

The Meaning of Particle / Prefix Constructions in German

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Table of contents

Preface

Part 1. Introduction and overview

CHAPTER 1: Particle / prefix constructions and the study of constructional meaning

1. Prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions
2. The particles and prefixes
3. The meaning of the constructions
4. Existing accounts of the constructions
5. How to identify the constructional meaning
 1. Subjective meaning
 2. Perspectival modes
 3. Demonstrating constructional meaning
6. Organization of the book

CHAPTER 2: Route-path expressions and other basic concepts

1. The individual route-path expressions
 1. *Über* and *unter*
 2. *Durch*
 3. *Um*
2. Extending FGs and fictive motion
3. Types of accusative object
4. Data on frequency of occurrence

Part 2. Particle verb constructions

CHAPTER 3: Intransitive particle verb constructions

1. *Hin-* and *her-*

2. Pleonastic PPs
3. DURCH- verbs for overcoming resistance
4. DURCH- verbs for continuous extent
5. ÜBER- verbs for overflowing
6. ÜBER- verbs for transition
7. UNTER- verbs for submerging
8. UNTER- verbs for finding shelter

CHAPTER 4: Particle verbs with accusative FGs

1. DURCH- verbs with accusative FGs
2. ÜBER- verbs with accusative FGs
3. UNTER- verbs with accusative FGs
4. Layer configurations as destinations
5. Lexicalized particle verbs with accusative FG and dative object
 1. Surreptitious planting
 2. Relative position in a hierarchy

CHAPTER 5: UM- verbs and reflexive-trajectors

1. Circular paths and HERUM-
2. UM- and turning
 1. Lateral turning in place
 2. Turning and changing direction of motion
 3. Vertical rotation “over” and toppling
3. Switching
 1. Re-routing: switching settings, courses, or vehicles
 2. Changing characteristic locations
 3. Convert to new form
4. Circulation in a space
5. DURCH- and interior disruption

CHAPTER 6: DURCH- verbs with accusative routes

1. 'Thoroughness'
 1. Paths extending as far as they can on an implicitly associated route
 2. General aspectual thoroughness
 3. Thoroughly permeating a space
2. Incremental themes
3. Materially unaffected incremental themes
 1. Temporal routes
 2. Linear examining paths

Part 3. Prefixed verb constructions

CHAPTER 7: Prefixed verbs and holistic paths

1. Geometric lines
2. Geometric images with moving FGs
3. Route-like LMs
 1. Temporal route-like LMs
 2. Holistic inspections
 3. Passing sensations
 4. Competitive surpassing
 5. Temporal surpassing
4. Getting past a focal obstacle
 1. Spatial paths
 2. Abstract holistic paths with focal obstacles
 1. Avoiding contact
 2. Overcoming and overwhelming
 3. Crossing a line
5. General characteristics of holistic path constructions

CHAPTER 8: Prefixed verbs and multi-directional paths

1. Spreading masses
 1. Spreading, scattering / pouring, immersing, permeating
 2. Transitional cases between multi-directional and linear directed images
 1. Flooding an area
 2. Multiplex / mass FGs with *um-*
 3. Metaphorical mass FGs
 1. Occasional metaphors based on general metaphorical principles
 2. Lexicalized metaphors
 1. Covering with attention
 2. Overlaying and competitive obscuring with *über-*
 3. Surrounding an object of interest with *um-*
2. Multiplex of linear paths with *durch-*
 1. Interspersing
 1. Contrasting *be-* verbs
 2. Penetrating vision
 2. Meandering paths
 1. Meandering tours
 2. Interweaving
3. ‘Undermining’ *unter-* paths
4. How multi-directional path images develop from linear path images
 1. Multi-directional paths as a multiplex of linear paths
 2. Multi-directional paths as planar extensions of linear-extending paths

CHAPTER 9: Prefixed verb constructions with an implicit LM

1. Abstract transfers with *über-*
2. “Sub-” verbs and “inter-” verbs with *unter-*

1. Support and undertake
2. Suppress, subject (to)
3. Subordinate
4. Abstract visits
 1. Allege
 2. Intransitive unwanted visits
5. “Inter-” verbs
 1. Intervene
 2. Make distinctions
 3. Intersocial support
3. Overdoing / underdoing
 1. Going past a norm on a scale
 2. Exceeding capacity
 3. Reflexive exceeding capacity
 4. Constraints on the use of scalar *über-* verbs
 5. Stressed but inseparable *über-* and *unter-*

Part 4. Comparisons and conclusions

CHAPTER 10: Contrasting *über-* and *ÜBER-* (and *unter-* and *UNTER-*)

1. *ÜBER-* vs. *über-*
 1. Spatial *ÜBER-* transfers and lexicalized *über-* transfers
 2. *ÜBERführen* vs. *überführen*
 3. *ÜBERSiedeln* vs. *übersiedeln*
2. *UNTER-* vs. *unter-*
 1. *UNTERSchieben* vs. *unterschieben*
 2. *UNTERkommen* vs. *unterlaufen*
3. Summary

CHAPTER 11: Contrasting *durch-* and *DURCH-*

1. Multi-directional *durch-* paths vs. DURCH- paths with incremental themes
 1. Spreading masses
 2. Inspection tours
2. Incremental themes vs. route-like LMs
 1. Reading through texts
 2. Spatial and temporal accusatives
 3. Situations and processes
3. “Break” verbs
 1. Base verbs like *brechen* and *trennen*
 2. The role of larger functional contexts
 3. Arbitrary choices

CHAPTER 12: The meaning of the constructions

1. Transitivity
2. Lexicalization
3. Stylistic tendencies
4. The nature of the FG
 1. The FG in particle verb constructions
 2. The FG in prefixed verb constructions
5. The nature of the setting for the path
 1. The setting in particle verb constructions
 2. The setting in prefixed verb constructions
6. Aspect
7. Concentrated attention vs. distributed attention
 1. Particle verbs: Attention concentrated on parts of the path
 2. Prefixed verbs: Attention distributed to include the whole path as part of a larger setting
8. Sequential vs. synoptic mode
9. Postscript: Route paths and other prefixes

1. Route paths vs. goal and source paths
2. Can other prefixed verbs prompt a synoptic construal?

References

Index of subjects and names

Index of verbs

Preface

The German language certainly presents learners with difficulties. For beginning students, those difficulties are clear enough: “*der, die, das*”, and to some extent word order. At more advanced levels, however, the difficulties become more subtle, and they have less to do with following grammatical rules and more to do with expressing meanings. After spending much of my adult life trying to master German, and trying to help students master it, I am increasingly convinced that the main hurdle to truly speaking the language well is its system of verb constructions. German speakers combine verbs with inseparable prefixes and separable particles and prepositional phrases to make systematic semantic distinctions that are not at all apparent to speakers of other languages (such as English). This book is an attempt to make those subtle systematic meanings more apparent.

A book that focuses on the meaning of grammatical constructions would scarcely have been possible twenty years ago. Thanks largely to the pioneering work of cognitive linguists such as Ronald Langacker and Leonard Talmy, it is again respectable to think of grammatical constructions as meaningful communicative choices and not just as purely formal syntactic processes. I am indebted to them and to many other linguists who have followed them. I am also indebted to the editors of the series on Human

Cognitive Processing for their support of books like this one, and for their careful attention throughout the process of preparing the book for publication.

PART 1

Introduction and overview

CHAPTER 1

Particle / prefix constructions and the study of constructional meaning

This book has two main purposes. One is traditional, namely a thorough descriptive survey of German verb constructions in which the expressions *durch* ('through'), *über* ('over'), *unter* ('under'), and *um* ('around') occur either as inseparable verb prefixes or as separable verb particles. This survey is designed in part as a reference resource for students, teachers, and linguists, and it is based on an extensive set of actual examples collected from the Internet.

The other, more innovative purpose of the book is to propose that the prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions have meaning in themselves, and that this meaning can be articulated in a way that reveals basic underlying semantic patterns in the German verb system. The particle / prefixes *durch*, *über*, *unter*, and *um* are uniquely suited to this kind of study because they can occur generally either as prefixes or as particles – allowing us to focus more directly on the semantics of the grammatical constructions themselves. In order to study this kind of constructional meaning we will need to develop some new ideas about “meaning”, and about how such meaning can be identified.

1. Prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions

One of the more notable characteristics of the German language is its ability to combine base verbs systematically with either separable particles, like *auf-* or *ab-* or *ein-*, or inseparable prefixes, such as *be-* or *ver-* or *ent-*. Frequently, the resulting verbs express subtle semantic distinctions that can be difficult for learners of German to appreciate and difficult to capture in an English translation. In fact, even native speakers are sometimes unsure which verb construction is more appropriate or “correct” in a given situation.

The closed set of productive verb prefixes includes *be-*, *ent-*, *er-*, *ver-*, and *zer-*.¹ As illustrated in (1), prefixes are always phonologically unstressed and attached at the front of the base verb. In past participles they replace the prefix *ge-* that is used with unprefixes verbs (as in (1c)), and in infinitive constructions with *zu* they follow *zu* (as in (1d)).

- (1) a. Mein Firefox *verbraucht* mehr RAM als deiner!
 ‘My Firefox uses [*ver-*uses, consumes] more RAM than yours’
 b. Deswegen sollte man sie an heißen Tagen mit Wasser *bespritzen*.
 ‘That’s why one should spray [*be-*spray] them with water on hot days’
 c. Haben die Wikinger also das Land *entdeckt*, das 500 Jahre später
 Amerika heißen sollte?

¹ *Emp-* is a variation on *ent-* that occurs in lexicalized verbs, mainly before base verbs beginning with *f*, and is no longer productive. *Ge-* and *miss-* also occur occasionally as inseparable prefixes, but they are not productive. The borrowed prefixes *re-* and *de-* are as well not systematically productive.

‘Did the Vikings *discover* [*ent-*cover] the land that was to be called America 500 years later’

d. NRE ist telefonisch nicht *zu erreichen*!

‘NRE cannot be reached [*er-*reached] by telephone’

Typical verb particles include *ab-*, *an-*, *auf-*, *aus-*, *bei-*, *ein-*, *mit-*, *nach-*, *vor-*, and *zu-*.² They are always phonologically stressed, and in main clauses they are syntactically separated from the base verb – typically occurring in final position in the clause (as in the second half of (2a)).³ They occur directly attached to the front of the base verb only in the simple infinitive (as in the first half of (2a)), or in subordinate clauses when the base verb is placed in final clause position (as in (2b)). In past participles they precede *ge-* (as in (2c)), and in infinitive constructions with *zu* they precede *zu* (as in (2d)). The most typical particles (including *an*, *auf*, *aus*, *bei*, *mit*, *nach*, *vor*, and *zu*) also occur as prepositions.⁴

² A variety of other lexemes also occur as particles, including *zusammen*, *zurück*, *nieder*, *fort*, *weiter*, *weg*, *los*, and the deictic expressions *hin-* and *her-*.

³ Hence Mark Twain’s (1880: Appendix D) assessment in “The awful German language”:

The Germans have another kind of parenthesis, which they make by splitting a verb in two and putting half of it at the beginning of an exciting chapter and the other half at the end of it. Can any one conceive of anything more confusing than that? These things are called ‘separable verbs’. The German grammar is blistered all over with separable verbs; and the wider the two portions of one of them are spread apart, the better the author of the crime is pleased with his performance.

⁴ Additionally, *ein-* is clearly the particle counterpart to the preposition *in*, and *ab-* is the counterpart to *von*. A few other relatively productive particles are not related to

- (2) a. Möchtest du *mitkommen*? -- Na klar, ich *komme* gern *mit*.
 ‘Would you like to *come along*? -- Of course I’ll gladly *come along*’
- b. Ich bin jedem sehr dankbar, der *mithilft* und meinen Fragebogen *ausfüllt*.
 ‘I’ll be very grateful to everyone who *helps* [along with others] and *fills out* my questionnaire’
- c. Vorschläge können noch bis Ende Juli *eingereicht* werden
 ‘Suggestions can still be submitted [*handed in*] until the end of July’
- d. Für alle die es hassen früh *aufzustehen*!!!
 ‘For all who hate to *get up* early’

2. The particle / prefixes

This book focuses particularly on a special set of expressions that can be used either as prepositions, or as separable particles, or as inseparable prefixes, namely *über* (‘over’), *unter* (‘under’), *um* (‘around’), and *durch* (‘through’). (There are a few other expressions that occasionally appear both as prefixes and as particles, including *hinter-*, *wider-* / *wieder-*, and *voll-*, but they now occur in only a handful of lexicalized verbs and do not reflect productive patterns.) These expressions can thus appear in any of three different grammatical constructions, as illustrated in (3)–(6). The (a) variants have

prepositions (e.g. *zusammen*, *zurück*, *los*, *entgegen*), but most other parts of speech are not used that way productively.

simple verbs with prepositional phrases (PPs), the (b) variants have particle verbs, and the (c) variants have prefixed verbs.

- (3) a. Die Erde läuft *um die Sonne*.
 ‘The earth goes *around the sun*’
- b. Er ist sofort *umgekehrt* und hat den Hund schnell nach Hause gebracht.
 ‘He *turned around* immediately and quickly brought the dog home’
- c. Die Erde *umläuft* die Sonne in einem Jahr.
 ‘The earth *orbits* [*um-* goes] the sun in a year’
- (4) a. Man geht *durch die Tür* in die Toilette.
 ‘One goes *through the door* to the toilet’
- b. Es hat bei extremen Witterungen öfter schon mal *durchgeregnet*.
 ‘It has already *rained through* several times during extreme thunderstorms’
- c. Ich habe fast ganz Deutschland *durchwandert*, ich kann aber nirgends Ruhe finden.
 ‘I’ve *wandered through* [*durch-* wandered] almost all of Germany, but nowhere can I find peace’
- (5) a. Am Tag darauf sind wir mit dem Bus *über die Brücke* gefahren
 ‘On the next day we drove *over the bridge* by bus’
- b. Aber keine Angst ich bin jetzt nicht zum Feind *übergetreten*.
 ‘But don’t worry, I haven’t *gone over* to the enemy’
- c. Die ursprünglich nackten Betonwände waren mit buntem Graffiti *übermalt*.
 ‘The originally bare concrete walls had been covered [*painted over, über-* painted] with colorful graffiti’
- (6) a. Hole die Zeitung von George und schiebe sie *unter die Tür*.
 ‘Go get George’s newspaper and shove it *under the door*’

- b. Wann ist die Titanic *untergegangen*?
‘When did the Titanic sink [*go under*]’
- c. Welche Art von Reisen haben Sie im Jahr 2008 *unternommen*?
‘What sort of trips did you *undertake* in 2008’

German spelling does not clearly differentiate particle verbs from prefixed verbs in the plain infinitive or in several other syntactic positions, even though spoken German would differentiate the two forms by stress. Throughout this book the stressed particles appear in capital letters (ÜBER-, UNTER-, UM-, DURCH-) and the unstressed prefixes in lower case (*über-*, *unter-*, *um-*, *durch-*).

The German particle verbs are similar to English phrasal verbs (e.g. *think over*, *go under*, *wander around*, *muddle through*). English verb prefixes are mostly Latinate forms such as *trans-* or *sub-* or *circum-*. *Over* and *under* still occasionally occur as prefixes (e.g. *overlook*, *undertake*), but apart from their general use for inappropriate extent (e.g. *overdo*, *underestimate*) they do not occur systematically the way their counterparts do in German. Broadly speaking, German tends to express semantic nuances by adding prefixes or particles to a base verb, while English prefers to use a different lexical verb altogether (see Hawkins 1985: 21–35). The goal of this book is to determine what systematic nuances these German verb constructions can express.

3. The meaning of the constructions

Constructions like those in (3)–(6) are especially interesting because the path expressions themselves, *durch*, *über*, *um*, and *unter*, seem to mean essentially the same thing whether they are used as prepositions, as particles, or as prefixes. The base verbs also seem to retain the same basic meaning in each type of grammatical construction. That means that whatever semantic differences there are between these sentence types are expressed largely by the grammatical verb constructions themselves. Speakers are choosing to describe an event either with a plain base verb, a base verb combined with a particle, or a base verb combined with a prefix, along with some accompanying syntactic differences that complete the grammatical constructions. It is fair to say for example that (3a) and (3c) describe the same basic type of objective event (a circular path around something), using the same basic lexemes (*laufen*, *um*, *Erde*, *Sonne*). The contrasting verb constructions themselves invite us to “look at” that path in subtly different ways.

We can even collect whole sets of attested contrasting sentences like those in (7)–(10), in which the same base verb occurs with the same path expression appearing as a preposition in the (a) variant, a particle in the (b) variant, or a prefix in the (c) variant. Such contrasting examples provide us with a unique opportunity to study semantic differences that can be traced to the grammatical constructions themselves.

- (7) a. Der Hund lernt parallel dazu, *durch den Reifen zu springen*.

- ‘Parallel to that the dog learns to *jump through the tire*’
- b. Aber zum Schluss ist er schon (durch den niederen Reifen) *durchgesprungen*.
‘But in the end he has already *jumped through* (through the lower tire)’
- c. Der Hund hat *den Reifen zu durchspringen*.
‘The dog is to *jump through* [*durch-* jump] *the tire*’
- (8) a. Deswegen ist es sehr wichtig, vor Beginn auszuprobieren, ob der Hund besser bei einer Rechtswende ist, oder doch lieber links *um die Hürde* zurück *läuft*.
‘That’s why it’s very important to find out before the start whether the dog does better with a right turn or by *running* back to the left *around the hurdle*’
- b. Trotzdem begannen seltsame Gerüchte *umzulaufen*.
‘Nevertheless, curious rumors began to *circulate* [run around]’
- c. Sollte er versuchen, *die Hürde zu umlaufen*, muss er unbedingt abfangen und nochmals durch Mitlaufen zum Sprung animiert werden.
‘If he tries *to go around* [*um-* run] *the hurdle* it is imperative to catch him in the act and motivate him to jump by running along beside him’
- (9) a. Sie durften ja nicht *über die Grenze treten*.
‘They were not allowed to *step over the border*’
- b. Zu Bundeswehr Fahnenflüchtigen kann ich nur soviel beitragen, in den fünfziger Jahren sind zwei Offz. nach Ostberlin *übergetreten*.
‘With respect to deserters from the West German army I can only report that two officers *crossed over* to East Berlin in the 1950s’
- c. Einige hundert Menschen fanden den Tod, als sie versuchten, *die DDR-Grenze* „illegal“ zu *übertreten*.
‘A hundred or so people found their deaths as they tried *to cross* [*über-* step] *the GDR border* “illegally”’
- (10) a. *Legen* Sie ein weiches, sauberes Tuch *unter den Monitor*.

‘Lay a soft clean cloth *under the monitor*’

- b. Beim Verrücken von Möbeln sollte ein weiches Tuch *untergelegt* werden.

‘When furniture is being moved a soft cloth should be *placed underneath*’

- c. Die Innenseite der Ösen wird zusätzlich noch mit einem breiteren Ring *unterlegt*, um das Ausreißen aus dem Stoff zu verhindern.

‘The inner side of the eyelets is additionally *reinforced* [underlaid] by a broader ring to prevent them from being torn out of the material’

Speakers of German develop a “feel” for the use of these constructions. They know for example that a prefixed verb would be inappropriate in a sentence like (3b) and a particle verb would be inappropriate for the meaning expressed in (3c). They can even on occasion coin new particle verbs or new prefixed verbs that conform to those patterns and express a new thought, and they can confidently expect other speakers to understand that novel thought. Apparently, learning to speak German involves a gradual process of acquiring that feel, i.e., of learning to associate the grammatical patterns with patterns of semantic interpretation. At some largely unconscious level, speakers have a vague sense of what it means to select a prefixed verb construction or a particle verb construction (or a construction with a simple verb).

I propose in this book to investigate what that “feel” involves. The goal is not just to identify what the particular prefix *um-* contributes to the meaning of a sentence like (3c), or what the particular compound verb *umlaufen*

contributes. The goal is to answer the much more general question of what the prefixed verb construction itself contributes to the meaning of the sentence.

4. Existing accounts of the constructions

Identifying the meaning of the constructions themselves is an ambitious goal, one that prior studies have rarely addressed seriously. The reference grammars (e.g. the Duden *Grammatik*, Curme 1922, Weinrich 1993, Zifonun et al. 1997) treat the differences between prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions largely as a purely formal matter, focusing on issues such as phonological stress and syntactic separability. With respect to grammatical function, they point out that prefixed verb constructions frequently convert an intransitive base verb into a transitive compound verb – as reflected in nearly all of the examples above when an intransitive simple verb with a PP in the (a) variant alternates with a transitive prefixed construction in the (c) variant. The grammars also observe that prefixes facilitate the derivation of a denominal or deadjectival verb.

These observations are of course basic and important, but focusing exclusively on the formal aspects of the constructions can leave some important semantic distinctions unaddressed. For example, when we look carefully at the link between prefixed verbs and transitivity we find that not all accusative objects are alike. Recognizing more precise functional types of

accusative object is in fact a crucial step in identifying the functional differences between prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions. After all, particle verb constructions can also take accusative objects, and they can even convert an intransitive base to a transitive compound (e.g. *die Zeitung DURCHblättern* ‘leaf through the newspaper’). If we hope to find deeper functional differences between the constructions, we need to be much more precise in specifying the types of accusative objects.⁵

To the extent that the reference works comment on the communicative functions of the constructions, their comments rarely apply generally to the prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions themselves. They usually restrict their attention to specific prefixes or particles (e.g. *um-* verbs), treating the topic as an essentially lexical matter rather than one in which the grammatical construction itself has a function. A few handbooks do suggest broad functional tendencies, such as a tendency for prefixed verbs to be more lexicalized as stored vocabulary items, while the particle verb patterns are typically more productive. Some even venture a principle that is expressed this way by Curme (1922: 324): “In the separable compounds each element usually has its full literal meaning, while the inseparable compounds have an altered or figurative meaning”. This association of prefixed verbs with

⁵ Some syntactic accounts do relate the accusative object in a sentence like (3c) to the object of the PP in (3a), typically proposing an “argument shift” operation of some sort. That approach implies a distinct type of accusative object and is consistent with the semantic evidence in this book.

“figurative” (abstract, nonspatial) meaning and particle verbs with more “literal” (concrete, spatial) meaning is often noted in pedagogical grammars (e.g. Helbig and Buscha 2001), and it does represent an attempt to characterize the constructions themselves semantically. Unfortunately, as it is stated it is at best a very rough tendency that has too many counterexamples.⁶ Once again, there is a need for a much more precise formulation that captures the essence of the observed tendency.

Generally speaking, all further discussion in the literature about the meaning of prefixed verbs or particle verbs is restricted to individual prefixes and particles, without considering the issue of whether there is an underlying meaning that is conveyed by the grammatical constructions themselves. In fact, most of the detailed studies even lump particle verbs and prefixed verbs together, without acknowledging any systematic semantic difference at all between the constructions themselves. See for example Kühnhold’s (1973) thorough study classifying verbs with all four of our particle / prefixes into semantic types, as well as Mungan (1986) for *durch* and *über*, and Kjellman (1945) for *durch*. These studies provide a wealth of data about the use of individual particle and prefixed verbs, but they make no attempt to find

⁶ Helbig and Buscha (1986: 224–225) note that *durch*- and *über*- exhibit numerous (“zahlreiche”) exceptions to the literal-figurative rule, and then add that *um*- involves a different semantic distinction altogether. To this I can only add that *unter*- also often strains the literal-figurative principle.

systematic underlying patterns that might contribute to a speaker's sense of the meaning of the constructions themselves.

The only extensive study that does try to characterize systematic functional differences between prefixed verbs and particle verbs is Eroms (1982), and he considers only *durch* and *um* in detail. In addition to the effects of transitivity, Eroms (1982: 39) characterizes the difference between prefixed *durch-* verbs and particle DURCH- verbs mainly in terms of stylistic factors and the types of texts that the constructions typically occur in (“funktionalstilistische und textsortenspezifische Gebrauchsweisen”). For example, the prefixed *durch-* verbs are especially prone to occur in technical texts and as passive or attributive past participles (Eroms 1982: 40). He concludes that prefixed *durch-* verbs tend to be marked, both stylistically and aspectually, in comparison with particle DURCH- verbs (which in turn are marked relative to simple verbs). He adds (1982: 49) that *über* and *unter* are more difficult to analyze adequately and that the difference between concrete and abstract meanings does play a significant role in their case. As for UM- and *um-*, they are systematically more distinct semantically and so are not generally associated with stylistic marking – although even *um-* verbs can have stylistically marked overtones (Eroms 1982: 48). These are all valuable insights, and the account proposed in this book needs to incorporate them.

Eroms (1982) also joins several other scholars (including Brugmann 1895: 81, Curme 1922: 328, Erben 1968: 75, Kühnhold 1973: 323, and Weinrich 1993: 1069) in relating the difference between *durch-* and DURCH-

to aspectual effects. According to this line of thought, the prefixed *durch-* verb constructions tend to have intensified perfective (terminative, resultative) force. That is another significant insight, one that is intimately related to the meaning of the constructions themselves. Unfortunately, the precise aspectual distinction between the constructions is not at all clear, particularly since particle DURCH- verbs also convey perfective aspect. As is the case with the various types of accusative object and the distinction between “literal” and “figurative”, the relevant characterizations of aspect need to be made in much more precise terms. And if we are going to trace the aspectual effects to the grammatical constructions themselves, we need to extend the analysis to all of the particle / prefixes and not just *durch*. We return to the topic especially in chapter 11 and in the concluding discussion in chapter 12.

Otherwise, the reference sources have nothing to say about the meaning of the prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions themselves, i.e., about what constitutes the vague “feel” that native speakers acquire that tells them when to use one and when the other. For the most part, the reference grammars treat the choice of a prefixed verb construction rather than a particle verb construction essentially as a matter of individual verb vocabulary, referring their readers to dictionaries. And the dictionary entries for compound verbs frequently offer little or no help in contrasting the alternative forms. Someone who is unsure whether to use, say, *DURCHschneiden* or *durchschneiden*, or *ÜBERSiedeln* or *übersiedeln*, will not get much help from the dictionaries – even expanded ones such as the

Duden *Richtiges und gutes Deutsch* or Schröder's (1992) *Lexikon der deutschen Präfixverben*.

5. How to identify the constructional meaning

It is the wager of this book that we can do a better job of identifying the kind of schematic meaning that is conveyed by the grammatical constructions themselves, i.e., of articulating in reasonably precise terms the largely unconscious “feel” that speakers develop about when to use prefixes and when to use particles. Certainly there are benefits if we can succeed. For one thing, we will be able to offer much better guidance to learners of German who are trying to acquire a native speaker's feel for the constructions. We will also be able to help native speakers assess the stylistic implications of their choices, giving them a more sophisticated conscious basis for deciding between, say, *durchblättern* and *DURCHblättern*. More generally, a better understanding of constructional meaning can contribute significantly to our basic understanding of how the German verb system works. We will also have learned something about constructional meaning in general, and about how linguists can go about studying it. Finally, if we can identify the cognitive processes that accompany such basic verb constructions we will have taken an important step toward understanding what is going on when human beings use language to communicate and to think.

Of course there are good reasons why linguists have so far tended to avoid the issue of constructional meaning, despite the many potential benefits. The difficulties seem insurmountable.

To begin with, the evidence seems overwhelming. When we collect all the ways that speakers actually use verbs with particle ÜBER-, UNTER-, UM-, or DURCH-, and with prefix *über-*, *unter-*, *um-*, or *durch-*, we find very little obvious order. Linguists such as Kühnhold, Eroms, and Mungan have done an impressive job of collecting and organizing the evidence, but their results do not really reveal much underlying regularity. Each of the four expressions is different from the other three in important ways, and each type of construction has uses that are not obviously related to the others. The verbs occur in a range of different grammatical forms and contexts. The verbs also vary greatly on scales such as how lexicalized they are (the extent to which they are selected as whole vocabulary units as opposed to productive combinations of prefix / particle and base verb). It is certainly a challenge to find underlying semantic order in this bewildering set of data, especially if we want to look for a highly abstract and unified underlying meaning conveyed by the constructions themselves.

Another daunting issue is how to separate the semantic contribution of the grammatical construction itself from the more specific contributions of its lower-level components. If we look at a specific instance such as sentence (3c), *Die Erde umläuft die Sonne in einem Jahr* ('The earth *orbits* [*um-* goes] the sun in a year'), we are struck primarily by the meaning of the particular compound verb *umlaufen*, or the meanings of *um-* and *laufen*, not to mention

the meaning of *Erde* and *Sonne*, the particular context, and so on. Even if we assume that the grammatical construction itself does make its own semantic contribution, that contribution seems hopelessly intertwined with the meaning of the individual lexemes, and it is difficult to imagine how it could ever be isolated from them.

Finally, the most basic difficulty of all is that there is no accepted notion of what kind of “meaning” we are looking for. It is not even clear to everyone that there is any such thing as “the meaning” of grammatical constructions such as these, and if there is, then the meaning seems so vague and unconscious that it would be impossible to identify it precisely enough for a meaningful discussion. We have a fairly clear idea of what *um-* and *laufen* and *umlaufen* can mean, and of how to identify those meanings. We have no comparable idea of what the more abstract grammatical construction itself might possibly mean.

One thing at least does seem clear: Any meaning that the grammatical constructions themselves might possibly have will be very abstract, much more abstract than the meanings of their component parts. If we are going to understand the meaning of a construction such as the prefixed verb construction in (3c), then we need a new conception of meaning that is more appropriate to the schematic nature of grammatical constructions.

5.1 Subjective meaning

In particular, we cannot look mainly at the objective aspects of meaning, i.e., at what kinds of real events and situations the constructions describe. After all, *Die Erde läuft um die Sonne* and *Die Erde umläuft die Sonne in einem Jahr* can both describe essentially the same objective circular path. The objective information is contributed by the lower-level lexical components. If the prefixed verb construction itself contributes anything to the meaning of (3c), then its meaning will have more to do with how the sentence prompts us to “look at” or *construe* the objective events.

A basic premise of this book is that we need to concentrate on the abstract and vaguely “subjective” aspects of meaning if we are ever going to understand the communicative function of grammatical constructions. In particular, we will find that the key to understanding particle verb constructions and prefixed verb constructions is to look carefully at how the constructions prompt us to distribute our focal attention as we imagine the objective events being described. To understand the meaning of the prefixed verb construction in (3c), for example, we need to entertain questions such as these: Do we concentrate our focal attention narrowly on the moving figure (the earth), like a tracking shot in a motion picture? Or do we distribute our attention more evenly over the whole scene and the whole event? Do we imagine the path as a sequence of particular individual moments, or do we think of the path more as a shaped whole without salient internal parts? These are not questions that most people, including linguists, are in the habit of asking; but I will ask readers to look especially at such issues throughout the

book. Fortunately, cognitive semantics provides us with a framework that allows us to talk about such “subjective” meaning in precise and meaningful ways.

5.2 Perspectival modes

In particular, this book relates the meaning of prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions to bundles of construal processes that have been identified by Leonard Talmy (2000a: 68–76) as *perspectival modes*. Since these concepts may be new to many readers, I introduce them now in some detail. The purpose at this point is to give readers a clearer sense of the kind of meaning that we will be looking for during the exposition of the detailed evidence.

The notion of perspectival modes is intuitive and obviously grounded in perception and cognition generally. Like nearly all important concepts in cognitive semantics, it presumes a basic role for conceptual perspective.⁷ For Talmy (2000a: 68–76), there is a schematic system that “establishes a conceptual perspective point from which the entity is cognitively regarded”. The perspectival system includes parameters for conceptual vantage

⁷ Compare Langacker’s (1987: 122–124) “viewpoint”, which refers to the vantage point and orientation (alignment with respect to the axes of the visual field) that a conceptualizer adopts with respect to the objective scene. It is a variable that can be adjusted in structuring any construal (see the discussion of construal transformations in Langacker 1987: 138).

(“perspectival location” and “perspectival distance”, as well as the related global or local “scope of attention”), and crucially also for whether the perspective point is stationary or moving (“perspectival motility”). Put crudely, this is the conceptual correlate to where you stand when you look at something, whether you are upright, which direction you are looking in (and how your attention is focused), and whether you (and more particularly your head and eyes) are holding still or moving.

Talmy (2000a: 70) observes that perspectival motility tends to align in particular ways with perspectival distance and scope of attention to form two main perspectival modes. The *synoptic perspectival mode* is characterized by “the adoption of a stationary distal perspective point with global scope of attention”. The *sequential perspectival mode* is characterized by “the adoption of a moving proximal perspective point with local scope of attention”.⁸ These notions are basic and intuitive if we think in detail about cognitive processes, but they do require some explication.

Talmy particularly associates the synoptic perspectival mode with locational expressions such as *between* (2000a: 269) or *There are some houses in the valley* (2000a: 71). The scene being described is objectively static and

⁸ Talmy (2000a: 76–88) also distinguishes factors in the distribution of attention. Strength of attention can range on a scale of salience or prominence from relatively foregrounded to relatively backgrounded. There are also patterns of attention, including center-periphery, windowing, and distributing according to levels of organization in a scene (e.g. componential level vs. gestalt level). Finally, various patterns of attention can be mapped onto the same objective scenes.

lends itself naturally to being construed synoptically from a stationary perspective far enough away to include the whole scene in a single frame. Such static scenes can also be coded for sequential mode though. An expression such as *across the street from the bakery* “specifies a moving proximal perspective point with local scope of attention on elements of the schema taken in sequence” (2000a: 269). That is, there is fictive conceptual motion going from the landmark bakery across the street to the location where the figure can be found. Similarly, an expression such as *There is a house every now and then through the valley* “sequentializes“ an objectively static scene. “In effect, a static multiplexity of objects has been converted into a sequential multiplexity of events consisting of conceptualized encounters with each of the objects in turn” (2000a: 71). The conceptualizer is prompted to imagine actually moving through the valley and encountering houses on the way. In so doing it is natural to imagine each individual house in turn, close up and focally prominent at the center of our conceptual frame.⁹

Just as it is possible to sequentialize an objectively static scene, it is also possible to “synoptinize“ an objective sequence of events. For example, the events formulated sequentially as *I took an aspirin time after time during /*

⁹ Another example used by Talmy is *All the soldiers in the circle differed greatly from each other* as opposed to *Each soldier around the circle differed greatly from the last / next*. At times a formulation with a moving perspective point can be more colloquial even for a static scene. Thus *The wells get deeper the further down the road they are* is stylistically less stilted than *The wells’ depths form a gradient that correlates with their locations on the road* (2000a: 72).

in the course of the last hour can also be formulated synoptically as *I have taken a number of aspirins in the last hour* (2000a: 72). “The conceptual effect is that the entirety of the sequence is regarded together simultaneously for an integrated or summational assessment, as if the sense of progression that is associated with the temporal dimension were converted into a static presence” (2000a: 72). We can imagine individual occurrences in sequence, each from a relatively proximal vantage, focusing fairly exclusively on that particular occurrence before conceptually moving on to the next occurrence in the sequence (the way the occurrences would actually be experienced in time). Or we can adopt a more distant vantage that includes all of the occurrences simultaneously, summary scanned, as if they were points distributed visibly on a metaphorical time line.¹⁰

A construal in sequential mode is in effect a simulated conceptual “tour” of the setting, reminiscent of what Taylor and Tversky (1996: 375–376) call a “route tour”. A synoptic construal is more like a “gaze tour” (Ullmer-Ehrich 1982) in which the conceptualizer adopts a “survey viewpoint, similar to a map”, “scanning an environment from a single viewpoint” (Taylor and Tversky 1996: 376).

Interpreting a path in sequential mode is similar to a tracking shot in a film. The camera zooms in to concentrate attention on the moving figure, in

¹⁰ See Dewell (2007b) for a discussion that applies perspectival modes to our conception of the temporal domain itself, yielding a more coherent explanation of “moving time” and “moving ego”.

relative close-up, and holds it steadily at the focal center of the frame as it follows it through a sequence of changing locations. The camera moves together with the figure, adopting “a moving proximal perspective point with local scope of attention”.¹¹

Interpreting a path in synoptic mode would correspond to a path filmed by a stationary camera that is positioned far enough away to include the whole path in a single frame, i.e., adopting “a stationary distal perspective point with global scope of attention”. When there is a moving whole figure, that way of filming the scene is not very common. A director might on occasion take an extreme long shot of a cowboy riding across a large plain, and a synoptic shot might also be appropriate if the cowboy jumps across a ravine to flee an enemy, but tracking shots are generally much more common. After all, we are naturally drawn to zoom in perceptually and concentrate attention on a moving figure. Synoptic mode becomes considerably more inviting though if the figure is not a single entity moving as a whole. Imagine, say, a band of Indians surrounding a wagon train, or a group of cowboys and Indians simultaneously engaged in hand-to-hand fighting in a chaotic overall scene. It might also be

¹¹ What is moving on the screen is thus not the figure but the objects in the background. The figure is held steadily in focus at the center of the frame, and we know that it is “actually” moving because the background appears to be moving relative to it. We know that it is really the figure that is moving relative to a stationary background, and not the other way around, because we know that the camera is moving in order to keep track of it.

an appropriate way to film a gunfight between two cowboys, so that both would remain in view at the same time.

In much the same way, the default mode in German for construing a path is sequential. The evidence in this book shows that this is the construal invited either by a simple verb with a PP or by a particle verb construction. A synoptic perspectival mode for construing a path, on the other hand, is marked and more restricted in its usefulness. The evidence supports the claim that synoptic perspectival mode is consistently prompted by a prefixed verb construction. It is premature at this point to talk about conclusions that can only be based on a whole book's worth of comprehensive and detailed evidence, but in order to give the reader a sense of where the discussion is headed the hypotheses can be stated this way:

Hypotheses

- Particle verb constructions consistently prompt us to concentrate our focal attention on particular parts of a path, most typically on a moving figure or a salient part of a moving figure, and they thus portray the path as a temporal sequence of particular locations (such as the beginning and end). They call for an interpretation in sequential perspectival mode.
- Prefixed verb constructions consistently prompt us to distribute focal attention more evenly over the whole scene and the whole

path. They call for an interpretation in synoptic perspectival mode.

5.3 Demonstrating constructional meaning

One problem with positing subjective construal processes such as perspectival modes as the meaning of a grammatical construction is that this kind of meaning is more difficult to prove than normal lexical meaning would be. It does not lend itself to the usual accepted types of argumentation, which is a major reason why linguists tend to avoid the whole topic of constructional meaning. Many skeptical readers will no doubt read the hypotheses stated above and find them too subjective to be demonstrated in a scientific way. After all, in a particular case such as (3c) we could imagine any number of alternative construal patterns that might seem plausible, and there is no obvious basis for claiming that one is more accurate than the others.

Certainly skeptics are correct to say that the case cannot be based on introspection, which is notoriously unreliable. Construal processes are by definition subjective, they seem to vary freely as we try to make sense out of a sentence, and they typically do not even reach our conscious awareness. We are also not in the habit of distinguishing the semantic contribution of the grammatical construction itself from the contribution of its more particular components, and we are much more consciously aware of choosing individual lexemes than we are of choosing a grammatical pattern. Introspection in fact

leads some to conclude that there is no such thing as the meaning of a grammatical construction.

It is possible to find valid arguments to support a link between subjective construal patterns and grammatical constructions, but the reasoning is necessarily more indirect and inferential than linguists tend to prefer. To begin with, in order to separate the meaning of the verb construction itself from the meaning of its component lexemes we need to take an indirect approach. We have to find a reliable way to factor out the semantic contributions of the particular prefix (e.g. *um-* in (3c)), the particular base verb (*laufen*), the particular compound verb (*umlaufen*), as well as the other particular elements in the sentence (*Erde, Sonne*, etc), and we can never do that as long as we are looking at only a single particular instance – even a typical one such as (3c). The only way to proceed is to extend the analysis to include the whole range of constructions, with the whole range of particular prefixes, particles, base verbs, and usage types. If we can identify any semantic patterns that recur in *all* of the superficially very different cases, no matter which particular prefix or particle is used, then we can reasonably attribute those patterns to the abstract contribution of the construction itself.

So the basic approach needs to be global in scope, drawing on the whole set of usage types with all particles or prefixes. Any given particular instance has to be consistent with the constructional meaning, and some may reflect it in especially typical and revealing ways, but no single usage type can directly reveal that meaning in anything like its schematic form.

The second issue, then, is to find empirical evidence that constrains the possible accounts, i.e., that is compatible with some construal processes but not with others. It turns out, perhaps surprisingly, that several kinds of evidence can strongly imply certain recurring patterns of distributing focal attention.

To begin with, we can consistently make fairly uncontroversial descriptive observations about which elements in any particular usage type attract relative focal attention. For example, it seems reasonable to say that the sun is more focally prominent as the direct object of the verb in (3c) than it is as the object of a preposition in (3a). And if the reference landmark (the sun) attracts relatively more focal attention, it seems reasonable to infer that the moving figure (the earth) receives slightly less focal attention, so that the prefixed verb construction prompts us to distribute attention slightly more evenly over the whole scene. With particle verb constructions such as (3b) on the other hand, the reference landmark for the path is not explicitly mentioned at all. In that case it presumably attracts considerably less focal attention – encouraging us to concentrate our attention more exclusively on the moving figure. We will gradually be able to compile a long list of such particular observations about focal prominence, culled from a wide range of seemingly very different usage types.

We can also make general descriptive statements about how the constructions are typically used, and those usage patterns are consistently linked to patterns of distributing focal attention. For example, particle verbs

commonly occur in intransitive constructions, as illustrated by nearly all of the (b) variants above, and that makes sense if particle verbs concentrate focal attention fairly exclusively on the moving figure. On the other hand, the prefixed verbs considered in this book are virtually never used intransitively, which makes sense if prefixed verbs distribute focal attention more evenly over several elements in the scene. In fact, prefixed verbs are uniquely associated with accusative objects that indicate a reference landmark for the path (see chapters 7 and 8) – a fact that any theory about the meaning of the constructions needs to explain. As another example (from chapter 5), particle verbs are uniquely able to describe a particular type of path known as a reflexive-trajector path, and such paths intrinsically concentrate focal attention on particular parts of a moving figure, leaving the reference landmark for the path implicit. Or to take one last important example, prefixed verb constructions are uniquely able to describe events such as covering a wall with paint as in (5c). When we look carefully in chapter 8 at what is involved in interpreting such sentences, we can demonstrate in a convincing way that they call for a construal in synoptic mode.

Another type of evidence that constrains any account of the constructional meaning comes from frequency of occurrence, i.e., from how likely each construction is to describe a particular objective situation or to occur in particular collocations. For example, prefixed verb constructions are demonstrably more apt to occur with figures that are extended, diffuse or abstract, while particle verb constructions are more apt to occur with figures

that are relatively compact physical objects with their own recognizable shape. Such factors cannot “rule out” the use of either construction, since the subjective construal patterns can be applied in principle to any type of objective path. Still, the frequency data can certainly reveal tendencies that are symptomatic of the constructional meaning, and not all possible semantic hypotheses can account for that evidence plausibly.¹²

We can also test our hypothesis linking the constructions to perspectival mode by looking very carefully at the relatively rare situations when the two constructions contrast directly, i.e., when there are no obvious differences other than the use of a prefix or a particle and the situations being described seem objectively the same. Such contrasts reveal the semantic distinctions between the two verb constructions in their purest and most subtle form, and chapters 10 and 11 demonstrate that an analysis in terms of

¹² It would be helpful, of course, if we could supplement the inferences by developing testable operational predictions of some kind, comparable to those commonly used by linguists to test hypotheses about the meaning of lower-level lexemes. Unfortunately, the kind of subjective meaning that a grammatical construction such as a prefixed verb construction might plausibly convey do not lend themselves to such tests. Only objective information is falsifiable or has logical entailments, and even tests for categories such as aspect are based on objective implications. The constructional meanings on the other hand are necessarily abstract and flexible enough to be applied to the construal of any objective path. Operational tests may apply to the objective implications of particular verbs with particular particles or prefixes, but I have not found any such tests that apply more generally to the grammatical constructions themselves. I do not rule out the possibility that some such testable conditions may yet be devised, but I have personally failed to come up with any.

perspectival mode offers revealing insights into some very subtle semantic differences.

In this way we can assemble a wide range of empirical observations about how the two constructions are used. By the time all of the extensive and comprehensive evidence in the book is considered, I am confident that readers will take the conclusions seriously as explanatory accounts that are based on solid evidence, rather than on introspection or unconstrained speculation.

Of course the reasoning is admittedly inferential, and it can never exclude alternative explanations.¹³ It will always be possible to refine the account, or even to advance new hypotheses that are consistent with the evidence from all of the attested usage types. In practice though, the data are so extensive that any hypothesis that can account for all of the evidence is powerfully constrained, to the point that any meaningful hypothesis that is consistent with all of the data can hardly be missing the point altogether. Moreover, any particular account will be especially attractive and interesting if

¹³ There is no guarantee going in that a single underlying semantic pattern will emerge. It is certainly possible that there are several semantic patterns at work. A construction could have one kind of meaning in one particular type of situation and a different – conceivably even unrelated – meaning in another situation. In other words, we could well find that there is no single schematic meaning underlying all of the ways that a construction is used. And even if a single pattern does emerge in the case of prefixed and particle verb constructions, as I claim in this book, there is no guarantee that it is the only such pattern that might be found. Still, the larger and more comprehensive the body of evidence is that supports the conclusions, the more confident we can be that the conclusions are basically valid. And the evidence considered in this book is extensive to say the least.

it involves cognitive-semantic patterns that are known to exist independently of these particular constructions – such as sequential and synoptic perspectival mode.

Given these procedural principles, the approach to constructional meaning that will be followed in this book is in many ways old-fashioned and descriptive. It is based on a detailed and comprehensive study of all the ways that speakers actually use the constructions, compiling descriptive observations about the meaning of each particular variant – especially the kinds of meaning that might reasonably be attributed to the grammatical constructions themselves.

In effect, the methods emulate what native speakers presumably do as they actually develop a feel for the constructions in the first place. They learn to use and interpret the constructions in very specific instances. After encountering innumerable such instances their minds gradually form habitual patterns of interpreting that consistently accompany each instance. Even though particular instances may on the surface seem almost entirely unrelated, and speakers never consciously try to discover a meaning for a grammatical construction, they still develop schematic construal patterns that are consistently involved in the interpretation whenever the constructions occur. Those habitual patterned responses will seem vague and subjective, and they will eventually constitute the “feel” that a speaker develops for when the construction is used appropriately. What ordinary speakers do unconsciously, linguists need to do consciously.

6. Organization of the book

The book is organized as follows. Chapter 2, the second half of Part 1, establishes the core meanings for the “route-path” expressions *über*, *unter*, *durch*, and *um*. It also introduces some key terms and concepts that recur throughout the book and prove crucial for understanding the constructions.

Chapters 3–9 present a comprehensive and detailed survey of how the verb constructions are actually used, based on extensive examples collected almost exclusively from the Internet. Part 2, consisting of chapters 3–6, surveys the four basic categories of the particle verb construction: intransitive constructions, constructions with an accusative focal figure (theme), constructions based on the ‘turning’ image associated with UM- verbs, and constructions with an accusative incremental theme. Part 3, consisting of chapters 7–9, surveys the three basic types of prefixed verb construction: those like (3c) that describe a linear holistic path, those that describe a multi-directional ‘covering’-style path, and those that involve an implicit reference location that is lexically associated with the prefixed verb. The main theme that weaves its way through all of these chapters is the extent to which focal attention is concentrated on a moving figure at particular locations that are part of the path sequence, as opposed to a construal with attention distributed over several parts of the setting at the same time.

