be rare for Modern French and other Romance Languages (e.g. Spanish). Instead, French makes use of resultative constructions, most frequently employing the copula verb *être* ‘be’ and the past participle of the corresponding dynamic verb (cf. *Le chewing-gum est collé sous le secrétaire* lit.: ‘The chewing gum is stuck under the desk’ vs. German *Das Kaugummi klebt unter dem Schreibtisch* ‘The chewing-gum sticks under the desk’; as indicated above, this also holds for the expression of posture and location: *Mes parents sont assis dans le coin* lit.: ‘My parents are seated in the corner’ vs. *Meine Eltern sitzen in der Ecke* ‘My parents are sitting in the corner’).

Besides these most obvious differences which – at least in part – are caused by language specific developments, a detailed analysis reveals some further interlinguistic contrasts. First, German and French differ with respect to the absolute use of SDVs without an explicit value specification. In French, the absolute use is more common and it regularly gives rise to other more idiosyncratic readings, whereas in German constructions with dimensional adjectives yield the corresponding meaning. This can be illustrated by the following uses of French *pès* ‘weigh’, *durer* ‘last’ and *coûter* ‘cost’ and the respective German expressions:⁸

- | | | |
|-----|--------|---|
| (7) | French | <i>Le repas pèse sur son estomac.</i> |
| | German | <i>Das Essen liegt ihm schwer im Magen.</i>
‘The meal is hard to digest.’ |
| | French | <i>Ça me pèse de lui dire la vérité.</i> |
| | German | <i>Es fällt mir schwer, ihm/ihr die Wahrheit zu sagen.</i>
‘It’s hard for me to tell him/her the truth.’ |

⁷ It is worth mentioning here that we distinguished dimension specific contrasts, such as the ones just illustrated from isolated lexical idiosyncrasies within certain semantic groups of SDVs (e.g. French *chausser* which is used as a specific measure verb denoting SHOE SIZE; cf.: *Tu chausse du combien?* ‘What’s your shoe size?’).

⁸ Cf. also the absolute use of *dater* given in (3b) above.

- (8) French *Le temps me dure ici.*
 German *Die Zeit wird mir lang hier.*
 ‘Time is getting long here.’
- (9) French *Il coûte à Ida de partir.*
 German *Es fällt Ida schwer zu gehen.*
 ‘It’s hard for Ida to go.’

Second, SDVs which at first sight might seem to be equivalent, such as French *mesurer* and German *messen* ‘measure’, may deviate considerably with respect to their frequency and diaphasic (stylistic) characteristics (contrast 5). In the instance of *mesurer* and *messen* we assert that the SDV use of the French verb is far more frequent due to its stylistic neutrality. The occurrence of German *messen* is primarily bound to technical and scientific contexts, whereas in everyday contexts adjectival constructions are preferred (cf. *Er ist 1,80 Meter groß* vs. *Er misst 1,80 Meter*).

These last two contrasts are clearly related to another general divergence between French and German with respect to the availability and flexibility of the adjectival construction. The crucial point is that the combination of dimensional adjectives and explicit value specifications shows fewer restrictions in German than in French. In French constructions of the type just illustrated are mainly restricted to a subset of spatial adjectives (e.g. *long* ‘long’, *haut* ‘high’, *large* ‘large, wide’, *profond* ‘deep’ etc.), whereas such a restriction does not hold in German. Therefore, adjectival constructions prove to be more flexible in German.

3 Relation of work schedule to outcome

German and Korean

All of the major goals summarized in 1 have been relevant for the exploration of German. Although subject to constant revision and refinement, we consider the investigation of the inventory of German primary SDVs (goal 1) to be finished. Concerning the analyses of specific SDVs (goal 2), we could adopt a number of previous approaches to particular subtypes of SDVs such as measure verbs and verbs of location. Moreover, the relation between dimension and value specification was analyzed for instances of dimensional shift and dimensional reduction. Regarding secondary SDVs (goal 3) we have made a precision for the differentiation between primary and secondary SDVs based on the criterion of a productive and transparent valency alternation. Moreover, as a result of our investigation of expository texts passivization of left-deterministic statives could be added to the strategies of deriving secondary SDVs. Finally, as part of our empirical study we have investigated the relation between SDVs and functional nouns. In addition, the availability of an adjectival paraphrase has proven to be tied to a scalar value range. As far as Korean is concerned, we are not yet in a position to present substantial results. However, we have begun to compile alternative strategies for dimension encoding in Korean. Here, the set of dimensions obtained in the exploration of German SDVs serves as the starting point for the contrastive exploration. The remaining time of the first project phase will be used mainly to continue our study of Korean. Additionally, we will focus on a formalization of the mechanisms for the derivation of secondary SDVs.