Depending on their particular interests, readers may vary in how they want to use chapters 3–9. Some of the variants discussed in those chapters are very typical and revealing uses of the constructions, while others are relatively peripheral. Readers who are interested in all of the rich and varying ways that speakers of German actually use the constructions will find a wealth of data with extensive examples. The index lists all of the verbs mentioned, and the book is intended in part as a reference resource. On the other hand, readers who are primarily interested in the general conclusions that can be drawn about the German verb system or constructional meaning generally may want to rely mainly on the brief introductory sections for each chapter, looking only selectively at the detailed evidence.

Given the survey of the whole range of constructions, chapters 10 and 11 of Part 4 focus carefully on situations in which the two constructions can contrast directly and may seem nearly synonymous. These situations allow us to focus on the semantic contrasts between the two constructions in their purest form – and also in their most subtle form. One such situation arises when it is unclear whether an implicit reference location is a normal one calling for a particle verb such as *ÜBERführen*, or one that is lexically associated with a prefixed *über-* verb such as *überführen*. The other situation arises when a *durch-* verb such as *durchschneiden* can describe the same objective event as a particle verb such as *DURCHschneiden*. These two chapters lead to refined observations that pave the way for the final chapter of

Part 4 and of the book, namely chapter 12, which brings together all of the evidence to draw general conclusions about the meaning of the constructions.

Chapter 12 compiles a list of descriptive observations gained from all of the evidence examined in chapters 3–11. It turns out that there are consistent underlying patterns running through all of the myriad uses of the constructions, and those patterns can be distilled into a surprisingly simple schematic characterization. Prefixed verb constructions consistently prompt us to construe a path event in synoptic mode with focal attention distributed fairly evenly over the whole path and the whole setting, while particle verb constructions prompt us to zoom in and concentrate focal attention on the particular parts of the path, construing the event in sequential mode. Those construal patterns constitute the feel that speakers have for using the grammatical constructions.

CHAPTER 2

Route-path expressions and other basic concepts

1. The individual route-path expressions

It is generally assumed that *durch*, *über*, *um*, and *unter* have core meanings that remain more or less the same whether they are used as prefixes, particles, or prepositions. There is also considerable agreement about what that meaning is, despite the differences in detail and theoretical approach.¹ Experts may disagree to some extent with the precise accounts that I give in this section, but those disagreements should not substantially affect the main points that matter for the purposes of this book.

The first general observation is that these expressions all describe paths.² In a prototypical path description such as that in (3a) from the introductory chapter, *Die Erde läuft um die Sonne*, the path expression (*um*)

¹ See for example Schmitz (1964) and Schröder (1986), as well as more detailed studies such as Bouillon (1978), Schulze (1991, 1993), Wunderlich (1993), Bellavia (1996). Compare also analyses of the corresponding English prepositions such as Brugman (1981), Hawkins (1984), Deane (1983), Tyler and Evans (2004).

² As we will see, *über* and *unter* can also describe static locations ('above' and 'below'), but those uses are only tangentially related to the systematic particle and prefix constructions that concern us here.

relates a *figure* (*die Erde* ‘the earth’) to a *landmark* (*die Sonne* ‘the sun’).³ The figure expression designates the primary object of attention, the thing whose location is at issue. The landmark designates a region of space that serves to locate the figure and its path. These terms are used so often in the book that they are abbreviated from now on as **FG** and **LM** respectively. In a prototypical path, the FG is a moving object that occupies a sequence of locations, each defined relative to the LM.

More specifically, the expressions *durch*, *über*, *um*, and *unter* all describe a particular kind of path, a *route path*.⁴ That is, they describe a path that is defined in relation to a location that is intermediate between the start of the path (cf. “source path“ expressions like *aus* or *von* or AB-) and the end of the path (cf. “goal paths“ expressed by locative prepositions like *in* or *auf* or *an* with an accusative object, or particles like EIN-). A *durch* path is defined

³ There is no universal agreement in the use of these terms. Langacker (1987) uses *trajector* and *landmark*, while Talmy (2000) uses *figure* and *ground*. Other terms that sometimes occur to refer to the figure role are theme, referent, and semantic subject; other terms that have been used for the landmark role are relatum, reference object, reference location, and semantic object. Whatever term is used, the distinction is obviously an important and pervasive one. For example, the difference in meaning between *above* and *below* is essentially simply which entity is treated as the figure of the relation and which the landmark. Stated most generally, a figure is the element within any profiled relation that is the most prominent or foregrounded, while a landmark is any other element in the relation that plays a prominent role, but is not as prominent as the figure.

⁴ Compare the taxonomy of paths proposed in Jackendoff (1983), distinguishing routes from bounded source-paths and goal-paths, and also from directions (e.g. *toward* or *away from*).

as a route that passes through an intermediate point inside a LM, an *über* path as a route that passes through a point on or above the LM, an *unter* path as one that passes through a point below the LM, and an *um* path as a route that curves around the LM, i.e., that passes through a series of points that are equidistant from the LM. Taken together, these expressions form a semantic group corresponding to the English *over*, *under*, *around*, and *through*. As prepositions the route-path expressions all take an object in the accusative case.⁵

1.1 *Über* and *unter*

The first thing to note about *über* and *unter* is that they participate in two different semantic systems. They can describe route paths that pass through a location above or below the LM, which is the meaning that mainly concerns us here. In that meaning the prepositions automatically take an accusative object (*über die Brücke*), as do the other route-path prepositions *durch* and *um*. *Über* and *unter* can also describe locations just as prepositions like *in* or *auf* can, and in that case the object of the preposition is in the dative case for a static location, while the accusative case marks a goal path in which the FG ends up at the designated destination. That is, a phrase like *über den Tisch* could describe a route path that passes over the table on its way to the other

⁵ There are other, more peripheral route-path expressions such as *entlang*, but they will not concern us here.

side, or it could describe a path that ends in a position above the table (such as hanging a lamp there). Only the route-path meanings will concern us to any great extent in this book, since goal paths are rarely if ever expressed with verbs that contain the prefixes *unter-* or *über-*.

Actually, *unter* is a marginal member of the set of route-path expressions. The preposition *unter* usually describes a location rather than a route, and the route-path meaning is often avoided because of potential confusion with a goal path. That is, a phrase such as *unter die Brücke* would probably describe a path that ends at a destination underneath the bridge, and speakers usually prefer constructions such as *unter der Brücke durch* to make it clear that the path in question is a route path that passes through that location and continues on. There is no corresponding need to avoid confusion with *über* however. In nearly all situations it will be pragmatically clear that the FG does not remain suspended in a location above the LM, and *über die Brücke* can unproblematically describe a route path over the bridge.

The core route-path meanings of *über* and *unter* can be represented as in Figures 1 and 2. The boxes stand for the LM; the meaning of the route-path expressions is the route represented by the directed arrow. Although there is no way to represent the fact in a drawing, the image is neutral as to whether

there is contact between the route and the LM.⁶ The image is also intended to be neutral with regard to the left-right direction of the path.



Figure 1. *über* (route path)



Figure 2. *unter* (route path)

The routes in Figures 1 and 2 are represented with a slightly arced shape, since they pass through a point above or below the LM – or at least on its top or bottom surface – and for pragmatic reasons paths typically start and finish at ground level. Nothing significant hinges on that aspect of the meaning of these expressions in German though, as long as the route is

⁶ A FG located *über* a LM cannot rest on the LM's top surface, since that location would be described by *auf*. A route path *über* a LM has no such restrictions though and very often describes a path that makes contact with the LM's surface.

understood to pass through a point higher or lower than the LM (as opposed to a point inside it or laterally to the side of it).⁷

A top-bottom axis should be assumed as part of the frame of reference in Figures 1 and 2, distinguishing the defining medial locations as higher and lower than the LM respectively. The default frame of reference includes gravity as a given vertical. Some variants do occur though in which the gravity axis is neutralized and the LM is assigned a top for other reasons. In this case the English translation would often use ‘across’.

1.2 *Durch*

The schematic meaning of *durch* is represented in Figure 3. It describes a schematically straight path that passes through a point inside the LM, thus moving in a direction from one interior boundary of the LM toward the opposite side. The endpoints of the path are unspecified, so that it is a matter of pragmatic inference whether the path continues past the LM’s bounds. That is, we may interpret a *durch* path as an out-in-out path that begins and ends outside the LM (as represented by the optional dashed extension of the arrow in Figure 3), or we may interpret it as a purely internal path that takes place entirely within the LM bounds. That information is left unspecified by *durch*,

⁷ An arced shape is more significant for English *over*, which has several variants that are best understood as image-schematic transforms of an arced route – especially the variants for turning over in the vertical plane. German has no contrast corresponding to that between English *over* and *across*. See Dewell (1994, 2008).

much as *über* does not specify whether there is contact with the LM. The schematic image for *durch* can be rotated freely; that is, the direction of the *durch* path is unspecified in terms of a frame of reference with a given left-right or up-down axis. Generally speaking, *durch* is the least marked of all the route paths: the path is schematically straight and can go in any direction.

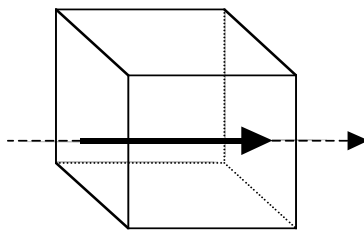


Figure 3. *durch*

Durch is unique among the route-path expressions in several ways that will play a role in its behavior as a verb prefix or particle. It is the only one in which any part of the path takes place inside the LM. It is also the only one where the issue even arises whether the path crosses the bounds of the LM.

1.3 *Um*

A schematic *um* path is represented in Figure 4. It is schematically a curved path that passes through a series of points each equidistant from the LM. The

endpoints of the path are not specified, but an *um* path typically goes at least halfway around the LM and it may continue to complete a full circle. As with *durch* the schema can be rotated freely. That is, there is no specified frame of reference and gravity vertical plays no role in the image. As is the case with all of the route-path expressions, the path can go in any compass direction. As with *über* and *unter*, the path is neutral with regard to contact with the LM.

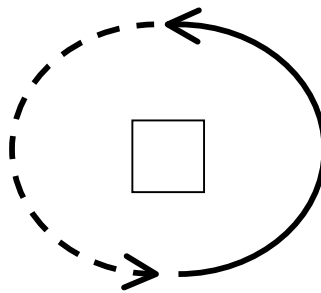


Figure 4. *um*

An *um* path is unique among the route-path expressions in that a curve is crucial to its definition. Another important feature of an *um* path is that the LM is by definition centrally located for the whole course of the path. That is, the path curves back on itself and can never leave the LM entirely behind no matter how far it extends. (Of course a semi-circular *um* path can detour around an obstacle and the FG can then continue on its prior path.)

2. Extending FGs and fictive motion

Note that there is no FG explicitly represented as such in Figures 1–4. In a typical instantiation of the schema, such as the earth going around the sun in (3a), a separate entity (the earth) will be introduced as the moving FG. It will then occupy each location on the abstractly defined route in sequence, instantiating the path.

Not all FGs instantiate the path by moving from one discrete location to the next in succession, however. To begin with, some FGs extend on the route rather than moving as whole objects. That would be the case for example when a string is being wrapped around a package or an arm is reaching through a window, or when liquids flow. In such cases it is actually just the leading part of the FG that occupies each location on the route in sequence, the way a simple FG would do. The rest of the FG trails behind, so that a portion of the FG typically continues to occupy the parts of the route that its leading part has already passed. The resulting states of the two types of path are thus significantly different. When a simple moving FG has finished engaging in a path, the result is that the FG occupies the last location on the route. When an extending FG has finished its path, the result is typically an extended object whose shape more or less coincides with the route that it extended in. Extending FGs begin to blur the distinction between a moving FG and its shaped route. They also encourage a more synoptic view of the event, revealing several occupied locations simultaneously.

More strikingly still, the FG may occupy each path location without being construed to move objectively at all (e.g. *die Mauer um den Westteil Berlins* ‘the wall around the western part of Berlin’). At that point we have an objectively static configuration being described using a path expression. Such *fictive motion* (or “subjective motion“ or “abstract motion“) is actually very common, and it is important to be aware of it when distinguishing prefixed verb constructions from particle verb constructions. (See Langacker 1987: 168–73 and Talmy 2000a: 99–175 for further discussion, as well as Matlock (2010) for a review of the psychological literature.)

Fictive motion makes perfect sense if we adjust our understanding of the meaning of the path expressions to focus less on the objective situation and more on the cognitive scanning patterns involved. The best way to think about the path relation itself, i.e. the meaning of *um*, *durch*, *über* or *unter*, is that the arrows in Figures 1–4 represent a purely cognitive scanning sequence. That is, when we recognize an actual path event as an instance of a route path with *um*, what that means is that our conceptual attention moves according to the abstract sequence indicated by the arrow in Figure 4. In the prototypical case, that means that our attention follows a moving FG that objectively occupies each location in sequence. In the case of fictive motion our attention does exactly the same thing, but it is scanning an extended FG that is not objectively moving. The expressions *über*, *unter*, *durch*, and *um* consistently prompt us to engage in a cognitive scanning operation that conforms schematically to the arrows in Figures 1–4, which are shaped patterns located

relative to a LM. That scanning pattern remains the same whether or not there is objective motion on the path.

As we will see later on, the extent to which the FG is construed to be a separate entity defined independently of the route plays an important role in distinguishing prefixed verb constructions from those with simple verbs and a PP (or a particle).

3. Types of accusative object

Besides FGs and LMs and fictive motion, there are several other terms and concepts that may not be familiar to all readers, but which prove useful in understanding the prefixed and particle verb constructions in German. Basically, these terms all refer to the semantic types that can be represented by an accusative object. One type that plays a major role in chapter 5 is that of a *reflexive-trajector* (Lindner 1983). Briefly, a reflexive-trajector is a special kind of extending FG in which part of the object moves in a characteristic way relative to the implicit rest of the same object. For example, when a person turns around in place the relatively peripheral parts rotate in an *um* path around a relatively stationary center, making the person a reflexive-trajector. *Incremental themes* (Dowty 1991) play a major role in chapters 6 and 11. An incremental theme is an object whose extent coincides with the aspectual extent of the verb process. For example, the progress of an event of mowing

the lawn can be measured at any point by looking at how much of the grass is now shorter, and the verb event is completed precisely at the point when the entire lawn is shorter. The lawn in that example is an incremental theme.

The other main types of accusative object that play a crucial role in the discussion are *accusative FGs* and *accusative LMs*. Accusative FGs occur when the FG of a path expression appears as the accusative object of the verb (or as the subject in a passive construction or a construction with an attributive past participle). They are the topic in chapter 4. Accusative LMs occur when the LM of a path expression appears as the accusative object of the verb (or, again, as the subject of a construction with a past participle). They play a crucial role in the typical prefixed verb constructions discussed in chapters 7 and 8.

4. Data on frequency of occurrence

It is sometimes very helpful to know how frequently certain types of construction occur, and electronic databases and internet search engines now give us the potential for very useful automated counts. Yet when it comes to counting German prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions, there is often no way to determine which construction a particular spelling reflects. To take just one example of the many problems that can arise, how is an automated search to classify a form such as *umgeben*? It could be the plain infinitive of either a prefixed verb or a particle verb, it could be a prefixed

verb in the 1st or 3rd person plural in a main clause, it could be either a prefixed verb or a particle verb in the 1st or 3rd person plural in a subordinate clause, or it could be the past participle of a prefixed verb.

There is one set of particular forms that can be almost flawlessly identified by an automated search however, namely infinitives with *zu*. A search for a string of the type “zu prefix-V” (e.g. “zu übersetzen”) will return prefixed verbs almost exclusively, while a search of the form “particle-zu-V” (e.g. “überzusetzen”) will return only particle verbs.⁸ These counts can be useful for our purposes, and I use them often – especially for the subtly contrasting cases in chapters 10 and 11. The counts may still be flawed in a variety of ways however, and we need to keep several limitations in mind.

To begin with, I use counts from two different sources, each with its own advantages. The more stable and reliable sources are the “COSMAS II” databases made available by the Institut für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim. COSMAS allows sophisticated searches, including co-occurrences within the same sentence and wildcards standing for letters within a word. (The latter feature for example lets us search for all instances of the string “zu durch*n” and obtain a reasonably reliable count of all prefixed *durch-* verbs that occur

⁸ The only false returns will come when *zu* happens to be used in other ways, either as a preposition (e.g. sites listing “Synonyme zu *übersetzen*”, or phrases with noun objects that happen to be spelled like verbs), or adverbially in an attributive construction (such as “zu überladen” meaning too overloaded), or in a phrase such as “ab und zu”. Generally speaking though, this search distinguishes prefixed verbs from particle verbs reliably enough to provide useful counts.

in the database in the infinitival construction with *zu*.) Also, COSMAS contains only legitimate sources that presumably reflect standard German – newspapers, magazines, and some literary works. In other words, the texts reflect the language of professional writers writing for publication.⁹

I also sometimes use counts based on Google searches. Google counts reflect a much larger set of data than the COSMAS counts, which means that they often get useful results from searches that return no hits in COSMAS (e.g. relatively uncommon verbs, or specific co-occurrences of a verb with a particular object). Google searches also include types of text that are not reflected in COSMAS, for example forum discussions and blogs, that may contain perfectly legitimate colloquial constructions that would not be used by a professional writer writing for publication.

Of course working with Google counts has several disadvantages, beginning with the fact that their search algorithms are a mystery. Google does not allow many types of search that are supported by COSMAS. The internet is also much more volatile than the COSMAS databases, and the quality of language is much less reliable. Many internet texts contain sloppy or very

⁹ Specifically, all the COSMAS counts in this book are from “W-öffentlich”, which contains all of the public corpora in the large “W” archive of written German. The most typical searches for prefixed verbs follow the general pattern “zu /+w1:1 *PrefixV*” (e.g. “zu /+w1:1 umgehen”), while the typical particle verb searches follow the pattern “*ParticlezuV*” (e.g. “umzugehen”). COSMAS II_{web} (version 1.6.3) can be accessed at <https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web/menu.home.do>.

colloquial language, and the source is not always a native speaker. Some text types also tend to be overrepresented on the internet.¹⁰

Another potential problem with taking the frequency results too seriously, whether they come from Google or COSMAS, is that they reflect only the particular construction with *zu* and the infinitive. Although there is no reason to think that this construction would particularly favor either a particle verb or a prefixed verb, the numbers do omit other constructions that might affect the relative frequency. In particular, some verbs are clearly more common as attributive past participles and that construction will not be reflected in the numbers.¹¹

The moral of this note is that the counts can give us a useful but crude indication of the frequency with which the two verb forms occur, both relative

¹⁰ Sometimes individual texts may become overrepresented too, skewing the results. For example, a large percentage of returns for a verb may be from the same popular song lyric or the same quotation from the Bible.

¹¹ There is also a potentially significant lack of precision with respect to the ways that a form can be used. For example, the searches do not differentiate intransitive uses of a verb from transitive ones. That means that the ratio of prefixed occurrences to particle occurrences does not always accurately contrast the constructions in the situations in which they directly compete. A particle verb may for example return a very high overall number relative to its prefixed counterpart because it is used so frequently in intransitive constructions; but those numbers tell us very little about the relative frequency when there is an accusative object – which is often the relevant issue in the comparison. A similar problem commonly arises because the searches do not distinguish reflexive constructions from others, even though for example *sich DURCHschlagen* is a very different use of the verb than non-reflexive *DURCHschlagen* is.

to each other and relative to other verbs with the same particle or prefix. We should, however, keep all of the above disclaimers in mind whenever we look at the search results – especially the ones from Google.

PART 2

Particle verb constructions

CHAPTER 3

Intransitive particle verb constructions

The most basic type of particle verb construction describes a directed path by a moving nominative FG, with the path LM left implicit, as in (1). The most salient aspect of these constructions for our purposes is that they concentrate focal attention on the FG, tracking its progress from one location to the next as it moves on the path.

- (1) Die Gangster sind vom Nachbarhaus auf das Dach der Bank *übergestiegen*.
'The gangsters *climbed over* to the roof of the bank from the house next door'
- (2) Er *drang* zwischen den beiden Büschen *durch*.
'He *got* [pressed his way] *through* between the two bushes'
- (3) Er schrie noch um Hilfe, dann *ging* er *unter*.
'He cried for help, then he *went under*'

The FG is the only participant in the event that needs to be mentioned explicitly, making it as focally prominent as a FG can be. By the same token, the LM is minimally prominent. In (1) for example, the LM of ÜBER- is not mentioned at all. It is an implicit intervening space between the starting position (the house next door) and the destination (the roof of the bank). If the LM is explicitly indicated at all, then it is suggested obliquely in a PP (or

another adverbial phrase of some kind). In (2) for example, the LM of DURCH- is implicitly the space suggested by the oblique PP (between the bushes). Sentences like (1)–(3) essentially just report where the FG goes.

We might represent the construal roughly as in Figure 5 for DURCH- and Figure 6 for ÜBER-. Each square represents the conceptual frame at a particular moment during the construal, read in sequence from left to right, so that each frame depicts the current location of the FG at that point during the path. The ball represents a centrally prominent FG, and the lightly shaded area a vaguely defined implicit LM space.

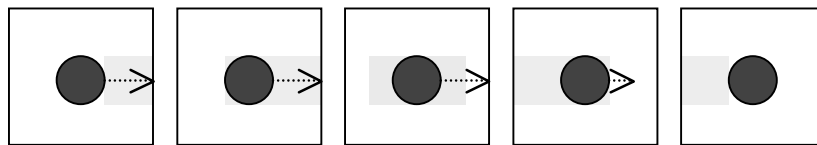


Figure 5. DURCH- path

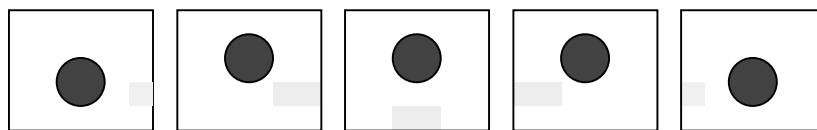


Figure 6. ÜBER- path

This type of construal seems natural – so natural in fact that we do not normally even notice it. The moving FG attracts our attention, and we follow it conceptually as it moves through the route expressed by the particle, as if we were watching a tracking shot in a film. Concentrating our attention fairly

exclusively on a centrally prominent FG at each stage of the path also encourages us to adopt a relatively close-up view of it, and to be aware of details such as its accompanying manner of motion. The sentences in this chapter are paradigm examples of construals in sequential perspectival mode.

Incidentally, these constructions are also classic examples of what Talmy (2000b: 222) calls “satellite-framed constructions”. The manner of motion is expressed in the base verb (e.g. *steigen*, *dringen*) together with the fact of motion, while the route for the path is expressed in the particle (a “satellite”). This pattern is typical for German and English (and many other languages in the world). It contrasts with the “verb-framed” pattern typical of languages like Spanish or French (and many others around the world), in which the route is expressed in the verb together with the fact of motion, while the manner of motion is added only adverbially (and optionally). A Spanish example (from Talmy 2000b: 224) would be *La botella salió flotando de la cueva* (‘The bottle exited floating from the cave’). A satellite-framed construction thus encourages sequential perspectival mode, with a close-up view of the FG that reveals its manner of motion (and backgrounds the route to some extent). Verb-framed constructions encourage a synoptic perspectival mode in which the shaped route is more prominent (and the FG’s manner of motion is less prominent).

This chapter concentrates mainly on DURCH- and ÜBER-. UNTER-verbs such as the one in (3) are normal particle verbs, but virtually all of them are based on the locational goal sense of the expression rather than its route-

path meaning. In (3) for example, the FG presumably moves downward until it reaches a destination under the implicit surface of the water. In fact, when a sentence describes a route path that passes underneath a LM on its way somewhere else, then the preferred construction is not an UNTER- verb at all, but a DURCH- verb as in (4). The fact that the FG passes through a space beneath something is indicated obliquely in a locational *unter*-PP (with a dative object), so that the *unter*-PP in (4) is exactly parallel to the *zwischen*-PP in (2).

- (4) *Wir krochen unter dem Zaun durch und unsere Hosen wurden nass.*
 ‘We crawled (through) under the fence and got our pants wet’

UM- verbs are a special case. Few if any of them simply describe a curving spatial path around an implicit LM location external to the FG. (On the relatively rare occasions when such paths around an implicit external LM do need to be expressed, the verb typically takes HERUM- rather than plain UM-.) UM- verbs consistently involve a ‘turning’ image in which the LM is an implicit part of the FG. That is, the more peripheral parts of the entity (e.g. the front side of a person) rotate around the rest of it (e.g. the relatively stationary spine or central axis of the person). We will look at the UM- verbs separately in chapter 5.¹

¹ UM- verbs are actually the most common of the four types, followed by DURCH- verbs. A COSMAS search returned 107,414 instances of words beginning with “umzu” and ending with “-n”, 73,100 instances with “durchzu...n”, 15,871 with

Constructions with a plain particle generally alternate with constructions in which the particle combines with the deictic particles *hin-* or *her-* (or with the colloquial reduced form *r-*), and that contrast is the topic in section 1 below. Roughly speaking it is fair to say that compound forms such as HINÜBER- combine productively with the base verb to anchor the path firmly in the spatial domain, while verbs with plain particles like ÜBER- tend to be relatively more lexicalized with some nonspatial functional implications.

Then in section 2 we look at an odd “pleonastic“ construction in which the same lexeme occurs both as a preposition and as a particle. In (5) for example, the particle DURCH- and a *durch*-PP are used redundantly in the same sentence.

(5) *Durch diese Luke hat es zweimal durchgeregnet.*

‘It has already rained through this skylight twice [*rained through twice through this skylight*].’

The rest of the chapter looks in detail at several characteristic uses of intransitive particle verbs, focusing especially on partially lexicalized variants

“unterzu...n”, and only 5,479 with “überzu...n”. One obvious reason that DURCH- verbs are more common than ÜBER- and UNTER- verbs is the widespread use of DURCH- verbs for paths that pass through a space that is indicated in an oblique phrase such as the *zwischen*-PP in (2) or the *unter*-PP in (4). Another factor is that DURCH- verbs are relatively less apt to occur together with a deictic particle, while ÜBER- and UNTER- typically do co-occur with *hin-* or *her-* (or the colloquial *r-*) when describing a purely spatial path.

that have developed with specific particle verbs – i.e., variants that highlight particular functional implications that are not purely spatial. Sections 3 and 4 concentrate on DURCH- verbs, which often add the functional implication that the FG overcomes resistance from the LM. A particularly important type of DURCH- verb for the purposes of this book profiles temporal continuity as in (6), i.e., that the path extends all the way without interruption. Sections 5 and 6 examine two special types of ÜBER- verb: those that describe events of ‘overflowing’ like (7), and those that express metaphorical state transitions as in (8). Finally, for the sake of completeness, the last two sections look briefly at UNTER- verbs for finding shelter or for submerging (as in (9)), even though these verbs do not describe route paths.

- (6) Ich beschloss dann doch bis zum ersten Hotel *durchzuradeln*.
 ‘I decided then to continue biking until I came to the first hotel [*bike through* until the first hotel]’
- (7) Das Bier *schäumt über*.
 ‘The beer is *foaming over*’
- (8) Die Leiche war schon in Verwesung *übergegangen*.
 ‘The corpse had already started to decompose [had *gone over* into decomposition]’
- (9) Er ist in der Menge *untergegangen*.
 ‘He disappeared [became *submerged*] in the crowd’

1. *Hin-* and *her-*

Spatial verb particles commonly occur together with an additional deictic particle: *hin-* (roughly, ‘toward a goal other than the speaker’s location’), *her-* (roughly, ‘toward the speaker’s location’), or the colloquial *r-* (which neutralizes the directional distinction). ÜBER- and UNTER- take the full complement of deictic forms (HINÜBER-, HERÜBER- and RÜBER-, HINUNTER-, HERUNTER- and RUNTER-). UM- does not occur with *hin-* (HERUM- and RUM- occur, but not *HINUM-). DURCH- does not occur with *her-* (or *r-*), so that HINDURCH- is the only deictically expanded form.²

² The two gaps in the system, *HINUM- and *HERDURCH-, both make sense semantically. *Um* is unique among the expressions being considered in this book in that it does not suggest a directional goal for the path – a fact that presumably contributes to its lack of particle verb uses generally for normal spatial paths (as opposed to ‘turning’ paths). Since *hin-* points to a directional goal, it has no relevant use with UM-. *Her-* on the other hand can establish a deictic viewing perspective in which the path circles back toward its origin (“comes back around”), and that image is useful for circular paths. The lack of *HERDURCH- can be explained by the fact that a DURCH- path coming toward a deictic perspective outside the LM would show the FG emerging from within the container, but it would not tend to show the origins of the path on the other side of the LM. In other words, the event would look like a HERAUS- path (or a HERVOR- path) rather than a DURCH- path. (Note that HINDURCH- does not describe entering the LM any more than *HERDURCH- can describe exiting it. That image would be expressed with HINEIN-, just as HERAUS- is appropriate for exiting.) (Actually, HERDURCH- does occur in archaic instances such as the language of Martin Luther: ‘und wenn er nicht Sünde hätte, so käme er nicht so wohl herdurch’.) Incidentally, since there is no *HERDURCH-, *hin-* tends to lose its more specific meaning and function like the colloquial generic deictic particle

Generally speaking, adding the deictic particle does not substantially change the meaning of the basic path particle. In fact, almost perfect alternations can be found such as (10) in which a simple verb with a *durch*-PP, a DURCH- verb, and a verb with HINDURCH- can all describe basically the same objective event.

- (10) a. In diesem Augenblick *brach* die Sonne *durch die Wolken*.
 ‘At this moment the sun broke through the clouds’
- b. Zwischen niedrig ziehenden Wolken *bricht* die Sonne *durch*.
 ‘The sun *breaks through* between low moving clouds’
- c. Besonders faszinierend ist es, wenn die Sonne zwischen den Wolken *hindurch bricht*.
 ‘It is especially fascinating when the sun *breaks through* between the clouds’

It does seem fair to say that the deictic particles ground the event more in a particular spatial situation. Generally speaking, deictic particles like HINÜBER- occur in productive uses with purely spatial meaning, emphasizing the directed nature of a path toward a goal. The plain particles like ÜBER- are more apt to be used when nonspatial functional implications are involved – especially when those implications are linked conventionally to

r-. For example, HINDURCH- can be used to describe emerging into perceptual or conceptual accessibility, a meaning that would normally suggest *her-*: ‘Ihre dunkle Bronze schimmerte durch die Blumen hindurch’.

particular particle verbs.³ For example, (11a) can be considered a typical use of *HINÜBERlaufen*, while (11b) is a typical use of *ÜBERlaufen*.⁴

- (11) a. Normalerweise sind die Ziegen im Winter immer von der einen Seite des Sees zur anderen *hinübergelaufen*.
 ‘In the winter the goats normally *crossed over* from one side of the lake to the other’
- b. Diese Menschen würden mich als Verräter sehen, als jemanden, der zum Feind *übergelaufen* ist.
 ‘These people would see me as a traitor, as someone who has *gone over* to the enemy’

A COSMAS count of constructions with *zu* and an infinitive indicates that UNTER- is relatively most apt to occur in a deictic compound.⁵

³ Constructions with deictic particles are not absolutely limited to concrete spatial uses. For example, variations on the ‘dying’ metaphor are firmly associated with HINÜBER- (e.g. *hinüberschlummern* or *hinüberschlafen*) rather than with ÜBER-, perhaps because of its clear deictic perspective from “Diesseits”. Still, when deictic compounds do occur in nonspatial contexts there is a strong image of a general spatial metaphor in which the FG moves from one “location” to another.

⁴ HERUM- is a special case in many ways, filling semantic niches where plain UM- is not used. In fact, it is fair to say that HERUM- behaves more like a normal particle than plain UM- does, since it corresponds more directly to the core schematic image of prepositional *um*. As a result, HERUM- verbs contrast more directly with prefixed *um-* verbs than plain UM- verbs do. They warrant separate discussion at some length together with UM- verbs in chapter 5.

⁵ “Herunterzu-” returned 5,065 instances in the COSMAS database, “hinunterzu-” returned 938, and the colloquial form “runterzu-” returned another 1,056. By comparison, “herüberzu-” found 270 hits in COSMAS, “hinüberzu-” 599, and

Presumably, the common use of HERUNTER- and HINUNTER- reflects the fact that UNTER- typically indicates downward direction rather than a route path, and the especially common use of HERUNTER- also reflects the pragmatically common situation in which a FG moves downward toward a deictic base. DURCH- is clearly the particle that is least apt to occur with a deictic particle.

Generally speaking, there is a definite link between deictic particles and a salient sense of motion directed toward a goal. For example, HINÜBER- is more common than plain ÜBER- with base verbs like *schauen* and *blicken* that describe directing attention toward a target. Deictic particles also seem more common in constructions with an accusative FG (discussed in the next chapter), especially if the base verb suggests purposefully guiding the FG through a difficult route toward the goal. For example, HINDURCH- becomes relatively more common with base verbs like *steuern* or *manövrieren* (though plain DURCH- still remains slightly more common in absolute terms). The deictic particle may also help to impose a direction on a process that is

“rüberzu-” 877. “Hindurchzu-” returned only 425, and the particles *her-* and *r-* do not occur at all with DURCH-. Altogether then, there were 7,059 deictic compounds with UNTER-, 1,746 with ÜBER-, and 425 with DURCH-. Those totals can be compared with the totals for the plain particles: “unterzu...n” returned 15,871, “überzu...n” 5,479, and “durchzu...n” 73,100.

normally an undirected spreading path, for example with *wachsen* or *wuchern*.⁶

One very general observation is worth noting in light of the themes that develop in the course of the book. *Hin-* and *her-* intrinsically direct focal attention to a particular part of a path, the goal and the source respectively. They are very commonly used with particles, especially when the setting for the path is pure space rather than a more specified context with lexicalized functional implications. Prefixed verb constructions, by contrast, never occur with *hin-* or *her-*. That basic fact is consistent with the analysis that the prefixed verbs prompt a more holistic view in synoptic mode, while the particle verbs prompt a sequential perspective that concentrates attention on particular parts of a path.

2. Pleonastic PPs

DURCH- verbs are especially apt to occur with phrases that call our attention obliquely to the space that the path passes through. For example, the DURCH- verb construction may contain a locative adverb such as *hier*, *da*, or *überall*, or

⁶ COSMAS returned 10 for “hinüberzuschauen“ and 0 for “überzuschauen“ (Google: 3,310 vs. 68). The corresponding numbers with *blicken* were 6 to 0 (2,690 to 156). “Hindurchzusteuern“ returned 9 while “durchzusteuern“ returned 10 (Google: 5,640 to 7,710). The corresponding totals for *manövrieren* were 6 to 4 (570 to 662).

a more specific locational adverb such as *unten* or *mitten*. The construction also occurs commonly with a locative *unter*-PP or *zwischen*-PP (each with a dative object) that obliquely indicates the implicit LM space, as in (12b) or (2) and (4) above. The resulting construction in effect functions in place of one with an UNTER- verb (or a ZWISCHEN- verb, if such existed), avoiding potential confusion with readings as a goal path.

- (12) a. Niemand *dringt* hier *durch* und gar mit der Botschaft eines Toten.
 ‘No one *gets through* here, certainly not with a message from a dead man’
- b. Die Wildschweine waren unter einem Zaun *durchgeschlüpft* und hatten den Rasen umgepflügt.
 ‘The wild boars had *slipped [through] under* a fence and plowed up the lawn’
- c. ... das Gefühl, dass Zeit wie Sand zwischen den Fingern *durchzurinnen* scheint.
 ‘... the feeling that time is *running [through] between* our fingers like sand’

In a noteworthy special case, DURCH- verbs also occur with what Olsen (1996a) calls “pleonastic“ PPs (“pleonastische Direktionale”), i.e., with a *durch*-PP that obliquely specifies the implicit LM of the particle DURCH-.⁷

⁷ Olsen (1996a) distinguishes verb constructions with particle DURCH- from constructions in which DURCH- appears in a “complex adverbial PP”. She takes ‘Er läuft durch den Wald durch’ to be structurally ambiguous between a reading as a particle verb (*[durch den Wald] DURCHlaufen* – cf. ‘Durch den Wald ist er durchgelaufen’) and one with a simple verb and a complex adverbial PP (*[durch den*

Since the *durch*-PP together with the base verb already gives us the basic path information, the particle DURCH- now seems semantically superfluous. Adding DURCH- usually seems to emphasize the completion of the path, implying that the FG goes as far as possible through the LM, all the way through without stopping, typically to a discrete destination on the far side of the LM. (Compare the variants for ‘continuous extent‘ discussed below.)⁸

- (13) a. durch das französische Drahtverhau *durchzukriechen*
 ‘to *crawl through* [through] the French barbed wire’
 b. Das wirkt wie Fett, *geht* aber durch den Magen *durch* und kommt hinten wieder raus.
 ‘It works like fat, but *goes right through* [through] the stomach and comes back out the rear’

Wald durch] laufen – cf. ‘Durch den Wald durch ist er gelaufen’.). She maintains though that this structural ambiguity has no semantic effect with DURCH- (“daß beide strukturelle Möglichkeiten die Grundlage für genau die gleiche kompositionelle Semantik der Gesamt-VP abgeben” (320)). Among the particles discussed in this book only DURCH- can occur this way as the naked head of a complex adverbial PP. Plain ÜBER- cannot, as reflected in the unacceptability of *‘[Über den See über] sind wir gesegelt’ or *‘[Über den Topf über] kocht gleich die Suppe’.

⁸ Sometimes the reason for adding the particle seems partly rhythmic in nature, as if not only the path but also the grammatical construction is being brought to its proper definite conclusion. In a sentence like ‘Ist ungefähr so, als ob ich durch eine Betonmauer versuche *durchzurennen* und niemand will es merken’ for example, the *durch*-PP seems necessary to specify the LM, but without particle DURCH- the bare base verb would seem rhythmically too light.

The other particles are much less apt to occur with a pleonastic PP than DURCH- is, though occasional examples can be found.⁹ The main reason is probably that the pleonastic PPs typically specify a particular LM in the spatial context, and the other plain particle verbs rarely describe purely spatial paths. It makes sense then that pleonastic PPs are much more apt to occur with the deictic compounds HINÜBER- and HERUM- (as well as HINDURCH-).¹⁰ The deictic particle can seem to add a sense of aspectual finality to the event as our attention is projected to the goal. The presence of *hin-* or *her-* might also soften the perceived redundancy of the repeated route-path expression.

- (14) a. Das Licht der Kellerfenster *drang* überall *durch* die Latten *hindurch*.
 ‘The light from the cellar window *got through* everywhere through the slats’
- b. Schnell war ich *um* den Tisch *herumgelaufen* und schaute auf ihren Test.
 ‘In a flash I *ran around* [around] the table and looked at her test’
- c. Und so sind wir am Karfreitag *über* den Lewis Pass *hinübergefahren*.
 ‘And that’s how we *drove across* [over] the Lewis Pass on Good Friday’

⁹ Olsen (1996a) calls pleonastic *über*-PPs “äußerst selten”. She cites these examples where a pleonastic PP could not occur: *’Er lehnte sich soweit über das Geländer über, daß er beinahe gestürzt wäre’. *’Die Zweige hängen über den Nachbarzaun über’. *’Sie kleckerte Soße über den Tisch über’.

¹⁰ The postpositional use of DURCH (e.g. ‘durch den Wald durch’) often seems like an abbreviated form of *hindurch-* (see Zifonun et al 1997:2087). Only *hindurch* though can be topicalized alone (‘Hindurch/*Durch krochen wir durch den Wald’).

Here and throughout the rest of the book, additional examples of the usage being discussed are provided in smaller font. In all cases they come from texts found on the Internet (often retaining nonstandard spelling or punctuation).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Warum wäre ich sonst da *durchgefahren*? Mit seinen langen und schmalen Flügeln gelingt es ihm fast überall *durchzufliegen*. Ja, - die Front *läuft* mitten *durch*! Wie ist der Emmasturm bei euch *durchgebraust*? Kinder *liefen* zwischen ihnen *durch*. Im Military Stil *robbte* er *sich* unter dem Zaun *durch*. Muß man Angst haben, unter Autobahnbrücken *durchzufahren*? Unter den Haaren *fahre* ich mit der Hand *durch*. Laut meinem Fahrschuhlehrer von damals, sind Nebelscheinwerfer gedacht um unter dem dichten Nebel *durchzuleuchten*. Dieser Graben, sagte er sich, *läuft* unter der Fabrik *durch*. Es *läuft* auch wohl *durch* gröbere Filter *durch*, aber nicht durch die feinsten. Es war für sie nicht leicht, *durch* Baumwurzeln *durchzugraben*. Wenn Wurzeln beginnen, *durch* die Drainagelöcher der Töpfe *durchzuwachsen*. Diese Power Antennen sind auch bestens geeignet, *durch* Wände in andere Räume *durchzustrahlen*. ... ohne Aufenthalt *durch* die DDR *durchgefahren*. Das Dach scheint *über* die Grenze zum Nachbarn A *überzustehen*! Hileros Truppen leisten so gut es geht Widerstand aber immer neue Kräfte *setzen über* den Fluss *über*. ... Untersuchungen .. über das Gehör des Menschen, wenn er *unter Wasser untergetaucht* ist.

3. DURCH- verbs for overcoming resistance

To the extent that DURCH- verbs add functional implications to the basic

spatial path image, they often suggest that the FG has difficulty making progress through the interior of the implicit LM. Whether because of resisting matter in the LM as in (15a) or because an opening is restrictive and must be squeezed through as in (2), (4), (5), or (15b), the constructions often suggest a protracted path such that the FG makes incremental progress, often with some difficulty.

- (15) a. Wenn der Bach anschwillt wegen viel Regen, und die Kühe weigern sich *durchzuwaten*, ...
 ‘If the stream swells because of heavy rain and the cows refuse to *wade through*, ...’
- b. und kein Loch war ihnen zu klein um *durchzuschlüpfen*.
 ‘and no hole was too small for them to *slip through*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Steile Hügel mit Laubwald, auf der Wiese so hohes Gras, daß unsere Rosse Mühe hatten *durchzuschreiten*. Überall *sickert* der Regen *durch*. Infrarote Strahlung aber *dringt* mühelos *durch*. Indem man die Fugen zwischen den Steinen nicht ausfüllt und so den Pflanzen erlaubt *durchzuwachsen*. Dieser kleine Bruch erlaubt es dem Wasser *durchzufließen*.

The resistance afforded by the LM can be functional as well as purely physical. One set of DURCH- verb constructions is based on going through implicit controls such as security checkpoints. The construction can thus imply “passing” an inspection or an approval process. Both *DURCHkommen* and *DURCHdringen* occur with an agentive subject and an implicit proposal, which is commonly specified in a *mit*-PP. Sometimes the FG can relate

directly to the proposal, so that alternations can arise of the type ‘Seine Ansicht drang durch‘ / ‘Er drang mit seiner Ansicht durch‘.

- (16) a. Bei der letzten Prüfung sind nur 26 *durchgekommen*.
 ‘On the last test only 26 *passed*’
 b. Die FDP ist mit ihrem Plan nicht *durchgekommen*.
 ‘The FDP did not *prevail* with their plan’
- (17) a. Da sei seine Eitelkeit wohl mit ihm *durchgegangen*.
 ‘They say his vanity must have *gotten out of control* [got the better of him]’
 b. Die Mutter ist mit einem andren Mann *durchgebrannt*.
 ‘The mother *ran off* with another man’
 c. Hamid Öcrüz *ginge* ohne weiteres als Professor *durch*.
 ‘Hamid Öcrüz would easily *pass* as [be taken for] a professor’

A similar image can also be evaluated negatively, suggesting that the control point fails to stop something that should not have been let through. *DURCHgehen* in (17a) is used in an abstract lexicalized way to describe things that get away or go out of control. *DURCHbrennen* is similarly lexicalized to mean running away suddenly, usually stealing away with something or someone that appears in a *mit*-PP as in (17b). *DURCHgehen* has also developed variants with an *als*-phrase as in (17c) that suggest “passing for” something that one is not.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Sonst *geht* das Gepäck so *durch*. Die kommunistische Revanche *ging* dank des Präsidenten nicht *durch*. Dafür bin ich bei der praktischen Prüfung einfach so *durchgerutscht*. Auch dieses Argument *schlägt* nicht *durch*. Aber mit diesen Argumenten *drang* er nicht *durch*. Oliver Kahn ist der Ball auch mal unter dem Fuß *durchgerutscht*. Glücklicherweise bin ich ihr zwischen den Fingern *durchgeschlüpft*. Ein Fehler ist ihm trotzdem *durchgerutscht*. ... daß dem Kutscher die Pferde glatt *durchgegangen* sind. Mit 15 Jahren *brannte* ich nach England *durch*. ... daß sie mit dem Schmuck *durchgebrannt* ist! In vielen Organisationen *geht* dieser Satz als Argument *durch*.

The notion that a control point fails to hold a FG can also be applied to a situation where a horizontal support fails to keep it from falling through, for example when part of a mattress slips down through its support. That image has been lexicalized in the use of *DURCHRutschen* (and, in the inimitable jargon of sports journalism, also verbs like *DURCHrauschen* and *DURCHreisen*) to convey slipping to a lower level in a ranking – especially a sports team that drops in the standings.¹¹ Another lexicalized verb in this category is *DURCHsacken*, which describes a sudden drop, typically by an airplane, often together with *nach unten*. A particularly common instance of the image of “falling through” is the lexicalized use of *DURCHfallen* to describe ‘failing’ – whether failing a test, or failing to win a contest such as an

¹¹ Similar events can also be described using the passive of *DURCHreichen*, i.e. with an accusative FG (see the next chapter). Compare also the ‘sagging’ image (*DURCHhängen*) that is mentioned in chapter 5.

election, or failing to meet some other standard of success.¹² Note that *DURCHfallen* has basically the opposite meaning from a verb like *DURCHkommen*, which describes passing a test! (And *DURCHrutschen* can be used with either meaning.)

- (18) a. Das Zeppelin, inzwischen in den Hotelranglisten nach unten *durchgerutscht*, soll Zukunft haben.
 ‘The Zeppelin, which has since *slipped* to the bottom of the hotel rankings, is said to have a future’
- b. Ich bin schon zweimal bei der Prüfung *durchgefallen*.
 ‘I’ve already *failed* [on] the test twice’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Beim Betreten des Balkons *brach* der Lehrling *durch*. Gibt der Lattenrost nach, die Matratze *rutscht* ein Stück *durch*. Sie haben nur 5 Spiele gebraucht um von Platz 2 auf 13 *durchzurauschen*. Durch die in Längsachse eingebaute Turbine gibts beim Twister keine Tendenz nach unten *durchzusacken*. Ist jüngst bei der Wahl zum Senator *durchgefallen*. Die Reformen sind mit Glanz und Gloria *durchgefallen*. Die Abschlussklausur is leicht zu schaffen, also bei uns is nur eine Person *durch geflogen* (und es is echt schwer *durchzufliegen*!)

The notion of overcoming resistance can also apply to visual perception. Vision is conventionally treated metaphorically as an extending path – like a light ray – from the eyes to the target, and DURCH- verb

¹² According to Duden, this use of *DURCHfallen* goes back to a medieval story in which a suitor falls through the bottom of a basket as he is being raised up to a girl’s window.

constructions with base verbs of seeing can describe seeing through potentially obscuring spaces. More commonly though, the same verbs invoke the general metaphor according to which seeing means understanding as in (19). Thus *DURCHblicken* and *DURCHschau* routinely describe seeing through a vaguely implicit obscuring LM (e.g. layers of complexity) to the core of an issue. *DURCHdringen* can describe similar cognitive penetration, whether visual or even more abstract.¹³

- (19) Da *blickt* nun wirklich keiner mehr *durch*.
 ‘At that point there’s no longer really anyone who *understands*’

Paths relating to vision can also move in the opposite direction, i.e., an object may emit or reflect light that reaches a perceiver and renders the object visible. With base verbs like *blicken* or *schau*, the subject can refer to an object of perception that metaphorically “looks” through an implicit obscuring LM as in (20a). Not only sights but sounds and smells can emerge from obscurity into perceptual accessibility with a verb like *DURCHdringen*. As usual, essentially the same basic pattern that is used for emerging into

¹³ These intransitive constructions for seeing through to the core of something have a drawback though, namely that they focus on the subject’s understanding but not on what is being comprehended. The particle verb construction not only leaves the obscuring LM implicit (or at best indicated obliquely), it also gives little explicit indication of the target on the other side of it. The need to specify what the subject is gaining insight to often leads to a transitive construction with a prefixed *durch-* verb that profiles the target as an accusative LM space that is being illuminated.

perception is also used for more abstract cognitive events, such as messages whose content reaches public accessibility as in (20b). Often the FG is an underlying attitude or characteristic that is normally hidden but somehow manages to reveal itself, as in (20c).

- (20) a. Vorne an der Stirne *schauten* ein paar blonde Härchen *durch*.
 ‘At the forehead in front a couple of little blond hairs *peeked through*’
- b. Einige Gerüchte waren bereits *durchgesickert*.
 ‘Some rumors had already *leaked through*’
- c. Unter dem Neuen *schimmert* immer das Alte *durch*.
 ‘Underneath the new the old always *glimmers through*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Zuerst war da nur ein dünner Vorhang, man hat zwar nicht *durchgesehen*, aber am Abend hat man doch die Schatten erkannt. Das hieß so viel wie: verstanden? *schaust Du durch?*” Durch den Rollladenschlitz scheint die Sonne *durchzuscheinen*. Stimmengewirr und Motorengeräusche *dringen* gefiltert *durch*. Über den Stand der neuen Revolution in Mexiko *dringen* nur spärliche Nachrichten *durch*. Und nun *sickert* allmählich die Wahrheit *durch*. Diese Werte scheinen im Verlauf des Films nur hin und wieder *durchzublitzen*. Das Einsamkeitsgefühl *dringt* häufig bei ihm *durch*. Der ursprüngliche Sinn *schlug* immer wieder *durch*. Ein wenig Sympathie und Besorgnis *klang durch*.

4. DURCH- verbs for continuous extent (DURCHgehend)

Another very common implication of DURCH- verbs, one that is consistent

with a tendency to focus on the FG's incremental progress through a resisting space, is that the path is continuous. This aspect of particle DURCH- verbs plays an important role in chapter 11, when we look at some very subtle semantic differences between particle verbs like *DURCHschlafen* and prefixed verbs like *durchschlafen*.

In (21a) for example the point of the sentence is that the subject goes through without stopping, and that aspect of the path is even more pronounced in (21b). The implication of continuous extent is apt to be salient when the goal of the path is explicitly specified, for example in a phrase with *bis* or *zu* as in (21c). As is the case with pleonastic PPs, the particle DURCH- is largely superfluous in such cases as a means of conveying where the FG goes, since that information is already indicated by the goal expression. The particle is added largely to contribute more particular semantic overtones such as difficult incremental progress, and especially to imply that the path is uninterrupted and continues straight through all the way to the end. In a sentence such as (21d) with an expressly temporal goal, the notion that the cycling continues nonstop is clearly the main point of the DURCH- verb construction, and in (21e) the path is a purely temporal one.

- (21) a. Ich hoffe irgendwann schaffe ich es mal, Kassel zu besuchen - und nicht nur mit dem Zug *durchzufahren*!
 'I hope I can get around to visiting Kassel sometime – and not just *ride through* on the train'
- b. Bei einer nach der anderen Haltestelle *fuhr* die Bahn *durch*.

- ‘At one station after the other the train *drove straight through*’
- c. Und es war schwierig für mich, zu Mark *durchzudringen*.
‘And it was difficult for me to *get through* to Mark’
- d. Keine Zeit, bis zur Mittagspause wird *durchgeradelt*.
‘No time, we’re *biking straight through* until the lunch break’
- e. Die Sitzung *geht* bis zum Abend *durch*.
‘The session *goes straight through* until the evening’

The notion of ‘continuous extent’ that is associated with DURCH- can also be clearly intended even if there is no explicit endpoint for the path. In (22a) DURCH- clearly indicates that the path is temporally continuous and uninterrupted. In (22b) the same principle applies to the spatial domain. The lines extend continuously and uninterrupted (as scanned in fictive motion). The attributive present participle *DURCHgehend* is common in all of these variants, both spatial and temporal, and *DURCHlaufend* occurs as well.¹⁴ *DURCHstehen* is lexicalized with similar temporal meaning to describe surviving a difficult situation.¹⁵

¹⁴ *DURCHgehend* can also be used to describe thoroughness (‘Während die amerikanische Reaktion *DURCHgehend* positiv ist, ...’), reflecting the link between continuing a process uninterrupted all the way to a goal and carrying out the process to its maximum intrinsic extent. At that point continuous extent merges with another set of variants for extending an activity to its maximum extent on an intrinsically associated route (e.g. ‘das Gaspedal *DURCHtreten*’) to motivate a general use of DURCH- verbs to express ‘thoroughness’. See chapter 6.

¹⁵ The lexicalized verb *DURCHstarten* can also be mentioned here as an image of continuing on rather than stopping as planned. In its core meaning it refers to aborting an airplane landing during the final approach to a runway and taking off again (‘Das Flugzeug bekam ne Seitenböhe ab und ist *durchgestartet*.’). According to Duden the

- (22) a. Er *schläft* nachts *durch*!
 ‘He *sleeps through* the night [sleeps uninterrupted at night]’
 b. An *DURCHgehenden* Linien darf nicht überholt werden.
 ‘If there are *continuous* solid lines passing is not allowed’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die grundlegende Bedingung für die Prüfung eines elektrischen Schaltkreises ist, dass der Strom in der Lage sein muss, ohne Unterbrechung *durchzufließen*. Also rein in den Supermarkt, mit dem Wagen *durchgerannt* und diesen vollgepackt. Alle Leute können und wollen wir nicht beschenken, aber immer nur *durchzudonnern* wäre ebenfalls arrogant. Palästinenser müssen oft stundenlang warten, bis der Konvoi der Siedler *durchgerauscht* ist. Unsere neuen Bomben *schlagen* bis zum Keller *durch*! Der Feind soll wieder bis Rostow *durchgestoßen* sein. Und wer nun den Ehrgeiz hat, doch ganz bis Spanien *durchzuwandern*, sollte reichlich Zeit einplanen. Ohne Zwischenfall *ging* es bis Freiburg *durch*. ein *DURCHgehender* Zug. Es wäre allerdings viel zu schade, ohne Halt *durchzuradeln*. Eigentlich nur ein Flusstal - doch viel zu schön, um *durchzueilen*. Bis 12 Uhr wird strikt *durchgearbeitet*. Vier Minuten lang *durchzuschreien* ist sicher ziemlich hart. Auch die Bar ist *DURCHgehend* geöffnet. ein Kleid mit *DURCHgehender* Knopfleiste. Ich mein, Du hast bis jetzt so tapfer *durchgestanden*. Die Homöopathin ... riet mir *durchzuharren*, ohne etwas dagegen zu tun.

5. ÜBER- verbs for overflowing

term is also used with motor vehicles generally to mean slowing down as if to stop and then suddenly speeding up again, and also for giving an engine gas to get it going again. It is now commonly used to refer to metaphorical fresh starts (‘Sie ist aufgewachsen in Las Vegas und mit 17 Jahren ist sie nach Japan gereist um dort *durchzustarten*’).

As we have seen, pure spatial paths are more apt to be expressed with the deictic compounds HINÜBER-, HERÜBER- or RÜBER- rather than with plain ÜBER-. The constructions with a plain particle tend to highlight functional implications that go beyond pure change of location. For example, (23a) suggests that the sparks not only move spatially across the implicit boundary to a new location, but also that they have a predictable functional effect on that new location. It is obviously a short step from the image of sparks jumping across an implicit gap to one in which fire crosses over from one location to another and begins to operate in the new domain as in (23b), and that image of a spreading mass is useful in a variety of situations. It extends for example to more abstract “masses” such as infectious diseases that spread across a boundary of some kind to affect a new area on the other side of the boundary, as in (23c). The spreading metaphorical “mass” can be even more abstract when a “contagious” emotional state spreads as in (23d). The mass can also have a perceptible effect on its new territory by blending with another mass that was already there. Constructions like (23e) and (23f) combine an ÜBER- verb with an *in*-PP to describe the (visual or auditory) merger that results.

- (23) a. Explodierende Funken *springen über*, entfachen neue Flammen.
 ‘Exploding sparks *jump across* and ignite new flames’
 b. Auf zwei Wohnhäuser drohte das offene Feuer *überzuschlagen*.
 ‘The fire threatened to *spread* to two residence houses’

- c. Die Epidemie hat auf andere Gebiete *übergegriffen*.
‘The epidemic *spread* to other areas’
- d. Ihre Begeisterung und Fröhlichkeit *sprang* auf alle *über*.
‘Their enthusiasm and cheerfulness *infected* [jumped over to] everyone’
- e. Ist der Abfluss der Gallenflüssigkeit verhindert, *tritt* der Gallenfarbstoff ins Blut *über*.
‘If the drainage of the bile is impeded, the bile pigment *spreads over* into the blood’
- f. ... die See, die in den Himmel *überzugehen* schien.
... ‘the sea, which seemed to *blend* into the sky’

In (23b–f) the new location for the mass is specified in a destination phrase, either an *in*-PP or an *auf*-PP, and the implicit LM being crossed is understood to be the boundary that separates the new region from the old one. Similar events can be described without specifying the new destination, in which case the original location is normally understood to be an implicit container that originally held the mass, such as the riverbanks in (24a) or the pot in (24b). The implicit LM is the containing bound, and the destination is whatever lies outside of the container. In these pure ‘overflowing’ events our attention is directed particularly on the moment when the leading edge of the mass leaves the original container by crossing its bounds. The base verb can be a general motion verb like *laufen* or *treten*, a flowing verb like *fließen*, or a verb that refers to a particular manner of overflowing such as *kochen* or *schäumen*. The same constructions can be used for metaphorical overflowing

as in (24c), especially emotions or ideas that become too expansive to be held in.

- (24) a. Der Fluss ist *übergetreten*, die Wege sind verschwunden.
 ‘The river has *overflowed*, the paths have disappeared’
- b. Heute mittag ist wohl das wasser beim kartoffel kochen *übergelaufen*.
 ‘The water must have *overflowed* today when the potatoes were boiling’
- c. Bei mir sind nur grad die emotionen *übergeschäumt*.
 ‘My emotions were just *brimming over*’

There is also an interesting construction, illustrated in (25), in which it is the FG that remains implicit while the container functions as the explicit nominative subject. The FG is recoverable as whatever mass is metonymically or contextually associated with that particular container, and the LM of ÜBER- is the container’s implicit bound. Such constructions, in which a nominative container is so full of a mass that it overflows, are especially common in metaphorical variants. People are said to overflow with emotions or thoughts, and places are said to overflow with activity. Since it is usually not obvious exactly what type of emotion or activity the implicit FG would be, the FG is now typically mentioned in an oblique *vor-PP* (or *von-PP*).¹⁶

¹⁶ Compare Langacker’s (1991: 345) discussion of “setting-subjects“. A related aspect of overflowing that is worth mention for its theoretical implications is the fact that the FG’s path proceeds in several directions at once, making the images in many ways semantically close to the multi-directional paths that we will look at in chapter 8, which are consistently associated with prefixed verbs. When a pot boils over, the

- (25) a. Weil seine Badewanne *übergelaufen* war, verständigten die Nachbarn die Polizei.
 ‘Because his bathtub had *overflowed*, the neighbors notified the police’
- b. Die ganze Stadt scheint *überzuquellen* vor Leben.
 ‘The whole city seems to be *overflowing* with life’
- c. Aber du scheinst ja im Moment gerade von Ideen *überzuschwemmen*.
 ‘But you seem to be *bursting* [overflowing] with ideas at the moment’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Das Feuer *griff* rasch auf die umliegenden Gebäude *über*. Seine gute Laune ist auf alle *übergeströmt*. Der Enthusiasmus *greift* in einer Kettenreaktion auf alle *über*. Eine Geschlechtskrankheit, die bisher nur in Entwicklungsländern vorkam, ist nach Europa *übergeschwappt*. Die Farben *fließen* ineinander *über*. Entsprechend sind die Songs hier stärker getrennt anstatt in einander *überzufließen*. Freiheit und Ordnung *schlagen* immer wieder ineinander *über*. Schwere Brecher *kamen über*. Das Benzin ist aus dem Tank *übergeflossen*. Der höchste See der Welt droht *überzulaufen*. Kurz davor ist etwas Wasser *übergekocht*, das eventuell über das Ceran-Feld in den Ofen hineingelaufen sein könnte. Leider ist bei diesem Ansatz das Reaktionsgemisch einmal *übergeschäumt*, Aber bei mir sind die Ideen so *übergesprudelt*, dass eine Seite niemals ausgereicht hätte. Das Glas ist *übergeschwappt*, denn die Kellnerin war beim Servieren damit beschäftigt, den prominenten Gast ganz aus der Nähe zu betrachten. Der Papierkorb *quillt* notorisch *über*. Die zweite

water presumably moves in every compass direction across the curved rim of the container. Still, the construction prompts us to track the flow in an ordered sequence from one location to another, namely “outward” – as opposed to imagining a confusing tangle of directions. The ÜBER- path is very similar to one that could be described with AUS-, but ÜBER- profiles crossing the boundary rather than the outward direction.

Eigenschaft des Erben der Welt besteht darin, vor Liebe schier *überzufließen*.
Mein Geschirrspüler ist gestern *übergeschäumt*, aber nicht vor Freude.

In all of these ÜBER- verb constructions in which the FG is an extending mass, we are prompted to concentrate our attention particularly on the leading part of the mass. In a typical ‘overflow’ variant such as (24b) for example, the only relevant part of the water is the part that crosses the implicit bounds of the container. The sequential image depicted in Figure 6 still applies, but rather than tracking a whole moving FG as in the prototypical case, we track the motion of a salient active part of the FG.

6. ÜBER- verbs for transition (in Fäulnis ÜBERgehen)

Sentences like those in (23) with a mass FG typically imply that the mass has an effect on its new region when it spreads there. When the FG is not an extending mass – i.e., when it is an object that moves as a whole – crossing from one region to another typically calls our attention to the effect that the new region has on the FG rather than the other way around. (26) for example describes a spatial path, but the new situation clearly affects the FG in a variety of nonspatial ways.

- (26) Vor sieben Jahren verließ Kristina Lindberg Schweden um nach Österreich *überzusiedeln*.

‘Seven years ago Kristina Lindberg left Sweden in order to *migrate* to Austria’

- (27) a. Hier ist es noch zu früh, auf die rechte Fahrspur *überzuwechseln*.
 ‘It’s still too early to *switch over* to the right lane’
- b. Ein Teil der jüngeren jüdischen Schüler des Realgymnasiums ist möglicherweise auf diese Schule *übergewechselt*.
 ‘It’s possible that some of the younger Jewish pupils in the Realgymnasium *transferred* to this school’
- c. Für diejenigen dagegen, die nach der Wende in einen sozialen Beruf oder ein Studium *übergewechselt* sind, ist Männlichkeit schon viel eher ein Problem.
 ‘On the other hand for those who *switched over* to a social profession or university studies after reunification, masculinity is much more apt to be a problem’
- d. Benno Pörtner, ehemaliger SPD-Kreisvorsitzender Rheingau-Taunus (Hessen), ist am Mittwoch zur Partei Die Linke *übergewechselt*.
 ‘Benno Pörtner, former SPD district chairman for Rheinbau-Taunus, *switched over* to The Left party on Wednesday’

The uses of *ÜBERwechseln* in (27) illustrate the development from a primarily spatial image to one that is primarily metaphorical. (27a) certainly describes a spatial path, but it implies switching to a new functional situation. Changing schools as in (27b) could be read as a spatial path from one location to another, but it is clearly interpreted more abstractly as a change of metaphorical course. The more abstract reading becomes explicit in (27c). In (27d) *ÜBERwechseln* may suggest a spatial image of going over to an opposing group, but it is clearly interpreted more abstractly as shifting allegiance (or changing sides of an issue).

Transfer of possession reflects a similarly transparent development from a spatial image to the kind of abstract metaphorical relation expressed in (28). In cases like (29) it is more difficult to find concrete spatial grounding for the metaphor, but people generally can “move” from one topic or cognitive “area” to another in German. The image becomes still more abstract in expressions like (30a), when people move “into” new situations or stages of life. (30b) is even more abstract, so that a verb like *ÜBERgehen* describes moving from one state or condition to another. Such variants reflect the highly general metaphorical conception of abstract states or forms as containing locations that something can be “in”.

- (28) Wieder ist eine jüdische Firma in arische Hände *übergegangen*.
 ‘Again a Jewish firm has *gone over* into Aryan hands’
- (29) Der Redner *sprang* auf ein anderes Thema *über*.
 ‘The speaker *switched* [jumped over] to a new topic’
- (30) a. April 2005 ist Günther Erler vom aktiven Dienst als Waldaufseher
 ... in den Ruhestand *übergetreten*.
 ‘In April 2005 Günther Erler *retired* from active service as a forest
 ranger [stepped over from active service into retirement]’
- b. Die Leiche war bereits in Fäulnis *übergegangen*.
 ‘The corpse had already *begun to decompose* [gone over into a
 state of decomposition]’

The verbs *ÜBERkippen*, *ÜBERSchnappen*, and *ÜBERSchlagen* are lexicalized to describe a specific state transition, namely the cracking of a

voice into a higher register. *ÜBERSchnappen* is also used to mean “cracking up” mentally.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die russischen Bauern hatten nämlich ehemals die Gewohnheit, in bestimmten Fristen von einem Gut nach dem andern *überzuwandern*. Ist im Frühjahr / Mai 1854 mit seinen Eltern nach America *übergezogen*. So wären wir schnell zu Verrätern geworden, wenn es nicht gelungen wäre, zu den Partisanen *überzulaufen*. Vater zwingt Söhne zum Islam *überzutreten*. Mein Fahrgast ist bereits zum nächsten Thema *übergegangen*. Die USA sind direkt von der Barbarei in die Dekadenz *übergegangen*, ohne den Umweg über die Zivilisation zu nehmen. Corinnas Stöhnen war in ein leichtes Schreien *übergegangen*. Seine Begeisterung ist in Fanatismus *übergeschlagen*. .. sage ich lauter, als ich es gewollt habe, fast wäre mir die Stimme *übergekippt*. Ich bin dann gar nicht mehr richtig da und glaube, gleich *überzuschneiden* und verrückt zu werden.

7. UNTER- verbs for submerging (UNTERgehen)

UNTER- verbs are peripheral for the purposes of this book. They are used almost exclusively to describe goal paths rather than route paths, which makes them less like ÜBER- verbs or DURCH- verbs and more like verbs with EIN- or AUF-.¹⁷ As with particle verbs generally, the purely spatial variants of

¹⁷ The reason that UNTER- verbs are not used for route paths, while ÜBER- verbs are, is presumably because of potential confusion with a goal path. A location above a LM is not normally stable— except in special cases such as being attached at a higher

UNTER- verbs tend to combine with the deictic particles *hin-*, *her-*, or *r-* (or *nach unten*). Plain UNTER- is normally used for more abstract and lexicalized variants with added functional implications.¹⁸

The implicit LM with a verb like *UNTERgehen* or *UNTERtauchen* is often a horizontal surface boundary. A downward path that crosses such a boundary normally implies that the FG is submerged in whatever material lies beneath the surface, and frequently that it disappears from view. UNTER- in these variants contrasts with the upward motion of AUF-.

- (31) a. Warum *ging* die Titanic *unter*?
 ‘Why did the Titanic *sink* [go under]’
 b. Ich kann ihn nicht sehen, er ist in der Menge *untergegangen*.
 ‘I can’t see him; he *disappeared* [submerged] in the crowd’
 c. Ihre leise Stimme *ging* in dem Lärm völlig *unter*.
 ‘Her soft voice was completely *lost* [submerged] in the din’
 d. Wenn wir so weitermachen, *gehen* wir alle *unter*.
 ‘If we keep on like this we’ll all *go down*’

place on a wall. There is relatively little pragmatic need for ÜBER- verbs to describe goal paths; but they are very useful to describe route paths. In most situations then an ÜBER- verb construction is read unproblematically as a route path. A location under a LM on the other hand typically is pragmatically stable, and a goal path to such a location makes sense. To avoid confusion between the two readings, speakers generally prefer to express a route path under a LM using a construction with a DURCH- verb together with an expression such as *unten* or a locational *unter*-PP.

¹⁸ Of the ten most frequent particle UNTER- verbs in my Google counts, only three are intransitive: the ‘submerging’ verbs *UNTERgehen* and *UNTERtauchen*, and the ‘shelter’ verb *UNTERkommen*.

The functional implication that a submerged FG disappears from view is commonly profiled in metaphorical variants. This meaning is especially prominent when a FG becomes part of a multiplex which is construed as a container (typically specified as the dative object in an *in*-PP), so that the FG becomes ‘lost in the crowd’ as in (31b). (Contrast *AUFtauchen*.) The FG, which is of the same basic type as the members of the multiplex, disappears ‘among’ them. In this meaning the gravity axis is neutralized so that the FG can move under the implicit surface without regard to any larger spatial frame of reference. The image can also apply to sounds that are being “drowned out” as in (31c). Submerging not only implies disappearing from perceptual access, it often suggests ceasing to exist as such in the everyday world. In fact, *UNTERgehen* is often linked metaphorically to perishing in general.¹⁹

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Da nun die Sonne *untergegangen* war, fiel ein tiefer Schlaf auf Abram. Da schritt der Zauberer allein hinaus in den Strom, ohne *unterzusinken*. Er ist nach dem Skandal im Ausland *untergetaucht*. Seine Worte *gingen* in Bravorufen *unter*. Bis jetzt ist noch jede Kultur *untergegangen*, und mehr als eine hat sich mit der eigenen Dekadenz den Garaus gemacht.

¹⁹ The sense of (gradual) disappearance can make the UNTER- verb semantically similar to a prefixed verb with *ver-* (e.g. *verschwinden*, *vergehen*). *Ver-* verbs prompt a steady synoptic construal of the setting in which the FG gradually disappears or perishes. *UNTERgehen* suggests that the FG is an incremental theme (compare Dowty’s (1991) analysis of verbs like *submerge*). There are no real transitive counterparts to this use of *UNTERgehen* (i.e., *UNTERbringen* is not used to mean ‘cause to perish’).

8. UNTER- verbs for finding shelter (UNTERkommen)

The other established intransitive variant for UNTER- verbs is their use for finding shelter. Presumably the implicit LM is a roof or lid of some sort that typically forms the top of a protective container (which normally appears in a locational phrase with a preposition such as *in* or *bei*). The construction often suggests finding accommodation in a space that has limited capacity. The main verb in this category is *UNTERkommen* (along with transitive *UNTERbringen*), but other base verbs can sometimes be used as well. The FG may also find more abstract “accommodation”, such as employment.

- (32) a. Alle Hotels waren belegt, aber wir sind bei Verwandten *untergekommen*.
 ‘All of the hotels were booked, but we were able to *stay* [find lodging] with relatives’
- b. Wenn es mit dem Schuldienst nicht klappt, versuche ich, bei einer Zeitung *unterzukommen*.
 ‘If the teaching job doesn’t work out I’ll try to *find a place* at a newspaper’

When a person appears as a dative object with *UNTERkommen*, the notion of shelter for the FG gives way to a very abstract “visiting” image. The FG is an abstract one such as an event of some sort that the dative person

experiences, as if the FG appears in the dative person's private space. The experience is sometimes unpleasant, but not always, and the verb – which Duden calls regional, especially Austrian – seems basically to mean ‘encounter’.²⁰

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er *kroch* in einer Scheune *unter*. Sie suchen dabei Unterstände wie überhängende Büsche und Bäume oder Stege auf um dort *unterzuziehen*. Besteht eventuell die Möglichkeit, bei jemandem im Zelt *unterzuschlüpfen*? Es regnete stark und er bot uns an, in seinem Laden *unterzustehen*. Nach diesen Negativerfahrungen war mir klar, dass ich besser versuchen sollte bei einem bereits etablierten Team *unterzukommen* und landete bei Ocrana. Eine derart große menschliche Tragödie ist mir in meinem Leben noch nie *untergekommen*. Tut mir leid, aber das ist eine der lächerlichsten Aktionen, die mir jemals *untergekommen* ist. Hier ist die - ohne Zweifel - coolste PC-Illusion, die mir je *untergekommen* ist.

²⁰ Cf. prefixed constructions for undergoing (being subjected to) unpleasant experiences, such as the undermining penetrating paths with an accusative LM (*unterwandern*). *UNTERkommen* here could be replaced by prefixed *unterlaufen*, which apparently derives from the image of an undermining path spreading under the surface rather than the locational “hosting” image that underlies *UNTERkommen*. Perhaps significantly, the FG of *UNTERkommen* always visits from without while *unterlaufen* is typically used with FGs such as errors that did not originate outside of the person. See chapter 10.

CHAPTER 4

Particle Verbs with Accusative FGs

The most typical instances of particle verbs with an accusative object are simply caused-motion variants of the intransitive constructions. That is, the FG for the path expressed by the particle appears as the accusative object of the verb rather than as the nominative subject of an intransitive verb.¹ Intransitives with base verbs like *gehen*, *laufen*, or *kommen* typically have accusative-FG counterparts with base verbs like *bringen*, *nehmen*, *geben*, *reichen*, *tragen*, *setzen*, *stellen*, *legen*, *schicken*, or *führen*. Everything else remains essentially the same.

(1) Sie hält die Hoftür mit der einen Hand auf, um ihr Fahrrad *durchzuschieben*.

‘She holds the gate open with one hand in order to *push* her bicycle *through*’

(2) Eine Lastwagenladung von Estland nach Moskau *überzufahren* kostete früher 20000 Kronen.

‘*Driving* a truck load *over* from Estonia to Moscow used to cost 20,000 Kronen’

¹ Throughout this book the term “accusative“ is intended to include the nominative subject of constructions in passive voice (or of attributive past-participial constructions), which can be considered a transform of an accusative object in active voice.

Basically everything that was said about the intransitive constructions applies to the accusative-FG constructions as well. The LM for the path expressed by the particle is again left implicit. Semantically the path is construed just as it is in the intransitive constructions, i.e., with a strongly focal moving FG that is tracked through the route in sequence. The only real difference is that the path expressed by the particle is now preceded (or accompanied) by a causal path of some kind. The same collocations occur. For example, DURCH- verbs with an accusative FG occur with the same range of oblique expressions such as *zwischen*-PPs or *unter*-PPs or pleonastic *durch*-PPs. There are again very similar variants with the added deictic particles *hin*- or *her*- (or *r*-), which ground the event more purely in a concrete spatial situation and may put more definite emphasis on a directional goal for the path. The constructions with an accusative FG may be used metaphorically just as their intransitive counterparts are, but again the metaphorical uses typically activate a general metaphorical pattern for spatial paths – as opposed to meanings that are linked specifically to a particular lexicalized particle verb.

- (3) Die Rechnung wurde *unter der Tür durchgeschoben* in der Nacht.
‘The bill was *shoved under the door* in the night’
- (4) Es ist also nicht möglich, mehr als eine bestimmte Menge *durch die Düse durchzudrücken*.

‘So it is not possible to *press* more than a certain amount *through the duct*’

- (5) Man muss nur noch das Seetaxi rufen und wird in fünf Minuten Fahrt *hinübergebracht* nach Agios Ioannis.

‘One need only call a sea cab to be *brought across* to Agios Ioannis in a five-minute trip’

UNTER- also has caused-motion counterparts to its intransitive variants, but like the intransitive variants the UNTER- verbs usually reflect *unter*’s other meaning as a locative relation. They thus describe a path to a destination or a directional path downward, rather than a route path. The UNTER- verbs have several specialized uses that correspond basically to the intransitive variants for finding shelter or submerging, often suggesting that the accusative FG is being buried or subordinated. There is also a restricted type for putting accusative FGs into relative positions on a hierarchical scale, and in these variants ÜBER- verbs can also be used to describe a path to a destination.

- (6) Es ist wie wenn man versucht zu schwimmen und ständig jemand kommt um einen *unterzuducken*.

‘It’s like when you’re trying to swim and someone keeps coming to *duck* you *under*’

There is one special set of variants, which frequently also involve a dative object, that do not have a counterpart among the intransitive constructions – namely the use of ÜBER-, UM- and UNTER- verbs in

constructions like (7). The accusative FG is moved to a destination, and the result is a layered configuration in which the FG is spread to extend over, around or under the implicit LM (typically a portion of the explicit dative object).

- (7) Ich zog mir eine warme Jacke *über*.
 ‘I *slipped on* a warm jacket [pulled it over]’

Apart from these layered configurations, UM- verbs will again be postponed until chapter 5. With either nominative or accusative FGs, UM- verbs are mainly associated with ‘turning’.

In the following discussion we look at typical constructions with DURCH- verbs and an accusative FG, and then briefly also at the less common variants with ÜBER- verbs or UNTER- verbs. Once again, the primary theme is concentrated focal attention on the FG and on the sequence of particular locations that it occupies. Section 4 treats the special set of constructions like (7) with layered configurations. Finally, section 5 looks briefly at some lexicalized particle verbs with ÜBER- or UNTER-, an accusative FG, and a dative object.

1. DURCH- verbs with accusative FGs (DURCHsetzen)

DURCH- verb constructions like those in (1), (3) and (4) commonly suggest incrementally guiding the accusative FG through an implicit LM that more or less corresponds to the route of the DURCH- path. Pleonastic constructions with a *durch*-PP in particular are often linked to carefully threading a linear FG through a complicated route-like sequence (a meaning often associated with HINDURCH-).² In typical variants the subject controls the FG at each particular point in the route and determines whether the path will continue and in exactly what direction.

The verb *DURCHreichen* can serve to illustrate the common tendency for transitive DURCH- verbs to profile guiding the accusative FG through a series of implicit locations on the route. In its more concrete uses the verb typically describes passing an accusative FG “down the line” from one implicit part of a sequence to the next. The accusative FGs are often abstract things, such as proposals or instructions or information or costs, that are being passed on through a complex system, often with an explicit destination. As notions such as passing on assignments to employees suggest, these paths frequently filter down from higher levels of an organization to lower levels, a fact which may contribute to the lexicalized use of *DURCHreichen* in the passive for being “sent down” through a hierarchically organized system to a

² The type with an explicit goal is not as common with an accusative FG as it is in intransitive constructions. Presumably the implication that the path is continuous and uninterrupted is not very useful because an aspectual specification would apply to the causal act expressed by the base verb rather than to the ensuing path of the accusative FG.

lower level (the transitive counterpart to *DURCHrutschen*). (The spatial metaphor could just as well pertain to being sent “back” to the end of a prioritized line though, as opposed to being sent “down”.)

- (8) a. Im Parlament in Israel wurde mal so eine Dose Viagra *durchgereicht*, zur Information - zunächst fehlten vier Pillen, und dann war die ganze Dose weg.
 ‘In the Israeli parliament a bottle of Viagra was *passed down the line* for informational purposes – at first four pills were missing and then the whole bottle was gone’
- b. Handys sind inzwischen bis in die Armenviertel *durchgereicht* worden.
 ‘In the meantime cell phones have been *passed down* all the way to the poor quarters’
- c. Anweisungen werden von oben nach unten *durchgereicht*.
 ‘Assignments are *passed down* from higher levels to lower levels’
- d. Sechs Bogeys und sogar ein Doppel-Bogey unterliefen dem Routinier, der noch bis auf Rang 14 *durchgereicht* wurde.
 ‘Six bogeys and even a double bogey befell the veteran player, who was *dropped* all the way *down* to 14th place’

As (9a) illustrates, *DURCHreichen* can also correspond to the intransitive type that particularly focuses on a path through potentially obscuring layers to perceptibility (e.g. ‘Ein wenig Sympathie und Besorgnis *klang durch*’). More commonly though, *DURCHfühlen* and *DURCHhören* are the verbs chosen for this image of perceiving something despite the fact that it must pass through an implicit space that impedes the perception. The verbs are

most common in abstract usage for sensing that something such as an ulterior motive or an attitude lies beneath the surface of a person's words or actions.

- (9) a. Abstriche müssen beim Federungskomfort der Corvette in Kauf genommen werden: Fahrbahnquerfugen etwa werden ziemlich ungefiltert nach innen *durchgereicht*.
 'Deductions also have to be taken into account regarding the smoothness of ride afforded by the Corvette's suspension system: Things like transverse joints in the road are *transmitted* almost unfiltered to the interior'
- b. Zu anderer Zeit hätte Ministerialdirektor Ranzow wahrscheinlich die Not des Jungen durch seinen trockenen Ton *durchgehört*.
 'At another time Minister Director Ranzow would probably have *heard* the boy's distress through his dry tone of voice'

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ein Schaufenster dient nur dazu, jemanden *durchzuwerfen*. Der Führer schleust die Klasse durch das Konzentrationslager, so wie gleichzeitig unzählige andere SchülerInnen *durchgejagt* werden. Und die Autobahnen haben .. nicht genügend Kapazitäten, die vielen Autos *durchzuschleusen*. Dann fangen wir an, den lockeren Boden und die kleineren Steine *durchzusieben*. Die *durchgegossene* Brühe mit Essig abschmecken. ... das Seil unter dem Geländer *durchzuwerfen*. ... ein "Drop-Kick": Ein Spieler lässt den Ball kurz auf dem Boden aufspringen und versucht dann, ihn zwischen den Stangen *durchzuschießen*. Ohne große Diskussion wurde die Liste erneut an den Kreistag *durchgereicht*. In der Saison 1999 / 2000 spielten die Schwaben in der Bundesliga, nun stiegen sie aus der zweiten in die Regionalliga ab - und werden wohl *durchgereicht* in die Oberliga. ... so dass er es nicht geschafft hat Telefongespräche auf mein Zimmer *durchzustellen*. Der Arterienpuls ist am Sulcens bicip. int. undeutlich

durchzufühlen. Gesagt hat sie es ja nicht, aber ich *fühle* es *durch*, ich *fühle* es *durch*! Mit einem Stift sind die Linien *durchzudrücken*.

A common metaphorical use of DURCH- verbs generally, whether intransitive or transitive, is getting successfully through a process of acceptance. Transitive verbs like *DURCHsetzen* (*DURCHbringen*, *DURCHdrücken*, *DURCHboxen*, *DURCHjagen*, *DURCHpeitschen*) are the counterparts to intransitive *DURCHkommen* or *DURCHgehen*. They describe getting a proposal or a project of some sort (e.g. a reform, a candidate) passed by guiding or pushing it through a sequence of control points. Similar constructions occur with people or other living beings as the accusative FG, meaning to cause or help the FG to get through a difficult temporal period and thus survive, as in (10b).

- (10) a. Doch eine solche Regelung *durchzusetzen* dürfte einigen Staaten schwer fallen.
 ‘But *putting* that kind of regulation *through* would no doubt prove difficult for some countries’
- b. Er hat mich vor Jahren einmal *durchgefüttert* wie einen Hund, weißt du.
 ‘One time years ago, you know, he *supported* me like a dog [i.e., provided me with basic essentials needed to live, “fed me through”]’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... ihre Ansprüche vor Gericht *durchzusetzen*. Wider alle geldpolitische Vernunft *boxten* die Gewerkschaften zweistellige Verbesserungen *durch*. ... mit brutaler Macht seinen Willen *durchzudrücken*. Sollte der Präsident immer

noch keine Mehrheit für sein Prestigeprojekt finden, könnte er notfalls versuchen, es dennoch *durchzupfeitschen*.

1.1. Reflexive constructions with DURCH- (*sich DURCHKämpfen*)

DURCH- verbs very commonly take an accusative reflexive pronoun, especially when passage through the implicit LM is construed to be difficult and the subject needs to “work its way” through step by step.³ The constructions profile the incremental progress of the FG through a series of implicit locations. The base verb in a reflexive construction can occasionally already take an accusative FG as a simple verb, as is the case for example with *sich DURCHschieben* or *sich DURCHdrücken* or *sich DURCHsetzen*, so that the constructions are essentially just like the other constructions except that the accusative FG happens to be reflexive. (11a) for example illustrates the potential parallel between ordinary accusative FGs and reflexives.

- (11) a. Der Londoner Taxifahrer Phil hat alle Hände voll zu tun, um seine Familie und sich *durchzubringen*.
 ‘The London taxi driver Phil has his hands full *supporting* his family and himself [“bringing through”]’
- b. Ein Gauner der *sich* versucht immer irgendwo wie eine Schlange *durchzuwinden*.

³ Although the terms are confusingly similar, (accusative) reflexive pronouns should not be confused with the (accusative) “reflexive-trajectors“ that are discussed in chapter 5. These reflexive DURCH- verb constructions are in many ways similar to the English “way” construction (Jackendoff 1997).

- ‘A rascal who is always trying to *wriggle* [his way] *through* a situation like a snake’
- c. Die deutschen Soldaten *kämpfen sich* von Sieg zu Sieg *durch*.
 ‘The German soldiers *fight their way through* from victory to victory’
- d. Geröll, Steine, Felsen, Klippen, *durch die sich* die Esel mühsam *durchmanövrierten*.
 ‘Debris, stones, large rocks, cliffs, through which the donkey has to *maneuver* [his way] laboriously’
- e. Aber nur der unkundige Fremde wird sich versucht fühlen, *sich* *durch* den Zauberberg einer Schwedenplatte oder eines dänischen Smörrebröds *durchzufuttern*.
 ‘But only the ignorant foreigner will feel tempted to *eat his way* [all the way] *through* the magic mountain of a Swedish smorgasbord or a Danish smörrebröd’
- f. Sie streiten sich, versuchen *sich durchzusetzen* und ihren Platz zu behaupten.
 ‘They argue, try to *prevail* and maintain their status’
- g. Er *kämpfte sich durch* bis zum Abi.
 ‘He *struggled through* as far as the Abitur’

Very commonly though, it is clear that the accusative reflexive pronoun is not the direct object of the base verb – though it is always the FG for the DURCH- path. With *sich DURCHhauen* for example it is the implicit LM which is being chopped, not the reflexive pronoun. The base verb describes the manner by which the subject makes its way through the implicit LM, and nearly any base verb can be used in the construction if it can be conceived as a manner of going forward.

The usual range of oblique expressions can occur with reflexive constructions, including *unter*-PPs and *zwischen*-PPs. In fact, pleonastic

durch-PPs are especially common with the reflexive construction, since the implicit LM is typically a linear-extended route-like sequence that warrants some explicit mention. There is a natural transition from the basically spatial sequence in a sentence like (11e) to more abstract sequences such as a series of informational items to be inspected or searched, or a series of obstacles or control points to be passed, or difficult reading material that needs to be worked through. Among the verbs that are commonly used in these more abstract reflexive constructions with a pleonastic *durch*-PP are *sich DURCHFressen*, *sich DURCHwühlen*, *sich DURCHpflügen*, and *sich DURCHackern*.

The more abstract and lexicalized notion of prevailing through an implicit trying situation is particularly common with reflexive verbs such as *sich DURCHsetzen* or *sich DURCHbringen*. Other common verbs profile a particular manner of prevailing, such as struggling (*sich DURCHKämpfen*, *sich DURCHschlagen*, *sich DURCHboxen*, *sich DURCHdrücken*), or eking out an existence (*sich DURCHbetteln*, *sich DURCHFressen*), or expending effort (*sich DURCHwühlen*, *sich DURCHARbeiten*), or simply persevering (*sich DURCHbeißen*, *sich DURCHwurzeln*, even *sich DURCHsitzen*). More overtly temporal verbs like (*sich*) *DURCHwintern* belong in this group as well.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Vielen Husaren gelang es, zu ihren Pferden zu kommen und *sich durchzuhauen*. An den Ampeln ist man jedenfalls fast immer König, und er ist leicht und schmal genug, um *sich* überall *durchzupressen*. Schön wie die

Sonne *sich* aus dem Hintergrund versucht *durchzubohren*. Maden suchen die Blattscheide auf, und *fressen sich* bis zum Halmknoten *durch*. »Was?« fragte Tyrone und *wühlte sich* zur Toilette *durch*. ... wie schwer es sein kann, *sich* in einem Kaufhaus *durchzufragen*. Meine Hände fuhren hoch, *drückten sich* unter seiner Brust *durch* und tasteten nach seinen kleinen Fingern. Polypodium spectrum weiss *sich* mit seinen schlangenähnlichen Stengeln zwischen den Stauden *durchzuwinden*. und der Pfarrer vermag *sich* kaum *durchzuschieben* durch die Menge. Unsere Eidechse ist ausserordentlich behend und schlau bei ihren Raubzügen und weiss *sich* durch die engsten Gitter *durchzudrücken*. Manche geben auch Gelegenheit, *sich* durch Drücken einer Taste sehr schnell zur gewünschten Information *durchzuwählen*. *Mich* durch zahlreiche Maillist-Archive *durchzuwählen*, ist zeitraubend. Jeden Tag *fraß er sich* durch einen Band *durch*. Im allg. hat *sich* die Einsicht *durchgesetzt*, daß .. Sie *boxen sich* in Hollywood *durch*. Frank Lutz und ich *schlugen uns* mit Gelegenheitsjobs *durch*. Die meisten Frauen erhielten nicht einmal Wohlfahrtsunterstützung und *bettelten sich* buchstäblich bei ihren Bekannten *durch*. und so habe ich *mich* bis zum Diplom *durchgebissen*. Aber ohne Freunde mag ich nur in so fern leben, um *mich durchzuwintern* zu dem Frühling. Aber *sich* auf der Bank nach oben *durchzusitzen*, das kann ja nicht der richtige Weg ins Nationaltor sein.

2. ÜBER- verbs with accusative FGs

While DURCH- verb constructions typically profile incremental progress from one point to the next in an extended series, constructions with an ÜBER-verb tend to reduce the implicit LM to a highly abstract boundary line or threshold, profiling a discrete transition from one region to a neighboring region. There is basically just a three-stage sequence, and the middle stage

seems momentary. That is, we observe the focal FG first in the original region and then being transported to the new region, with awareness that it crosses an intervening dividing line on the way. The destination is often specified obliquely.⁴

(12) Neben Menschen wurden Tiere und kleine geländegängige Wagen
übergesetzt.

‘Besides people, animals and small all-terrain vehicles were *transported*’

The constructions with ÜBER- verbs have not generally developed more particular lexicalized variants the way DURCH- verbs have. There is an accusative-FG counterpart to the intransitive constructions for leaning or tilting over, especially in a reflexive construction with *sich ÜBERlegen*. Also worth mention are the variants for crossing one’s legs, which often occur in a reciprocal construction with plural FGs. The resulting geometric crossing configuration can also invite a prefixed construction with *überschlagen*. In fact, a Google search for “Beine zu überschlagen” returned almost as many hits (109) as the one for “Beine überzuschlagen“ (119). One factor in this choice of construction is that crossing one’s legs is a routine event, and routine acts tend to be described with prefixed *über-* verbs. See chapter 10.

⁴ In many of these sentences ÜBER- verbs can describe events which are objectively similar to those described by UM- verbs as an exchange of containers (see chapter 5). The ÜBER- verb portrays the event as a one-way directed path from one location to another, while an UM- verb would suggest a more complicated switch within a system.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Diese Kassetten wurden zusammen mit einer Anzahl von Photos in die audiovisuelle Abteilung des IISG *übergebracht*. Über die Überladebrücke wird das Ladegut in den Laderaum des Flugzeugs *übergeschoben*. Dann noch nach einer weiteren Minute wird die Lösung A aus der zweiten Schale in die dritte *übergegossen* und die zweite auf 5 Minuten mit der Lösung B ... Er *legte sich* so weit *über*, daß er beinahe übers Geländer gestürzt wäre. Das Schiff hat *sich* hart nach Steuerbord *übergelegt*. Wenn ich mich im Sitz bewegt habe, um das andere Bein *überzuschlagen*, ... Sie beugt sich beim Sprechen nach vorn und hat die Beine *übergeschlagen*.

3. UNTER- verbs with accusative FGs

As with the intransitive variants, UNTER- verbs with accusative FGs rarely if ever describe the route path of an accusative FG under an implicit LM in a way corresponding to the typical uses of ÜBER- verbs. Such paths are again usually expressed by DURCH- verbs together with an *unter*-PP (or the adverb *unten*). UNTER- verbs do however have caused-motion counterparts to the intransitive variants for paths to a destination. As with the intransitive variants, pure spatial paths tend to be expressed with HINUNTER- or HERUNTER- (or

RUNTER-) rather than plain UNTER-, while plain UNTER- verbs tend to be used only when there are more abstract functional implications.⁵

Like the intransitive constructions, UNTER- verbs with an accusative FG commonly describe a path in which the FG becomes submerged under an implicit LM surface, as in (13a) or (6) above. It is again fair to say that UNTER- contrasts more directly with *AUF-* than with *ÜBER-*. Causing something to become submerged may imply that the FG is being buried, for example to hide it from view. Most commonly though, UNTER- verbs describe intermixing the FG with the material that was already there under the implicit LM surface. UNTER- verbs are particularly common for working something into the soil, as in (13b), or adding ingredients to the mix while cooking, as in (13c). Compare the use of prepositional *unter* to mean ‘among’.

- (13) a. Taufbewerber werden völlig im Wasser *untergetaucht*.
 ‘Initiates are *dunked* completely in the water’
- b. Ist der Boden sehr fest und lehmig kann es sinnvoll sein Sand *unterzumischen*.
 ‘If the ground is very firm and loamy it may make sense to *mix* sand *in*’
- c. Es empfiehlt sich die Vanille mit dem Schneebesen *unterzurühren*.
 ‘It’s a good idea to *stir* the vanilla *in* with a whisk’
- d. Über die bellenden Hunde beschwerten sich dann die Nachbarn, so dass die meisten von ihnen woanders *untergebracht* werden mussten.

⁵ If plain UNTER- is used to describe moving an accusative FG downward, then there is usually a particular setting that determines the path, with functional implications. A typical example would be lowering a window with a verb like *UNTERlassen*.