Diachrony of SDVs in French

Our research on the historical development of SDVs in French proceeded along the lines specified in the respective work schedule: During the first year of research (April 2006 – March 2007) an inventory of French SDVs was built. Furthermore, we carefully analyzed the different (synchronic) uses, differentiated various semantic groups, and gave a first diachronic survey on the basis of different etymological dictionaries. At the same time, we started to compare our data on French and German SDVs. During the following research period (April 2007 – December 2007) we concentrated on the analysis of the semantic and syntactic development of selected groups of SDVs. Additionally, we continuously revised our inventory of SDVs and added further items to different semantic groups of SDVs, which had not been captured previously. The remaining research time (January 2008 – March 2009) will be needed to extend our diachronic analysis of the semantic and formal changes, which characterize the evolution of SDV readings, and to investigate the historical relation between SDVs and functional nouns. Moreover, the contrastive analysis of French and German will be continued.

4 Cooperation

4.1 within the research unit

There has been intensive cooperation with project A1 ('Typologie der Funktionalbegriffe'), the result of which is the parallel classification of nouns and verbs sketched in 2.1.5 above. In addition, there has been constant interchange between A2 and A4 ('Entwicklung von Funktionalbegriffen im Französischen'), since the historical analyses of functional nouns and dimensional verbs in French complement each other.

4.2 with external partners

Gamerschlag plans to visit South Korea in July 2008, where he will meet Professor Ryu at Chungnam University to discuss the topic of SDVs and alternative strategies for dimension encoding in Korean.

5 Publications and activities

Thomas Gamerschlag:

Publications

Gamerschlag, T. (in prep.) Stative dimensional verbs in German.

Gamerschlag, T. (2007). Semantic and structural aspects of complement control in Korean. In B. Stiebels (Ed.), *Studies on complement control* (pp. 81-123). *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 47.

Gamerschlag, T. (2005). *Komposition und Argumentstruktur komplexer Verben. Eine lexikalische Analyse von Verb-Verb-Komposita und Serialverbkonstruktionen*. *Studia grammatica* 61. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Gamerschlag, T & Ortmann, A. (in prep.) The role of functional concepts in the classification of nouns and verbs.

Gamerschlag, T. & Schwarze, B. (in prep.) Dimensional shift and dimensional reduction.

Talks

- ‘Lexikalische, syntaktische und morphologische Faktoren der Komplementkontrolle des Koreanischen’, GGS, Tübingen, 8.5.2005
- ‘Imperatives and Control in Korean (and Japanese)’, Berlin, ZAS-Workshop on imperatives, 25.11.2005
- ‘The role of functional concepts in the classification of nouns and verbs’ DGfS-Jahrestagung Siegen, 1.3.2007 (with A. Ortmann)
- ‘Zu einer parallelen Klassifikation von Nomen und Verben’ Wuppertaler Linguistisches Forum, Bergische Universität Wuppertal, 10.5.2007 (with A. Ortmann)
- ‘Die Rolle von Funktionalbegriffen bei der Klassifikation von Nomen und Verben.’ Semantikzirkel des ZAS Berlin, 25.6.2007 (with A. Ortmann)
- ‘The role of functional concepts in the classification of nouns and verbs’. Internationale Konferenz ‘Concepts Types and Frames’ der Forschergruppe ‘Funktionalbegriffe und Frames’ (FFF 600), Düsseldorf, 20. - 22. August 2007 (with A. Ortmann)

A2

Further activities

Organization of the international conference ‘Functional Concepts and Frames’ of our research unit ‘Funktionalbegriffe und Frames’ (FFF 600), Düsseldorf, 20. - 22. August 2007 (together with A. Grabowski, Ch. Horn, A. Ortmann, M. Werning & St. Zaun)

Reviews of abstracts for conferences:

- for “Concepts Types and Frames”, conference of our FFF 600, Düsseldorf, 2007
- for 18th International Congress of Linguistics (CIL), Seoul, 2008

Brigitte Schwarze:

Publications

- Schwarze, B. (in press): Verbos dimensionales en el diccionario. In Azorín Fernández, D. et al. (Eds.) *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Lexicografía Hispánica. Alicante 19.-23. September 2006*, Alicante.
- Schwarze, B. (in press): Rezension zu: Jörn Albrecht – *Übersetzung und Linguistik* (Grundlagen der Übersetzungsforschung Band 2). Tübingen. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, 58.
- Gamerschlag, T. & Schwarze, B. (in prep.) Dimensional shift and dimensional reduction.

Talks

- ‘Verbos dimensionales en el diccionario’ II Congreso Internacional de Lexicografía Hispánica, Universidad de Alicante, 22.09.2006.
- ‘Möglichkeiten der Dimensionsangabe im Französischen und Deutschen’, Tag der Forschung 2006, HHU Düsseldorf, 05.11.2006 (with D. Gerland).
- ‘Stative Dimensional Verbs in French: Synchronic Variation and Historical Change’ International Conference ‘Concept Types and Frames in Language Cognition and Science’, Universität Düsseldorf, 21.08.2007.
- ‘Sprachvergleich und Übersetzung’ Jahrestagung 2007 der Gesellschaft für angewandte Linguistik (GAL), Universität Hildesheim, 26.09.2007.

Further activities

Reviews of abstracts for conferences:

- for “Concepts Types and Frames”, conference of our FFF 600, Düsseldorf, 2007
- for 18th International Congress of Linguistics (CIL), Seoul, 2008

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