‘The neighbors complained about the barking dogs, so most of them had to be *housed* elsewhere’

UNTERbringen in (13d) is the transitive counterpart to the use of intransitive *UNTERkommen* for finding shelter. In transitive constructions for providing shelter or storage space, AUF- can be used similarly to UNTER- (e.g. *AUFnehmen*), so that UNTER- and AUF- are near synonyms in this usage and near antonyms when UNTER- describes downward direction.

Other UNTER- verbs worth mention include a lexicalized use of *UNTERbuttern* (or less commonly also *UNTERbügeln*) to mean ‘not give proper consideration or respect to’, employing a mild burying image.⁶ *UNTERkriegen* is established to mean causing someone to move downward to an inferior position on an evaluated scale of relative power or influence.⁷

⁶ In a LEO discussion of ‘sich nicht unterbuttern lassen’ one respondent says: “Ich möchte den o.g. Begriff gern im Zusammenhang mit Kindern beschreiben. Dabei geht es nicht darum, dass ein Kind das Andere schikaniert (dafür wäre ‘to bully’ gut als Übersetzung geeignet), sondern eher, dass ältere Kinder sich einfach mal vordrängeln in der Warteschlange und das schwächere Kind ständig zurücksteckt und nicht seine Rechte in Anspruch nimmt.” *Langenscheidt Deutsch als Fremdsprache* also lists ‘ihm etwas UNTERbuttern’ meaning to stick a person with a charge or an unpleasant task (= *UNTERjubeln*), but Duden does not mention that meaning. Duden on the other hand cites a sense ‘zusätzlich verbrauchen’ for *UNTERbuttern* that Langenscheidt does not mention (‘Das restliche Geld wurde mit *untergebuttert*’). As for Wahrig, it does not list the word *UNTERbuttern* at all in any meaning.

⁷ *UNTERkriegen* is thus similar semantically to prefixed *unterdrücken*. The particle verb profiles the accusative FG’s sequence of locations from higher to lower (i.e. the

The most frequent UNTER- verbs according to a Google search of infinitives with *zu* are *UNTERbringen* (916,000), *UNTERordnen* (252,000), *UNTERgehen* (170,000), *UNTERkommen* (61,600), *UNTERtauchen* (46,300), *UNTERSchieben* (42,000), *UNTERjubeln* (39,200), *UNTERkriegen* (26,100), *UNTERlegen* (22,300), *UNTERstellen* (20,000), and *UNTERvermieten* (17,300). (The next most frequent, *UNTERbekommen*, returned only 4,140.)

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er gleicht einem Brunnen mit vielen Röhren, wo man überall nur Gefäße *unterzuhalten* braucht. Um die Radsätze *unterzufahren*, konnte der Bus hydraulisch angehoben werden. Die Pflanzenreste abgeernteter Bestände sind sorgfältig *unterzupflügen*. Im Herbst *gräbt* sie Mist *unter*, um den Boden zu düngen. Bei Sandböden reicht es, mit dem Grubber ein wenig zu lockern bzw. den Stallmist leicht *unterzuarbeiten*. Nach 15 Minuten erneut durchkneten um Sauerstoff *unterzuarbeiten*. Meine Schwester gab mir den Tip Traubenzucker mit *unterzugeben*. Für sehr gehaltvolle Saucen sind zusätzlich Butterflöckchen *unterzuschlagen*. Sinnvoller wäre es vielleicht Einzelne von diesen sogenannten “Chaoten” in Klassen mit leistungsstärkeren Schülern *unterzumischen*. Grad hatten wir vor, dich *unterzugraben*! Zudem versuchten die Bauern in den Tälern oft Wege *unterzuackern*, abzusperren o. ä., wie das zuweilen auch heute noch vorkommt. Der [Teddybär] schaute Erich Thomann inmitten von Allerweltsmüll so traurig an, dass dieser es nicht übers Herz brachte, ihn *unterzufahren*. [bulldozer operator at a garbage dump] Du versuchst schon wieder deine Gesprächspartner *unterzubuttern* um Recht zu bekommen. In so einem Riesenbetrieb muß man aufpassen, daß man nicht *untergebuttert* wird. Der Sozialismus unserer Tage sucht alles zu

path is construed sequentially), while the prefixed verb profiles maintaining the whole suppressed configuration (construed synoptically).

nivellieren, alle Herrn *unterzukriegen*. Ob real oder virtuell, man muss immer mit mir rechnen, denn ich bin nicht *unterzukriegen*.

4. Layer configurations as destinations

A FG with a planar shape can form an extended layer over, under or around a LM, a configuration that is normally associated with prefixed verbs and multi-directional paths (chapter 8). There is one specialized construction with particle ÜBER-, UNTER- and UM- verbs though, in which a FG forms such a layered configuration. With these particle verbs there can be an accusative FG that is being moved as a whole object with the layered configuration as its destination, and the precise LM is left implicit. (Contrast spreading something over, under or around a focal accusative LM.) In typical instances like those in (14) there is a dative object that designates a whole person or object, and the implicit LM for the path is a more specific surface part of the dative object.

- (14) a. Ich begann zunächst, *ihm* kalte feuchte Handtücher *überzulegen*.
 ‘I began first to *lay* cold moist hand towels *over him*’
- b. ... Jar Jar Bink, der *sich* den Jedi-Mantel *umgeworfen* hat
 ‘Jar Jar Bink, who has *put on* the Jedi coat [by draping it around his shoulders]’
- c. Er hat *mir* Rotwein *übergeschüttet*.
 ‘He *spilled* red wine *over me*’
- d. Sie hat *dem Kranken* ein Kissen *untergeschoben*.
 ‘She *shoved* a pillow *under the patient*.’

In most respects these are normal particle verb constructions that describe a goal path. The accusative FG begins at a location other than that of the destination and is moved by the base-verb activity to the new location, and we are prompted to track the FG's path sequentially. What is odd is that the particle itself does not really describe the route to the destination, except insofar as the causal path may happen to involve moving the hands over or under or around the LM. The particle describes the resulting configuration after the FG has been placed into its final extended position.

These constructions are also perfectly normal particle verb constructions in the sense that they can be traced ultimately back to constructions with the LM expressed as the object of a PP, e.g. 'Ich *hängte mir* die Tasche *über die Schulter*' or 'Sie hat *ihm* ein großes Lätzchen *um den Hals gebunden*' or 'Sie hat *dem Kranken* ein Kissen *unter den Kopf geschoben*'. The particle verb construction in effect just leaves the LM of the PP unmentioned.⁸

Events such as these can thus be expressed in any of four ways. In (15a) there is a construction with a simple verb, an accusative FG, a PP, and a

⁸ Compare the use of *ÜBERstülpen* in this example (from a LEO discussion) with the prior use of the simple verb with an *über*-PP: "Zur Erklärung: das blaue Ding, das Ihr da seht, ist aus Metall und wurde dem Hund mit Gewalt *über den Kopf gestülpt* - er lief damit herum, konnte nicht fressen, nicht trinken und sein Hals wurde langsam immer weiter aufgeschnitten. [...] Ist gut möglich, dass der Hund sich das Ding selber *übergestülpt* hatte, weil da was drin war und lecker roch...."

dative object of which the object of the PP is a part. There may be a similar construction as in (15b) with the whole object expressed in the PP. There may be a particle verb with an accusative FG and an implicit LM part of a dative object as in (15c). Finally, there may be a prefixed verb and a focal accusative LM as in (15d), possibly specifying the FG in a *mit*-PP (see chapter 8).

- (15) a. Gloystein habe *dem Mann ... den Sekt über den Kopf gegossen*.
 ‘Gloystein allegedly *poured the champagne over the man’s head*’
- b. Damit hat Dina das *Wasser über mich gegossen*.
 ‘Dina used that to *pour the water over me*’
- c. Ebenso wurde *ihm kaltes Wasser übergegossen*.
 ‘Similarly, *cold water was poured over him*’
- d. Nachdem ich ohnmächtig geworden war, haben sie *mich mit Wasser übergossen*.
 ‘After I had become unconscious they *doused me with water*’

Typical ÜBER- verbs in this construction are of two types. One has an already extended FG such as a coat or a blanket that is draped over the dative person, as in (14a), typically expressed by verbs such as *ÜBERwerfen*, *ÜBERhängen*, *ÜBERlegen*, and *ÜBERTun*. The other type, reflected in (14c) and (15c), has verbs such as *ÜBERgießen*, *ÜBERSchütten*, or *ÜBERstreuen* and describes a liquid or a multiplex that is poured over the surface of the dative object in wave-like fashion. Particle verb constructions with such liquid (or multiplex) FGs are relatively rare, however, in comparison with the prefixed *über-* verb construction with an accusative LM. Particle ÜBER- verbs

with liquid FGs are strongly linked to the meaning ‘overflow’ and focus relatively more on the act of pouring or spilling rather than on the LM.⁹

Where the ÜBER- verbs tend to focus on spreading the FG over a surface, UM- verbs profile a looping action such as that involved in tying something such as a shawl or an apron or a bib around someone’s neck, or a belt around the waist. (Occasionally the UM- configuration is metonymic, that is, the explicit FG is attached to a band that is what is actually being placed around the LM.) UM- verbs commonly used this way include *UMbinden*, *UMschnallen*, *UMhängen*, *UMlegen*, *UMwerfen*, and *UMtun*.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Allerdings empfiehlt es sich, ihm eine Mullwindel oder ein Handtuch locker *überzulegen*. Er *deckte* ihm eine Zeltbahn *über*. Peter *stülpte* sich die Bademütze *über*. Man hat mir einen Eimer Wasser *übergegossen*. Sie hat ihm ein großes Lätzchen *umgebunden*, sodass es seine Händchen nicht brauchen kann. An einem Tag wird einem der Mantel des Altstalinisten, am anderen der eines Verteidigers der Nazis *umgehängt*. Immer wenn ich das Häkelzeug weggelegt habe, ist sie gekommen und hat sich den Schal *umgelegt*. Als Kind hat dir doch deine Mutter ein Kotelett *umgehängt*, damit wenigstens der Hund mit dir spielt! Auch in diesem Fall unterließ er es, beim Ausfüllen der Erstschrift der Quittung Blaupapier *unterzulegen*. Der Napf wird dem Hund *untergehalten*.

Although there is typically a whole affected person expressed as a dative object, the construction does sometimes occur without a dative object.

⁹ In fact, it is probably not a coincidence that the examples that do occur with particle verbs and liquid FGs often mention the original container (*Eimer*).

That is particularly the case when the affected object is inanimate. Inanimate dative objects do occur, but they are unusual. Constructions without a dative object are also more apt to occur when there is no real part-whole relation between the precise LM region and a whole object, and when the verbs call particular attention to the manner of applying the accusative FG. That often occurs for example with verbs that focus particularly on extending the FG, especially when the FG forms a layer that exactly matches the shape and extent of the implicit LM (e.g. *ÜBERziehen*, *ÜBERstreifen*, *ÜBERspannen*, *ÜBERwölben*), or when the verb focuses particularly on how the FG is spread (e.g. *ÜBERstreichen*, *ÜBERkleben*, *ÜBERSchmieren*). Even with normal events such as putting on clothes the dative object may be omitted occasionally simply because it is obvious and there is no particular reason to make the person an expressed beneficiary of the act. When there is no affected person to appear as the dative object, the LM can sometimes be specified in a pleonastic *über*-PP that serves a similar purpose, and occasionally the destination is expressed in an *auf*-PP.

Generally speaking, *UNTER*- verbs are more likely to occur without a dative object than are the corresponding *ÜBER*- verbs. One reason is that *UNTER*- verbs are less apt than *ÜBER*- verbs to be read as route paths, so that there is less need to disambiguate by marking this meaning clearly with a dative object. Another reason has to do with the pragmatics of layering things such as clothes with respect to a person. An expression such as ‘einen Pullover *ÜBERstreifen*’ (or *ÜBERhaben*) can actually be read in either of two ways:

with the person's body as the implicit LM, or with another layer of clothes as the implicit LM. The difference between the two readings is not practically significant (although the former reading will be more consistently associated with a dative object). The corresponding expressions with UNTER- on the other hand can only be read with an outer layer of clothing as the implicit LM, not the person's body. And inanimate objects such as outer layers of clothing are not apt to be included as dative objects – especially since the two layers would presumably have the same extent so that there is no part-whole relation between the dative object and the precise spatial LM.

UNTER- verbs such as *UNTERlegen* and *UNTERhalten* can describe placing a laterally extended FG underneath a gapped LM for the purpose of shielding something that is implicitly beneath the FG, for example to catch droppings from the implicit LM so that they will not hit the floor. At this point it is difficult to say whether the construction describes adding a layer or simply placing an accusative FG in a destination below the implicit LM. In any event there is typically no dative object.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Auch unter den Männern war es teilweise Mode, ihrer Frisur ein Polster als Erhöhung *unterzulegen*. ... weil Latexfarbe ziemlich "hartnäckig" ist, d.h. schwerer *überzustreichen*. Und jeder weiss, dass es keinen Sinn hat, eine neue Tapete *überzukleben*, bevor nicht die eigentliche Ursache der Feuchtigkeit beseitigt wurde. Da kannst du Falsches wegradieren und brauchst nichts *überzuschmieren*. Ein Blatt Seidenpapier ist *überzudecken*, falls die Oberhitze zu stark ist. Ich empfehle den Streukäse erst nach einer

halben Stunde Backzeit *überzustreuen*. Sie beauftragte ihren Baumeister Daidalos, ein Gestell zu bauen und ein Kuhfell *überzuspannen*. Für sonnenempfindliche Babyhaut Dank Schulterknöpfe sind die Shirts ruck-zuck *übergestreift*. Morgens lohnt es sich also noch einen Cardigan *überzuwerfen*. Zu Hause hatte ich Katarinas schmalen Schal *umgelegt*. Diese Spezialsocken werden über die normalen Socken *übergezogen*. ... oder ein Mooskissen auf die feuchte Stelle *überzubinden*. ... dass unten am Wasserablass ein Kübel *untergestellt* oder *untergehalten* werden kann. Er *legte* beim Malen Zeitungspapier *unter*, um die Tischdecke nicht schmutzig zu machen. ... ansonsten fällt mir nur ein, beim Bügeln ein feuchtes Tuch *unterzulegen*. ... mit Neckholdereinsatz, als wäre ein weiteres Top *untergezogen*.

There is one problematic UNTER- variant that deviates from the general constructional pattern of particle verbs, namely the use of a verb like *UNTERfassen* with an accusative object that refers to the LM of the UNTER-path rather than the FG. Or more precisely, the accusative object typically refers to a whole object whose implicit parts serve as the LM, as in (16). The verb describes a goal path to a particular position under an implicit part of the accusative object, adding support by extending an arm with upward pressure to bolster something at a particular pressure point.

- (16) Die Krüppel werden von Kameraden *untergefaßt*.
 ‘The cripples are propped up [held under the arms] by comrades’

In these variants the whole person is not a dative object being affected by the path of an explicit accusative FG under an implicit part of it, as one would expect from a particle verb construction (‘Sie hat *dem Kranken* ein

Kissen untergeschoben‘). The person is profiled as an accusative object, and the FG is left implicit (the hand or arm of the subject). As we will see in chapter 8, that is a pattern that is associated with prefixed verbs rather than particle verbs. On the other hand, the precise LM is again usually a gapped part of the whole person such as the area under the arms, and a base verb like *fassen* conveys a precise image of a hand. In comparison with the prefixed verb *unterfassen* (which also sometimes occurs, although it is not sanctioned by Duden or Wahrig), the particle verb concentrates attention on the spatial placement of a hand under an implicit specific part of the person, rather than to the resulting state of supporting the person as a whole. (A Google search returned 216 for “zu unterfassen“ and 273 for “unterzufassen“.) That is, to the extent that speakers are making meaningful choices here then *UNTERfassen* focuses on the act of placing a specific part of the subject (the hand) under an implicit specific part of the LM (the arms), and it is commonly used like *UNTERhaken* to describe social accompaniment rather than genuine physical support (‘Alle hatten *sich untergefaßt* und sangen das Lied’). Prefixed *unterfassen* on the other hand does profile distributed support under the whole LM (like *unterstützen*). Thus for example ‘Ziesche hatte einen *untergefaßt*, der schwer humpelte’ describes placing the arm into a supporting position, while ‘Eisenhauch hatte ihn rasch *unterfaßt*’ might suggest supporting the whole person to keep him from falling. The key point here for our purposes is that the particle verb construction calls for concentrated attention on a FG (albeit an implicit one, namely the hand associated with *fassen*), and that FG moves

to occupy a particular defined place (e.g. an underarm) – as opposed to an image in which our attention is distributed more generally to suggest holistic support.

Another factor in the use of particle UNTER- here seems to be that the base verb *fassen* itself already takes an accusative object that refers to the thing being grasped, so that the construction is an elliptical version of a construction with an understood object of the preposition. Compare ‘Er faßt den alten Mann unter (den Arm)’. In fact, this type is generally restricted to base verbs of ‘grasping’, so that there is no possibility of reading the accusative object as the FG. *UNTERgreifen* also occurs, though neither Duden nor Wahrig mention it. (Cf. *UNTERschieben* or *UNTERhalten*, with which an accusative object would have to be understood as the FG.)

UNTER- here is not the semantic counterpart of ÜBER- but of *AUF*-. UNTER- implies a looping path which ends by landing on the lower surface of the LM and exerting upward kinetic force at a particular focal point, just as *AUF*- implies a corresponding path landing on the upper surface (with implicit downward force).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Frau Behrend war von zwei kahlköpfigen Geschäftsleuten *untergefaßt* und sang gib-sie-wieder-her. Jettchen und Köbbling gingen hin und her, *untergefaßt* auf schmalen Wegen und getrennt und jeder für sich auf breiten Lindenalleen. Beim Gehen ziehen Blinde es vor, den Arm ihrer Begleitperson *unterzufassen*, sie wollen also nicht gezogen oder geschoben werden. Er *hakte* seine Frau *unter*. Es kann auch nie schaden, *sich unterzuhaken* und in

Ketten zu gehen. Am besten ist es, die Badekappe links und rechts *unterzugreifen* und dann nach oben abzuziehen. Mit den Krücken kam er auch noch nicht so gut zurecht und Lars musste an sich halten, um Kevin nicht ständig *unterzugreifen*. [Selbst mit einem spitzen Gegenstand oder dergleichen ist es nicht möglich, den Deckel zu *unterfassen* und anzuheben. Vertraulich *unterfaßte* der Böhme den Arm des andern Ritters, und indem er den Arm auf die Schulter des Prälaten legte, wies er auf den Knieenden: “Nicht wahr, er betet?”]

There is an alternative variation on this construction that uses the verb *bekommen* (or *kriegen*) and the past participle of the particle verb, with the person affected appearing as nominative subject. Attributive participles can also occur with *sein*. Another alternative construction with the affected person as nominative subject has base verbs such as *haben*, *nehmen*, or *behalten* and focuses exclusively on the resulting state.¹⁰

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Das ist, als kriegte man einen Eimer Schmutzwasser *übergeschüttet*. Die Braut bekommt einen Schal *umgelegt*. Die Kostüme sind super leicht und sehr schnell *übergezogen*. Sie *hatte* nur einen leichten Mantel *über*. Hast du denn einen Brustgurt *umgehabt*? Habe extra schon nen dicken Pulli *untergehabt* und trotzdem war es noch kalt!

¹⁰ This construction is otherwise very restricted. There are no nominative-FG counterparts such as **Wasser fließt ihm über* or **Die Decke liegt ihm über* (or, for that matter, **Die Decke liegt über ihm*). There is also no **Er hängt dem Käfig ein Tuch über*.

5. Lexicalized particle verbs with an accusative FG and a dative object

There are a few lexicalized UNTER- or ÜBER- verbs, with an accusative FG and a dative object, that warrant mention. In one special idiomatic use, *ÜBERziehen* (*ÜBERbraten*, *ÜBERgeben*) with the set accusative FG *eins* (or *ein paar*, or *einen*) describes giving a dative person a whack. The use of ÜBER- here presumably derives from an image of hitting ‘over the head’ (or ‘over the buttocks’). Compare also the image of laying the person ‘over one’s knee’ for a spanking.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Das Elefantenkind sagte: “Mein Vater und meine Mutter, meine Tanten und meine Onkel, alle haben mir eins *übergezogen*, weil ich so unersättlich neugierig bin.” Mir hat man von hinten einen *übergezogen*. Wäre schön wenn wir einfach wieder “normal” leben könnten, ohne dem anderen eines mit der mittelalterlichen Keule *überzugeben*. Der Vater hat ihn ordentlich *übergelegt*.

5.1. Surreptitious planting (*UNTERjubeln*)

UNTER- verbs such as *UNTERjubeln* or *UNTERSchieben* can occur with an accusative FG and a dative person in a way that corresponds to English expressions such as ‘planting’ incriminating evidence on someone, ‘foisting’ or ‘palming’ something off on someone, ‘slipping’ somebody something unwanted, so that the dative person is ‘stuck’ with the object. UNTER-

presumably conveys an image of a FG coming to be “housed” in someone’s personal space, under the person’s roof or clothes. There is a continuum from spatial paths such as sticking something under someone’s coat or under someone’s door (or at someone’s feet) to more abstract events such as assigning someone a task or a responsibility for something. The verbs consistently suggest that there is something underhanded about the act, that it is done “under the table” with stealth or deceit.¹¹

- (17) a. Also habe man ihm eine Waffe *untergeschoben*.
 ‘So allegedly they *planted* a weapon on him’
- b. Meine Frau hat mir Kuckuckskinder *untergeschoben*!
 ‘My wife has *foisted* children off on me that aren’t mine’
- c. Stell dir vor, was der Chef mir für eine Arbeit *untergejubelt* hat!
 ‘Imagine what kind of task the boss has *stuck* me *with*’
- d. Werden Ihnen Fehler *untergeschoben*, die Sie gar nicht gemacht haben?
 ‘Are mistakes [falsely] *attributed* to you that you didn’t even make’

¹¹ According to one forum participant [forum.wordreference.com/showthread.php?t=1238099], *UNTERSchieben* typically suggests that the act is performed quietly and in secret (“meist still und heimlich erfolgt”), while *UNTERjubeln* suggests that it is done deceptively but openly (“es erfolgt laut und heimlich, wobei die Aufmerksamkeit auf etwas anderes gelenkt wird”). A participant in another forum [dict.leo.org/forum/viewUnsolvedquery.php?idThread=227148&idForum=2&lp=end&lang=de] says that when she hears *UNTERjubeln* she expects that something unpleasant is being planted on her that she didn’t want, and that the person who planted it is long gone.

On rare occasions a particle UNTER- verb may be used for falsely attributing a statement or a behavior or a motive to someone, but now the particle verbs are definitely not as typical as prefixed verbs such as *unterstellen* or *unterschieben*. The semantic differences between a prefixed *unter-* verb and a particle UNTER- verb are discussed in detail in chapter 10. For now it is fair to say that a particle verb like *UNTERSchieben* profiles the spatial image of placing an accusative FG – prototypically a physical thing such as a child or incriminating evidence – into a position within the personal space of the dative person. UNTER- verbs often focus on getting rid of responsibility for something by palming it off on someone else. A prefixed verb like *unterschieben* or *unterstellen* suggests a more abstract FG such as a motive or an opinion that does not so clearly exist independent of the person it is being attributed to, and so is not so clearly being transferred in a sequential change from one particular focal location to another. Similar comments will apply to the particle verb *UNTERordnen*, which describes placing a FG into a position in a hierarchy, as opposed to prefixed *unter-* verbs that express complex relations of functional subordination such as *unterstellen*, *unterstehen*, *unterliegen*, *unterwerfen*, *unterjochen*, *unterdrücken*, and *unterziehen*.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Das Gepäck sei ihm von einem anderen Passagier *untergeschoben* worden.
 Immer mehr Väter fürchten, dass ihnen ein Kind *untergeschoben* sein könnte.
 Ein Fahrgast hat in der Nacht auf Samstag einer 56-jährigen Taxifahrerin in

Hallein (Tennengau) ein Haschischkeks *untergejubelt*. Meine Frau hat mir drei Kinder *untergejubelt*. Es ist nicht das erste Mal, dass den europäischen Konsumenten aus Nordamerika gentechnisch verunreinigte Rohstoffe *untergejubelt* werden. Meine Schwester mag keinen Anchovis, aber ich habe ihr den einfach im Dressing *untergemogelt* und sie war total begeistert von dem Salat! Ich würde auch nie versuchen meinem Freund ein Kind *unterzuspielen*. Der Betreiber versucht ahnungslosen Besuchern ein 0900 Dialerprogramm *unterzujubeln*. Da wurde doch tatsächlich dem armen Computer der Fehler *untergejubelt*. Und es geht letztendlich einzig darum, den anderen die eigene Sichtweise *unterzuschieben*. Frau MacKenzie sagt allerdings, man habe ihr einen Text *untergeschoben*, der nicht von ihr stammt. Ich finde es ja interessant, wie allen Flashmob-Teilnehmern von Dir mal eben politische Absichten *untergeschoben* werden. Wir hoffen, daß wir ihm keine falschen Ideen *untergeschoben* haben.

5.2. Relative position in a hierarchy (*ÜBER-* / *UNTERordnen*)

The image of a relatively higher or lower level on a hierarchical scale invites a rare use of *ÜBER-* verbs to describe a goal path rather than a route path, so that *ÜBER-* and *UNTER-* function in this particular context as converses, much as ‘above’ and ‘below’ are converses. Both *ÜBERordnen* and *UNTERordnen* can describe placing an accusative FG at a level relative to that of the dative object. The relation may be purely abstract (*übergeordnete*

Begriffe), but there are usually implications that the higher entity has greater importance than the lower entity and some control over it.¹²

- (18) Denn der Hund sieht den Menschen nicht als Menschen, sondern als anderen Hund, als Wesen, dem man sich im Rudel *unter-* oder vielleicht sogar *überzuordnen* hat.

‘Because the dog sees the human not as a human but as another dog, as a creature that one one must be *subordinated* to in the pack, or possibly even *ranked above*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er ist ihm als Verkaufsleiter *übergeordnet*. Im Industriebau und Büro haben sich alle anderen Aspekte diesem Diktat “Funktion” *unterzuordnen*. Die Behörde wurde dem Außenministerium *untergeordnet*. ... ein *untergeordneter* Satz.

¹² Compare the spatial image when *ÜBERSchreiben* is used in a very similar construction with a dative object to describe putting a heading at the top of a page of text: ‘jeder Seite die betreffenden Namen *überzuschreiben*’.

CHAPTER 5

UM- verbs and reflexive-trajectors

Unlike the other particle verbs, plain UM- verbs virtually never describe the kind of path that is most typically associated with the preposition *um* and the verb prefix *um-*, namely a circular path around a LM that is external to the FG. That image is associated not with plain UM- but with HERUM-, which is the topic in section 1. As a result, UM- verbs almost never compete directly with *um-* verbs, or with simple verbs and *um*-PPs, to describe objectively similar events.

Nevertheless, UM- verbs are more common than the other three particle verbs under consideration here (107,414 instances of “*umzu...n*” in COSMAS compared with 73,100 for “*durchzu...n*”, 15,871 for “*unterzu...n*” and 5,479 for “*überzu...n*”). The reason is that particle UM- has developed an extensive range of uses that transform the basic circular path image into one for ‘turning’ (see Beaton 1996: 741–7).

- (1) a. Er *drehte* die Leiche *um*.
‘He *turned* the body *over*’
- b. Ich hab ihn von hinten auf die Schulter getippt, dann hat er *sich umgedreht*.

‘I tapped him on the shoulder from behind, then he *turned* [himself] *around*’

- c. Jetzt bin ich schon zu weit gegangen, um noch *umzukehren*.
 ‘Now I’ve gone too far to *turn around*’
- (2) a. Nachdem wir in Frankfurt *umgestiegen* waren, kamen wir gegen 18:00 in Chicago an.
 ‘After we had *changed planes* [“climbed UM”] in Frankfurt, we arrived in Chicago about 6:00 PM’
- b. Die ausgelassene Stimmung *schlug* plötzlich in Aggression *um*.
 ‘The exuberant mood *turned* suddenly into aggression’

Sentences like (1a) and (1b) involve what Lindner (1983) calls a *reflexive-trajector* (‘trajector’ being Langacker’s term for what we are here calling a figure). In a reflexive-trajector image the FG and the LM are implicit parts of the same object. The semantic FG of the path is a salient part (such as the front side of a person) that moves relative to the rest of the object (such as the person’s central axis or spine). When something turns then, the implicit moving FG is a relatively peripheral part that rotates around the relatively stationary interior parts (the implicit LM). As (1a) and (1b) illustrate, German uses the same particle UM- both for lateral rotation ‘around’ and for vertical rotation ‘over’.

Figure 7 gives a rough illustration of reflexive-trajector turning. The salient external portion of the object, which is shaded darker, moves in an *um* path around the rest of the object. As with the other particle-verb illustrations, the path is read as a temporal sequence of conceptual frames from left to right.

The construal exhibits all of the essential features that characterize the particle verb constructions discussed in chapters 3 and 4. There is concentrated attention on the active part of the extended FG, just as there was for example with the leading part of an extending mass in the ‘overflowing’ variants with ÜBER- verbs. There is a clear sequence of frames, each showing the next stage in a defined sequence, and the concluding frame shows the FG in a new resulting configuration. As we will see below, UM- verbs consistently describe switching to a discrete new orientation rather than simply rotating imperfectively. Finally, the LM is by definition implicit. It makes sense then that reflexive-trajector images generally are uniquely associated with particle verbs. (This is true of English as well: e.g. ‘turn over’, ‘turn around’, ‘spread out’, ‘cave in’.)

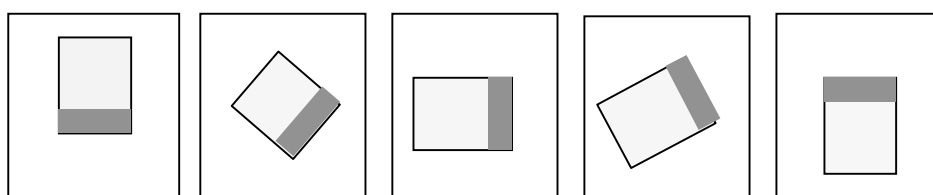


Figure 7. Reflexive-trajector UM-

UM- verbs are also commonly used to describe a more complex image like that in (1c), in which a FG that is already engaged in a path executes a reflexive-trajector turn and thus alters its direction of motion. This image blends reflexive-trajector turning and an overall change in the FG’s location.

The notion of shifting to a new course underlies several important extensions such as those in (2). Many UM- verbs involve switching from one containing vehicle or medium to another within a restricted system of options, as in (2a), and that image in turn leads to a range of lexicalized variants such as the general use for switching from one state to another reflected in (2b). If we allow for the role that reflexive-trajector turning plays in (1c) and (2), then that image is profiled as an essential part of the meaning in almost all uses of particle UM- verbs.

In simple physical rotation as in (1a) or (1b), with no profiled change of overall location, the reflexive-trajector in German is typically an accusative object (often a reflexive pronoun as in (1b)). In the more complex events such as (1c) and (2) that involve an overall change of location as well as reflexive-trajector turning, intransitive constructions with a nominative subject become more typical.

DURCH- verbs also have reflexive-trajector variants, but they are not as important as those for UM- verbs. A reflexive-trajector path with a DURCH- verb describes the motion of an interior part of an object perpendicular to the rest of the object. In other words the DURCH- verb construction conveys an image in which the middle sags or protrudes, as in (3a), and these variants are discussed briefly at the end of this chapter.

- (3) a. Unter unendlichen Wäschestößen haben *sich* die Regale *durchgebogen*.
 ‘The shelves have come to *sag* under the never-ending piles of laundry’

- b. ... und der Stab *brach* in der Mitte *durch*.
 ‘... and the stick *broke* [*through*] in the middle’
- c. Eine Axt war aber nicht zu finden, um die Eisdecke *durchzuhauen*.
 ‘An axe *to chop through* the ice cover was not to be found’

More typically though, the object sags to the point that it breaks as in (3b) or (3c), in which case the reflexive-trajector image merges with other readings for the DURCH- verb. The accusative object in (3c) might be read as a reflexive-trajector (profiling the rupture as it develops in the ice); but it is also the route taken by the axe as it moves all the way through the ice – making the ice an incremental theme. These issues with “break” verbs are discussed in chapter 11.

As for ÜBER- verbs, they do not really have reflexive-trajector variants comparable to English *over* verbs, either for turning over or for falling over. Those meanings are expressed in German by UM- verbs. Even when ÜBER- verbs do occur in situations that might suggest losing one’s balance and toppling (e.g. *ÜBERkippen*), they profile that the FG tilts or leans across an imaginary vertical plane that is external to the FG – not the ensuing reflexive-trajector path of falling over.¹

¹ The expression ‘hinten *ÜBERfallen*’ is used idiomatically to mean being thrown psychically off-balance (knocked for a loop). ÜBER- verbs such as *ÜBERbiegen* and *ÜBERbeugen* typically occur with a directional expression such as *vorne* or *nach hinten* or *seitwärts* and describe a directed path in which the leading part of an extending FG moves across an implicit external LM boundary (typically the vertical gravity axis).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Oberlippe liegt auf der Unterlippe, ohne *überzuhängen*. Bei baumartigem Wuchs ist die Krone oval bis rund, die jüngeren und dünneren Zweige *hängen über*. Die Zweige *hängen über* wie bei einer Trauerweide! Der Turm von Pisa *hängt über*. Die Leiter ist nach vorne *übergekippt*. Die Stängel wachsen aufrecht bis etwas *übergebogen* (zur Reifezeit oft nickend). Er radelte in kerzengerader Haltung, nach hinten *übergelehnt*. Erich saß am Boden, mit dem Rücken gegen das Holz gestützt, den Kopf nach rückwärts *übergelehnt*, auf der Matraze aufliegend. Wir schaukelten bei wenig Wind aber noch stehender Dünung von einer Seite zur anderen, die Segel schlugen und der Baum drohte *überzukommen*. Als ich das Bad betreten habe, bin ich fast hinten *übergefallen* vor Schreck.

The following discussion begins with the difference between UM- and HERUM-. Then comes an extensive look at the wide range of UM- verbs that can be discussed under the rubric of ‘turning’, beginning with pure turning in place and extending gradually to the more elaborate variants for switching course. These UM- verbs illustrate some very basic patterns of meaning extension, i.e., of transforming a schematic image to create a whole family of related meanings.

1. Circular paths and HERUM-

The complete set of constructions describing a circular path in (4) does not have an UM- verb in the (b) variant; it has a HERUM- verb. HERUM- often corresponds to *um* in the way that DURCH- corresponds to *durch* or ÜBER- to *über*, i.e., it can describe a standard circular *um* path around a LM that is left implicit, as in (5b), or is expressed obliquely in a pleonastic *um*-PP as in (5a). When there is a pleonastic *um*-PP, HERUM- is largely superfluous semantically. In comparison with a simple verb and an *um*-PP it seems to direct our attention more to an ongoing relationship between the path and the LM. In (5a) for example, the focus is on the perspective that the people have on the tower at each stage of the path, rather than simply on their curved forward motion around the tower. Syntactically HERUM- is often felt to form a unit with the pleonastic PP (*um den Turm herum*).

- (4) a. Die Erde läuft *um die Sonne*.
 ‘The earth goes *around the sun*’
 b. [Die Erde] *läuft um die Sonne herum* in 365 Tagen und 6 Stunden.
 ‘The earth *revolves around the sun* in 365 days and 6 hours’
 c. Die Erde *umläuft* die Sonne in einem Jahr.
 ‘The earth *orbits [um-goes]* the sun in a year’

- (5) a. Wir *gingen um den Turm herum*, um ihn von allen Seiten zu fotografieren.
 ‘We *walked all around* the tower in order to photograph it from all sides’
 b. Nach dem Essen *ging* ein Kellner *herum* und bot Kaffee an.
 ‘After the meal a waiter *went around* offering coffee’
 c. Deshalb bin ich so gern im Land *herumgereist*.

‘That’s why I enjoyed *traveling around* in the country so much’

- d. Daraufhin wurde aber nicht grundlegend reformiert, sondern wieder nur *herumgedoktert*.

‘But at that point they didn’t really reform; they just *tinkered around* [“doctored around”]’

Otherwise, the most typical uses of HERUM- verbs are those in which the FG circulates from one person or place to another, “making the rounds”. In (5b) for example the waiter goes from one customer to the next, circulating in a way that clearly suggests a sequence but does not suggest any particular direction or ultimate destination. This image presumably originates as a more or less spatial “circle” such as people sitting around a table, but the path does not need to be circular in any real geometric sense.² HERUM- verbs frequently suggest aimless wandering around, as opposed to circulating in a predictable sequence, conveying a vague sense of motion that does not “get anywhere”.³

A significant difference between HERUM- and plain UM- is that HERUM- describes a continuous circular path with no particular concluding point, while plain UM- verbs typically describe a more discrete shift from one

² The implicit LM might also sometimes be understood as a subjective deictic perspective in the middle of a space, such that the conceptualizer needs to rotate in order to track the moving FG.

³ Cf. meandering *durch-* paths (chapter 8), which eventually do come to a conclusion when the whole LM space appears to be permeated. Cf. also UMHER-, which can be used similarly but connotes that the path is wide-ranging rather than aimless (Schmitz 1964: 21).

orientation to another. As the next section demonstrates, UM- verbs are like other particle verbs in that they typically describe a path with a definite endpoint.⁴

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Schnur *reicht* nicht um das Paket *herum*. Die Mädchen aber fangen gleich an, um Blumfeld *herumzuspringen* und bitten um die Bälle. Um den Verletzten *standen* viele Schaulustige *herum*. Hier sehe ich zum ersten Mal eine Wasserpfeife, die in einem Restaurant *herumgereicht* wird. Warum kontaktierst Du eigentlich nicht den Bergrettungsdienst anstatt hier nutzlos *herumzufragen*. Die Magen Darm Grippe *geht herum*, vielleicht hast du dir einen Virus eingefangen. Ein Gespenst *geht herum* in Österreich ein Gespenst, das sich Formel 10 nennt! Ein Skandal *spricht sich* in einer so kleinen Stadt schnell *herum*. Wir sind eine Woche in Sizilien *herumgefahren*. Beni ist wie wild *herumgerannt* und hat laut geschrien. Hast du *dich* heute wieder auf der Straße *herumgetrieben*, statt in die Schule zu gehen? Stattdessen wird *herumgesessen* und nichts getan. Wir hätten zu lange *herumgestanden* und es sei jetzt nicht mehr möglich, die Demonstration durchzuführen. Mann, ich habs satt hier *herumzuhängen!*“, sagte die Glühbirne und brannte durch. Letarking verbringt den Tag damit, *herumzuliegen* und nichts zu tun. In der Küche *steht* viel Geschirr *herum*, das noch nicht gespült ist. Ich empfehle ausdrücklich nicht an dem Laufwerk *herumzubasteln!!*

⁴ The only general exception to the principle that plain UM- verbs do not describe imperfective paths is the lexicalized use of *UMgehen* for circulation within a space. Even a rare instance such as this one with plain UM- rather than HERUM- clearly describes a single orbit with a destination at the original starting point: ‘Er braucht 84 Jahre und 3 Tage bis er um die Sonne *umgelaufen* ist.’

2. UM- and turning

2.1. Lateral turning in place ((*sich*) *UMdrehen*)

In one prototypical type of reflexive-trajector turning, reflected in (1b), an upright FG such as a standing person turns around to face in the opposite direction. Such events have several salient characteristics. To begin with, there is classic reflexive-trajector motion. The outer parts of the person move in a curved *um* path relative to the person's implicit and stationary central vertical axis. The FG as a whole does not change its location relative to any external LM, but parts of it do move relative to the other parts. As in all reflexive-trajector constructions the LM is inherently implicit and particle UM- is clearly called for as opposed to either a prefixed *um-* verb or a simple verb with an *um*-PP. Our attention is concentrated on the active portion of the reflexive-trajector that is changing relative locations, prototypically the front side of a person.

In theory the FG could continue to rotate indefinitely, spinning like a top or an ice skater. However, that kind of path is rarely described using an UM- verb, and it would not occur to anyone to interpret the sentence in (1b) this way. True imperfective circular rotation is normally expressed using either the deictic particle HERUM- as in (6a) or the plain base verb *drehen* as in (6b). The particle verbs with plain UM- on the other hand, as in (1b) or (7), consistently suggest a clear conclusion to the path – typically a 180-degree

turn that results in a new orientation that exactly reverses the starting orientation. In effect, one side of the reflexive-trajector (such as the front of a person) switches places with the other side (such as the back). The reason for turning around in place is very often to see what is behind. That aspect of the event can be explicit in a sentence like (7b), and the construction can occur with a *nach*-PP that expressly mentions the visual target.

- (6) a. Zusätzlich wird es mehrmals im Kreis *herum gedreht*, damit es die Orientierung verliert.
 ‘Additionally, [the child] is *turned around* in a circle several times so that it loses its orientation’
- b. Kreisel und Hocker *drehen sich* zunächst in die gleiche Richtung. Dann wird der Kreisel *umgedreht*.
 ‘At first the top and the stool *rotate* in the same direction. Then the top is *turned around*’
- (7) a. »Ich zweifle nicht daran«, sagte sie, ohne *sich umzuwenden*, »wirklich nicht.«
 “‘I don’t doubt it,’ she said, without *turning around*, “really I don’t””
- b. Hier zwingt mich jemand dazu, meinen Blick *umzuwenden*.
 ‘At this point somebody forces me to look behind me [*turn around* my direction of looking]’
- c. Ihre schmalen Lenden, Beine, die nicht enden, Männer halten an, um *sich* nach ihr *umzuwenden*.
 ‘Her narrow waist, legs that never end, men stop and *turn* to look at her’

The most common verbs for describing lateral reflexive-trajector rotation are *UMdrehen* and *UMwenden*.⁵ As the examples in (1b), (7a) and (7c) reflect, the reflexive-trajector often happens to be an accusative reflexive pronoun since the subject of the clause is both the causal agent and the reflexive-trajector. The same verbs can also occur with a variety of other accusative reflexive-trajectors though (i.e. semantic reflexive-trajectors that are distinct from the causal subject).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Kaum hatte sie *sich umgedreht*, zog sich schon Gregor unter dem Kanapee hervor. Wetten wir um 10 Mark, daß ich nach hinten sehen kann, ohne meinen Kopf *umzudrehen*? Sie forderte ihn auf, *sich umzukehren* und den gegenüberstehenden Glaskasten zu beschauen.

2.2. Turning and changing direction of motion (*UMkehren*)

In theory, rotating and changing the direction of motion are separate images. A ball can spin in place without changing its overall location, and a moving ball can spin independently of its direction of motion (ignoring the effects of air resistance on a baseball pitcher's curve ball). The distinction between rotation and direction of motion becomes blurred though with the most typical

⁵ According to Beaton (1996: 742), *wenden* is generally more formal and technical than *drehen*. Beaton (1996: 744) also observes that *sich UMwenden* suggests a slow and dignified turn while *sich UMDrehen* can describe a sudden quick motion.

moving FGs, namely people and most animals and vehicles. These entities have a front that normally faces forward when the FG is moving, so that changing the direction of motion involves a corresponding change in forward orientation. This widespread correspondence between forward orientation and direction of motion has led to the use of “turning” expressions to refer to both types of path. In English, ‘He turned around’ could mean either that he rotated in place or that he was already in motion and then made a U-turn.⁶ In effect then, the difference between a pure change of forward orientation (reflexive-trajector lateral rotation) and a change in path direction normally reduces to whether the FG is already in motion. A stationary FG that turns is understood to turn in place; a moving FG that turns is understood both to alter its forward orientation and to change its overall direction of motion.

In German the situation is basically the same, although German speakers tend to use different base verbs for the two situations. The verbs *UMwenden* and *UMdrehen* can be used in reflexive constructions for changing the direction of motion, but they are more commonly associated with changing orientation rather than direction. Changes in the direction of motion tend to be expressed in intransitive constructions with the verb *UMkehren*.

- (8) Leider war jedoch die Strasse dorthin so schlecht und mit Löchern versehen, dass wir *umgekehrt* sind.

⁶ Similar comments apply to ‘He turned right’. Compare also the ambiguity of English ‘position’ to mean either a posture (such as standing or sitting) or a location.

‘Unfortunately the road leading there was so bad and filled with potholes that we *turned around*’

As far as the particle UM- is concerned, it makes sense to think of both kinds of turning primarily as a reflexive-trajector process, since that aspect is present in both situations. Then for moving FGs, changing forward orientation can generally be held to entail an additional corresponding change in direction of motion. (In any event, without invoking a reflexive-trajector image it would be difficult to say what the implicit LM of UM- could be when a FG reverses the direction of motion.)

Whether the turning FG as a whole is moving or stationary, UM- verbs consistently suggest a definite endpoint to the turn, a discrete shift from one orientation to another. That is, UM- implies that a moving FG executes a major shift of direction rather than a slight correction in course, and it also implies a definite new course rather than an imperfective circular path. UM- verbs typically describe a U-turn, a 180-degree reversal of the direction the FG is facing and moving. (Cf. AB-, which is used to describe turns of less than a 45-degree angle. Cf. also ZURÜCK-, which shifts the focus more toward the original starting location as the new destination, rather than the act of turning around.)

The notion of turning around and reversing course is commonly applied metaphorically as in (9a). *UMkehren* can also occur with an accusative FG that refers to an abstract directed process such as a trend that is being

reversed, as in (9b). Compare also the extremely common attributive or adverbial use of the participle *umgekehrt* to mean ‘conversely, the other way around’.

- (9) a. Schluss mit dem Chaos – es ist an der Zeit, *umzukehren*!
 ‘Enough of this chaos – it’s time to *head in a new direction*’
 b. Polen versucht den Brain Drain *umzukehren*.
 ‘Poland is trying to *reverse* the brain drain’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Der Sattel auf 7.750 m unter dem Nordgipfel ist der Platz, *umzukehren*. Wir sind viel zu weit gegangen um nochmal *umzudrehen*. Der Wachtmeister befahl, die Wagen *umzukehren* und sie wurden alle nach Rastatt unter unserer Begleitung geführt. Selbst beim Anfassen des Kopfes gelang es nicht, das Pferd nach links oder nach rechts *umzuwenden*. Die Bibel verstehen wollen heißt bereit sein *umzukehren*. Es bleiben der Menschheit kaum noch 10 Jahre, um den Trend *umzukehren*. Dieser Trend droht *sich* nun jedoch *umzukehren*.

2.3. Vertical rotation “over“ and toppling (*UMwenden, UMfallen, UMfahren, UMbringen*)

A significant difference between German and English is that UM- verbs can describe turning “over“ (upside down) as well as turning “around”. Although the two types of path may seem very different from an English-speaking point of view, using UM- for both actually makes perfect sense. The preposition *um* is neutral with respect to vertical orientation, and the particle UM- is similarly

neutral. Turning a playing card or a prone body to reveal the opposite side, as in (11), means reversing the direction that the object is facing – whether that direction relates to the front-back axis or the up-down axis. *UMdrehen* and *UMwenden* are used indiscriminately for both kinds of rotation, and only the practical context for a sentence such as (10) tells us that the shield is being turned around rather than over.⁷ The basic meaning is reflexive-trajector rotation so that the object faces in a new direction, no matter what plane the rotation takes place in.⁸

(10) Sie *drehte* das Schild *um*, so daß die Schrift zur Wand zeigte.

⁷ In English the distinction is not simply one between vertical and lateral rotation; it has more to do with whether the implicit LM is considered to be the center of the object or its opposite side. Turning over implies a discrete “upside-down” sort of change, while turning around is a more general term that can also describe imperfective rotation. Thus for example a steak on a grill is turned “over”, but things are not so clear when we turn a pig roasting on a spit. The rotation is clearly vertical, but “over” is only appropriate if there is a discrete 180-degree exchange of sides. Otherwise neither *over* nor *around* seem quite appropriate and speakers resort to the simple base verb *turn*. Similar comments apply to turning a key in a keyhole, which also involves turning in the vertical plane but with a strong sense of circular motion. In German, UM- verbs are perfectly appropriate in either the horizontal plane or the vertical plane, but in either plane UM- consistently implies a discrete shift of orientation as opposed to imperfective turning (which is expressed by simple verbs of turning or by verbs with HERUM-). Thus for example the idiom ‘den Spieß *UMdrehen*’ describes “turning the tables” on someone, a discrete reversal.

⁸ For turning over the pages of a book simple *wenden* is the most common expression, though UM- verbs occasionally occur (especially with reference to the final page, suggesting closing the whole book).

‘She *turned* the shield *around* so that the writing faced the wall’

- (11) a. Um eine Karte *umzudrehen*, einfach die gewünschte Karte antippen.
 ‘To *turn* a card *over*, just tap on the desired card’
 b. Freddy Krueger hätte *sich* im Grab *umgedreht*!
 ‘Freddy Krueger would have *turned over* in his grave’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Wie es funktioniert: Augenblicke, nachdem der Schlüssel *umgedreht* wurde, öffnet sich eine Falltüre unter der Sitzfläche. Klicken Sie auf den Stoß mit Unteraußenseite rechts, um die Karte *umzuwenden*. Wenn es piepst, muß der Braten *umgewendet* werden. .. hat den Eimer *umgestülpt* und sich auf denselben gesetzt. Wir haben jeden Stein *umgewälzt*, um diesen Mann zu finden. Ein Buch, das einen schnell in seinen Bann zieht und nicht mehr losläßt, bis man die letzte Seite *umgeschlagen* hat.

When the FG is standing upright on the ground, vertical rotation is limited. That is, as long as the feet remain on the ground the moving parts cannot rotate more than 90 degrees before they hit the ground. When such ‘toppling’ events occur German uses intransitive verbs such as *UMfallen*, *UMkippen*, or *UMstürzen*, while in English the reflexive-trajector falls “over“. Transitive variants commonly have a base verb that describes a forceful thrust that knocks the accusative reflexive-trajector over (e.g. *UMstoßen*, *UMschmeißen*, *UMwerfen*, *UMreißen*, *UMhauen*, *UMblasen*, *UMschlagen*). A special type with *UMfahren* or *UMrennen* has a base verb of (fast) motion so that the subject “runs over” an accusative reflexive-FG, knocking it down.

- (12) a. In Prien ist am Dienstagmorgen eine alte Fichte *umgefallen* - und hat 13 Autos demoliert.
 ‘In Prien on Thursday morning an old spruce tree *fell over* – and destroyed 13 cars’
- b. Unbekannte haben auf dem Friedhof-Weißensee gewütet und 30 Grabsteine *umgestoßen*.
 ‘Unknown persons went on a rampage in the Weißensee cemetery and *knocked over* 30 gravestones’
- c. Ein Unbekannter hat am Sonntag gegen 21 Uhr an der Amerikastraße kurz vor der Zweibrücker Fachhochschule einen Leitpfosten und einen Baum *umgefahren*.
 ‘On Sunday about 9:00 PM on the Amerikastraße just before the Zweibrücker Technical College, an unknown driver *ran over* [and knocked down] a marker post and a tree’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Dabei wurde ein Polizeiwagen *umgekippt*. Ein Schweinetransporter ist am Montagabend in Strerup bei Flensburg *umgestürzt*. Bei dem Sturm sind mehrere Bäume *umgestürzt*. Seniorin mit Rollator *umgestoßen* und Handtasche geraubt – Polizei sucht Zeugen. Bundespräsident Johannes Rau (SPD) ist am morgen von seinem Hund ‘Scooter’ *umgeworfen* worden. Im Regenwald werden immer mehr Bäume *umgeschlagen*. Windkraftwerk in Schleswig-Holstein vom Sturm *umgerissen*. Ein 14 Meter hohes Fassadenbaugerüst wurde am Samstag in Cham von heftigen Windböen *umgeblasen*. Die offizielle Maschine von US-Vizepräsident Joe Biden hat ein kleineres Flugzeug einfach *umgepustet*. Unbekannte haben drei mit Sand gefüllte Mülltonnen *umgeschmissen* und ausgeleert. Ich fühl mich gerade wie jemand der den ersten Domino-Stein *umgekippt* hat. Sie sagte, dass der Typ da war und “unabsichtlich” mein Getränk *umgeschüttet* hat. Sekunden später *rennt* eine Karawane kreischender Kinder sie fast *um*.

UMbiegen describes a linear-extended FG that bends back onto itself to form a new shape.⁹ An event of bending something vertically that might be described by *UMbiegen* can sometimes have the effect of reversing which side of the object is visible, for example turning up the sleeves or collars or legs of clothes so that a top-bottom reversal is simultaneously an inside-outside reversal. *UMkrempeIn* is commonly used to describe such acts, and other verbs such as *UMschlagen* also occur. Now “turn over“ becomes awkward in English, giving way to “turn up / down”, “roll up / down”, or simply “fold”. German, however, continues to use UM- verbs even with pockets or socks that can be turned “inside out” without necessarily implying any looping or folding motion whatever. A free but flexible container such as a purse could be turned upside down (for example to dump out the contents), but it might also be turned inside out (for example if it has a reversible exterior). Metaphorically turning something inside out is also possible.

UMknicken is used similarly to *UMbiegen* but has a base verb that implies that the FG snaps. Note the subtle difference between knocking an upright object over to the ground while leaving it otherwise structurally intact

⁹ Even though the base verb *biegen* suggests a steady gradual curve, *UMbiegen* consistently implies a discrete shift from one configuration to another just as other UM- verbs do. It can also be used for metaphorical shifts in the direction of a linear-extending FG (‘Schön, wie schnell es hier fertig gebracht wurde, den Thread auf “Die Linken sind viel böser” und “Ausländer abschieben” *umzubiegen*.’). Contrast ÜBER-verbs such as *ÜBERbiegen* and *ÜBERbeugen*, which do not imply a discrete reflexive-trajector shift.

(‘die Telefonmasten *UMreißen*’) and knocking an upright object over so that it bends and snaps somewhere in the middle (‘die Telefonmasten *UMknicken*’). *UMknicken* is also commonly used in an intransitive construction with ‘mit dem Fuß’ for taking a misstep and twisting the ankle.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Nach dem Einschlagen sollte jeder einzelne Nagel sofort *umgebogen* werden. Der FUSS wurde so stark *umgebogen*, dass die Ferse den Oberschenkel berührte. In meinem Gemüsegarten hat der Sturm die Feuerbohnen *umgelehnt*, Sonnenblumen abgebrochen. Der kleine Kopf und das schmale erste Thoraxsegment sind nach unten *umgebeugt*. Die einfachste Form ist ein einziger Kreis, in dem alle Ähren flach an die Erde gedrückt, jedoch nicht abgebrochen, sondern nur *umgebogen* sind. Oft hat der Kreis einen äußeren Ring, bei dem die Ähren ebenfalls *umgebogen* sind, jedoch fast immer in die entgegengesetzte Richtung. Sie friert und hat sich einen viel zu weiten Wintermantel von Dennis angezogen und die Ärmel *umgekrempt*. Auf dem Foto habe ich die Jeans *umgeschlagen*, weil sie mir einfach zu lang ist. Dabei kann man ihn zur Weisglut bringen, wenn man die Socken *umgekrempt* in den Wäscheschacht wirft. Da werden Schubladen durchwühlt, Taschen *umgestülpt*, das Zuunterste zuoberst gekehrt. Die Tasche kann komplett *umgekrempt* werden, so dass man noch eine zweite Variante zur Auswahl hat! Die Tourismusbranche wird dank Dynamic Packaging *umgekrempt*. Inzwischen hat er sein Leben *umgekrempt* und es zu Wohlstand gebracht. Bäume wurden *umgeknickt* und schwere Steinplatten *umgeworfen*.

Turning an object over or upside down can imply an internal rearrangement as well as an external reversal of orientation. Constructions with a verb such as *UMgraben* or *UMpflügen* can suggest a general redistribution of parts such that the top ones are moved to the bottom and vice

versa. Typically there is a clear looping motion involved in the activity and the situation can be termed “turning over“ in English. (That is also one possible reading for *UMrühren*, although it probably describes general circulation.) There can also be extensions to metaphorical ‘upheaval’ (*UMwälzende Ereignisse*). Verbs such as *UMwerfen* or *UMstoßen* can be used to describe “overturning” a prior decision and radically changing plans.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Hallo, wir haben am Wochenende nun das Beet soweit *umgegraben* und den ganzen Kompost in die obere Schicht eingearbeitet. Habe hier noch einige Fotos gefunden, als unser Garten *umgepflügt* wurde. Alle vier Flaschen werden in einen grossen Topf geschüttet, dann wird gut *umgerührt*. Man sieht jetzt aber wie schnell alle Pläne *umgestossen* werden können. Pläne sind da um wieder *umgeschmissen* zu werden!

When living beings are toppled there are several potential functional implications, including fainting or emotional collapse. Verbs such as *UMhauen* or *UMwerfen* can express that someone is surprised, “thrown for a loop”, emotionally “bowled over”. The attendant notion of collapsing can become dominant with the verb *UMsinken*, which does not really convey an image of toppling over. The most strongly established implication of falling over in German is dying. That implication may be explicitly added to the spatial image, but it is also commonly a lexicalized implication, particularly with the verbs *UMkommen* and *UMbringen* – which describe dying and

killing, respectively.¹⁰ Other colloquial expressions for killing include *UMlegen* and *UMnieten*.

- (13) a. Als sie das Blut sah, *kippte* sie *um*.
 ‘When she saw the blood she *keeled over* [fainted]’
 b. Bei der Überschwemmung sind mehr als 100 Menschen *umgekommen*.
 ‘More than 100 people *died* in the flood’
 c. Wie kann ich Ratten loswerden ohne sie *umzubringen*?
 ‘How can I get rid of rats without *killing* them’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Bier her, oder ich *fall um*! Der Angeklagte *fiel* kurz darauf *um* und legte ein Geständnis ab. Ich stand da und auf einmal bin ich bewusstlos *umgeflogen*. Die Erkenntnis, daß so etwas möglich ist, *warf* sie *um*. Es hat mich fast *umgehauen*, als ich von seinem Lottogewinn hörte. Er *fiel* tot *um*. Wenn man sie erschießt, dann *sinken* Elefanten *um*, wie die Mauern unseres Hauses *umgesunken* sind. Bei der Einlieferung wurde mein Kamerad ... mit einem Fußtritt in den Bauch und in den Hals *umgebracht*, als er sich an mir festhielt, da er sonst *umgesunken* wäre. Auf der Party bin ich vor Langeweile fast

¹⁰ The connection between these UM- verbs and dying may be influenced by *um*'s prepositional sense of “loss”, as in ‘Er ist ums Leben gekommen’. In fact, this added motivation might explain why verbs such as *UMwerfen* and *UMhauen* do not connote dying the way *UMkommen* and *UMbringen* do. Another motivating factor may be the general use of UM- verbs to describe converting to a new abstract state. Compare for example the use of *UMkippen* to describe a lake which becomes so polluted that fish and plants can't live in it: ‘Ist der Teich *umgekippt* hilft erstmal ein kompletter Wasserwechsel’. Finally, note the use of *UMsein* to report that a temporally bounded FG has “expired” (where again German UM- corresponds to English ‘over’): ‘Uns're Zeit ist *um*'.

umgekommen. Ich gehe davon aus, dass die Römer ihn [Jesus] *umgelegt* haben. Die Bullen denken doch wohl nicht, Helga hätte ihn *umgenietet* ... ?

3. Switching

UM- verbs typically imply switching to a new orientation or direction given a restricted set of possibilities. *UMdrehen* for example normally implies that a person exchanges one direction of orientation for another (e.g. from facing forward to facing in the opposite direction), *UMkehren* normally implies exchanging one direction of travel for its opposite, and *UMwenden* normally profiles exchanging one orientation (top) for another (bottom). Generally speaking then, all of the UM- verbs with a reflexive-trajector suggest that the reflexive-trajector is turning within a confined space that offers a limited set of possible orientations. It is not simply *changing* directions; it is *exchanging* one for another. As the variants become more lexicalized to profile a particular function within a system, this aspect of the meaning can begin to predominate.

3.1. Re-routing: switching settings, courses or vehicles (*UMschalten*, *UMleiten*, *UMsteigen*)

Some mechanical switches that are used to change settings convey a concrete UM- image. Switches may be rotary knobs that are turned in a circular pattern,

and they are also commonly levers – such as a traditional U.S. light switch. In the most likely reading for (14a) the switch can toggle back and forth between possible positions, and there is a spatial reflexive-trajector path as one end of the lever rotates in an arc around the opposite end (which is fixed in place and acts as a fulcrum – compare turning over the pages of a book). Both *UMlegen* and *UMstellen* can be used to describe changing switch positions (as well as for similar spatial events such as folding a car seat).¹¹

- (14) a. Dann wird der Schalter *umgelegt* und die Tür rechts öffnet sich.
 ‘Then a switch is *flipped* and the door on the right opens’
- b. Dadurch kann der Receiver nur von Kanal 1 bis 9 *umgeschaltet* werden.
 ‘As a result the receiver can only be *changed* from channel 1 through channel 9’
- c. ... dass die Ampel von grün auf rot *umgesprungen* ist.
 ‘... that the light has *changed* from green to red’

Although the mechanical movement of the switch can be considered an UM- path, that concrete act is usually understood mainly in terms of its consequences in a larger functional context. The point is not changing the position of the switch per se; it is changing the setting of the system that the switch controls. Commonly then, the explicit object of the UM- verb is not the concrete switch mechanism (e.g. *Schalter* in (14a)) but rather the whole

¹¹ *UMdrehen* can also occur with an object such as *Schalter*, but it is used almost exclusively in abstract metaphorical ways: ‘Und dann, als hätte jemand einen Schalter *umgedreht*, ändert sich die Richtung.’

system – such as the *Receiver* in (14b). In sentences like (14b) one can imagine a variety of possible ways to change the channels, ranging from an old-fashioned TV knob that is literally turned to change channels, to a modern remote control operated by pushing buttons. In (14c) the causal act is taken out of play altogether, but the particle UM- is still appropriate to describe the effect. At this point we are dealing with an image of re-routing – of using an implicit switching mechanism to re-direct the flow of something such as electrical energy.

One indication that these UM- verbs subtly describe a re-directed flow is that UM- verbs do not describe turning something on or off. Such events are described with the particles AN- or EIN-, or AB- or AUS-. UM- verbs presume that the system is already functioning, and that its parts can be set to go in various “directions”.

In an image that is essentially similar to pulling a lever to switch the direction of train tracks, the verb *UMleiten* describes re-directing an accusative FG onto a different course within an overall system of possible routes – often for the purpose of detouring around an implicit obstacle. It is commonly used for vehicular traffic, and it can also describe diverting the course of extending FGs such as rivers. It is now also used for being re-directed to a different site on the internet. Compare also the use of *UMwälzen* to describe moving a fluid such as water or air around in a closed system so that it can serve another purpose.

(15) Der Verkehr wurde bei Zagreb von der Autobahn *umgeleitet*, da die Autobahn gesperrt war.

‘The traffic was *diverted* from the autobahn near Zagreb because the autobahn was blocked’

(16) Ohne *umzusteigen* erreichen Sie Köln auch ganz bequem.

‘You can also get to Cologne very comfortably, without *changing* [trains]’

Variants like (15) may suggest a curved path around an implicit LM external to the FG. To that extent they are similar to the prefixed *um-* verb constructions that describe detouring around a focal accusative LM obstacle, except that the LM is left implicit and an accusative FG is guided around it (compare HERUM-). More essentially though, the re-routing variants with *UMleiten* focus on switching from one course to another rather than on avoiding an external LM.¹² What distinguishes this variant from the prototypical reflexive-trajector variants for turning around is that the turn is not a reversal of direction. It is an exchange of routes, switching from a relatively straight and direct course to an alternative one within a complex system of available options.

The image for exchanging routes expressed by *UMleiten* in (15) is actually very similar to that for exchanging vehicles expressed by *UMsteigen*

¹² Compare constructions with HERUM- and a pleonastic *um-*PP, which really do describe a detouring path around a LM (making the construction much like the *um-*verbs for holistic detouring paths): ‘In den zehn Tagen kurz vor Monatsende wird der gesamte Schienenfernverkehr um den Bochumer Hauptbahnhof *herumgeleitet*.’

in (16). In both cases the FG switches from a relatively straight and direct way of getting there to a more roundabout, indirect way, and in both cases a new course is selected from the options offered by the system.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Da ist ein Hebel, der will *umgelegt* sein, damit Wasser fließen kann. Dann wird der Schalter *umgelegt* und der Entladestrom der Motorwicklung wird kurz geschlossen. ... oder wenn ein Schrankenwärter sich betrinkt und im Vollrausch vergißt, eine Weiche *umzustellen*. Wird schließlich noch die Lehne des Beifahrersitzes nach vorn *umgelegt*, ist selbst der Transport eines bis zu 2,40 Meter langen Surfbretts möglich. Die Pumprichtung kann mit einem Schalter *umgedreht* werden. Bei Gegenverkehr soll moeglichst schnell auf Abblendlicht *umgeschaltet*. Sommerzeit, die Uhren werden *umgestellt*! Drücken des Tuning-Knopfs, während Sie einen Sender hören, um zwischen den verfügbaren Modi *umzuschalten*. Die Stadtbuslinie 1 und die Nachtbusse der N81 werden daher in beide Richtungen über die Ottmarsbocholter Straße sowie Zur Windmühle *umgeleitet*. Zum Beispiel werden Google-Suchanfragen möglicherweise auf eine Seite mit viel Werbung oder zu einer anderen Suchmaschine *umgeleitet*. Die MAREA Stream Pumpe ist eine moderne Strömungspumpe die in der Lage ist große Wassermengen energiesparend *umzuwälzen*. An welchem Flughafen ist es leichter *umzusteigen*, London – Heathrow oder Paris – Charles de Gaulle?

The re-routing images are all commonly used metaphorically, very often with the new setting specified in an *auf*-PP.¹³ Verbs such as *UMlegen* or *UMwälzen* are used to describe diverting costs or responsibility, as in (17c). A

¹³ The use of an *auf*-PP presumably reflects the use of the preposition with words like *Kurs* ('Kurs auf das Mittelmeer nehmen', 'auf Kurs Nord-Nordost'), as well as its general use to designate a target location.

similar image can be applied to more abstract courses, such as embarking on a new behavior or career track, or new travel plans, or a new “train” of thought. Specific verbs that can be used in such ways include *UMLernen*, *UMschulen*, *UMerziehen*, *UMbuchen* and *UMdenken*. The sentence in (17e) for example, taken from a list of the advantages offered by a new alternative musical notation for string instruments called *Tabulatur*, illustrates a sort of parallel between *UMdenken* and the use of *UMstimmen* for re-tuning an instrument. Note that there can now be an additional notion of looping back and starting over, as reflected in the English glosses with *re-*. *UMstimmen* is also used more generally to describe getting people to change their mind.¹⁴ The reflexive verb *sich UMstellen* can additionally suggest adapting to (*auf*) a new course or set of circumstances.

- (17) a. Der Pay-TV-Sender Premiere hat heute vollständig auf sein neues Verschlüsselungssystem *umgeschaltet*.
 ‘The pay-TV station Premiere *switched* completely *over* to its new encoding system today’
- b. Niedersächsische Justiz ist bereits auf Windows Vista *umgestiegen*.
 ‘The Lower Saxon judicial system has just *changed over* to Windows Vista’

¹⁴ *UMstimmen* suggests a reversal of course (a 180-degree turn) rather than the more abstract image of switching to a new setting. It contrasts with *überzeugen*, which evokes a more straightforward path image of moving from one side of an issue to the other without necessarily involving a change from a prior course. Compare ‘bring someone around (to our side)’ and ‘bring someone over (to our side)’.

c. Denkbar wäre etwa, diese Kosten auf alle Arbeitgeber anteilig *umzulegen*.

‘It would be conceivable for example to *pass* these costs *on* proportionally to all employers’

d. Ich habe auf EDV-Fachfrau *umgeschult*.

‘I *retrained* as a computer specialist’

e. Gitarre kann *umgestimmt* werden, ohne dass alles *umgedacht* werden muss.

‘Guitar can be *re-tuned* without having to *re-think* everything’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Sie müssen lernen, den Schalter im Kopf auf Freizeit *umzustellen*. Wie wurden ECU-Konten auf Euro *umgestellt*? Ich bin fast vollständig auf Linux *umgeschwenkt*. Sind Sie auch schon *umgestiegen* auf gesunde Fette? Inzwischen hat er beruflich allerdings “*umgesattelt*“ und ist nun Metallgestalter. Die Kosten dafür auf die Studierenden *umzuwälzen*, die daran nicht interessiert sind, ist eine Frechheit. In solche Schulen können auch neue Berufe erlernt, bzw. bereits erlernte *umgelernt* werden. Vielmehr wurden Linkshänder bei Schuleintritt konsequent *umerzogen*. In der Krise werden viele Fluggäste *umgebucht*. Daraufhin haben sie geprüft ob der Termin *umgelegt* werden kann. Sie haben *umgedacht* und sich von den Rechten distanziert. ... bittet er auch die Flöhe, ihm zu helfen und den Türhüter *umzustimmen*. Mein Körper hat *sich* da längst auf das hiesige Klima *umgestellt*.

This use of UM- verbs for moving around within a system can be similar to the use of ÜBER- verbs to describe transitions from one region or course to another across an intervening boundary. (Note the occasional glosses with English expressions like *switch over to*.) Thus for example an ÜBER-verb can describe a path from one train or highway lane to another, crossing

whatever space separates the two locations as the implicit LM. An UM- verb can describe essentially the same movement, but now it is construed in a more complex context – a larger system of trains and tracks that suggest the possibility of going in other directions. ÜBER- focuses on a straightforward transition across a single abstract boundary to an immediately adjacent destination – an isolated one-time, one-way event. UM- implies a more indirect, roundabout path that is complicated (“UMständlich”). Changing trains for example involves a complex sequence consisting of an AUS- path out of the first vehicle, an ÜBER- path across to the second vehicle, and an EIN- path into the second vehicle, so that the FG ultimately crosses three separate abstract boundaries – all in addition to the re-routing image.¹⁵ An ÜBER- path is direct; an UM- path is indirect and involves turning to move in a new direction.

3.2. Changing characteristic locations (*UMziehen*, *UMsetzen*, *UMtauschen*)

The *UMsteigen* image for changing vehicles involves not only changing course but also changing locations. It is in some ways like changing the place

¹⁵ The image can also be thought of as moving around from one location to another all within a larger closed system (like “making the rounds” at a cocktail party, or even a sort of “musical chairs” image). In that way the use of UM- can be considered related to the ‘circulation’ use of *UMgehen*. HERUM- is not an alternative with changing vehicles though, which suggests that this image is not at the semantic core for *UMsteigen*.

of residence with verbs such as *UMziehen*. Moving to a new home implies taking a new direction in life, and it involves a complex sequence of moving out of the old residence, moving over to the new one, and moving into the new one (*AUSziehen*, *ÜBERziehen*, *EINziehen*). As with changing vehicles, the alternative with an *ÜBER-* verb (or an *über-* verb) would describe a more straightforward path across a single boundary. Compare also the use of *UMmelden* (vs. *ANmelden* or *ABmelden*) for recording changes of residence in the official ledgers.

- (18) a. Fachdidaktik Physik ist *umgezogen*. Die neue Adresse lautet: ...
 ‘The Physics Department has *moved*. Our new address is: ...’
- b. Für den Bau eines riesigen Stausees sollen in China etwa 330.000 Menschen *umgesiedelt* werden.
 ‘Some 330,000 people in China are being *relocated* for the construction of a giant reservoir’
- c. Hallo, habe im Herbst meinen ca. 1,20 Meter hohen Mammutbaum *umgepflanzt*.
 ‘Hi, in the Fall I *transplanted* my 1.2-meter-high mammoth tree’

When the notion of residence is a more temporary one such as a hospital room or an assigned seat in a classroom, general verbs such as *UMsetzen* or *UMlegen* are used.¹⁶ It also becomes more common to specify

¹⁶ *UMlegen* illustrates basically all of the semantic variants of *UM-* verbs except for the core image of lateral rotating: wrapping a new layer around an implicit portion of a dative object (‘*sich ein Cape UMlegen*’), knocking down (‘*einen Mast UMlegen*’), killing, shifting to a different position within a closed system (‘*einen Hebel*

the destination in a phrase such as an *auf*-PP. The “residence” can also be the base location for inanimate TRs, so that similar UM- verbs are used for transplanting plants or fenceposts, moving furniture around, moving liquids from one vessel to another, or transferring goods from one container or vehicle to another, and so on. The base verbs are sometimes more specific, referring to the type of FG being transplanted (e.g. *UMpflanzen*) or to the destination (e.g. *UMbetten*, *UMtöpfen*).

Literally exchanging one item for another with *UMtauschen* can also be considered a sort of transplanting image. Such events often suggest a reciprocal image, which is more or less what is meant by simple *tauschen* or *AUStauschen*. But *UMtauschen* does not describe a simple reciprocal exchange. It implies “re-turning” the accusative FG to its original location – prototypically returning a purchase to a store in exchange for something else. The accusative FG thus reverses its prior direction in an image not that different from *UMkehren*; i.e., there is a relatively strong spatial image like that associated with *UMstimmen* for getting people to change their mind.

- (19) Ich habe das Shirt *umgetauscht* und mir stattdessen diesen tollen Schal von Esprit geholt.

‘I *exchanged* the shirt and got this great Esprit scarf instead’

UMlegen’), transplanting to a new container (‘einen Kranken in ein anderes Zimmer *UMlegen*’; ‘einen Termin *UMlegen*’), and re-routing to a new destination (‘die Wasserkosten auf die einzelnen Mieter *UMlegen*’).

(20) Sie hat sich *umgezogen* und trägt nun “den schönsten Badeanzug der Welt.”

‘She has *changed clothes* and is now wearing “the most beautiful bathing suit in the world”’

Changing clothes is also a lot like changing trains or other containers. Someone changing clothes remains objectively stationary, but as far as a verb like (*sich*) *UMziehen* is concerned the person “moves” from being in one clothed state to being in another. Again there is a complex sequence with changing directions, involving both *AUSziehen* and *ANziehen* (as well as an intervening transition).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Nach 7 Monaten im Gasthaus der Heilsarmee bin ich gestern nun *umgezogen*! Hier haben die Tabakarbeiter gewohnt, als sie nach Ibor City *umgesiedelt* sind. Ich habe mein Auto bisher noch nicht *umgemeldet*, d.h. ich habe immer noch mein deutsches Kennzeichen. Ich denke es lässt sich einfach nicht vermeiden, daß auch “brave” Schüler *umgesetzt* werden. Nach einer längeren Diskussion wurde ich mitten in der Nacht auf ein *Zimmer umgelegt*, welches sich nicht direkt über der Diskothek befand. Wenn eine Pflanze *umgesetzt* wird, verändert man ja ihren kompletten Lebensraum. Gestern hab ich nur kurz meinen Router von einer Steckdose in eine andere *umgesteckt*. Nach ein paar Minuten fingen aber die Bedienungen an, die Tische *umzuräumen*. Nach dem Sichten der Waren wird grob vorsortiert und in die grünen Klappkisten *umgepackt*. Da sich während der Gärung Bodensatz absetzt, wird der Wein in saubere Fässer *umgefüllt*. Damit diese beim Einschenken nicht ins Glas gelangt, werden «depotverdächtige» Weine sorgsam in eine Dekantierkaraffe *umgegossen*. Während das Geld in ein anderes Sicherheitsfahrzeug *umgeladen* wurde, sperrte die Polizei die Autobahnzufahrt in Richtung

Schöneberg. ... 32 Soldaten, die zwischen dem 06. und 12. Juli 1945 auf den Friedhof in Wardt *umgebettet* wurden. Agitator: Ein Politiker, der die Obstbäume seines Nachbarn schüttelt, um die Würmer *umzuquartieren*. Manche Pflanzen wie z.B. Azaleen oder Orchideen und andere mehr sollten gleich nach der Abblüte *umgetopft* werden. Kleinere Mengen werden von der Großspule auf eine neutrale Spule *umgespult*. Geöffnete Softwareprodukte sowie Wechseldatenträger können nur gegen das gleiche Produkt *umgetauscht* werden. In Einzelkabinen im Badebereich wird sich *umgekleidet*. Die Leiche darf nicht gewaschen, rasiert und *umgekleidet* werden.

3.3. Convert to new form (*UMwandeln*)

The image of changing clothes adds yet another implication to the construction, namely moving from one characteristic surface appearance to another, so that the FG undergoes a kind of change of state. (The woman in (20) could be characterized as ‘die Frau im schönen Badeanzug’.) A sense of ‘converting’ the accusative FG “into” a new form may also be suggested by exchanges generally. Exchanging money for example means converting it into another form, whether smaller denominations of the same currency or a supposedly equivalent value in another currency. As usual though, *UM-* verbs imply that the conversion is complex. Verbs like *UMtauschen* or *UMwechseln* are not normally used for simple straightforward exchange transactions (compare plain *wechseln*). They are restricted to conversion into another system of currency (as opposed to different denominations of the same currency). They suggest moving the FG out of one system and into a different

system altogether, giving it a basically new function and identity. Moreover, the UM- verbs typically suggest a relatively complex system of exchange options tied to particular purposes, so that making the exchange in a sentence like (21a) implies embarking on a new financial “direction” – like choosing the appropriate vehicle for a particular course of action.¹⁷

- (21) a. Denn noch ist es so, daß beim Kauf von Erdöl die jeweilige Landeswährung des Käufers erst in Dollar *umgetauscht* werden muß.
 ‘Because it is still the case that buying oil requires *converting* the currency of the buyer’s country into dollars’
- b. Versand nach Deutschland kostet 5 Pfund; *umgerechnet* habe ich 30 Euro 75 Cent bezahlt.
 ‘Shipping to Germany costs 5 pounds; *after conversion* I paid 30.75 euros’

The use of UM- becomes more clearly called for with a verb like *UMrechnen*, i.e. as soon as the more abstract and complex sense of mentally converting from one system to another becomes paramount (as opposed to a more straightforward trade). The UM- verb again conveys a complex image of switching from one medium to another, presumably with particular courses of action in mind. (Cf. the closely related sense of ‘translating’ with *über-* verbs, which suggest a more straightforward path from one metaphorical location to

¹⁷ As with returning a purchase, *UMtauschen* may also be used to focus more on returning the accusative FG (making a 180-degree turn): ‘Knapp drei Jahre nach der Einführung des Euro als Bargeld ist fast die Hälfte aller D-Mark-Münzen noch nicht in die neue Währung *umgetauscht* worden.’

another, inaccurately construed to be a simpler process than recomputing a value in a new currency.)

Converting from one currency to another is just one of several ways that a FG can be changed into a functionally new form described by an UM-verb construction. That is the case whenever a FG takes on a new basic appearance or condition, including not only changing clothes but even simply turning to reveal a new side to public perception. These images all blend in effect with the highly systematic metaphors according to which matter is contained “in” its surface form, and a FG’s change of state or condition can be understood metaphorically as a change of the containing location that it is in. We can thus exchange one mood for another, much as we can exchange one dress for another. (Compare being in a cheerful mood with being in a cheerful dress.) The use of UM- verbs for changes of state generally suggests a direct correspondence to English expressions such as the weather “turning” cold, or one thing “turning into” another.

For example a verb like *UMsetzen* is used generally for converting an underlying substance from one formal “containing” state into another as in (22a). Verbs like *UMarbeiten* and *UMBauen* are used similarly to describe reconstructing something (turning it into something new, and presumably better), and base verbs for forming or shaping or organizing also occur to produce verbs that are usually glossed as English *re-* verbs (e.g. *UMgestalten*, *UMBilden*). Similarly, UM- verbs can describe converting to a new name or a new interpretation or a new formulation for something. *UMschlagen* (and

occasionally *UMspringen* or *UMkippen*) can be used with abstract TRs such as weather or moods that shift abruptly from one apparent state to another, showing a new side. (Cf. *ÜBERgehen*, which would suggest a transition in a single direction, as opposed to the abrupt turn described by *UMschlagen*.)

- (22) a. Es besteht auch die Möglichkeit, Sonnenlicht direkt ohne einen solchen Umweg in Strom *umzusetzen*
 ‘It is also possible to *convert* sunlight directly into electricity without such a complicated method’
- b. Wir *bauen um*! Wir bitten um Ihr Verständnis.
 ‘We’re *rebuilding*! We ask for your understanding’
- c. Ostpakistan wurde 1971 in Bangladesch *umbenannt*.
 ‘East Pakistan was *renamed* Bangladesh in 1971’
- d. Dann ist das Wetter *umgeschlagen*, ist zum Sturm geworden.
 ‘Then the weather *turned* suddenly and became a storm’
- e. Griechenland wird in eine bargeldlose Gesellschaft *umgewandelt*.
 ‘Greece is being *transformed* into a cashless society’

UM- may also occur with base verbs that already refer directly to changes, for example *UMwandeln* and *UMändern*. With such verbs UM- contrasts very subtly with *ver-*. UM- verbs consistently focus more on the complex process of conversion, suggesting a shift from a prior characteristic state to a new one within the overall range of possible settings the FG could wind up in (or directions it could turn in). The *ver-* verbs do not imply a new context for the FG; they focus exclusively on the transformation of the FG within a constant setting (the fact that it ceases to be what it once was).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Als wir anderthalb Stunden später an der Grenzstation ankommen, werden zunächst Zloty in Dollar *umgetauscht*. Diese Werte werden nicht im Material-Ledger *umgerechnet* sondern direkt übernommen. Wie viel sind 180 Mph *umgerechnet* in km/h? Sie *setzt* ihr ganzes Geld in Kleider *um*. Die Firma hat in diesem Jahr Maschinen im Wert von 10 Millionen Mark *umgesetzt*. Datenschutz-Behördenaudit wird in die Praxis *umgesetzt*. Von den Bienen gesammelter Blütenstaub, welcher im Bienenvolk zu einem hochwertigen Naturprodukt *umgearbeitet* wird. Zu rollenden Kliniken für den Notfalleinsatz sind drei Linienbusse von Mercedes-Benz *umgebaut* worden. Einmal verpresst, kann die Platte wohl noch gebogen, aber nicht mehr *umgeformt* werden (Standard). Der Sonnenfelsplatz bei der Uni-Mensa wird zum ersten Shared Space-Platz in Graz *umgestaltet*. Warum hat Junichiro Koizumi erneut sein Kabinett *umgebildet*? Es ist weder sinnvoll noch möglich, eine Tabelle in verdichtetem Zustand zu sortieren oder hierarchisch *umzugruppieren*. Die Tanten fangen unverzüglich an, das ganze Haus *umzuorganisieren*, neu zu streichen und zu möblieren. Nun wurde sein Name von Abram in Abraham *umgeändert*, denn er würde ein Vater. Es ist eine Gleichung, die etwas *umgeformt* werden muss. Sie werden hier figurativ gebraucht, semantisch *umgedeutet*. Dass nun die Stimmung *umgeschlagen* ist, hat mehrere Gründe. Der greenhouseeffekt hat in den Venuseffekt *umgeschlagen*. Wasser wird in Wasserkraftwerken in Energie *umgewandelt*. Seitdem wir die Mißverständnisse geklärt haben, ist er wie *umgewandelt*. Sollte Ihr Compiler andere Größen für die Variablen benutzen, müssen die Beispiele dementsprechend *umgeändert* werden.

4. Circulation in a space (sich UMsehen, UMgehen)

Generally speaking, imperfective circular paths (as opposed to events of turning to switch from one direction to a new one) are expressed by HERUM- rather than plain UM-. There are two lexicalized UM- verb variants that do seem imperfective though, and each suggests a sequential path through a series of locations – all within a fixed setting.

The sentence with *sich UMsehen* in (23a) is obviously similar to the basic variants for lateral rotation insofar as it suggests that a person turns to face in new directions. Since lateral turning in place (*sich UMDrehen*) commonly occurs for the purpose of seeing what is behind us, it makes sense that the base verb might refer explicitly to looking rather than to turning. The construction with *sich UMsehen* is different however, in that it does not imply any particular single new orientation. (23a) does not mean that the person turns to look in the opposite direction; it means that the person continues to look around indefinitely in a variety of directions (typically moving from one item in the space to another).¹⁸ As with the more discrete changes of orientation, these constructions can take a *nach*-PP to specify the target of the search. Less commonly, the same pattern can also occur with base verbs that refer to nonvisual searching as in (23b).¹⁹

¹⁸ Unlike the plain verb *drehen*, which is perfectly suited to describe imperfective turning, *sehen* does not suggest turning at all until that path image is marked by UM-. Unlike *sich UMDrehen* then, *sich UMsehen* cannot be specialized to describe a discrete reversal of direction.

¹⁹ Although the verb *sich UMfragen* is not that common (see the discussion of HERUM-), the related noun *Umfrage* is the term used to refer to an opinion survey.

- (23) a. *Sieh dich* ruhig in meinem Zimmer *um*.
 ‘Go ahead and *look around* in my room’
- b. Was sagen Sachsens Pensionäre? BILD hat *sich umgehört*.
 ‘What do Saxony’s retired people say? BILD asked around [*went around listening*]’
- (24) a. Ein Gespenst *geht um* in Europa – das Gespenst des Kommunismus.
 ‘A specter is haunting [*going around* in] Europe – the specter of Communism’
- b. Wie Kinder lernen, mit Geld *umzugehen*.
 ‘How children learn to *handle* [*go around with*] money’
- c. Solche Befürchtungen hatten ihn ein Leben lang *umgetrieben* und zeitweilig zum Hypochonder gemacht.
 ‘Such fears had *plagued* him for a lifetime and sometimes made him a hypochondriac’

One other lexicalized UM- verb has a meaning that is essentially the same as a HERUM- verb, namely *UMgehen* when used to describe ‘circulating’ in a space as in (24a).²⁰ *UMgehen* constructions typically describe rumors or diseases that are “going around”, perhaps making

None of the standard dictionaries list *UMsuchen*, but examples are not difficult to find in which the same construction with UM- is used with base verbs that explicitly refer to searching. The expression *sich (nach einer Sache) UMtun* can also be used with a meaning similar to that of *sich UMsehen* (look around for, be on the lookout for): ‘Habe *mich* mal auf Deiner WEB-Seite *umgetan*.’

²⁰ The only difference between *UMgehen* and *HERUMgehen* is that the HERUM- verb suggests a more occasional constructional meaning while *UMgehen* is more lexicalized and abstract. *UMgehen* might also be less inclined than HERUM- verbs to connote pointless, aimlessly wandering about.

sequential contact with people scattered around in the space. Unlike other variants with UM- verbs, these can be related to constructions with a simple verb and an *um*-PP. Compare for example ‘Die Magen-Darm-Grippe *geht um*’ with ‘A/H1N1 - eine Grippe *geht um* die Welt’. We can also mention the use of *UMtreiben* in (24c), which can be considered an accusative-FG counterpart to *UMgehen*. It describes causing an accusative FG to move around in an agitated fashion, giving it no peace.

A similar construction with *UMgehen* and a *mit*-PP is used very generally as in (24b) to describe interacting with people or things in the course of making life’s normal rounds. The idiom is often used to report how someone treats or handles the object in the *mit*-PP. The original image is presumably one of commercial dealing, going around from one implicit place to another and carrying items for sale or trade, but the meaning is now a very general one of “handling” or “dealing” with things or people. *UMspringen* is used similarly, typically with negative connotations of treating something badly. In these more lexicalized idiomatic expressions the spatial image is less vivid, and alternatives with HERUM- are no longer common.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Es freut uns, dass Du Dir kurz Zeit nimmst, um *Dich* auf unserer Heimatseite etwas *umzusehen*. Er hat *sich* noch mehrmals nach der Frau *umgesehen*. Unser Kolumnist Lasse König hat *sich umgeschaut* und festgestellt, dass das Internet eine tolle Sache ist. Nachdem er *sich umgeblickt* hatte und merkte, dass er ganz alleine war, ließ er sich fallen. Und es war so toll, weil man *sich umguckte* hat und überall nur lächelnde, kuschelnde Menschen sah. Als

Satria endlich herausgefunden hatte (nachdem er *sich umgefragt* hatte), dass es ein tragbares Telefon war ging er ran. Ich habe *mich* nun lange nach einem guten MP3-Player für mich *umgesucht*. Das Gerücht *geht um*, wir haben wieder einen Berlin-Brandenburger-Meister im Team. Da elektronische Medien heute zum Alltag gehören, müssen Kinder lernen, damit *umzugehen*. Die Kunst, mit Kindern richtig *umzugehen*. So eilte ihm der Ruf voraus, als Dirigent mit sich und seinen Musikern unerbittlich streng *umzugehen*. Das ist doch eine riesensauerei so mit seinen kunden *umzuspringen!*

5. DURCH- and interior disruption (sich DURCHbiegen, DURCHsitzen)

The reflexive-trajector image associated with DURCH- verbs is not nearly as widespread as the the turning image with UM- verbs, but it is significant enough to warrant mention. Imagine a normal *durch* path in which a FG passes through an elastic object such as a mattress. The mattress will protrude in the middle and may eventually rupture altogether leaving a hole. Now imagine the same image but without any external causal FG, i.e., one in which the mattress simply begins to sag on its own over time. At that point we have a reflexive-trajector image in which the FG is the protruding part of the mattress, and the implicit LM is the rest of the mattress (corresponding to its idealized original shape). A part of the object is dislocated relative to the rest of the object – much as if an external FG had passed through the object and

caused the dislocation. If the moving part protrudes and distorts the original object without causing a break in its integrity, a ‘sagging’ image results. If the path continues far enough, the original object will eventually break so that a hole results in the interior of the object.

DURCHhängen can occur in intransitive constructions with a nominative reflexive-trajector that sags. The sagging image is mainly associated with the reflexive verb *sich DURCHbiegen* as in (3a) above. When a rupture results, the most common verb is *DURCHbrechen* as in (3b). Less common DURCH- verbs that can be used in intransitive constructions with a nominative reflexive-trajector that breaks or splits somewhere in the middle include *DURCHreißen* and *DURCHspringen*. The location of the break is often provided by an expression such as *mitten*. As a special case, *DURCHbrennen* or *DURCHschlagen* or *DURCHglühen* can describe a broken connection such as a blown fuse.

- (25) a. Die Leine *hängt* plötzlich schlaff *durch*.
 ‘The line suddenly *sags* limply’
- b. Tagelang tippelt er mit *durchgelaufenen* Schuhen durch Wien -
 hungernd, frierend.
 ‘For days he trudges through Vienna – hungry and freezing – with
 shoes that have been *worn through*’

In a similar variant the base verb describes a repeated activity that wears on an accusative reflexive-trajector until it eventually causes internal disruption – frequently a hole all the way through the object. For example,

DURCHsitzen can describe sitting on pieces of furniture (or clothing) until they wear through, and verbs such as *DURCHlaufen*, *DURCHrennen*, or *DURCHtanzen* can describe wearing holes in the soles of shoes as in (25b).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Zwischen den Seilen *hängt* der Stoff bauschig *durch*. Die alten Matratzen werden mit einem Brett daran gehindert vollends *durchzuhängen*. Offenbar zeigte die Decke unter der großen Last der Bücher schon bedenkliche Neigung *durchzuhängen*. Der Laternenpfahl *biegt sich durch*. Sein Brett schrappt über den Schnee, *biegt sich* unter der Bindung *durch*. Hinter ihnen begann *sich* die Tunneldecke *durchzubiegen*, als presse von oben die Faust eines Giganten dagegen, Dann *brach* der Sitz *durch*. Die Wand zwischen den Fenstern *bricht durch*. Das Glas des andern Bildes ist mitten *durchgesprungen*, und niemand denkt daran, es zu ersetzen. Die harten Felsen *reißen* mitten *durch*! Vor uns lag ein *durchgebrannter* Eisendraht. Welche Lampe *durchgebrannt* ist, muß der Schaffner dann feststellen. Teilweise *schlugen* die Sicherungen *durch*. “Schröder muss da ein Draht *durchgeglüht* sein”, hieß es in Koalitionskreisen. Der Wartestuhl ist ein halbwegs *durchgesessener* Armsessel. Ihre gepackten Koffer sind längst *durchgesessen*. ... den grauen Anzug *durchgesessen* hat. Die Sohlen hab’ ich *durchgerannt*. ... zwei Paar Schuhe in einer einzigen Nacht *durchgetanzt* habe. ... völlig *durchgerittene* Pferde. Es hat sich dann hier herausgestellt, daß der Reifen gar keinen Schnitt abbekommen hat, daß vielmehr der Schlauch von einer inneren Manschette *durchgerieben* war. Und wenn abends die Finger fast *durchgeklettert* sind, gibt es zur Belohnung Kalamari, Octopussi und ein Fläschen Retsina. Natürlich hatten wir uns außerdem *durchgeritten* und wußten kaum, wie wir sitzen sollten.

A reflexive-trajector rupture is actually inevitable in most cases when a solid object passes through another solid object. When an axe goes through the

ice as in sentence (3c) for example, it is difficult to differentiate between the path of the penetrating axe that causes a hole in the ice and the reflexive-trajector path within the ice as interior parts are dislocated to create the hole. To complicate matters further, the DURCH- verb implies that the path goes all the way through the ice from one side to the other, so that the extent of the reflexive-trajector path coincides exactly with the width of the ice. In other words the ice functions as an incremental theme that defines the extent of the path. That is generally the case whenever the dislodged parts of the reflexive-trajector do not prominently protrude before breaking. The shoes in (25b) can also be considered incremental themes. Although such DURCH- verb constructions do involve a reflexive-trajector path, they are treated in chapters 6 and 11 primarily in the context of incremental themes.

CHAPTER 6

DURCH- Verbs with Accusative Routes

In all of the typical particle verb constructions in chapters 3-5 the path LM is implicit. If the particle verbs have an accusative object, then that object is either the FG for the path (the caused-motion variants in chapter 4) or a reflexive-trajector (chapter 5). In this chapter we will look at one final type of particle verb construction with an accusative object, an unusual type that occurs only with the DURCH- verbs. In constructions such as (1), a DURCH- verb has an accusative object that coincides with the route of the path, i.e., an object that could be identified with the path LM.

(1) Am liebsten wäre er die Strecke *durchgerannt* ganz ohne Halt zu machen.

‘He would have most liked to *race right through* the stretch without stopping’

These variants are difficult to analyze semantically for several reasons. For one thing, it is often debatable whether an accusative object such as *die Strecke* in (1) is a true accusative object of the verb or just a nominal adverbial. (1) could be understood to a great extent as an essentially intransitive variant with the same functional implications that are associated with intransitive DURCH- verbs generally – for example that the path extends continuously without interruption until it reaches its goal. DURCH- verbs are also commonly associated with a general notion of ‘thoroughness’ that does

not seem tied to any particular syntactic construction. Still, despite the transitional instances and the fuzziness of many constructions like (1), there is a basic underlying principle running through the various uses of DURCH-verbs when they have accusative objects that are linked to the LM of the path. They consistently suggest what linguists call an *incremental theme*, a notion that we will look at closely in the rest of this chapter.

It is important for our purposes in this book to get the semantic analysis of these constructions precisely right, because they can be superficially indistinguishable from constructions with a prefixed *durch-* verb – specifically the constructions with accusative “route-like LMs“ that are a topic in chapter 7. Contrasting pairs can thus arise, as in (2) or (3), in which even native speakers are sometimes uncertain which of the two constructions is more appropriate (or what exactly the semantic difference is between them). After we have introduced the DURCH- verb constructions in this chapter and the *durch-* verb constructions in the next, we will look very carefully in chapter 11 at the subtle semantic distinctions between (2a) and (2b), or (3a) and (3b).

- (2) a. Es gibt nicht schöneres, als morgens bei einer Tasse Kaffee die Zeitung *durchzublätern*.
 ‘There’s nothing nicer than *leafing through* the newspaper in the morning with a cup of coffee’
- b. Es hat mir viel Spaß gemacht, die Zeitung zu *durchblättern*, weil oft spannende Informationen drin waren.

‘I greatly enjoyed *leafing through* [*durch-* leafing] the newspaper, because there was often really interesting information in it’

- (3) a. Mit dem Innendurchmesser der Unterlegscheibe wurde die Platte *durchgebohrt*.
 ‘The plate was *drilled through* to match the internal diameter of the washer’
- b. An jedem möglichen Standort wird die Platte *durchbohrt*.
 ‘The plate is *drilled through* [*durch-* drilled] at every possible place’

As a first approach to the semantics of these DURCH- verb constructions, the first section considers some transitional cases that have an accusative FG and an implicit LM as in normal particle verb constructions, but in which the accusative FG intrinsically suggests an associated route. In that case the DURCH- verb construction particularly profiles that a process is carried out ‘thoroughly’, all the way to the maximum intrinsic extent associated with the accusative object. From there it is a short step to accusative objects that can be identified directly with the route expressed by DURCH-, i.e., to explicit incremental themes.

1. ‘Thoroughness’

1.1. Paths extending as far as they can on an implicitly associated route (*DURCHdrücken*)

Particle DURCH- verbs have become generally associated with the notion of carrying out an activity thoroughly, taking a process through each of its internal phases all the way to its intrinsic end. That meaning is grounded in part by the use of spatial DURCH- verbs to describe a continuous uninterrupted path all the way to an explicit goal ('Ich *fuhr* bis Frankfurt *durch*'). 'Thoroughness' is also implied by constructions like (3), in which the route for the DURCH- path is implicitly associated with the accusative FG. That is, an accelerator pedal has an intrinsically limited potential route, and the verb *DURCHtreten* means that it is pressed as far as it can go on that route. The process of pressing the pedal is thus carried out thoroughly, to its maximum extent. *DURCHziehen* can be used similarly for pulling a boat oar as far as it can go.¹

(3) bei *durchgetretenem* Gaspedal

'with the gas pedal *pushed all the way* to the floor [all the way through]'

(4) Die Beine sind steif *durchgedrückt*, der Bauch ist eingezogen,

'The legs are *straightened* stiff [extended to maximum length], the stomach is pulled in'

¹ Compare this unusual intransitive image of spinning all the way through without the normal "interruption" of making contact with the ground: 'Beim Start auf dem vereisten Boden *drehten* die Räder *durch*.'

This sense that a FG moves as far as possible on an intrinsically associated route is also evident when *DURCHdrücken* and *DURCHstrecken* are used to convey the image of extending a normally curved joint such as an elbow or a knee as far as it will go as in (4), i.e., until it is maximally straight. The resulting image is essentially like that for a path that extends continuously until it reaches an implicit LM goal – the straightened FG is not “interrupted” by curves or breaks. Now though, the implicit goal of the extension is intrinsic to the FG – or at least intrinsic to its potential within its setting. There is a definite sense of reflexive-trajector motion (part of each leg in (4) is moving relative to the rest of the leg), but the precise LM for the DURCH- path itself is an abstract potential route rather than the object’s starting position. In any event, the LM is certainly implicit and there is no question that a particle verb construction is called for.²

The image for maximum straightening is essentially the converse of the reflexive-trajector image for ‘sagging’. Imagine that a flexible linear object such as a clothesline is sagging notably, and then imagine reversing the sagging process by pulling the line tight, as in Figure 8. The image in Figure 8 could be understood as pushing on the joint of a bent object until the original

² *DURCHbiegen* can be used similarly to mean bending an accusative FG as far as possible. When the FG is the human back or spine, it means to bend the shoulders backwards into a “swayback” position (lordosis, German *Hohlkreuz*). Although that position involves bending, it also involves straightening the natural curve in the small of the back and it results in a posture that is sometimes termed standing up straight, as in military attention. The image is thus much like that for *DURCHdrücken*.

protrusion is pressed back into place, essentially reversing the action that caused the protrusion in the first place. We might also imagine pulling a bent extending FG such as a string through an extended LM such as a sheathe or a conduit – which would be a similar image except that the LM is now a defined object extrinsic to the FG.³

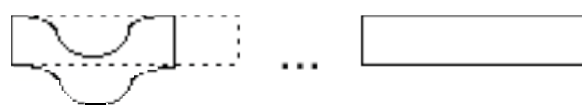


Figure 8. Maximum extension

In Figure 8 the implicit LM is a canonical target configuration represented by the dotted rectangle in the opening frame. That implicit LM is a maximum potential extent in a particular direction that is canonically associated with the FG. The role of the FG is played by the whole FG object in its original configuration, which extends until its leading part has reached the implicit far end of the LM configuration and the FG is thus maximally

³ Compare expressions for extending a reflexive-trajector as far as it can go with *out* in English (e.g. ‘straighten out’) or *AUS-* in German. Avoiding *AUSdrücken* in this usage may also reflect its established sense meaning ‘to express’. More generally though, *DURCH-* seems to focus more on the process of extending while *AUS-* focuses more on the resulting configuration. *AUSführen* for example profiles the accomplishment while *DURCHFühren* profiles the process of carrying out a plan. The two verbs are largely interchangeable, but objects such as *Bauten*, *Bestellung*, *Befehl*, *Auftrag*, *Entschluss* or *Weisungen* can only be *ausgeführt*, not *durchgeführt* (Duden Richtiges und gutes Deutsch 119).

extended in the prescribed direction. The canonical maximum extent in effect serves to define the route through which the FG extends.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Lassen Sie Ihr Fahrzeug mit *durchgetretener* Kupplung ausrollen, ... Sinnvoll ist es bei einem Steppertraining, die Stufen ganz nach unten *durchzutreten*. ... ohne die taste halb *durchzudrücken*. Dann *zieht* er den Gasknüppel nach hinten *durch*. Kräftig werden die Ruder *durchgezogen*, um der Kraft des Flusses entgegenzuwirken. Zum Herausnehmen der Sitze wird die Raste gelöst und dann der Sitz bei der Limousine nach hinten und beim Coupé nach vorne *durchgeschoben*. Die Arme sind völlig *durchgedrückt*, sie stützen schulterbreit auf dem Boden. Auch die Finger sind entspannt und nicht *durchgestreckt*! Bei der Beugebewegung können die Knie kurzfristig *durchgestreckt* werden. Auf Bild H kann man erahnen, dass, wenn das Rückgrat nach hinten *durchgebogen* wird, die Weichteile des Bauches flacher sind. Und Dietrich saß hochgemut und hochgereckt da, das Kreuz *durchgebogen*. Die Fußgelenke müssen in der Luft stets gestreckt sein, es ist jedoch falsch, den Fuß bis zur Spitze *durchzuspannen*.

1.2. General aspectual thoroughness (*DURCHgreifen, DURCHführen*)

The *DURCH*- path in Figure 8 becomes generally useful when it is combined with a highly abstract and systematic metaphor – namely the principle that any process can be construed to extend through time (and possibly also through other associated aspectual routes such as the phases in a scripted routine). In other words, we can think of the FG in Figure 8 more abstractly as a verb process and its implicit LM as a scripted sequence of metaphorical locations

that the process has to “go through” in order to reach its intrinsic full aspectual extent. *DURCH-* contributes the information that the activity extends continuously all the way through each of its intrinsic phases until the end has been reached. In other words, the activity is carried out thoroughly, to its maximum intrinsic extent.⁴

The transition from maximum spatial extent to this more abstract image of taking a verb process to its maximum aspectual extent can be illustrated by the use of *DURCHlegen* for completely laying down a pile of cards in solitaire – going through the whole deck as in (5). The *DURCH-* route is defined in terms of an implicit potential extent that is intrinsically associated with the FG. There is not really a reflexive-trajector image in the sense that part of the FG extends relative to the rest, although we might imagine the deck to extend like a slinky until it has turned upside down. Still, the process of laying down the cards extends until the original stack is not capable of extending any further. The image is essentially that of an incremental theme (see below), with the original stack being gradually depleted and the new pile being gradually created.

⁴ This is Mungan’s (1986: 119–20, 297–8) general category for “gründliche bzw. vollständige Durchführung” of a base-verb activity. The general metaphorical principle involved here, i.e. imagining an implicit scripted route associated with the base verb-phrase and using it to assign an implicit goal to which the process extends, can also be found with other path expressions. The prefix counterpart to this *DURCH-* image is *er-* (e.g. in the “to death” verbs such as *erfrieren* or *erschließen*).

- (5) Ist der Stamm *durchgelegt*, so dreht man den Stoß um und darf ihn noch ein zweites Mal durchgehen.
 ‘When the whole stack has been *laid down in sequence*, then the pile is turned over and gone through a second time’

Figure 8 can be considered the basis for a highly schematic image that can motivate the use of DURCH- with virtually any telic activity that can be assigned a defined aspectual course with an endpoint. In the case of the lexicalized verb *DURCHgreifen* there is a definite sense that the process is being taken as far as possible in an image much like that of flooring the gas pedal (or, of course, extending the arm to its maximum possible length). The intransitive verb *DURCHgreifen* leaves the specific activity – and thus also the associated aspectual route – completely implicit. Whatever is being done, the construction with *DURCHgreifen* describes doing it to the maximum extent.

- (6) Die Polizei *greift* gegen betrunkene Autofahrer streng *durch*.
 ‘The police are *taking drastic measures* against drunk drivers’
- (7) Jeder, der den SS-Banditen nicht passte, wurde im Bunker *durchgeprügelt*.
 ‘Everyone who did not suit the SS bandits was *beaten* [within an inch of their lives] in the bunker’

Some transitive DURCH- verbs are similarly lexicalized to suggest taking a process as far as possible, imposing the image of a maximum extent on an intrinsically imperfective process and thus suggesting that the process is taken to extreme lengths. For example, there is a conventionally established set of colloquial DURCH-verbs that describe giving someone a thorough

beating (e.g. *DURCHprügeln*, *DURCHhauen*, *DURCHgerben*, and *DURCHbleuen*). Similar slang variants refer to having ‘maximal’ sexual relations (*DURCHorgeln*, *DURCHbürsten*, *DURCHnageln*). In such cases DURCH- may also add an element of temporal extent.

More generally though, the DURCH- verbs convey a balanced image of completing the aspectual route, without suggesting that the process is taken to extreme lengths. In one very common type, the process being taken through its intrinsic course is expressed as the accusative object of a very general verb. That is the case with the most frequently used DURCH- verb in the German language, namely *DURCHführen*.⁵ In (8a) for example, the specific activity being executed (and thus the associated aspectual route) is indicated by the accusative object (*Reform*). Virtually the same meaning can be expressed by *DURCHziehen*, which may suggest that carrying out the process requires slightly more effort (pulling rather than guiding). Note the subtle difference between this image of continuing a process all the way to its own intrinsic conclusion and moving an accusative FG through an approval process of some kind (*DURCHsetzen*).⁶

⁵ “DURCHzuführen“ returned 17,300,000 hits in a Google search. The second most frequent DURCH- verb, *DURCHsetzen*, returned 2,430,000.

⁶ *DURCHsetzen* takes a normal accusative FG that is put through an implicit LM that is extrinsic to the FG (e.g. a law through a legislative process). *DURCHführen* describes taking an accusative process to its own intrinsic completion. With *DURCHführen* (or *DURCHziehen*) a phrase such as *bis zum Ende* means ‘to its own intrinsic end’ and is somewhat superfluous semantically. With *DURCHsetzen* the

- (8) a. Vom März 1959 bis Ende 1961 wurde in Tibet eine demokratische Reform *durchgeführt*.
 ‘From March 1959 to the end of 1961 a democratic reform as was *carried out* in Tibet’
- b. Bleiben Sie bei einem Projekt, *ziehen* Sie es *durch*.
 ‘Stick with a project, *take it all the way through*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Mit dem Vorwurf, nicht energisch genug *durchzugreifen*, muß man im Augenblick ständig rechnen. Diese moderne Methode der Sterilisation wird in Deutschland bislang nur von wenigen Spezialisten *durchgeführt*. Welche Projektarten werden in Ihrem Unternehmen regelmäßig *durchgeführt*? Mit sehr viel Spaß und Elan wurden die ersten Workshops *durchgeführt*! Trotz dieser kurzen Dauer sollte die Aufgabe bis zum Ende *durchgeführt* werden. Kenneth Branaghs Jago *zieht* seine Intrige in Beamtenmanier *durch*. Trotz aller Probleme im Vorfeld sind Gregor und Sarah entschlossen, ihre Hochzeit *durchzuziehen*. Die Männer begannen nun alle sieben den Alten greulich *durchzugerben*, so daß sie ihm fast das Leben genommen hätten. Den hat die

goal expression is necessary before a real ‘thoroughness’ reading can kick in, namely the usual DURCH- verb reading of a continuous uninterrupted path until the goal has been reached. Compare reflexive *sich DURCHziehen*, which conveys basically the same image of continuous extension of a process until it has reached its goal: ‘Dies Häßlichmachen *zieht sich durch* bis zu Hans Scheibs hölzernem “Ekel” von 1989.’ The lexicalized use of *DURCHnehmen* to mean treating a topic in school is similar to *DURCHsetzen*. It is in some ways similar to the *DURCHführen* or *DURCHziehen* variants for completing the execution of a script (i.e. with the accusative object read as something like a lesson plan intrinsic to the topic); but it is probably better read with an implicit LM that is extrinsic to the accusative object, such as a class period that an accusative FG is being taken through.

Mama zuwenig *durchgebleut*! Die Ferien gingen zu Ende, nicht ohne zu versäumen, die Mädchen bei jeder sich bietenden Gelegenheit *durchzuorgeln*.

1.3. Thoroughly permeating a space (*das Steak DURCHbraten*)

More occasional (i.e., less lexicalized) constructions can also describe going through a whole scripted process all the way to the end, in which case the base verb typically indicates the type of process and an accusative object provides more precise information about the aspectual course being followed. In (9a) for example, the process of washing is taken all the way through a specific load. Such constructions often have an accusative object that is less overtly aspectual though, such as the spatial accusative object in (9b). *DURCHwaschen* in (9b) still definitely implies taking the scripted process of washing a shirt all the way to its intrinsic conclusion, and the precise aspectual course for the event is still indicated largely by the accusative object. Now though, we may entertain a spatial image as well as the purely aspectual path. For example, we might imagine that the washing activity extends spatially through the interior of the shirt until it has reached every part of the shirt. That image too involves aspectual completion, but the completion is read as the moment when the last part of the accusative object has been reached by the washing process. The spatial extent of permeating the accusative object coincides with the aspectual extent of the verb process.

- (9) a. Wir haben jetzt die zweite Ladung *durchgewaschen*.
 ‘Now we’ve *finished washing* the second load’
 b. Eine Bluse oder ein Hemd hast du im Nu *durchgewaschen*.
 ‘You’ll have a blouse or a shirt *washed* in no time’
- (10) a. Wichtig ist auch, die Blase gut *durchzuspülen*, also viel trinken.
 ‘It’s also important to *rinse out* the bladder thoroughly, i.e. to drink a lot’
 b. Ich bevorzuge mein Steak *durchgebraten* und sehr dick.
 ‘I prefer my steak *well done* [thoroughly cooked] and very thick’
 c. Wir *wärmten* uns innerlich und äußerlich *durch*.
 ‘We *warmed* ourselves *thoroughly* inside and out’
 d. Ich habe nämlich schon das ganze Zimmer *durchgesucht*.
 ‘In fact I’ve *searched (through)* the whole room’

Generally speaking, the construction in (9b) is typical. DURCH- conveys an abstract linear image of extending all the way to the end of an implicit aspectual route (as in Figure 8), but that image overlaps with a spatial image in which something spreads all the way through the accusative-object space until all parts of that space have been reached. Both images are part of the interpretation, and it is difficult to tell if one predominates over the other. For example, the contribution of DURCH- in (10a) can be read in an abstract aspectual way as carrying the process of flushing the bladder to its maximum extent, or it can be read more concretely as causing the implicit mass FG to flow through all interior parts of the bladder. (10b) could equally well be interpreted to mean either ‘carry the process of cooking a steak to its maximum extent’ or ‘cause the cooking effect to spread all the way through

the interior of the steak'. The same goes for (10c). (10d) could mean that the process of searching the room was carried to its maximum extent, or that every part of the room was eventually searched. As in the other sentences, both meanings are presumably activated to some extent: the room has been searched thoroughly (in a more abstract aspectual sense) precisely at the point when every part of it has been inspected (in a more concrete spatial sense).

Although the abstract image of aspectual thoroughness and the spatial image of permeating a space are both involved in our understanding of sentences like those in (10), it is better to attribute the specific contribution of particle DURCH- to the linear aspectual 'thoroughness' image (while attributing the spatial permeating image more to the base verb and the accusative object, plus pragmatic implications). One reason, established in section 3, is that DURCH- verbs are not that common with normal physical incremental themes that are materially affected by the event. They occur more often with abstract incremental themes that have a strong temporal element.⁷ Another reason is that DURCH- verbs, like particle verbs generally, are strongly linked to linear sequential paths, while multi-directional paths (chapter 8) are strongly linked to prefixed verb constructions. As a matter of fact, to the extent that particle DURCH- does contribute directly to the spatial path image in sentences like (10) it tends to impose a more linear directed path

⁷ *DURCHheizen* for example is more commonly used to describe temporally continuous heating than spatial permeating: 'Räume ..., die nicht *durchgeheizt* werden sollen oder müssen'.

image on the event (as opposed to a multi-directional one). Verbs like *DURCHFrieren*, *DURCHwärmen*, *DURCHregnen*, *DURCHweichen*, *DURCHfeuchten*, *DURCHgießen*, *DURCHwässern*, *DURCHFetten*, or *DURCHFärben* suggest a more directed flow in which the mass FG spreads from peripheral layers inward to interior layers. The same goes for cooking verbs (*DURCHbraten*, *DURCHbacken*, *DURCHkochen*), and similar comments apply to verbs for massaging or otherwise working something in to a space (*DURCHARbeiten*, *DURCHreiben*). Verbs like *DURCHschwitzen* or *DURCHbluten* tend to suggest a directed flow from the body outward through layers such as clothing or bandages until they appear visibly on the outside. Of course these verbs may also describe permeating a space thoroughly and thus drenching it in all directions, and it is frequently not clear which image predominates. Still, the particle DURCH- always invites a directed linear image of some kind. In sentences like (10) there is good reason to think of its meaning consistently in terms of an abstract linear aspectual image.

Generally speaking, DURCH- contrasts with AN- in the non-lexicalized variants for thoroughly permeating. The DURCH- verb describes a thorough completed process, while the AN- verb describes a process that is only partially completed. The same contrast can be found with base verbs such as *bohren* that describe a more linear process.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Buntwäsche wird nicht gekocht, sondern nur in der heißen Waschlösung gut *durchgewaschen*. Die Düsen sind mit Preßluft von beiden Seiten *durchzublasen*. Das *spült* die Nieren *durch* und verhindert mit vom Meerwind *durchgelüfteten* Lungen. Ein dicker Herr, mit kahlem Kopf und *durchgeschwitztem* Kragen, setzt sich an unseren Tisch. Die Socke war schon *durchgeblutet* und drinnen sah es nicht viel besser aus. Nur im äußersten Notfall, wenn 3 Druckverbände *durchgeblutet* sind, abbinden. Vom Stadion zum Auto sind wir nachher dann noch schön *durchgeregnet* worden. ... von Berichterstattern in Shorts und *durchgeweichten* T-Shirts. Einen Tag vor dem Verlegen ist der Untergrund tiefgründig *durchzuwässern*. Jetzt gab es am Wochenende genug Regen um die Erde ordentlich *durchzunässen*. Der Rasen sollte beim Sprengen 10 cm *durchgefeuchtet* sein! Erst mal das Brötchen in einer kleinen Schüssel mit Wasser einweichen lassen, wenn's richtig *durchgefeuchtet* ist, rausholen und ausdrücken. Das Gefrierfleisch, 96 Stunden *durchgefroren*, in Gaze gehüllt, ... Zunächst sollte man warten, bis die Kohle richtig *durchgeglüht* und mit einer weißen Ascheschicht überzogen ist. Beispielsweise ist ein Schnitzel, das *durchgebraten* oder gar ist, innen nicht mehr roh. Die Grundbeilage ist Reis, der nicht gekocht, sondern *durchgedämpft* wird, wodurch er einen ganz außerordentlichen Geschmack gewinnt. Allerdings ist es auch möglich Holz *durchzufärben*. Einen Tag vor der Entfernung der Nähte sind die Pflaster auf den Augenliden mit Ophthalmo-septonex *durchzufetten*. ... der magen ist ausschließlich dafür verantwortlich den nahrungsbrei *durchzusäuern* mit der bekannten magensäure. Die Haare sollten mehrmals am Tag gut in Wuchsrichtung *durchgebürstet* werden, hatte sie ihre Haare lässig, ohne sie *durchzukämmen*, gefönt. Die Zimmer sind *durchzufegen* (auch unter den Betten) bzw. zu saugen. ... noch nicht *durchgepflühtes* Ackerland. Dabei wird das Feld gründlich *durchgehackt* und vom Unkraut befreit. ... zwei Jahre, bis er die Grube einmal *durchgeackert* hat. Der Garten wird ganz *durchgearbeitet* und mit Rasen besät. Hier werden Leib und Rücken *durchgearbeitet*. ... wenig Schweinenschmalz auf ein Leder zu tragen, und die Kugel oder den Cylinder gut damit *durchzureiben*. Als nächstes wird die Essig-Öl Mischung gut *durchgerührt*. Das Gemisch wird gut

durchgeschüttelt und dann die Toluolschicht abgetrennt. Kalamata, die Hauptstadt Messeniens, wurde oft von Erdbeben *durchgerüttelt*. Richtig *durchgewackelt* und vom Seegang ganz blass, wurde Eberhard beim Pinkeln vollkommen nass. Zu Beginn des Kampfes hatte Urkal seinen Gegner mit einem rechten Haken *durchgerüttelt*. Wichtig ist es, die Blößen zunächst mit einer schwachen Gerbbrühe *anzu-* und erst dann mit stärkerer Gerbbrühe *durchzugerben*.

Thorough permeating can also occasionally be expressed in an intransitive construction with a DURCH- verb. At times there is an implicitly recoverable space being permeated, and a construction with a verb like *DURCHatmen* is not significantly different from the ones with an explicit accusative. In more interesting intransitive cases though, the nominative subject designates the space being permeated. (Compare Langacker's (1991: 345–55) discussion of “setting-subjects“.) The verbs that appear in this type of construction are largely deadjectival or denominal, including *DURCHnässen*, *DURCHfeuchten*, *DURCHfärben*, *DURCHfetten*, *DURCHsäuern*, *DURCHfaulen*, *DURCHweichen*. DURCH-'s semantic contribution is clearly to specify the notion that the process is taken all the way to its maximum extent, as is clearly reflected in the contrast between *faulen* and *DURCHfaulen* in the first example below.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Der ganze Korb voll Äpfel und der Korb selber faulen und sind dicht daran, *durchzufaulen*. Speziell bei jungen Birnas ist dies oft nicht der Fall, da sie sehr lange brauchen um *durchzufärben*. Es nimmt auch Urin sehr gut auf,

ohne vollständig *durchzunässen*. Das Flachdach der 70er Jahre beginnt an verschiedenen Stellen *durchzunässen*. Der Teig hat bei seiner langen Stehzeit alle Zeit, die er braucht um gut *durchzufeuchten*. Gerade bei längerem Haar, das nur selten die Gelegenheit hat, einmal gründlich *durchzufetten*, ist das von Vorteil. Wie kommt man bei Regen am besten nach Hause ohne total *durchzuweichen*?

2. Incremental themes

In all of the examples in (8)-(10) there is an accusative object that can be more or less identified with the aspectual route followed by the verb process. In such sentences we are dealing with a new type of accusative object, distinct from accusative FGs, accusative reflexive-trajectors and accusative LMs, namely an accusative *incremental theme*.⁸

An incremental theme (Dowty 1991) is a noun phrase that determines the complete aspectual course of the verb phrase it appears in. Classic examples of incremental themes include “effected objects” that come into existence as the predicate proceeds through time (*build a house, write a letter, perform a sonata*), objects that are destroyed or consumed as the predicate proceeds (*eat a sandwich*), and objects that undergo some other definite

⁸ DURCH- is the only one of the route-path expressions that takes an accusative route. Downward accusative routes are normally expressed with directional *hinunter-* rather than UNTER- (compare *hinauf-*): ‘bevor es mir gelingt die Treppe ganz hinunterzusteigen’.

change of state as the predicate proceeds (*paint a house*). To borrow Dowty's example, if I want to see how near an event of *mowing the lawn* is to completion, I can tell by looking at how much of the lawn has been cut.

It makes semantic sense that constructions with an incremental theme would be associated with particle DURCH- verbs. DURCH- is semantically appropriate to describe a path that stays within a route and extends in continuous uninterrupted fashion all the way through each stage to the end, and the 'thoroughness' variants consistently involve an abstract linear aspectual route that is indicated by the accusative object. On the other hand, with most normal incremental themes there is no particular reason to add DURCH-. The plain base verb already suffices with objects that are effected, deleted, consumed or otherwise materially altered (e.g. *ein Haus bauen* or *ein Stück Kuchen essen*). If the particle DURCH- is used, then it presumably adds more specific information to that already provided by the base verb.

That added information may be straightforwardly spatial. In (11) for example, the plain verb *streichen* might be read to mean 'eliminate' or 'cancel', or even simply 'paint', but adding DURCH- clearly profiles a linear path through the two-dimensional space. More typically though, DURCH- is added for the purpose of emphasizing that the process is carried out thoroughly and continues uninterrupted all the way to the end of the route. That can occur for example when a verb such as *DURCHbohren* or *DURCHstoßen* is used to specify that a hole being created extends all the way through something (as opposed to partially). DURCH- is most typically added

to emphasize that the base-verb process goes incrementally through every possible stage in a continuous uninterrupted sequence. That is the case for example in (12), where the verb *DURCHsingen* profiles that the song is sung all the way through without interruption. It is also the case when a song is *DURCHkomponiert*, composed all the way through rather than by stanzas. A similar meaning is conveyed by other verbs of constructing such as *DURCHFertigen*, *DURCHbilden*, *DURCHformen* or *DURCHwirken*. When the accusative object refers to people, *DURCHbilden* basically means to educate thoroughly, implying both a planned sequence of training stages and a thorough formation of each aspect of the person.

- (11) der Verkauf von Gegenständen mit *durchgestrichenen* Hakenkreuzen
 ‘the sale of objects with the swastikas *crossed through*’
- (12) Als die Wienerin das erste Mal das Lied *durchgesungen* hat, ist Monika schon recht zufrieden.
 ‘By the time the Viennese woman has *sung* the song *through* for the first time, Monika is quite satisfied’

We might illustrate the construal of a DURCH- verb with an incremental theme as in Figure 9. The DURCH- path itself is basically normal, with a prominent FG that extends sequentially and continuously through a LM space. Now, however, the LM space coincides with an explicit accusative route that has its own intrinsically structured sequence, represented by the partitions (which are traversed in order from left to right). As the FG’s path

progresses from one stage of the incremental theme to the next, the incremental theme's intrinsic potential is being realized together with the DURCH- path. (Focal attention in Figure 9 should be concentrated especially on the arrowhead, i.e., on the leading part of the extending FG that eventually reaches the final stage of the incremental theme.)

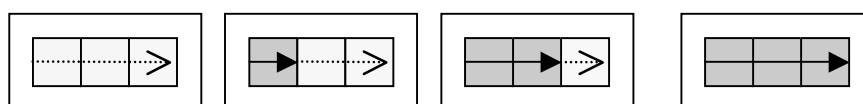


Figure 9. DURCH- path with incremental theme

DURCH- verb constructions do not consistently distinguish between “effected objects” that did not exist before and “affected objects” that already existed but undergo a substantial change of state. A verb such as *DURCHarbeiten* for example can describe the carefully detailed artistic shaping of a new object that did not previously exist at all, or it can be used for re-working something to the point that it becomes a substantially different entity – such as a book that is thoroughly revised so that a substantially new edition results (cf. *überarbeiten*).⁹

⁹ Compare König and Gast (2009:227-8), who note ways in which the German verb system tends to distinguish effected objects from affected objects more than English does.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

“Schonend” haben sie wieder und wieder *durchgestrichen*, “brutal” darübergeschrieben. ... einen Tunnel unter dem Bosporus *durchzugraben*. ... ein Comic-Heft mit *durchgestrichenem* Preis. (das Nichtzutreffende ist *durchzukreuzen*) Die Löcher dafür waren sogar schon fast da, sie mussten nur *durchgebohrt* werden. Deshalb ist das Loch für die Armatur noch nicht komplett *durchgestoßen*, Diese Fahrzeuge werden nicht in Deutschland *durchgefertigt*. ... den *durchgebildeten* Prosastil. Als sie zuerst auftrat, schien sie den Willen zu haben ihr schauspielerisches Können tänzerisch *durchzuformen*. Wenn es gelungen ist, den Menschen *durchzubilden*, ihn zu einem neuen, sinnlich konkreten, humanen, solidarischen Wesen zu formen, dann werden sich die mit einem tüchtig *durchgebildeten* Lehrerstand. Es werden daher bei längeren Ceilís nicht alle Figuren *durchgetanzt*. Jedes Detail war graph. genau *durchgearbeitet*. Die Figuren sind kleiner, genau *durchgearbeitet*. Zweite, *durchgearbeitete* und stark erweiterte Auflage. ... einen stilistisch *durchgefeilten* Text.

An aside on transitivity

Incidentally, Hopper (1985) suggests that clauses with effected objects are less “transitive” than those with affected objects. Such statements can be usefully interpreted in terms of the semantic concepts that inform this book. Prototypical transitive constructions have accusative objects that are either accusative FGs which are themselves put into motion (“themes”), or accusative reflexive-trajectors that undergo internal movements of some of their parts relative to other parts (cf. “patients”). What makes them prototypically “transitive” is that our focal attention shifts radically from the nominative primary FG to the accusative secondary FG during the construal of

the event. (See Dewell 2000.) Constructions with incremental themes generally are less prototypically transitive because the incremental theme coincides with the route for the main verb process, and so our attention remains divided between the subject's activity and what is happening to the accusative object – we track them together in tandem. Moreover, an effected object is even less able to compete for focal attention as the event is unfolding than an affected object is. While the event is going on, the effected object does not even exist yet as such. As we imagine someone building a house we focus mainly on the building activity, because the house remains only an abstract potential that is not recognizable as an actual entity until the very end of the process. As we imagine someone mowing a lawn on the other hand, the lawn does already exist throughout the construal, and so our attention is more evenly divided between the mowing activity and the visible “patient”-like change that is taking place in the lawn. When we turn to the materially unaffected incremental themes in the next section we find that they are even less apt to attract independent focal attention than the effected objects are, and those constructions are accordingly even less “transitive”. Incidentally, chapters 7-8 will show that prefixed verbs with an accusative LM are even less prototypically transitive than that. Accusative LMs are not materially affected, and the whole event is construed so that there is no shift of focal attention during the construal. (At no point in the construal do we zoom in to focus predominately on the accusative LM; both it and the path retain a constant presence in the scene.)

3. Materially unaffected incremental themes

DURCH- verbs are actually more common with incremental themes that are otherwise relatively unusual, namely those that are materially unaffected by the process described by the verb.¹⁰ That would be the case for example in (10d) above. Thoroughly searching a room means looking at every place there, and in that sense the room is an incremental theme. We can measure how near the search is to completion by measuring how much of the room has been inspected. Unlike prototypical incremental themes though, the room is in no way physically affected by the search. There is not normally any way to tell by looking at it what parts have been searched (comparable to the visibly mown parts of a lawn).

We need to look at materially unaffected incremental themes in some detail here for two reasons. For one, DURCH- is relatively more common with them than it is with the more usual types. For another, materially unaffected incremental themes are the ones that are apt to seem similar to the route-like

¹⁰ What makes these incremental themes atypical is that they are atypical “themes” – i.e., they are not affected or effected (or moved). They are nonetheless incremental themes, since the aspectual course of the verb phrase is homomorphic to a path that occupies each internal part of the accusative object in sequence. In fact, they reduce the concept to its semantic core – a route that defines the complete aspectual extension of the verb phrase.

accusative LMs that occur with prefixed *durch-* verbs. All accusative LMs are unaffected by the path that takes place relative to them, and that seems to be the case with these incremental themes as well. The very subtle contrast between these two constructions is a major topic in chapter 11.

3.1. Temporal routes (*die Strecke DURCHrennen, die Nacht DURCHschlafen, Durststrecken DURCHstehen*)

One type of incremental theme that is materially unaffected by the verb process is a pure spatial route, what Dowty calls an “Incremental Path Theme” (e.g. *cross the desert*). Like other incremental themes, these normally occur with simplex verbs. They may designate a defined course (e.g. *diese schöne Strecke fahren, eine Runde fahren*), a measured distance on a presumed larger course (*einen Kilometer fahren*), or even an abstract linear shape as long as it provides endpoints for the path (‘Nach Neuburg haben wir uns verfahren und sind fast *einen Kreis gefahren*’).¹¹

¹¹ The only real difference between *einen Kreis fahren* and *einen Kreis zeichnen* is that the latter also results in a lasting physical trace, a discernible “effected object” in the real spatial world. In both cases an abstract imagined shape comes into being together with the verb process. One way to look at expressions such as *einen Zick-Zick-Kurs fahren* is that the path event “creates” this particular instantiation of the shaped route (much as a song comes into being when it is sung). In this vein we might take the verb *DURCHmachen* quite literally, so that the accusative object is an abstract “effected object” that is “made” by following an intrinsically associated

Adding particle DURCH- to such constructions emphasizes the temporal continuity of the path. It specifies that the path extends all the way through to the end of the route, continuously and without interruption, maintaining a constant pace throughout. For example, *DURCHrennen* in (1) reports that the subject ran all the way to the end of the course and did not, for example, stop and walk for part of the way.

- (14) a. Er war jetzt fast 400 Kilometer *durchgefahren* und er war mit den Kräften am Ende.

‘He had *driven* almost 400 kilometers *straight through* and he was at the point of exhaustion’

- b. Da ich die 2 1/4 Stunden *durchgefahren* bin, hatte ich selber keine Zeit, Fotos zu machen.

‘Since I *drove* the 2 1/4 hours *straight through* I didn’t have time to take pictures myself’

- c. Es ist eigentlich viel zu schade, diese gesamte Strecke *durchzufahren*, ohne die vielen tollen Dinge rechts und links der Strecke zu beachten

‘It’s really a shame to *drive* this whole stretch *straight through* without looking at all the great things to the right and left of the road’

- d. Er war die ganze Nacht *durchgefahren*, um seine Freundin abzuholen.

‘He had *driven* the whole night *straight through* to pick up his girlfriend’

- (15) a. Wie kann ich meinem Baby helfen, die Nacht *durchzuschlafen*?

‘How can I help my baby to *sleep through* the night’

- b. Ich habe keine Stimme mehr, weil ich die ganze Nacht *durchgezecht* habe.

process. That is, *eine durchgemachte Entwicklung* is similar to *ein durchgebackenes Brot*.

‘My voice is gone because I *was out partying all night*’

c. Aber bis dahin sind viel zu lange 127 Minuten *durchzusitzen*.

‘But until that point a much too long 127 minutes must be sat through’

As the sentence pairs in (14a / b) and (14c / d) illustrate, measuring the spatial distance traveled blends easily with measuring the time the journey takes, and the same constructional pattern is used for either meaning. It makes sense then that similar constructions can occur more generally in purely temporal variants with verbs that do not suggest spatial motion at all, but which are conceived to extend through the temporal route, as in (15). The only real difference is that the reading of DURCH- with a temporal accusative is purely temporal rather than both spatial and temporal. We can say that *die ganze Nacht durchzuziehen* indicates a measured temporal route for an extending activity, just as we can take *die ganze Strecke durchzufahren* to indicate a measured spatial route for an extending spatial path. In both cases, DURCH- (as opposed to the simplex verb) underscores that the verb process continues uninterrupted all the way through the time period.

These accusative routes, the spatial ones and especially the temporal ones, are definitely not typical accusative objects. In fact they seem more adverbial in function.¹² They can remain in the accusative case even when the

¹² A shaped route for a path (e.g. ‘einen Kreis fahren’) seems functionally similar to a PP like ‘in einem Kreis fahren’. A measured distance (‘einen Kilometer fahren’) seems even more adverbial in nature, and a temporal accusative (‘eine Stunde fahren’) is still further on the adverbial end of the continuum.

verb is in passive voice (e.g. ‘In Kimas Garage *wurde* dann *den Abend durchgetanzt*’), they can co-occur with another accusative (e.g. ‘Weil es sich Werder nicht leisten kann, einen unzufriedenen Spieler ein Jahr *durchzuziehen*’), and they tend to take a *sein*-perfect rather than a *haben*-perfect with base verbs of motion.¹³ In fact DURCH- can sometimes be felt to be a postposition with the temporal noun as its object, rather than a particle that combines primarily with the base verb (‘*Die ganze Nacht durch* habe ich extreme Kopfschmerzen, hoffe auf etwas Schlaf und schönes Wetter am nächsten Morgen’). (See Zifonun et al 1997: 2085–87, Olsen 1999a, 1999b.) Even if they are not considered to be direct objects of the verb though, they still function as incremental themes.

The base verb can be a verb of motion as in (14), but that motion is now considered an activity like any other; the meaning of DURCH- is purely temporal and aspectual, not spatial.¹⁴ The word *Nacht* is particularly common

¹³ There is some uncertainty about the behavior of these expressions with respect to passive voice and the perfect auxiliary though. In the course of a discussion at forum.wordreference.com/showthread.php?t=283003 (November 2006) on which auxiliary is correct in the sentence ‘Hast/Bist du diese Strecke schon mal gefahren’, one participant contrasts two possible readings. “Ich habe diese Strecke gefahren. (Im Sinne: ich habe die Strecke schon mal zurückgelegt, zum Beispiel bei Autorennen.) Ich bin diese Strecke gefahren. (im Sinne: es war diese Strecke und keine andere.)”

¹⁴ DURCH- can occasionally have the same temporal meaning of continuing uninterrupted with the temporal route left implicit, for example with a verb such as *DURCHheizen*. In that case it may be unclear whether the intended reading is continuous temporal extent or more general ‘thoroughness’. Presumably because of such vagueness DURCH- verbs rarely have purely temporal meaning with accusative

in these constructions, with a base verb that refers to an activity that is continued all night – such as sleeping, working, or carousing.

In addition to the purely temporal accusatives, the construction is also common with abstract temporal routes that are not defined in purely temporal terms. (16a) for example is essentially like (15c), except that the time period in question is identified implicitly as the running time of the film, i.e., it is a stretch of time that is defined in terms of a temporary condition that is in effect then. The most common such constructions have the lexicalized verbs *DURCHstehen* or *DURCHmachen*. Rather than continuing a specific activity through the time period, these verbs describe more generically just getting through it, continuing to exist and function as a human being. Since the situation is felt to have an active effect on the subject, and the verbs *DURCHmachen* and *DURCHstehen* are lexicalized to take an accusative, the accusative noun now seems more like a true object of the verb and less like an adverbial.

- (16) a. Maura Monti ist die sexieste Fledermausfrau aller Zeiten und allein die Mühe wert, den Film *durchzusitzen*.

objects that are not explicitly temporal. Instances such as the parenthetical comment “hab den Film übrigens *durchgeschlafen*“ are rare, though the verb *DURCHspannen* is occasionally used to describe maintaining uninterrupted tension and interest throughout the temporal extent of an accusative object that refers to a performance: “Urs Dietrich besitzt genügend darstellerische Reife und Präzision, um das einstündige Solo mühelos bis zum Ende *durchzuspannen*.”

‘Maura Monti is the sexiest Batwoman of all time and she alone makes it worth *sitting through* the film’

- a. Ich wünsche Teresa Kraft diese Zeit *durchzustehen*.

‘I wish Teresa the strength to *get through* this time’

- b. Die SPD hat nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg eine längere Durststrecke *durchgemacht*.

‘The SPD *went through* a long dry spell after the second world war’

DURCHstehen implies simply enduring, and *DURCHbeißen* can also be used for simply holding out until the difficult situation is over. *DURCHmachen* suggests a more active involvement in the situation. It is typically used when the accusative noun phrase refers to an internally structured metaphorical course – a scripted process with phases that the subject needs to go through (as opposed to an internally homogeneous temporally bounded situation).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Aber da waren ja so viele Zuschauer, da habe ich mir gar nicht getraut aufzugeben, sondern ich bin dann doch lieber die Strecke *durchgerannt*. Alle Teilnehmer des TCO schafften diese Strecke *durchzuschwimmen*. Zwei Stockwerke werden *durchgelaufen*, bei drei und vier Stockwerken macht man in der Mitte eine Pause, erklärt Trautmann. ... mit seinem Auto die Strecke von München nach Düsseldorf *durchzufahren*, ohne von der Polizei angehalten zu werden. ... 1800 m ohne Pause *durchzuschwimmen*. Dann brauchen wir auch nicht die Nacht *durchzureisen*. Die Rote Karte war schlecht, weil viele von uns schon gegen Mailand 90 Minuten *durchgerannt* sind und jetzt gegen Stuttgart sogar für einen Mann mehr. Es *ging* die ganze Nacht *durch*. Ich fand super und hab auch die ganze Nacht *durchgetanzt* bis zum bitteren Ende! Nach 3 Tagen hörte sie endlich auf die ganze Nacht

durchzuschreien. Vier Minuten lang *durchzuschreien* ist sicher ziemlich hart. Und halb Blogger-Deutschland hat offenbar die Nacht *durchgewacht*! Er hatte die ganze Nacht *durchgesoffen*. Fragt der Chef: “Na Fräulein Krause, wohl die Nacht *durchgebummelt*!” ... um bei Dosenbier und Joints die Nacht *durchzuplaudern*. Wie viele Nächte haben wir gemeinsam *durchgeträumt*. Dabei hab ich die Tage und Nächte in Angst und Zweifel *durchgebebt*. Am Anfang haben wir mal eine Nacht lang *durchgestritten*, bis die Männer vor Müdigkeit aufgaben. Es hat gestern den ganzen Tag *durchgeregnet*. Die letzten zwei Jahr habe ich aber sicher *durchgetrunken*. Vorgestern hat er nachts 8 1/2 Stunden *durchgeschlafen*. Selbst wenn es nicht angenehm sein mag, ist es besser, eine schlechte Meditation *durchzusitzen*, als überhaupt nicht zu meditieren. ... um diese schwierige Zeit *durchzustehen* und gesund zu werden. ... bei allen Leiden, die sie *durchzustehen* haben. Wir *beißen* diesen Winter auch noch *durch*. ... eine schreckliche, schwere Zeit *durchzumachen*. Ich scheine im Moment eine blaue Phase *durchzumachen* :-)
... eine Entwicklung vom “Kind” zum “machtvollen Erwachsenen” *durchzumachen*. Nur braucht man dazu wohl gute Anwälte und hat unter Umständen lange Rechtstreits *durchzustreiten*.

These constructions are normally telic, i.e., there is a defined endpoint to the route. At times though, an accusative route may explicitly designate a larger course without clear endpoints. The accusative noun phrase is still an accusative route, but it is no longer a true incremental theme because it does not define the aspectual endpoints. In such situations the DURCH- verb often calls attention to particular points along the way (in the examples below for example: the individual cars being sprayed, or the intermittent events of hiding from the teachers). The construction profiles the motion from one point to the next in a sequence (like counting without coming to any particular

conclusion). The construction frequently profiles the detailed manner in which the FG advances (e.g. in second gear with the windows down). In the most general cases the use of DURCH- (as opposed to the simple verb) can profile the continuous extent of the path, or possibly also simply the fact that the path stays “within” the LM channel.¹⁵

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Oder sind sie die Straße *durchgegangen* und haben alle Auto's besprüht. Als wir den Weg *durchgegangen* sind, haben wir uns vor den Lehrerinnen versteckt. Es gibt nichts geilere als einen Tunnel und im 2ten Gang mit vollgas *durchzufahren* und alle Fenster aufzuhaben! *Gehen* Sie die Straße gerade *durch* bis zur Kirche.

3.2. Linear examining paths (*DURCHgehen*)

Dowty also distinguishes a type of incremental theme that he calls a “Representation-Source Theme”, in which a copy is made from an abstract

¹⁵ The verb *DURCHlegen* can occasionally be used with an accusative route (cf. *zurücklegen*): ‘Der Weg startet in San Bernardino Dorf oder Hospiz. Um die gesamte Strecke (42km) *durchzulegen*, wird die folgende Etappierung empfohlen: ...’ *DURCHlegen* typically suggests a true effected object that comes into existence gradually, including already existing accusative FGs that are extended further to reach an oblique goal: ‘dass es aus Platzgründen schwierig ist, Tunnels für die Amphibien unter der Strasse *durchzulegen*’, ‘Vor ein paar Jahren hieß es noch einmal, die Joachimstaler Straße sollte über den Zoo hinaus *durchgelegt* werden, um das geheimnisvolle Land hinter der Spree, das Tibet Berlins, dem Verkehr zu öffnen.’

original. Dowty does not differentiate between purely mental copies (*memorize a poem*) and overt physical reproductions (*copy a file, photograph a scene*), and it presumably makes little difference whether *read a book* describes a private mental activity or a public performance of reading out loud. In other words there is no essential difference between reading a book and other performances like singing a song. In either case the abstract original is physically unaffected, but a new copy of it is brought into the real world. Put another way, the new version being instantiated on a particular occasion is an effected object, albeit one that can be re-effected on any given occasion. Building a house means instantiating some sort of abstract script that defines a 'house' just as singing a song instantiates the script for a song. The only real difference is whether the script is for a specific song / house or a more generically defined 'song' or 'house'.

It is not necessarily the case though that silently reading a book is construed as reproducing a copy of the text in the reader's mind, comparable to memorizing a poem. Even ignoring the issue of interpreting the text's meaning, the image also involves visually scanning from one letter or word or line or page to the next – which can be understood as a kind of examination process. As we are about to see, the dominant image is typically one of a scanning path from one part of the text to the next. In any case, the texts in a sentence like (17a) are clearly incremental themes and the process of reading them moves from their start to their finish. *DURCH-* implies that the process is continuous all the way to the end. *DURCHlesen* typically describes careful

reading, but the process can also be cursory as long as it continues all the way through uninterrupted and in sequential fashion.

- (17) a. Sie nahm den Brief, *las* ihn aufmerksam *durch*, bis zum Ende.
 ‘She took the letter, *read it through* attentively to the end’
- b. Der setzt sich in die gute Stube und *geht* die Kostenbelege *durch*.
 ‘He sits down in the parlor and *goes through* the expense statements’
- c. Morgen zwei Stunden damit, seine E-Mail *durchzusehen*.
 ‘Morning two hours spent *looking through* his email’
- (18) Dies bedeutet, alle möglichen Schlüssel *durchzutesten*.
 ‘This means [going through and] *testing* all possible keys’

DURCHgehen is used similarly but more generally. It can be used with an accusative spatial route to describe going through a course carefully for the purpose of becoming familiar with it in every detail, and that usage is commonly extended to going through the route in one’s mind. *DURCHgehen* is also commonly used when the accusative object is a list as in (17b), or some other kind of text or plural series of texts. In all cases it consistently describes a step-by-step examination of ordered items, from start to finish sequentially. The items gone through may also be physical objects inspected in sequence. A construction with plural accusative objects can be read either as a single higher-level path through each item in a series, or as separate *DURCH-* paths through each member of the set.

There is a natural progression from (17a) to (17b) to (17c), which similarly describes a path of attention as the subject analyzes each part of a sequence in turn. (17c) moreover is essentially the same image as that in (18), except that the subject in (18) does more to each item in the series than simply look at it. As far as the DURCH- path is concerned they are the same. There is actually a wide range of DURCH- verbs that suggest going through a series of items and paying attention to each item in some way suggested by the base verb, from *DURCHsehen* to *DURCHhören* to *DURCHackern* to *DURCHprüfen* to *DURCHkosten*.

Most of these reading or inspecting paths imply a search for information. Especially with inspection verbs, a target may be specified for the search in an oblique *auf*-PP (or an expression like *daraufhin*). Generally speaking, the verbs for reading or inspecting do not occur with a *nach*-PP to specify the target of the search. If they do take a *nach*-PP it reports the categories of items that are being inspected.

- (19) a. die Presstexte auf Fehler *durchzulesen*
 ‘to read through press texts looking for errors’
- b. Er ruft Scully an und bittet sie, frühere X-Akten nach diesem Satz
 durchzusuchen.
 ‘He calls Scully and asks her to search through earlier X-files looking
 for this sentence’

One major group of ‘examining’ DURCH- verbs does routinely take a *nach*-PP though, namely the explicit search verbs such as *DURCHsuchen*,

DURCHForschen, *DURCHwählen*, *DURCHkämmen*, *DURCHstöbern*, *DURCHschnüffeln*, or *DURCHfilzen*. Although verbs like *DURCHsuchen* may occasionally appear with non-linear objects such as houses or rooms, as in (10d), they consistently convey a sequential image in which the search path goes exhaustively through each location in an accusative route. (See the discussion contrasting *DURCHsuchen* and *durchsuchen* in chapter 11.) The particle DURCH- verbs most typically occur with an accusative object that suggests an obvious sequential route – such as a plural series or a list or a text of some kind.¹⁶

Finally, another type of linear examination path with a DURCH- verb can be a purely mental one. The items gone through in a *DURCHgehen* path are frequently purely mental, such as going over remembered events in one's head, or going over a planned series of events. *DURCHARbeiten* can also describe logically working through issues in the mind, and *DURCHträumen* is used similarly. *DURCHdenken* can describe thinking things through all the way to the end, one logical step at a time. Normal thinking is not necessarily conceived to be that linear and sequential though, and *DURCHdenken* is not as common as the prefixed verb *durchdenken* – see the discussion in chapter 11 contrasting these two verbs. Talking through a topic is relatively more

¹⁶ The sequential nature of all of these examination paths with DURCH- verbs is reflected in their common occurrence with expressions of the type *Wort für Wort*. *DURCHgehen* is particularly associated with such expressions ('Seite für Seite wurde der Finanzplan *durchgegangen*'), but other DURCH- verbs occur with them as well.

conducive to a sequential construal, and verbs such as *DURCHsprechen* or *DURCHplaudern* occur with accusative routes. Other mental processes that suggest a sequential route include counting, numbering and spelling (*DURCHzählen, DURCHnumerieren, DURCHbuchstabieren*).

- (20) a. Wenn man sich die notwendige Zeit nimmt, um die Fragen ausführlich *durchzugehen - durchzudenken, durchzufühlen*.
 ‘If one takes the necessary time to *go through* the questions extensively – *think* them *through*, *feel* them *through*’
- b. Die Festlegung der Benchmark ist ein Thema, das bis ins Detail *durchgesprochen* werden muss.
 ‘Fixing a benchmark is a topic that has to be *thoroughly discussed* [talked through] down to the last detail’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ich bin da fest am Boden gestanden, hab’ mein Lied *durchgesungen*, war ganz steif, dann hab’ ich irgendwie noch’n “Dankeschön” rausgekriecht und das war’s. Sänger Peder Sundqvist hat es drauf, variabel seine Vocals *durchzuschmettern*. Leider hatten nicht alle Bands das Glück ihr Set *durchzudonnern*. Unser Ding ist es nicht, in zwei Tagen Kurse *durchzueilen*, wie es viele Schulen tun. Ich bin halt nur den Weg *durchgegangen*, den mir das Auswahlmenü vorgegeben hat. In den Wochen vor meiner Konfirmation *las* ich die ganze Bibel *durch*, Wort für Wort. Während des Essens *las* Elline ein paar Journale *durch*. Es lohnt sich die 5 Seiten *durchzulesen*. Um nicht die ganze Datenbank *durchzuorgeln*, sondern uns auf die Daten der letzten 24 Stunden zu beschränken. Das ganze letzte Wochenende war ich mit meinem Mann die gesamte Strecke *durchgegangen*, jeder Winkel, jede Kurve war mir vertraut. Mental bin ich noch mal die Strecke *durchgegangen*. Punkt für Punkt wurde das Papier *durchgegangen*, erst dann ging’s in die Senatssitzung. Ich fing an, das Klingelbrett *durchzugehen*. ... wie flott sie die

Kleider da *durchgegangen* ist - sie wusste genau, was sie wollte. Meine Brieftasche, meine Mappe werden *durchgesehen*. Ich habe meinen Terminkalender *durchgesehen* und festgestellt, dass .. Alle Checklisten waren *durchgesehen*. Aba bin viel zu faul, jetzt die ganzen CDs *durchzugucken* und dann ne Liste zu machen. Abends haben mein Freund Christoph und ich Presseartikel *durchgeguckt*. Ich *schau'* morgens immer alle Kanäle *durch*. Die letzten 7-10 Tage vor dem Physikum sollte man dazu nutzen, um alte Physika *durchzukreuzen*. Manchmal empfiehlt es sich die Sicherungen nicht nur anzuschauen, sondern direkt *durchzumessen*. Da bleibt dir nur die Möglichkeit die einzelnen Teile nacheinander in einem funktionierenden anderen PC *durchzutesten*. ... die Notwendigkeit für den Reichstag, den Reichswehretat gründlicher *durchzuprüfen*, als es bisher geschehen ist. Ich bin gerade dabei, meine 15 Jahre alte Vespa PK mal wieder komplett *durchzuchecken*. Die riesige Weinauswahl haben wir nicht mehr geschafft *durchzukosten*. Die Jugendlichen versuchten, diese 15 Festivaltage bis zur letzten Minute *durchzufühlen*. Aber ich gebe die Hoffnung nicht auf, meinen Zeugen zu finden - bin grad dabei die Händler *durchzufragen*. Ich bin noch dabei alles *durchzuhören*. ... den Etat noch einmal daraufhin *durchzusehen*, ob nicht manches gespart werden könne. Es wäre sicher sehr aufschlußreich, die vorliegenden Interviews einmal daraufhin *durchzumustern*, wo und wie häufig die Floskel "bei XY" auftaucht Die Passagierliste wird nach Besonderheiten wie Kindern, Hunden oder Behinderten *durchgegangen*. Ich stelle mich zur Verfügung, diese Seiten nach speziellen Merkmalen wie Tattoos, Schmuck, Stoff und anderem *durchzusehen*. So viel Zeit habe ich leider nicht, jede Seite *durchzusuchen*. ... Goethes Sämtliche Werke nach geeigneten Zitaten *durchzuforschen*. Heutige Suchmaschinen *kämmen* indizierte Web-Seiten nach Stichwörtern *durch*. Da gehen sie umher und *schnüffeln* die alten Militärpapiere *durch*. Womöglich war sie indiskret und *stöberte* seine Sachen *durch*. Daher wird es nun Zeit, auch die Dissertationen von Seehofer, Frau Merkel und den anderen Politikern mindestens genauso streng *durchzufilzen* auf Plagiate! Schließlich *wühlte* er den ganzen Bücherschrank *durch* und ... Ich wandere durch Nebenstraßen, *gehe* in Gedanken den Tag *durch*. Bei jedem Duell machte ich mir Notizen, *ging* die

Kämpfe dann zu Hause *durch*. Die Fragen müßten alle eingehend *durchgearbeitet* werden. Aber nur bis ich dann die Konsequenzen *durchgedacht* habe. Das zwingt einem, manche Punkte bis zur Konsequenz *durchzudenken* und sich auf bestimmte Aspekte festzulegen. Und bei solcher Wanderung *denkt* man eben mancherlei Gedanken *durch*. Das Grundstück ist gekauft, der Plan fürs neue Eigenheim endlich fertig und auch die Finanzierung ist *durchgedacht*. Heute Nacht hab ich ziemlich schlecht geschlafen und irgendwie alle Möglichkeiten *durchgeträumt*, was so schief laufen kann. Wahrscheinlich übernimmt die Kunst die Funktion des Traums: Das *durchzuträumen* und *durchzuspielen*, was man sonst verdrängt. Alle Fächer und Schulautoren werden *durchgesprochen*. Wir könnten auch gerne mal telefonieren, um die ganzen Themen mal kurz *durchzuplaudern*. Nachdem ich zu Hause angekommen bin, habe ich erst mal die Kinder *durchgezählt* und bettfertig gemacht. Von späterer Hand wurden die Seiten einzeln mit Bleistift *durchgezählt*.

PART 3

Prefixed verb constructions

CHAPTER 7

Prefixed verbs and holistic paths

The most striking trait associated with the typical particle verb constructions in chapters 3–5 is that focal attention is concentrated on the FG (or, in the case of extending FGs or reflexive-trajectors, on a particular active part of the FG). The FG is singled out syntactically as the only non-oblique entity that is directly involved in the path expressed by the particle, appearing either as the nominative subject of an intransitive construction or as an accusative object in caused motion. The LM of the path is consistently left implicit, at most suggested only indirectly.

These characteristics of particle verb constructions would not seem especially noteworthy if they did not contrast markedly with prefixed verb constructions. Rather than prompting us to concentrate focal attention particularly on the moving FG and on the sequence of particular locations that it occupies, prefixed verb constructions prompt us to take a more synoptic perspective on the event, distributing our attention more evenly over the whole scene. Where particle verb constructions prompt us to shift our focal attention in sequence from one place in the setting to the next, prefixed verb constructions prompt us to maintain a stable view of the overall setting within which the event takes place. Where particle verb constructions prompt us to zoom in, prefixed verb constructions prompt us to zoom out.

The most striking formal trait of the typical prefixed verb constructions in this chapter and the next is that they have an *accusative LM*. That is, the LM of the path expressed by the prefix is not only mentioned explicitly; it is focally prominent as the accusative object of the verb (or as the nominative subject of a past participle). In (1) for example, the property, the archeological site, the road, and the obstacle are all prominently expressed. The LM is more prominent than it would be as the oblique object of a PP with a simple verb; and it is certainly much more prominent than it would be if left implicit with a particle verb.

- (1) a. Unser Grundstück ist *umzäunt* mit 1,80m hohem Zaun.
 ‘Our property is *fenced in* [*um-* fenced] with a 1.8-meter-high fence’
- b. Die Straße *durchschneidet* die archäologische Stätte.
 ‘The road *cuts through* the archeological site’
- c. Das Entscheidende ist, dass das Huhn die Straße *überquert* hat.
 ‘The key point is that the chicken did *cross* the road’
- d. Er fährt auf die Gegenfahrbahn um das Hindernis zu *umfahren*.
 ‘He drives on the wrong side of the road in order to *get around* [*um-*drive] the obstacle’

Moreover, if the LM is relatively more prominent then the FG will be relatively less able to attract our undivided focal attention. In fact, the FGs in prefixed verb constructions frequently have reduced syntactic prominence as well. In (1a) for example, the FG (the fence) is indicated generically as the denominal root of the base verb, and further specification takes place only

optionally in an instrumental *mit*-PP. Passive constructions are also common, relegating the FG to syntactically implicit status.

Another factor that makes us less inclined to concentrate attention when imagining the FG is that it very commonly has an extended shape. It is often construed as a line rather than as a point-like object in space (a compact moving entity), and that means that our attention is distributed over a range of points. More specifically, the extended shape of the FG coincides more or less with the route of the path expressed by the prefix – making the FG seem to merge with the route. In (1a) for example the fence extends around the property in a circular shape that looks like the schematic *um* route (the arrow in Figure 4). In (1b) the road extends through the site to look like the schematic *durch* route in Figure 3. Prefixed verb constructions like (1a) and (1b) commonly express fictive motion, with an objectively static extended FG whose shape corresponds to the shape of a route path.

Constructions with an explicit nominative FG that moves as a whole compact entity do sometimes occur as in (1c) and (1d), but only in restricted variants. Even in (1c) and (1d), the FG clearly shares focal attention both with the accusative LM and with the shaped overall route. There may be a base verb like *queren* in (1c) that suggests a geometric line corresponding to the route. Otherwise the constructions typically suggest an evasive maneuver past a LM obstacle as in (1d), focusing especially on the route taken by the FG relative to a prominent LM, and relative to the overall journey of which the detour is a part. The common denominator in all of the types represented in (1)

is that a prominent shaped *holistic path* is being located relative to a setting characterized mainly by a prominent accusative LM. The FG shares focal attention with both the LM and its own shaped route.

We might depict a holistic *durch-* path path roughly as in Figure 10. There is path motion from one conceptual frame to the next (represented by the moving arrowhead), since the path is profiled as a verb process; but the setting (including the accusative LM) remains basically constant throughout the construal. The path is viewed from a synoptic perspective, and we do not zoom in to concentrate attention on the FG at any particular point during the path. Contrast the sequential mode represented in chapter 3 (Figure 5).

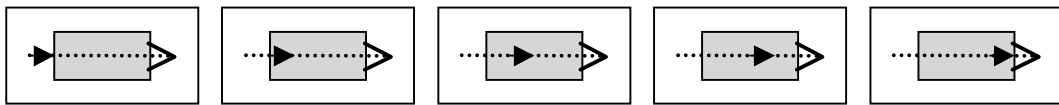


Figure 10. Holistic *durch-* path (expanded view)

Since the whole path event is viewed within a basically static setting, the overall effect will look much like Figure 11, in which the path is summary scanned within a single frame. The summary scanned image will of course be especially encouraged when there is fictive motion. The image in Figure 11 is essentially like the schematic *durch* path depicted in chapter 2 (Figure 3), except that the path is now profiled as a temporal verb process (and the LM is more prominent as an accusative object of the verb). Images comparable to Figures 10 and 11 can easily be imagined for *über-*, *um-* and *unter-*.

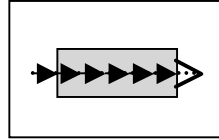


Figure 11. Holistic *durch*- path (collapsed view)

The following discussion begins with the most typical variants, like (1a), (1b), and (1c), that describe a geometric configuration with a linear shape corresponding to the shape of the path expressed by the prefix. “Route-like LMs“, in which the linear path corresponds to a linear LM, are treated as a special case. They lead to several important metaphorical variants, including *durch*- verbs with temporal LMs, *durch*- verbs and *über*- verbs for ‘passing sensations’, and *über*- verbs for holistic inspections and for ‘competitive surpassing’. Constructions like (1d), in which an ordinary moving FG gets past a focal obstacle, are the last topic considered. That type also extends to abstract variants based on particular functional implications – mainly lexicalized *über*- verbs for avoiding contact and for overwhelming. Generally speaking, the prefixed verbs are more inclined than the particle verbs to become associated with abstract metaphorical variants.

1. Geometric lines

(2)-(4) illustrate the common situation in which a prefixed verb construction describes a geometric configuration. The FG extends to form a linear shape that is situated over, under, around or through a LM, so that *über-* verbs involve a FG that eventually extends to cross over a LM, *unter-* verbs one that crosses under it, *durch-* verbs one that bisects it, and *um-* verbs one that encircles or encloses the LM. The FG corresponds in effect to the path arrows that schematically define the route path expressions in Figures 1–4.

- (2) a. Oktober 1877 gelang es schließlich, den Fluss zu *überbrücken*.
 ‘In October 1877 they finally succeeded in *building a bridge over* [*über-* bridging] the river’
- b. Diese Länge würde ausreichen, um die Mykolsäureschicht zu *durchspannen*.
 ‘This length would suffice to *extend* all the way *through* [*durch-* span] the layer of mycolic acid’
- c. Der Plan, den Ärmelkanal zu *untertunneln*, hat lange auf die Verwirklichung warten müssen.
 ‘The plan to *tunnel under* [*unter-* tunnel] the English Channel took a long time to be realized’
- d. Er hatte den Reisenden *umarmt*.
 ‘He had *hugged* [*um* -armed] the traveler’
- (3) a. Eine Hängebrücke *überspannt* in 50m Höhe den Fluß.
 ‘A suspension bridge *spans* the river at a height of 50 meters’
- b. Der Pfad *überquert* einen alten Römerweg.
 ‘The path *crosses* [*over*] an old Roman road’
- c. Die Straße *durchquert* eine weite Ebene.
 ‘The road *crosses* [*through*] a broad plain’
- d. Der Fluß *durchströmt* Altchemnitz.

‘The river *flows through* the old section of Chemnitz’

e. Ein hoher Zaun *umschließt* sein Grundstück.

‘A high fence *encloses* his property’

(4) Diese Brücke *überführt* die A 12 von Berlin nach Warschau.

‘This bridge *leads over* the A 12 from Berlin to Warsaw’

In (2) there is some sense that the FGs are actively extending until their leading parts have traversed the whole route profiled by the prefix, but the construction profiles the whole completed shape rather than any particular moving part.¹ More commonly in fact, the configuration is objectively completely static as in (3), i.e., the FG is already extended and the constructions do not describe any actual objective movement whatsoever. Nevertheless, the constructions prompt us to conceptualize the scene in terms of a path according to the general processes of fictive motion.

In fictive motion the profiled path is a purely subjective one in which we scan the FG’s static shape summarily. Such readings are obviously grounded in our experience with many typical FGs, such as rivers and roads, since they are metonymically associated with entities that move on them, such as boats and cars. Rivers are of course also associated with flowing water (and

¹ A particle verb would prompt us to zoom in and focus particularly on the leading part of the FG as opposed to its whole shaped extent. A prototypical example would be a human arm reaching toward a target, which would encourage particular focus on the hand at the expense of the rest of the arm. If the point of the construction is the resulting extended shape of the whole arm though, as in hugging, then a prefixed verb like *umarmen* is called for.

roads with “flowing” traffic). With base verbs such as *führen* in (4) we are explicitly prompted to imagine a vaguely generic entity that moves along the path and functions as the implicit FG of the base verb (just as roads can “lead” somewhere in English). None of these associated objective paths are necessary though. Any stationary object with an extended shape can be located using a fictive path construction, as if it were actively extending in a particular direction.²

The ‘bisecting’ image with *durch-* verbs is common when linear entities such as roads or rivers extend through geographical terrains as in (3c) and (3d). Common verbs include *durchziehen*, *durchmessen*, *durchstreichen*, *durchtrennen*, and especially *durchschneiden*, as well as verbs such as *durchströmen* or *durchfließen* for rivers. *Durchkreuzen* (and *durchstreichen*) can be used to describe drawing a line through a symbol or a piece of text to indicate deleting or canceling. A truly abstract and lexicalized variant of *durchkreuzen* describes “crossing” other people’s intentions, thwarting their plans. There seems to be an image of conflicting and invalidating that is related to canceling, combined with an intersecting image of being at “cross-purposes” with someone and thus interfering with where the person wants to go.³

² See Langacker (1987: 171–3), Talmy (2000a: 99–172), and Matlock (2010) for general discussion of fictive (or “subjective”) motion.

³ Normal *durch-* verb constructions can describe seeing through a LM to gain access to an implicit target, or penetrating an obscuring medium such as darkness. When the

Um- verbs like those in (1a), (3e) and (5) are common. *Um-* lends itself particularly well to these variants because it has the most distinctive shape of all the route path expressions, and also because its LM intrinsically maintains a central and fairly stable position in the *um* image. The LM is thus relatively prominent as an object being enclosed (a perfect candidate to be an accusative LM). A pure geometric ‘encircling’ image is clearest when the FG serves to frame or outline the LM visually, in effect defining its bounds. That is especially the case in examples like (5a) and (5b), when the framing or bordering image is expressly suggested by the base verb. ‘Enclosing’ verbs frequently have denominal base verbs that incorporate the FG of the *um* path. Or rather, they incorporate the type of FG; the precise FG of applicative constructions can be further specified in an instrumental *mit*-PP (or a *von*-PP).⁴ *Umgeben* is lexicalized to describe encircling or enclosing.

obscuring LM is the exterior of an object the implicit target is presumably whatever is inside the object. That image in turn leads to the use of a *durch-* verb construction to describe “seeing through” a LM person. Compare the related constructions with verbs such as *durchleuchten* that describe penetrating a LM’s surface and then illuminating its interior and making it accessible to vision, which are treated in the next chapter as multi-directional ‘permeating’ paths.

⁴ Other prefixes also occur with denominal bases, such as *überbrücken* and *untertunneln*, but the applicative constructions with a *mit*-PP are not common with them (at least with linear FGs – multi-directional covering with an *über-* verb is another matter). Applicative *um-* verbs are similar to applicative *be-* verbs like *begrenzen* (Günther 1974: 248), except that they add a clear image of a curved shape. (Note the unusual use of verbs like *umschultern* or *umhalsen* that incorporate the specific LM in the denominal verb and make the whole person the accusative LM of

dimensions. As a result, the verb *umfassen* is lexicalized to describe an abstract form that includes the LM as a kind of contained substance.⁵ The FG consists of or comprises the LM, including it in its scope. Compare also the essentially linear image conveyed by *umspannen*, which can similarly describe including a temporally defined LM within its bounds, enclosing its “contents”.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Eine schnurgerade Straße *durchschneidet* die Landschaft. Eine Gebirgskette *durchstreicht* die beiden Hauptinsel von SW nach NO. Ein exakter schwarzer Schnitt aus Teer *durchtrennt* die Ebene. Das »gebeten« *durchstrichen*, dafür: Sie werden »ersucht«. Das gefürchtete Symbol mit der rot *durchkreuzten* Zigarette Die Direktion sittlicher Werte wird *durchkreuzt* von der natürlichen Neigung Das *durchkreuzte* unsere Pläne sehr unangenehm. Das weinende Kind *umklammerte* seine Puppe. Vor Jahren konnte man diese Säule noch *umarmen*, jetzt hat man sie mit einem Zaun *umgeben*. Selbst Naturschutzorganisationen finden es praktischer und billiger, ihre Weidegebiete mit Stacheldraht zu *umzäunen*. ... einen Tag im Kalender rot *umranden*. ... Piazza dell’Isola wie ein römisches Forum an allen vier Seiten mit Kolonnaden zu *umbauen*. Ein seidener Schal *umschlang* ihren Hals. 1910 wurde der Friedhof teilweise *ummauert* und mit einem Portal versehen. Das

⁵ *Um* is generally the converse of *in*. Compare *umschließen*, for enclosing an accusative LM, with *EINschließen*, for inserting an accusative FG into essentially the same enclosed position. All of the variants of *um-* verbs – encircling, wrapping, grasping, immersing, abstract containing form – have counterparts with *in*. And just as they do with *in*, the various kinds of containment can be clearly separate in some contexts and merge into a single undifferentiated category in other contexts (e.g. a FG which can be understood as “in” either an external environment, a defining “containing” shape, or an even more abstract internal state construed as a kind of immersion).

gesamte Grundstück ist mit einer Mauer *umfasst*. ... die Ruderanlage mit frisch gepflanzten Bäumen zu *umsäumen*. Drei Journalisten stürzen auf ihn zu, *umringen* ihn, wollen, dass er mit ihnen spricht. In diesem Kurs lernen Sie, Probleme effektiv zu *umreißen*, sodass Sie sich einer lösungsorientierten Sichtweise sicher sein können. Ein Hundeschlittenteam *umfasst* etwa 6 bis 18 Tiere. 17 000 Stücke *umfasst* die Sammlung von Villeroy & Boch und sie *umspannt* 4 Jahrhunderte. Das Kursangebot der Klett Akademie *umfasst* über 60 verschiedene Kurse. Es ist von hier aus leicht, den Begriff der reinen Logik scharf zu *umgrenzen*. Den Kreis dieser Personen gesetzlich bestimmt zu *umgrenzen*, ist untunlich. Es gelingt ihm, den Inhalt aller vier Teile des „Zarathustra“ zunächst in einem Absatz zu *umreißen*. Der Verwaltungsrat setzt ihre Amtsdauer fest und *umschreibt* ihre Aufgaben und Kompetenzen.

2. Geometric images with moving FGs (*umkreisen, überqueren, durchschneiden*)

Similar images of a geometric configuration can sometimes arise even when the FG does not extend to form a tangible linear shape. Such readings are particularly apt to occur when the base verb expressly suggests the shape. For example, *um-* can occur in combination with a base verb such as *kreisen* (or *runden*) to describe geometric encircling or orbiting, as in (6a). In fact, prefixed *um-* verbs are so well suited to describe a prominent circular shape around a central focal LM that they can be used this way even with normal base verbs of motion as in (6b).

- (6) a. Die Erde *umkreist* als dritter Planet die Sonne auf einer nahezu kreisförmigen Bahn in einem Jahr.
 ‘The earth *orbits* the sun in a year as the third planet, on a nearly circular course’
- b. Strabon spricht sogar von Versuchen, die Erde zu *umsegeln*.
 ‘Strabon even speaks of attempts to *circumnavigate* the earth’

The other route paths do not have shapes that are as distinctive as *um*’s circular image, but they can invoke the image of a particular geometric configuration when they occur with the base verb *queren* (the root *quer* means ‘diagonal’). The verbs *überqueren*, *durchqueren* and *unterqueren* all occur almost exclusively in prefixed constructions that prompt us to imagine the FG’s path as a line that crosses or intersects the LM.⁶ Basically, *überqueren* implies a planar LM surface that the FG is “on” (*auf*) as it passes, while *durchqueren* suggests a LM space that the FG is “in” (see Schmitz 1964: 9). Thus in (7) for example, crossing a body of water in a boat calls for *über-* while crossing it by wading calls for *durch-*. Similar constructions occur, less commonly, with *kreuzen*.

- (7) a. Es gelang ihm den Fluss zu *überqueren*.
 ‘He succeeded in *crossing* the river’
- b. In einer langen Schlange *durchqueren* die Gläubigen den Fluß,

⁶ There were 3,259 hits for “zu überqueren“ in COSMAS, and 0 for “überzuqueren”. (Google had 146,000 and 77, and the particle verbs that did occur seemed written by non-native speakers.) The corresponding numbers for *durchqueren* were 648 to 0 in COSMAS (71,400 to 454 in Google), for *unterqueren* 52 to 0 (6,090 to 0).

‘In a long line the faithful *cross* the river’

Much as *um-* is particularly associated with a geometric encircling image, *durch-* is linked to geometric bisecting. That is the case with extended FGs such as roads and rivers, and also with the intersecting image conveyed by *durchqueren*. Although the base verb *schneiden* in (8a) does not independently suggest a geometric image the way *kreisen* or *queren* do, in conjunction with *durch-* it can play the *-sect* role well enough that *durchschneiden* conveys the image of a line that optically bisects a space. Both *durchschneiden* and *durchpflügen* can describe cutting a path through a medium such as water or snow in a way that creates a visible summary-scanned wake, further encouraging the image of a geometric bisecting line. Such a tangible linear trace is not necessary however; the same verbs can be used with a LM such as air. Similar constructions with *durchschneiden* or *durchreißen* – and occasionally with other verbs – convey an image of acoustic splitting, describing sounds that characteristically accompany paths that pierce the air, as in (8b).

- (8) a. Das Schiff *durchschnitt* die See.
 ‘The ship *cut through* the sea’
- b. Der peitschende Knall der Büchse *durchreißt* die Stille.
 ‘The whip-like crack of the rifle *splits* the silence’
- c. Er *durchschritt* würdevoll den Saal.
 ‘He *strode through* the room in a dignified way’

A similar image of optically bisecting a space can also be conveyed by the verb *durchmessen*, which has become lexicalized as an elevated equivalent of *durchqueren*. (Compare the related use of the noun *Durchmesser* to mean ‘diameter’.) *Durchschreiten* and *durcheilen* are also lexically associated with holistic paths that are like those with *durchqueren* or *durchmessen*.⁷

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... den Starnberger See mit dem Fahrrad *umrunden*. Wie lang brauchte Hannibal um die Alpen zu *überqueren*? Es ist allerdings möglich den Hügel durch unterirdische Tunnelanlagen zu *unterqueren* (siehe Bilder). Grenouille *durchquerte* den Garten und stieg über die Mauer. Er sprang auf vom Stuhl und *durchmaß* das Zimmer mit kleinen hastigen Schritten. Ist die Lichtgeschwindigkeit die schnellste Möglichkeit, den Raum zu *durcheilen*? Rauchwolken *durchziehen* die Luft. Ein Wal *durchpflügte* das Meer. Der Wagen *durchpflügte* eine aufstäubende Schneewand. Messerscharf *durchschnitt* er die Luft. Eine Sternschnuppe *durchschnitt* das Himmelsfeld. Plötzlich *durchschnitt* ein langgezogener Klageruf die Stille.

Generally speaking, there is no clearly marked formal distinction between prefixed verb constructions that have single uni-directional linear paths and those that have multi-directional paths of the types to be discussed in the next chapter. A single linear FG such as a river, for example, might

⁷ When the base verb *messen* is read literally as a measuring process, then the particle DURCH- verb is normal. *Durchschreiten* and *durcheilen* return 156 and 11 respectively as infinitives with *zu* in COSMAS (86,500 and 11,800 in Google), while their particle verb counterparts return only 2 and 0 (1,150 and 370 in a Google search).

typically meander through the region in varying directions until it seems to visit the region in every possible direction rather than bisect it. Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, the image of a multi-directional set of paths in randomly varying directions can be transformed into one in which a single entity extends in multiple directions to form a planar shape. In the case of *über-* for example, a single line spanning a two-dimensional space is not as common as planar ‘covering’ in all directions (e.g., ‘Früh entwickelte er eine zeltähnliche Gewebedecke aus einer Betonstruktur, die es ihm erlaubte große Räume säulenlos zu *überspannen*’). Similarly, an *um-* verb can describe multi-dimensional ‘enveloping’ (‘wrapping’, ‘immersing’) as well as linear ‘encircling’. (English *surround* and *enclose* are similarly vague between the two readings, as is *in* in both languages.)

There is also no clearly drawn distinction between a linear FG and one that is wave-like or has a ribbon shape, i.e. that has noteworthy extension laterally as well as in the overall forward direction of the path. The image can still be basically uni-directional (e.g., ‘Schwerkraftwellen *durcheilen* den Raum mit Lichtgeschwindigkeit’), but the lateral extension introduces multi-directional elements as well. A flowing liquid that moves wave-like over the surface of a LM may maintain a constant overall direction but also extend far enough laterally that it ultimately ‘covers’ the entire surface in all possible directions. Such wave-like FGs are not especially significant for this section on holistic directed paths though, because they do not normally invite a clear image of a shaped path. With prefixed verbs these FGs are generally more apt

to invite a multi-directional image for ‘covering’ or ‘permeating’ or ‘immersing’ – but note the specialized variants for ‘passing sensations’ or for ‘overwhelming’ that are discussed later in this chapter.

3. Route-like LMs (eine Strecke durchfahren)

A special case in which the path has a prominent linear shape arises when the path more or less coincides with the LM itself. Such “route-like“ LMs occur naturally enough with *durch-* verbs in constructions like those in (9), when the holistic *durch-* path happens to begin and end at the far boundaries of a LM with a linear shape.

- (9) a. Der Hund hat den Tunnel zu *durchgehen*.
 ‘The dog is to go through the tunnel’
- b. Er hat die Strecke in Rekordzeit *durchfahren*.
 ‘He drove the stretch in record time’
- c. Diese markierte Route *durchfahren* Sie am besten mit dem Fahrrad.
 ‘It’s best to go through this marked route by bicycle’
- d. Bereits am Freitag sind wir angereist und haben unter anderem unsere übliche Sightseeing-Route *durchlaufen*.
 ‘We arrived on Friday and *went through* our usual sightseeing route, among other things’

These *durch-* verb constructions with route-like LMs require special attention partly because they underlie some common nonspatial variants,

specifically those with temporal LMs as discussed in the next section. They also deserve mention because particle DURCH- verbs can occur in constructions with an accusative incremental theme that seem otherwise indistinguishable from them. See chapter 11 for detailed discussion contrasting the two constructions.⁸

Route-like LMs can also occur with *um-* verbs as in (10), particularly when verbs such as *umlaufen*, *umfahren*, *umrennen* or *umfliegen* occur with LMs such as racecourses that have a circular shape. Note that the accusative LM does not correspond directly to the schematic LM in Figure 4; it corresponds to the *um* route itself. We might say that the “real” underlying LM for both the course and the path in (10) is an imaginary central point.

- (10) Ziel ist es, so zügig wie möglich den Kreis zu *umrennen*.
 ‘The goal is to *run around* the circle as rapidly as possible’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Traumwandlerisch *durchschritt* Grenouille diesen Gang. Er *durchraste* die Allee der Stühle auf die Tür zu. Welch ein Genuß wird es sein, die Fifth Avenue in New York und die Michigan Avenue in Chicago zu *durchbummeln*. Von Spandau *durcheilt* ein stündlicher Bus die Waldallee. Die vier Kilometer waren in Form einer Acht in zwei Schleifen zu *durchgehen*. Eine 150 Meter-Strecke ist innerhalb von vier Minuten so oft

⁸ With plural LMs, there is no formally marked distinction between a linear multiplex of locations traversed by a single holistic *durch-* path, and a plural set of holistic *durch-* paths, one for each member of the LM set: ‘Über eine Strecke von 75 m sind 7 Slalomtore im Zick-Zack-Kurs zu *durchlaufen*.’

wie möglich zu *durchfliegen*. Er *durchlief* die 800 m in weniger als zwei Minuten. Der Hotrod ist dazu bestimmt, so schnell wie möglich eine Viertelmeile zu *durchrasen*. Mit äußerster Kraftanstrengung *durchschnellte* er die wenigen Meter bis zum Boot. Wenn Sie auf diese Weise den vollständigen Kurs *durchlaufen* haben, folgt als letzter Test noch eine vollständige Prüfung (30 Fragen). Es ist davon abzuraten, auch eine Runde um den “kleinen Stausee” zu *umlaufen*. *Umfahren* Sie halb den Kreisverkehr. Es gilt einen genau abgesteckten Dreieckskurs zu *umfliegen*. Dann versucht der Läufer gegen den Uhrzeigersinn die Bases zu *umlaufen*, ohne dass er mit dem Ball berührt wird.

Unlike *um-* verbs and *durch-* verbs, *über-* verbs do not normally occur with route-like LMs in the spatial domain, and as far as I can tell *unter-* verbs never do. If the LM with an *über-* verb has a linear shape then the construction almost always describes crossing it laterally rather than lengthwise.⁹ Moreover, even if *über-* verbs do describe a path that extends lengthwise in the same direction that a linear LM extends, the path will always extend further than the LM does – that is, the route and the LM do not precisely coincide in extent. Crossing over a bridge, which is the only common situation in which an *über-* verb describes a path lengthwise over a linear shaped LM, always implies eventually reaching the other side (e.g. ‘Wenn man auf der E 79 die Brücke *überfahren* hat, kann das Auto an einer nahen Bushaltestelle geparkt werden’). (See ‘competitive surpassing’ below.) As a result, German

⁹ Like *über-* verbs, *durch-* verbs can also describe crossing such linear LMs laterally, especially with a verb like *durchqueren*. It is generally fair to say though that *über-* verbs are the norm for crosswise paths, while lengthwise paths with route-like LMs are largely restricted to *durch-* verbs.

speakers do not use *über-* verbs in some spatial situations when an English speaker might think that one would be appropriate, such as a path “over“ a particular stretch of road. In German a *durch-* verb is chosen rather than an *über-* verb to describe such paths.¹⁰ There are, however, some abstract variants in which *über-* verb constructions do suggest a holistic inspection path that is coextensive with an accusative route-like LM (see section 2.1.2).

3.1. Temporal route-like LMs (*durchleben*)

Durch- verb constructions like those in (9) are especially useful in metaphorical variants with temporal LMs, which are intrinsically linear and route-like. Variants like those in (11a) and (11b) are common to report how someone spends a period of time. *Durchleben*, *durchleiden*, and *durchlaufen* are all lexicalized as prefixed verbs to describe holistic paths through a temporal period as in (11c) and (11d). Chapter 11 discusses the subtle

¹⁰ In this passage for example, which describes how a radar speed trap functions, the verb profiles ‘crossing’ the bounds of the explicitly measured route segment rather than exactly ‘covering’ the stretch from one end to the other: ‘Es handelt sich um eine stationäre Messeinrichtung mit automatischer Fotoeinheit. Sie misst den ankommenden Verkehr. In der Fahrbahn sind drei Piezo-Sensor-Kabel eingesetzt, die jeweils einen Abstand von 1 Meter aufweisen. Die Kabel verlaufen parallel zu einander, die Messstrecke beträgt also 2 Meter. Wird die Strecke *überfahren* werden drei Messungen erstellt und miteinander verglichen.’ Plural accusative sequences as in the following example are read as a series of individual ‘crossing’ paths rather than a single route-like sequence: ‘Du musst immer alle Checkpoints auf der Strecke *überfahren*, ansonsten gilt die jeweilige Runde als nicht beendet.’

differences between these constructions and those with particle DURCH- in detail.

- (11) a. nach dieser *durchtanzten* und *durchzechten* Nacht
 ‘after this night *spent dancing and carousing*’
- b. Ich bin schon ganz gewohnt, diese Zeit im Lehnstuhl zu *durchdösen* oder *durchschlafen*.
 ‘I’m accustomed to *spending* this time in a recliner *dozing or sleeping*’
- c. Gemeinsam haben sie eine schöne Zeit *durchlebt*.
 ‘Together they *lived through* a beautiful time’
- d. Diese Weltkriegsjahre *durchlitt* sie in England, von ihrem Gatten getrennt.
 ‘She *suffered through* these war years in England, separated from her husband’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Zum ersten Mal *durchfuhr* er die Nacht. Er behauptet, die Nächte zu *durcharbeiten*. Schon wieder hab ich die Nacht *durchwacht*, konnte nicht schlafen, irrte ruhelos umher. ... die *durchwachte* und *durchgrübelte* Nacht. Ich *durchgähnte* und *durchduselte* also dort die vielen Stunden. Sie hat ihre ganze Studienzeit *durchbummelt*. Überdurchschnittlich viele Durststrecken sind zu *durchwinden*. Manche *durchleben* Wochen, Monate voller kleiner Hoffnungen und großer Niederlagen. Dieser Kampf, so bitter er ist, muß *durchlitten* werden. Die traurige Jugend, die sie *durchkämpft* und *durchduldet* hatte in Mühsal und Leid, warf einen Schatten über ihr ganzes Leben.

3.2. Holistic inspections (*überprüfen*)

Although *über-* verb constructions are not used for paths that coincide with purely spatial route-like LMs, they do occur to describe holistic inspections of a linear series – especially if the process is being repeated (done “over“). For example, *überlesen* or *überfliegen* can describe a quick holistic pass over a text as in (12). *Überschlagen*, *überrechnen*, and *überzählen* can be used similarly to describe a quick holistic calculation, often suggesting that the calculation is being estimated rather than carried out in a true sequential fashion. These events are frequently repeatable routines, and the current pass is often for the purpose of checking back over prior work. Similar comments apply to the common verb *überprüfen*, which describes a holistic inspection process of checking over something, as well as to *überarbeiten*, which may translate as ‘revise’, ‘re-work’ or ‘re-design’. *Überdenken* is used in a very similar fashion, describing a holistic mental path over an accusative-LM topic and it typically implies that the subject re-thinks something and revises opinions.¹¹

- (12) Lediglich 7 Prozent der Nutzer sagen aus, Spam-E-Mails zu *überfliegen* oder gar ganz durchzulesen.

¹¹ A sense of repeating the thought process, of going back over an issue, seems to me to be a primary difference between *überdenken* and *durchdenken*. *Durchdenken* suggests multi-directional paths through the topic (see chapter 8), approaching it from a variety of angles (Duden: “vollständig, in allen Einzelheiten, hinsichtlich der Möglichkeiten und Konsequenzen zu überdenken”). Compare also the use of *überschlafen* to mean sleeping on a decision (and contrast *beschlafen*).

‘Only 7% of users say that they *skim* [over] spam e-mails or even read them through’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Teile längere Absätze auf, ansonsten neigt der Leser dazu, den Text zu *überfliegen*. So wie erbeten, schreibst Du mir Briefe, jedoch scheinst Du sie nicht ein weiteres Mal zu *überlesen*. Durch anschauliche, interaktive Aufgaben lernen die Kinder Ergebnisse zu *überschlagen* und abschätzen zu können. In diesem Fall muss der Pegelschlüssel auf Basis von Durchflussmessungen *überrechnet* und korrigiert werden. Unser Antrag ist noch nicht neu *überrechnet* worden, da meine Entgeltbescheinigung von der letzten Firma noch nicht eingetroffen ist. Ich empfehle Ihnen dringend, Ihr Dokument zu *überprüfen*, bevor Sie es drucken. Alle verdächtigen Personen sind von der Polizei *überprüft* worden. Toyota hat den Kleinwagen Yaris für das Modelljahr 2009 technisch *überarbeitet*. Das Drama ist vom Autor noch einmal *überarbeitet* worden. Diese Schwierigkeiten veranlaßten ihn, seine theologischen Ideen an bestimmten Punkten zu *überdenken* und neu zu formulieren. Die IEA fordert die deutsche Regierung dazu auf, den Atomausstieg angesichts dieser Konsequenzen zu *überdenken*. Besser ist, die Angelegenheit eine Nacht zu *überschlafen*.

3.3. Passing sensations (*Mich durchfuhr es heiß / überlief es eiskalt.*)

There is an established metaphorical type associated with both *über-* and *durch-* verbs in which a sensation of some kind “passes” as a metaphorical wave-like FG over or through a sentient person (or a part of the person such as the heart or the face). These sensations include physically manifest symptoms such as shuddering or turning red, sensations of warmth or cold or pain, more emotional sensations such as joy or fear or desire or rage, or more rational

(and less wave-like) sensations such as ideas. Generally speaking, if the sensation is imagined to pass visibly over the person's surface then *über-* verbs are called for so that the sensation 'comes over' the person. If it is imagined to pass internally (and thus less visibly) through the person then *durch-* is appropriate. The sensation may be defined enough to name as the nominative FG as in (13b), or it may be vaguely implicit in a construction with subject *es* as in (13a), with its precise nature usually indicated adverbially.

- (13) a. Trotz der Schwüle *überlief* es mich eiskalt.
 'Despite the muggy weather an ice-cold sensation *passed over* me'
 b. Ein kleiner Stich *durchfährt* meinen Körper.
 'A little twinge *shoots through* my body'

The most general *über-* verbs in this category are *überlaufen* and *überkommen*, and general *durch-* verbs include *durchlaufen*, *durchziehen* and *durchfahren*. A wide range of more specific base verbs may also occur. The base verbs often suggest rapid motion, a group that includes *laufen*, *fliegen* and *eilen* as well as specific verbs such as *schießen*, *zucken*, *blitzen*, *jagen*, *stürmen*, *rauschen*, *toben*, *tosen*, or *schlagen*. (While *durchlaufen* and *durchfahren* commonly occur in this variant, *durchgehen* does not.) Some *durch-* verbs – e.g. *durchzittern*, *durchbeben*, *durchschütteln*, *durchwühlen*, *durchrieseln*, *durchschauern* or *durchrinnen* – have a base verb that refers more directly to an evident passing effect such as shivering, shuddering,

tingling, or trembling. *Durch-* verbs are also used to suggest the flow of blood through vessels.¹²

These images are similar in some ways to the variants for multi-directional permeating or covering (chapter 8), since the paths are usually construed to be vaguely wave-like and the LMs do not have an obviously linear shape. On the other hand, the paths do seem to have an overall direction as they move through or across the LM space. The events are also markedly temporary. There is typically no discernible lasting effect, and – in contrast to normal permeating or covering – statal passives are rare. All told, the paths seem most similar to the holistic ones with route-like LMs, with the sensations moving through a predictably given course.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Um 19.40 Uhr *überkam* mich plötzlich ein sehr starkes Zittern. Es *überlief* sein Herz bitter, wenn er daran dachte. Dieser Schluss ist so schön, dass es einen förmlich *überrieselt* vor Freude. Ein Gefühl der Scham *überflutet* sie. Ein zartes Rot *überflog* ihre Wangen. Die Freude *überstrahlte* ihr Gesicht. Zuckungen *durchschütteln* den ganzen Körper. Es zischt, und ein Zucken *durchläuft* seinen Körper. Da *durchzuckte* es die anderen wie ein elektrischer Schlag. Wie Lavaglutten *durchwühlte* es seinen Körper. Ein süßer Schreck *durchbebt* ihre Gestalt. Ihre Berührung *durchfuhr* seinen Körper wie ein wohliger Schauer. Bei diesen Tönen scheinen den Ritter die Gefühle der höchsten Wonne zu *durchschauern*. Mich *durchfuhr* es heiß. Ihn fror; es

¹² At times similar variants with *überfallen* blend with the notion of ‘attacking’ or generally ‘overwhelming’ to mean that a person is “overcome” by the sensation (‘Ein gewaltiger Schreck *überfiel* uns.’ ‘Warum *überfällt* einen Abends der “Fresswahn”?’). Cf. ‘Mattigkeit *überfiel/ befahl* ihn’ (Günther 1974: 248).

durchrieselte ihn kalt vom Wirbel bis zur Sohle. Ihn *durchflutete* ein warmes, sanftes Gefühl. Ein seltsames Gefühl *durchdringt* meinen Körper. Dann *durchpulst* Sie ein nie gekanntes Hochgefühl. Dann schien ihn ein trefflicher Gedanke zu *durchblitzen*. Ein Gedanke *durchschoß* mein Gehirn.

3.4. Competitive surpassing (*überragen, übertreffen, überholen*)

An interesting and particularly important special kind of geometric linear *über-* path with a basically route-like LM can be illustrated by (14). (14) describes a complex static geometric configuration in which both the FG and the LM are extended linearly in the same direction, and the length of the two lines is being compared. When we scan the FG it is found to extend further than the LM does. The LM can be considered route-like since it coincides for the most part with the extending FG; they share a common scale of measurement. The two paths do not coincide in extent however. The *über-* verb profiles that the FG continues further on the route than the LM does, surpassing it. In effect, this complex image combines a route-like LM with *über-*'s basic 'crossing' image (compare the variants for getting past an obstacle in section 3).

- (14) Der Fernsehturm *überragt* alle Hochhäuser.
 'The television tower *is higher than* all the high-rises (surpasses them in length)'

- (15) Was passiert wenn der angemessene Mietpreis *überstiegen* wird?
 'What happens if the appropriate rental price is *exceeded*'

This image of ‘competitive surpassing’ is especially common in more abstract variants comparing extension on a metaphorical scale. *Übersteigen* for example can be used to describe extending to cross a level on a vertical scale, such as the standard price in (15). Note that the LM in (15) can itself be understood in terms of extent on the scale, i.e., the construction in effect compares how far the actual price extends on the scale with the level reached by the appropriate price as it extends on the same scale.

More generally, the verb *übertreffen* is lexicalized to describe extending further on an implicit scale than a standard of comparison does. In (16a) for example the hotel’s accomplishments extend further than people expected them to extend. The hotel “more than meets” those expectations in an image of competitive surpassing. When the relevant scale is not clear from the nature of the accusative LM, as in (16b), the type of quality or accomplishment being measured can be specified obliquely in a PP (*im Sport*). *Überbieten* can also be used generally as a lexicalized verb for surpassing as in (16c). Compare *überflügeln*, which extends the more specific military notion of “outflanking” into a similar general sense of getting the better of someone in a competition (often economic competition). The verb *überwiegen*

is lexicalized so that the notion of ‘outweighing’ something becomes a more general one of ‘predominating (over)’ as in (16d).¹³

(16) a. Das Hotel hat alle Erwartungen vollstens *übertrroffen!!!*

‘The hotel completely *exceeded* all expectations’

b. Im Sport ist er kaum zu *übertreffen*.

‘In sports he can hardly be *surpassed*’

c. Wien ist an Lebensqualität einfach kaum zu *überbieten*.

‘Vienna can scarcely be *surpassed* in quality of life’

d. Bei ihm *überwiegt* das Gefühl die Vernunft.

‘In his case feelings *predominate* over reason’

(17) a. Eine Einzelkarte kann von einer höheren Einzelkarte *überstochen* werden.

‘A single card can be *overtaken* by a higher card’

b. Speedy *überlistet* Sylvester und rettet alle Mäuse.

‘Speedy *outwits* Sylvester and saves all the mice’

c. Auf Père-Lachaise sind so viele berühmte Menschen begraben, aber Jim scheint sie alle zu *überstrahlen*.

‘So many famous people are buried at Père-Lachaise, but Jim seems to *outshine* them all’

The specific activity that defines the scale can also be specified in the base verb, as when *überbieten* is used more specifically to describe “outbidding” someone, e.g. in an auction. As with bidding, the activities often involve reaching relatively higher on a vertical scale. For example, verbs like

¹³ *Überwiegen* also deserves special mention because it frequently occurs in intransitive constructions with an implicit but recoverable LM (e.g. ‘Im Süden des Landes *überwiegt* das Laubholz’), which are very unusual with prefixed verbs.

überstechen and *übertrumpfen* refer to playing a higher card. *Überstimmen* means to outvote (or to override a veto). *Überspielen* is used to mean outplaying an opponent, normally in sports but occasionally also in a battle of wits. This latter sense of outwitting someone is particularly associated with *überlisten*, and also with *übertölpeln*. Compare also *übevorteilen* meaning to take advantage of someone.¹⁴

Returning to spatial paths, we might also include the verb *überholen* in this section. It is specialized in the meaning represented in (18), both spatially and metaphorically. (Compare English *overtake*.) At first glance *überholen* seems to belong with the variants for getting past an obstacle (section 3). It describes a moving FG that gets past an obstacle that is itself moving but can be conceived to be stationary relative to the FG. That image of overcoming an obstacle no doubt does contribute to the meaning of *überholen*, but it does not capture the full complexity of the image conveyed in (18). (18) involves two linear paths that are being compared, an image which is similar in important ways to the one conveyed in (14) with *überragen* (or perhaps to (15) with *übersteigen*). The FG and the object being passed are both moving on the same route, and the two paths coincide for the most part, but the prefix *über-* tells us that the FG's path extends beyond that of the LM. The sense of comparing the extent of the paths by two objects moving on a common route

¹⁴ With verbs like *überstrahlen* as in (29c), meaning to 'outshine', the linear notion of competitive surpassing on a scale blends with the more planar image of overlaying and thus obscuring (e.g. *übertönen*). See chapter 8 on multi-directional covering.

is a little more evident when the verb *überrunden* is used with the more specific meaning of “lapping” a competitor in a race around a circular track. The notion of comparative extent is also more evident in abstract metaphorical variants such as those in (19), in which *überragen* and *überholen* are used in obviously similar ways. In all cases the FG and the LM are in effect competing to see whose path extends further, and the FG wins.

- (18) Der 75-Jährige hatte nach Polizeiangaben einen anderen Wagen *überholt* und dabei das entgegenkommende Fahrzeug übersehen.

‘According to police reports the 75-year-old had *passed* another car and failed to see the vehicle coming toward him’

- (19) Der Künstler, der Schriftsteller will seine Genossen *überragen*, *überholen*; aber um einen zu *überragen*, muß man sich ihm zur Seite stellen.

‘The artist, the creative writer wants to *outdo* his comrades, to *surpass* them; but in order to *surpass* someone [reach a higher level on a scale] you have to place yourself beside them’

‘Competitive surpassing’ can sometimes blend with the use of *über-*verbs to convey ‘excess’, which is treated separately in chapter 9. A sentence such as ‘Ich kann momentan nicht mit ihm reden, das *übersteigt* meine Kräfte’, for example, might be read either way. Generally speaking, competitive surpassing is evaluated positively as reaching a relatively more advanced level, while excess is evaluated negatively as going too far. True ‘excess’ variants do not evoke an image of comparing extents on a shared scale, they suggest a simpler image of going past a normal and proper bound

that already exists as an absolute given, such as the capacity of a container. The ‘excess’ variants also do not normally express the bound being exceeded explicitly as an accusative LM. It usually remains implicit, making the constructions formally very similar to those with particle ÜBER- verbs, which is a topic in chapter 10. Competitive surpassing might also on occasion blend with overwhelming an opponent.

The German competitive surpassing variants correspond to English constructions with *surpass* or, if the competitive aspect is being highlighted, either *outdo* or a more specific *out-* verb like *outbid*, *outsmart*, *outwit*, or *outplay*. Many other relatively specific English *out-* verbs can be rendered by general German verbs like *übertreffen* (or *überbieten*, *übersteigen*, *überholen*). (English rarely uses *over-* for competitive surpassing, unless there is a strong image of superiority as in *overtrump*.)¹⁵

Just as *über-* verbs can be used for competitive surpassing, *unter-* verbs can occasionally be used to describe extending to a relatively lower point on an implicit scale – when the lower level is positively evaluated. For example, verbs like *unterbieten* or *unterschreiten* can describe underbidding someone at an auction or having a lower time in a race or reducing the level of

¹⁵ The only English *out-* verb I have found that does not have a suggested German equivalent with *über-* in the Oxford/Duden dictionary or in the online English-German dictionaries (e.g. dict.cc, LEO) is *outsell*. German has no good counterpart to English verbs such as *outrun* either, resorting to the general ‘passing’ verb *überholen* or to a simple description of running faster (*schneller laufen*). That may reflect potential confusion with the ‘overwhelming’ variants.

costs. In other words, ‘underbidding’ and ‘outbidding’ can refer to the same event. This is basically the same image as the *über-* verb except in the opposite direction, i.e., the FG extends past the implicit level of the scale in the downward direction.¹⁶

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er *überragt* seinen Vater um Haupteslänge. Globale Rüstungsausgaben *überstiegen* eine Billion US-Dollar. Das Resultat dieser Bemühung hat meine höchsten und sehr ehrgeizigen Erwartungen *überstiegen*. Kein Mensch der Welt *übertrifft* die Germanen an Treue. An Weihnachten *übertraf* der Film Sherlock Holmes an den Kinokassen sogar Avatar. Samsung *überflügelt* Motorola auf dem Handy-Markt. TQ-Mitarbeiter Toni Roßberger *überbietet* eigenen Weltrekord im Motorradweitsprung. Wenn Sie am Ende der Auktion alle anderen Bieter *überboten* haben, dann sind Sie der Höchstbietende für den jeweiligen Artikel und erhalten den Zuschlag. Der Kongress hat zum ersten Mal seit dem Amtsantritt des Präsidenten dessen Veto *überstimmt*. Die Mannschaft *überspielte* ihren Gegner mit 5 : 1. Mit Hilfe von Passwörtern seines früheren Arbeitsgebers konnte Tandiwidjojo die Sicherheitsbarrieren der Hotelcomputer leicht *überlisten*. Nun sieht es auch die Initiative so, dass ihr Vertrauen missbraucht wurde und sie *übertölpelt* werden sollte. Was *überwiegt*, die Freude über die Neugründung oder die Enttäuschung, dass dieser Schritt überhaupt nötig wurde? Es ist zwar richtig, dass es in Endurance-Rennen eine Grundweisheit ist, dass man auf den Geraden *überholt* / *überehundet*, Der Staffelläufer *überlief* beim Wechsel seinen Kameraden. McCain droht Obama zu *überholen*. ... *überholte* Ansichten haben. Europa hat 2005 erstmals die USA als weltgrößter PC-Markt *überehundet*. Er hat alle Konkurrenten *unterboten*. Auch der zweitplatzierte

¹⁶ Although being lower is usually evaluated positively with these verbs, they can at times be used ironically to imply that something cannot get much lower (i.e. worse): ‘Das ist (im Niveau) kaum noch zu *unterbieten*.’

Thomas Kain (OMV) hätte den alten Rekord *unterboten*. Er hat durch sein geschicktes Haushalten die veranschlagten Kosten *unterschritten*. Dieses Angebot für den Einbau eines Luftfilters ist nicht zu *unterbieten*. Durch den Einbau von Katalysatoren können die bisherigen Schadstoffwerte *unterschritten* werden.

3.5. Temporal surpassing (*überleben*)

A stretch of time can be conceived to be a metaphorical obstacle, i.e., a difficult period to get past. Although we cannot actually skip over time periods, we can metaphorically “bridge” them with activities, as in (20). In effect this is a kind of competitive surpassing. The activity is construed to outlast the time period, to extend further in time than the difficult LM situation does. (Compare section 3.1.1 for avoiding contact with a LM.)¹⁷

- (20) a. Das Kunstherz *überbrückt* die Wartezeit bis zur eigentlichen Herztransplantation.
 ‘The artificial heart *bridges* the gap [waiting period] until the actual heart transplant’
- b. Empfindung im Magen, als ob man lange nichts gegessen und den Hunger *übergangen* hätte.

¹⁷ The verbs *übernachten* and *überwintern* incorporate a temporal LM in the base verb and describe spanning the root time period. Since the LM is already expressed in the verb, a highly unusual intransitive *über-* verb construction arises. These unusual verbs presumably developed from a frozen PP unit, i.e. *über Nacht*. *Überleben* also occurs occasionally in an intransitive construction, but there is an implicit recoverable LM (‘Warum hat Harry Potter *überlebt*?’).

‘Sensation in the stomach as if one hadn’t eaten anything for a long time and had *gotten over* the hunger [ignored it until it passed]’

(21) a. Sie *überlebte* ihren Mann um 5 Jahre.

‘She *outlived* her husband by 5 years’

b. Felix Kolmer hat Auschwitz *überlebt* und spricht dennoch mit Neonazis.

‘Felix Kolmer *survived* Auschwitz but still speaks with neo-nazis’

c. Es sei ein Wunder, dass überhaupt jemand den Unfall *überlebt* habe.

‘It is said to be a wonder that anyone *survived* the accident’

More commonly though, a subject survives a time period as in (21), i.e., the temporal extent of the subject’s life outlasts the temporal extent of the accusative LM. The common verb *überleben* is lexicalized in this meaning, which is just a special case of competitive surpassing in which the scale of measuring extent is the time line. The standard of comparison may be the life of another person as in (21a), or the temporal extent of a difficult situation as in (21b) or (21c) – which also introduce overtones of overcoming an obstacle. *Überdauern* and *überstehen* are used very similarly.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

[Ich] hab mit dem Sani so viel Spass gehabt, dass ich die Wehen *überlacht* habe. Habe heute meine 7fach Impfung bekommen und versuche das “drohende Fieber” zu *überschlafen*. In diesem Falle werde er in B. beim Schlächter Salomon *übernachten*. Winzige Tardigraden sind die ersten mehrzelligen Tiere, die ungeschützt das Vakuum und die Strahlung des Weltraums *überlebt* haben. Hat der Hegelsche Subjektbegriff das 20.

Jahrhundert *überlebt*? Zum Glück haben einige von ihnen das Bombardement *überdauert*. Die gestrige Operation habe ich gut *überstanden*.

4. Getting past a focal obstacle

4.1 Spatial paths

When prefixed verb constructions describe spatial paths by a FG that moves as a whole object, and there is nothing about the base verb or the LM that particularly suggests a linear geometric image, then they typically occur in sentences such as (22)–(24). The accusative LM is a focal midpoint for the path, typically an obstacle of some kind that the FG needs to get past.

(22) Die Bänke können dabei - je nach Angabe - *übersprungen*, *umlaufen* oder *durchkrochen* werden.

‘Depending on the instructions, the benches can be *jumped over*, *run around* or *crawled through*’

(23) Es gab eine Menge vom Schneewasser gerissene Gerinne zu *durchqueren*, Felsen zu *umgehen* oder zu *überklettern* und Schlammstellen zu *durchwaten*, bis wir an eine vielfach zerrissene Steinwand kamen, hinter welcher unser Ziel verborgen lag.

‘There were numerous gulleys created by snowmelt to *cross through*, large rocks to *go around* or to *climb over* and muddy places to *wade through* before we came to a fissured wall of stone behind which our goal lay hidden’

(24) ... wobei es eine niedrige Brücke je nach Wasserstand und Bootshöhe entweder zu *unterfahren* oder zu *umtragen* gilt.

‘... in which case, depending on the water level and the height of the boat, a low bridge needs to be negotiated either by *riding under* it or by *carrying* [the boat] *around* it [is to be either *unter-* ridden or *um-* carried]’

As sentences (22)–(24) reflect, any of our route path expressions can be used as prefixes in such constructions. An *über-* verb typically describes getting past an obstacle by crossing over it (overcoming it), an *unter-* verb means getting past an obstacle by crossing under it, a *durch-* verb means getting past an obstacle by passing through it, and an *um-* verb means getting past an obstacle by going around it (i.e. detouring or circumventing).

The paths in these constructions are in many ways similar to those with the *-queren* verbs in (7), which means that the focus is subtly more on the shaped route itself and its relation to the accusative LM. Someone who engages in a path to get past an obstacle typically focuses steadily on that obstacle, plans a route to get past the obstacle, and then executes that plan as a scripted routine – a single act carried out with respect to the obstacle. Where a construction with a particle verb (or a simple verb with a PP) would focus mainly on where the FG goes, the prefixed verb construction focuses more on what the subject does and on the route that it takes.¹⁸ Construing the path as a

¹⁸ It is difficult to do justice to these construal differences in the English translations. In (22) for example, the prefixed verb *überspringen* is closer in effect to *hurdle* or *vault* (or to transitive *jump* or *leap*), and *umlaufen* might correspond better to a verb

whole routine can seem to compress it temporally – as if the FG gets past the obstacle “in a single bound”.¹⁹ Compare an English construction like ‘cross the gulleys (by going through them)’.

The typical examples of *um-* verbs in this category involve semi-circular detours before resuming the prior general path direction. Strictly speaking though, *um* simply designates a curving path around a LM. Our assumption that the path is semi-circular is inferred pragmatically from the larger context. In some cases it may not be clear whether the path is a semi-circular detour or a full geometric circle. See sections 1.1 and 2 .

Generally speaking, any base verb of motion can be used in these constructions, but some base verbs are more apt to occur with holistic paths than others are. For example, *schreiten* suggests a path that can consist of a single stride, and it is much more apt to occur with a prefix.²⁰ The base verb

like *circumvent* or *circumnavigate*. The English verbs with *circum-* seem awkward though, and there is no real English counterpart to *durchkriechen* other than the normal “satellite-framed“ pattern. There is certainly no way in English to maintain the systematic parallel nature of the German constructions, which say in effect that the benches are “overjumped”, “around-run” or “through-crawled”. Similarly in (23) (from Karl May) and (24), there is no good way in English to avoid particle verbs or simple verbs with a PP.

¹⁹ Compare this humorous description of an orchestra director (which comes with an explanatory note that these are the qualities assigned to Superman in the English-speaking world): “*überspringt* hohe Gebäude in einem einzigen Satz, ist stärker als eine Lokomotive, ist schneller als eine Pistolenkugel”.

²⁰ A COSMAS search of occurrences with *zu* and an infinitive returned 2,254 instances of *überschreiten* and no instances at all of either *ÜBERSchreiten* or

kriechen on the other hand invites us to zoom in and focus on the FG and its detailed manner of progressing, and it is more likely to occur with particle DURCH-.²¹ Of course many other factors can come into play. *Schwimmen* for example is like *kriechen* in that it involves a prominent manner of motion, but unlike *kriechen* it can also be a routine means of getting past an obstacle such as a river – a factor that favors *durchschwimmen*. *Springen* is well suited to describe jumping over an obstacle in a single bound, and prefixed *überspringen* is accordingly very common.²²

Although a holistic path construal is usually most inviting when the event is compressed temporally and seems to take place in a single bound, prefixed verbs can also occur when the LM is particularly large or vaguely defined, such as an ocean or another type of terrain. Such LMs are often construed as obstacles to be crossed, and in any event they invite a synoptic

HINÜBERSchreiten. There were 156 COSMAS hits for “zu durchschreiten“ and only 4 for “durchzuschreiten“ and “hindurchzuschreiten“ combined. (The corresponding Google totals were 578,000 for *überschreiten* as opposed to 2,251 for the particle verbs, and 74,400 for *durchschreiten* vs. 2,522 for *DURCHschreiten*/*HINDURCHschreiten*.)

²¹ COSMAS returned 7 for *durchkriechen* and 17 for *DURCHkriechen*/*HINDURCHkriechen*. The corresponding Google counts were 1,360 for *durchkriechen* and 6,890 for *DURCHkriechen* / *HINDURCHkriechen*.

²² 1,136 for *überspringen* in COSMAS as opposed to only 97 for *ÜBERSpringen* and *HINÜBERSpringen* combined. The corresponding Google numbers were 110,000 to 23,940.

perspective that does not suggest zooming in to look at particular stages of the path in sequence.²³

As (25) illustrates, essentially the same path construal can occasionally be called for when the LM is not especially construed to be an obstacle, as long as it is salient enough to be focally prominent and the path is construed as a holistic event relative to the LM.

(25) Das junge Mädchen *überschritt* die Schwelle.
‘The young girl *crossed* [over-strode] the threshold’

(26) Die Pistolenkugel *durchschlug* die Fensterscheibe.
‘The bullet *penetrated* [through-crashed] the windshield’

A special case arises in sentences like (26), when a *durch-* verb describes a holistic path through a solid object – so that it is pragmatically obvious that the *durch-* path causes a hole or a fissure in the object. That situation deserves attention because one of the central defining characteristics of a “LM” is that it locates the path but is not materially affected by it. (If an

²³ An unusual case is the use of an *unter-* verb such as *unterducken* to describe ducking under and thus avoiding an attack (seen as an accusative-LM obstacle even though it happens to be moving): ‘Der waffenlose Kämpfer besitzt die Fähigkeit, bewaffnete Angriffe rechtzeitig zu *unterducken*, zu *unterlaufen* oder zu blockieren.’ A sense that the FG is employing an evasive maneuver is also involved when a route path under a LM obstacle suggests avoiding detection, as when a plane flies “under the radar” (... den feindlichen Radarschirm *unterfliegen*. Und nun – wäre i c h dabei, müßte er sich brav anstellen – gelingt es ihm, da er noch klein ist, ein paar andere zu *unterschlüpfen*, ist fast schon ganz vorn, muß kaum mehr warten).

object is materially affected, then it becomes a FG in its own right – typically a “patient” that undergoes an internal change of some kind.) These constructions are discussed extensively as “break” verbs in chapter 11.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Der Reifen ist in einem Gestell so aufgehängt, dass er vom Hund *durchsprungen* werden kann. ... Der Steg besteht aus einem Aufgang, einem waagerechten Teil und einem Abgang. Ebenso wie bei der A-Wand muss der Steg *überlaufen* werden. Versuche auf dem Feldweg zu bleiben und Objekte, die im Weg sind entweder zu *überspringen* oder zu *umlaufen*. Nun gilt es noch einige Baumhindernisse zu *überwinden*, genauer gesagt zu *unterwinden* bzw. zu *umgehen*, denn einige Bäume sind ... Als Hindernis dienten 2 Schlauchboote, die auf der 25 m-Bahn jeweils zu *untertauchen* bzw. zu *überklettern* waren. Dabei sind auf einer geraden 100-Meter-Strecke zehn 84 Zentimeter hohe, in gleichen Abständen aufgestellte Hürden zu *überlaufen*. Es ist nicht gestattet, die Absperrleinen zu den biologischen Reinigungsbecken zu *übertreten* oder zu *überschwimmen*. Meine erste Erfahrung eine Grenze zu *übertreten* war auf einem Spaziergang am Ostseestrand in Niendorf. In der Nacht zu Samstag *überstiegen* unbekannte Täter den Zaun eines Betriebsgeländes. Der Eintauchbereich vor der Rutsche darf nicht *unterschwommen* werden. Ab und zu gab es ein paar Felsen zu *umschiffen*, herabhängende Äste von Erlen zu *umfahren* und fröhlich ein kleines Wehr herunterzuflitzen. Die Autofahrer wurden dringend gebeten, die Stadt möglichst weitraeumig zu *umfahren*. ... steht der junge Golfer vor dem Problem, die vor ihm hoch aufragenden Bäume zu *umspielen*. Der Medizinball ist erneut links zu *umlaufen*, das Kastenteil (2) zu *überspringen* und zu *durchkriechen*. Die Spieler/innen der Laufmannschaft werfen nacheinander einen Ball in Richtung des Spielfeldes und versuchen, das Spielfeld zu *umlaufen*, bevor die ... Wer meines Speeres Spitze fürchtet, *durchschreite* das Feuer nie. Soeben haben wir die Wolken *durchflogen*. ... und munterte die Seinigen auf, den Graben zu *durchrennen*. Nach der

Sicherheitsschleuse ist ein Metalldetektor zu *durchgehen* (wie auf Flughäfen). Die Aufgabe ist, den Reifen zu *durchwerfen*. Auf ihren Wanderzügen rotten sich die Tiere zu Hunderten und Tausenden zusammen und scheuen sich nicht, breite Ströme, ja sogar Meeresteile zu *überschwimmen*. Clarence Terhune, dem es gelang, als erster blinder Passagier in einem Luftschiff den Ozean zu *überfliegen*. Es ist untersagt, landwirtschaftliches Gelände zu *überreiten*. [rule of horseriding club] ... das Brandenburger Tor mit dem Auto zu *durchfahren*. Diese [Schutzhose] kann weder *durchstochen*, noch *durchbissen* werden.

4.2. Abstract holistic paths with focal obstacles

Earlier sections have already surveyed several abstract variants that are based on paths with a route-like LM, i.e., *durch-* verbs with a temporal LM, *über-* verbs for inspecting a linear series, either *über-* verbs or *durch-* verbs for ‘passing sensations’, and *über-* verbs for ‘competitive surpassing’. There are also several conventionally established metaphorical variants based on the image for getting past a focal obstacle, especially with *über-* verbs. They highlight specific functional implications, such as avoiding contact with an obstacle, or overcoming a focal LM by wave-like force, or crossing a metaphorical boundary line or limit of some kind. All told, *über-* verbs are considerably more common in these more abstract and lexicalized variants than they are for pure spatial crossing paths.²⁴

²⁴ English is also more apt to have holistic *over-* verbs in lexicalized and nonspatial uses: e.g. *overstep*, *overcome*, *overwhelm*, *overrun*, *overshoot*, *overlook*.

4.2.1 *Avoiding contact* (übergehen, umgehen, unterlaufen)

One common implication of passing over, under or around a focal accusative LM such as an obstacle is that the FG avoids making contact with the LM. That implication leads to lexicalized metaphorical variants for avoiding something by getting around it, as in (27a) with *umgehen*, or for evading something by ducking under it undetected, as in (27b) with *unterlaufen*. As illustrated in (28), *über-* verbs are particularly common to describe bypassing a focal accusative LM without interacting with it in the normal way.

- (27) a. Musik-Kopierschutz kann mit legalen Programmen *umgangen* werden.
 ‘Music copy protection can be *circumvented* using legal programs’
- b. Seit kurzem mussten allerdings in einigen Kantonen Tendenzen festgestellt werden, das bundesrätliche Moratorium zu *unterlaufen*.
 ‘It is true that tendencies have been documented recently in some cantons to *evade* the congressional moratorium’
- (28) a. Ich *überspringe* nun drei Absätze und fahre fort: ...
 ‘I’ll *skip* three paragraphs now and continue: ...’
- b. Um eventuelle Warnmeldungen zu *übergehen*, wählen Sie Ja.
 ‘To *skip* any warning messages that may occur, select ‘yes’
- c. Schade ist nur, dass der Lektor dieses Romans doch einige Fehler *übersehen* hat.
 ‘It’s only too bad that the novel’s proofreader *missed* [*overlooked*] some errors’

The *über-* verbs themselves do not specify anything about the subject's intent. Overshooting a target ('ein Wild *überschießen*') would normally suggest that failing to make contact was unintentional, and the same goes for situations like missing a turn or failing to see a stop sign ('das Stoppschild *übersehen*') or a misprint (e.g. (28c)). In other situations though, the focal LM is construed as an obstacle that is being avoided on purpose. Thus *überspringen* can describe intentionally skipping a stage in a prescribed sequence, such as a grade in school or parts of a text while reading (e.g. (28a)). *Übergehen* commonly describes deliberately choosing to ignore or skip something, metaphorically moving past a LM without establishing mental "contact" with it (e.g. (28b)). *Überspielen* can similarly mean intentionally glossing over something as if it did not exist, covering or smoothing something over ('eine peinliche Situation *überspielen*').

Über- often occurs with base verbs of perception or cognition, particularly *sehen*, *hören* and *lesen*. Such verbs are commonly construed metaphorically to involve projecting the attention of the nominative subject to make contact with a target (much like the projected missile of *überschießen*). Thus *übersehen*, *überhören* and *überlesen* can all describe failing to notice something as the subject's attention scans through a linear series such as a text sequence or a sequence of mental options.²⁵ Again, that failure may be intentional or, as in (28c), unintentional.

²⁵ Such 'skipping' variants look very similar to the less common variants for 'skimming' over parts of a text in an image with a route-like LM. Both involve

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Gibt es eine Möglichkeit die Klasse während des Schuljahres zu *überspringen* und in die neunte gehen? Ich *übergehe* diesen Punkt zunächst. Der Turm ist nicht zu *übersehen*. Die kleinen Fehler, die du angesprochen hast, sind spielend leicht zu *überlesen*, weil sie nie den Sinn oder die Verständlichkeit der Sätze beeinflussen. Das möchte ich lieber *überhört* haben. Dennoch wundern wir uns, wenn wir bei der Beförderung wieder einmal *übergangen*, bei der Gehaltserhöhung *übersehen* und in der Regel unterschätzt werden. Es gibt da einen Satz auf Englisch mit der Aufgabe, die darin vorkommenden “f” zu zählen. Der Dreh ist, daß “f” am Ende von kurzen Wörtern meistens *überzählt* werden. Anfangs bekommt man nicht alle Witze mit, da man sie einfach *überlacht*.

4.2.2 *Overcoming and overwhelming* (überwinden, überwältigen, überraschen)

All of the holistic paths with an accusative obstacle can suggest ‘overcoming’ the obstacle, but the verb *überwinden* in particular is lexicalized to express that functional implication – both for spatial paths and for more abstract actions like those in (29a).²⁶ Overcoming in turn can suggest

passing over a text quickly and holistically with minimal, fleeting contact – if any. There is some potential for ambiguity, but the difference between ‘skimming’ and ‘skipping’ with a verb like *überlesen* is usually clarified by whether the LM refers to a whole text or to a part of a text. Compare English *overlook*.

²⁶ The handbooks do not list this meaning for *überkommen*, but instances can be found (e.g., ‘Tatsächliche Barrieren werden gründlich untersucht und innovative Lösungen gefunden, um diese zu *überkommen*.’ ‘Nietzsche appelliert an uns, unser eigenes Selbstmitleid zu *überkommen*.’).

conquering an adversary, and *über-* verbs can be used to express overwhelming an accusative LM as in (29b) – like English *overrun*. That meaning is lexicalized and extended to more general overwhelming or overpowering with verbs like *überwältigen* (or *übermannen*). The FGs are often vague forces such as fatigue or fear that suggest a wave-like engulfing image.

- (29) a. Wie kann die seelische Not der Gegenwart *überwunden* werden?
 ‘How can the spiritual poverty of the present age be *overcome*’
- b. Die 6. Panzerdivision *überrannte* die feindlichen Stellungen auf ihrem Weg, brach durch die Stalinlinie und überquerte den Dvina.
 ‘The 6th Tank Division *overran* the enemy positions on its way, broke through the Stalin line and crossed the Dvina’
- c. Er wurde von Angst *überwältigt* und erstarrte.
 ‘He was *overcome* by fear and froze’
- d. Seine Absage hat mich *überrascht*.
 ‘His refusal *surprised* me’
- e. Bruno Senna hat beim GP2-Rennen in Istanbul mit ungefähr 200 Stundenkilometern einen Hund *überfahren*.
 ‘In the GP2 race in Istanbul, Bruno Serra *ran over* a dog going approximately 200 kilometers an hour’

Overwhelming can also involve surprising someone in a sudden attack, and the verb *überfallen* is lexicalized to suggest such an attack. It most commonly implies criminal assault of some kind, typically armed robbery, but it can also be used more generally. The verb *überraschen* is strongly lexicalized to focus particularly on the element of surprise, as in (29d), and

überrumpeln can similarly mean catching someone off guard. Unlike the more general ‘overwhelming’ verbs, the lexicalized verbs for attacking and surprising can occur in agentive constructions with an instrumental *mit*-PP.

All of these ‘overwhelming’ events obviously have an implicit effect on the accusative LM, but what is being profiled by the *über*- verb construction is the overwhelming nature of the path itself, as opposed to any particular effect on the LM object. An extreme case of this principle occurs in sentences like (29e), when there is obviously a serious effect on the accusative LM. Subtly, the *über*- verb contrasts with an UM- verb that would explicitly focus on knocking the accusative object over. Where *UMfahren* would correspond to English “ran the dog over”, focusing particularly on the effect on the dog, *überfahren* is closer to English “ran over the dog”. Even though the dog is obviously injured in the event, the construction focuses primarily on the overwhelming path of the vehicle. *Überfahren*, *überlaufen*, *überrennen* and *überreiten* can all be used this way to describe running over something. Compare the discussion in chapter 11 on “break” verbs with *durch*-.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... eine Steigung mühelos mit dem Rad *überwinden*. Wie können Konflikte *überwunden* werden? Er *überwand* sich und stimmte zu. Es gelingt vom Dorf Velpen aus, die erste feindliche Linie zu *überreiten*. Der Absteiger wurde mit 5:0 *überfahren*. Immer wenn die Börse verrückt spielt, werden wir von Kunden *überrannt*. Der Pfarrer wurde von den Bauern *überlaufen*, die ihm dies und jenes zu klagen hatten. Der Dieb wurde *überwältigt*. Er wurde von Angst *überwältigt* und erstarrte. Narkolepsie – ständig vom Schlaf

*übermann*t. Mit einer Pistole und einer Krücke bewaffnet hat am Samstagabend ein Pärchen eine Tankstelle an der Roermonder Straße *überfallen*. Dein Hund hat das Vertrauen verloren, weil Du ihn so *überrumpelt* hast. Die Kinder *überfielen* mich mit ihren Fragen. ... ihn mit einem Geschenk *überraschen*. Er wurde beinahe von einem flüchtenden Autolenker *überfahren*. Ein 34-Jähriger ist in der Nacht zu Freitag am Hackeschen Markt in Berlin-Mitte von einer S-Bahn *überrollt* und getötet worden.

Sentence (30) illustrates a specialized reciprocal construction that is probably best considered here as a sort of mutual overwhelming. When *sich überschlagen* appears with abstract plural FGs it suggests that they go too far and ‘overrun’ each other, partially overlapping in time. They thus interfere with each other and create confusion. There are also associations with the concrete reflexive ‘excess’ variant of *sich überschlagen* to mean tumbling or going head over heels, which also has overtones of going too fast and losing control. The variant is also similar to ‘competitive surpassing’ insofar as the LMs are themselves moving on a shared pathway. *Sich überstürzen* can also be used to describe events that occur too close together in time, creating confusion and mutual interference.²⁷

²⁷ Compare the superficially similar reciprocal constructions with *sich überschneiden*. Unlike *sich überschlagen*, *sich überschneiden* does not particularly imply confusion or mutual interference. It simply reports that two lines intersect and have points in common (‘Die beiden Sendungen *überschneiden sich*.’ ‘Unser Musikgeschmack scheint *sich* ja nicht grad zu *überschneiden*.’).

- (30) a. In Krisensituationen *überschlagen sich* die Ereignisse.
 ‘In crisis situations events *come fast and furiously*’
- b. Die Medien *überschlagen sich* mit Hysterie über die Wahlen im Iran.
 ‘The media *are falling all over themselves* with hysteria over the elections in Iran’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Dinge beginnen *sich* aber zu *überschlagen*, als Jane ermordet aufgefunden wird und die Polizei zu fragen beginnt. Wo es um Babys geht, *überschlagen sich* die Gefühle. Die schlechten Nachrichten *überstürzen sich*. In der Nacht, als Hongkong seinen Status als britische Kronkolonie verliert, *überstürzen sich* die Ereignisse.

At times sequential overlap may be intentional, so that there is a gradual transition or blend between one image and the next (as opposed to the chaotic overrunning implied by *sich überschlagen*). Thus *überblenden* can be used with a plural accusative object to describe a gradual blend from one image or sound to the next. In its precise technical sense the verb means to ‘cross fade’ – fading out or overexposing one film scene as it is gradually replaced by the next. It is now used commonly for transition effects in computer displays (‘Dieser Effekt *überblendet* zwei Szenen mittels Zoom’).

4.2.3 *Crossing a line* (übertreten)

The basic *über-* verb construction for crossing a focal LM is extended to crossing over abstract metaphorical thresholds or borders, and such boundaries are often construed as normative limits. The verb *übertreten* in

particular is lexically associated with a ‘trespassing’ sense of crossing or “overstepping” the boundaries established by laws, and *überschreiten* is used similarly.

- (31) Wenn man alle Gesetze studieren wollte, so hätte man gar keine Zeit, sie zu *übertreten*.
 ‘If one set out to study all laws, then one would have no time left to *violate* them’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

In keinem Fall ist es dem Benutzer gestattet, geltende Gesetze zu *übertreten*.
 ... die Grenzen des Üblichen, der Traditionen und Konventionen zu *überschreiten*. Wie gefährlich ist es den Speedindex von Winterreifen zu *überschreiten*?

5. General characteristics of holistic path constructions

We can summarize the discussion of holistic paths by isolating several factors that characterize a construction with a prefixed verb in comparison with particle verb constructions (or simple verbs with a PP).

- The prominence of the LM is increased.

This is the most obvious superficial trait – along with syntactic inseparability and lack of phonological stress– that distinguishes prefixed verb

constructions from constructions in which the LM is the object in a PP or else is implicit with a particle verb. There is in effect a progression of profiling the LM, roughly from particle constructions that describe a path with the LM left implicit (*Er steigt über / hinüber; Er ist durchgeilt*), to a balanced treatment with the LM expressed obliquely in a PP (*Er steigt über den Zaun; Er eilt durch den Saal*), to a holistic path with an accusative LM (*Er übersteigt den Zaun; Er durcheilt den Saal*). (The examples are from Kühnhold (1973: 262).)

- An accusative LM is distinct from other accusative objects.

Even though the accusative LM is now a focal accusative object of the verb, it is still a path LM and thus different from other types of accusative object. Just as it is in a PP, the accusative LM is a region of the setting that serves solely to locate the path. It is not itself affected by the path the way other accusative objects would be.²⁸

²⁸ Incidentally, the semantic nature of accusative LMs fits nicely with the common generative syntactic practice of deriving prefixed verb constructions with accusative LMs (e.g. ‘*Sie umlegten* das Grab mit Blumen’) from underlying structures that have a simple verb and a PP (cf. ‘*Sie legten* Blumen um das Grab’). See for example Stiebels and Wunderlich (1994) or Olsen (1996). Normal accusative objects with simple verbs or particle verbs either move (as “themes”), or undergo internal reflexive-trajector change (as “patients”), or co-extend with the verb process (as incremental themes). Accusative LMs with prefixed verbs on the other hand do not “do” anything; they serve simply to locate a path. In other words they function semantically like the object of a preposition, as would be predicted if they are derived by a syntactic process of argument shift.

- The prominence of the whole shaped route is also increased.

The route very often coincides with the shape of the FG, and it very often describes a linear shape that enters into a geometric configuration with the LM. In fact it would not be misleading to put the matter this way: What is being located relative to the LM is not primarily a FG that is moving on the path; it is the shaped path itself (the arrows in Figures 1–4).²⁹

- The prominence of the FG (and of its detailed manner of motion) is accordingly reduced.

Frequently the FG has reduced syntactic status as a denominal root or the object of an instrumental *mit*-PP, or it is left implicit (e.g. as the implicit subject of an attributive past participle). It has to share the stage with an accusative LM. It also has to share the stage with its own more prominent overall route (including its prior and future locations). In fact it frequently loses its status as an independent entity distinct from that route, namely when it coincides with the route in shape.

- Increasing the prominence of the whole shaped route also reduces our awareness of individual internal parts of the route, and of individual successive moments during the holistic path.

²⁹ That is why the accusative LM is not construed to be materially affected by the path even though it is the accusative object of the verb. It is being related directly only to an abstract spatio-temporal trajectory and not to a physical object or force.

The event is construed either as a linear shape, or as a holistic act (a chunked routine executed as a whole). In other words, construing the path holistically has subtle effects on how we think of the event aspectually (see chapter 11).

CHAPTER 8

Prefixed verbs and multi-directional paths

The other typical constructions with a prefixed verb and an accusative LM, besides holistic paths, can be illustrated with the sentences in (1)–(7). In these variants an *über-* verb typically describes ‘covering’ a LM surface, an *um-* verb ‘enveloping’ a LM, and a *durch-* verb ‘permeating’ a LM region (or being ‘interspersed’ throughout the region). The FGs are usually construed to spread in various directions, most typically as fluid masses (e.g. paint, water, smoke, smells), and sometimes as malleable planar-shaped entities (e.g. towels).

- (1) Sein Vorschlag war, alle Wände mit weißer Farbe zu *übersprühen*.
‘His suggestion was to *spray* all the walls with white paint’
- (2) Das Wasser *überflutet* die Wiesen und Felder.
‘The water is *flooding* the meadows and fields’
- (3) Sie *umhüllte* das Baby mit einem warmen Tuch.
‘She *wrapped* the baby with a warm towel’
- (4) Rauch *umhüllte* das Haus.
‘Smoke *enveloped* the house’
- (5) Die Luft war von Rosen und Jasmindüften *durchweht*.
‘The air was *permeated* with the smells of roses and jasmine’

- (6) Kinder *durchtoben* Garten und Haus.
 ‘Children are *running wild through* the yard and the house’
- (7) Ich habe fast ganz Deutschland *durchwandert*, ich kann aber nirgends Ruhe finden.
 ‘I’ve *wandered through* almost all of Germany, but nowhere can I find peace’

Particularly with *durch-* verbs, there may also be a multiplex of linear paths in randomly varying directions. The multiplex paths may result from multiple FGs each moving individually in different directions (the most likely reading for the children in (6)), or from a single moving FG that meanders in randomly directed path segments within a space (as in (7)).

Unter- verbs are not very common in this type of construction, but occasional examples such as (8)–(9) do occur to describe FGs that spread to undermine or underlayer an accusative LM. Most of the *unter-* verbs that do occur are lexicalized to describe abstract ‘undermining’ or ‘infiltrating’ (or else a completely separate category of intersocial interaction).¹

¹ The various meanings of *unter-* verbs are complicated by an alternative meaning for prepositional *unter* that is distinct from its meaning as a route-path expression and also from its use as a locational expression, namely its sense of being distributed ‘among’ a group. In fact, *unter-* often seems to correspond to English *inter-* more than it does to *under-*, and it is frequently much closer semantically to *durch-* than it is to *über-*. (*Unter-* – unlike *über-* and *um-* – can be used with a sense of ‘interspersal’ or ‘meandering’ that is normally associated only with *durch-*.) These additional possibilities make *unter-* verbs more difficult to classify semantically, especially since they tend to be used in abstract metaphorical contexts rather than spatial ones. I

- (8) Der Fluß hat das Ufer *unterhöhlt*.
‘The river has *eroded* the bank’
- (9) Da sind jedenfalls noch einige Wackeltische fachgerecht zu *unterfüttern*.
‘In any event there are still some wobbly tables that need to be properly *underlayered*’

What these constructions all have in common semantically is that they involve what Jackendoff (1991: 101–6) calls “distributive location”, a phenomenon that I will characterize as *multi-directional paths*. When we imagine the paths indicated by the prefixes, our attention is drawn in several different directions in no particular order, until it is eventually distributed throughout the LM region (i.e., a top surface with *über-*, a bottom surface with *unter-*, a curved surface with *um-*, and an interior with *durch-*). We can imagine the paint in (1) to take any number of specific objective routes; that part of the image can vary randomly. What matters is that the paint eventually spreads over the walls in all possible directions, so that the walls are covered in the resulting configuration. Similar comments apply to the other extended FGs in (2)–(5): every relevant part of the region expressed by the accusative LM is eventually occupied by the FG, and the LM as a whole is ultimately characterized by its presence.

have somewhat arbitrarily included verbs such as *unterstützen*, *unterrichten*, *unterhalten*, *unternehmen*, *unterteilen*, *untergliedern*, *unterscheiden* and *unterbrechen* all in chapter 10.

It helps to think of the paths conveyed by sentences like (1)–(5) as subjective scans, very much like those in fictive motion, with each of the individual scans corresponding to the schematic meaning of the prefix. In sentence (4) for example, we are prompted to scan around the house in any randomly selected direction we choose; no matter which *um-* path we take, we will encounter smoke. In other words, the constructions prompt us to imagine “all“ possible paths expressed by the prefix. (1) and (2) have a resulting configuration corresponding to the set of all possible *über-* paths scanned over the LM (the paint is “all over” the LM); (3) and (4) correspond to the set of all *um-* paths (the towel is “all around” the baby); and (5) corresponds to the set of all *durch-* paths (the smells go “all through” the air). In (6) the conceptual scans correspond to objective paths in various directions, but their subjective effect is again that they cumulatively appear to characterize the LM region as a whole (the children are running “all through” the area). (7) is a special case that can be understood much like (6), except that it describes a multiplex of path segments by a single FG rather than separate paths by separate FGs. The path segments go in randomly changing directions until they eventually seem to go “all through” the country.

A multi-directional path is intrinsically diffuse, with no overall shape of its own independent of the LM. Imagine for example children running through a house or yard in various directions in the image prompted by sentence (6), as depicted roughly in Figure 12. If we focus on the path taken by any individual child, that would distract our attention from the other

children. In order to hold all of the children in view at once in a true multi-directional image, we will have to blur the image and imagine a multiplex of *durch* paths distributed all through the house and yard. The effect will be one of general activity, of cumulative motion in random directions, all located in the LM space. Our attention will also necessarily remain restricted to the LM space as a whole. If some individual children run out of the yard we would not be able to follow them with our focal attention without ceasing to be aware of the other children. The image is not simply one of paths by moving children; it is also one of a house and yard characterized cumulatively by the paths of moving children. The most precisely defined entity in the scene is ultimately the focal bounded region specified as the accusative LM.

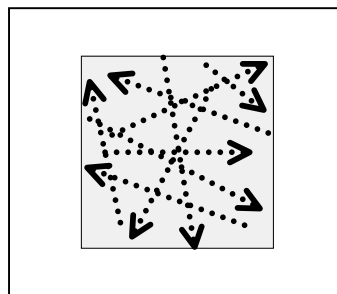


Figure 12. Multi-directional *durch*- paths (multiplex of objective paths)

These variants have much in common with the holistic paths in chapter 7. Both invite a cumulative image in which a whole path, or in this case a whole set of paths, is related to an accusative LM. The FG in both cases has relatively diminished prominence, partly because it shares the stage with a

prominent LM. The FG often has reduced syntactic status as well, for example as the root of a denominal base verb or as the object of an oblique *mit*-PP. Moreover, in multi-directional variants like (1)–(5) the FGs do not really have any definite shape of their own. They spread diffusely to conform to the space profiled by the LM, so they can hardly attract our concentrated attention away from that LM. Everything about these constructions leads us to zoom out to a synoptic perspective and distribute our attention evenly over the whole LM space, rather than zooming in to concentrate attention on a clearly defined FG (or any particular part of it).

With the linear holistic paths in chapter 7, prefixed verbs are a marked alternative to the more normal constructions with a simple verb and a PP (or a particle). They prompt a special type of synoptic path construal that resists the general tendency to focus particularly on a moving FG. With multi-directional paths on the other hand, prefixed verbs are themselves the unmarked norm. A simple verb with a PP (or a particle) would concentrate our attention on the focal moving FG (or on the leading part of an extending FG), prompting us to track its sequential progress as it moves from one location on the route to the next. That is an intrinsically linear image, making constructions with a PP or a particle unsuited to describe paths like those in (1)–(9). Prefixed verb constructions are the *only* normal way to express true multi-directional paths with a definite LM, and in many ways these variants can be considered the most typical prefixed verb constructions of all.

Compare the English “spray / load“ alternation (Levin 1993: 50–51, 117–19). Constructions like ‘spray the walls with white paint’ (‘wrap the baby in / with a warm towel’, etc) are similar to the German constructions with an accusative LM; they imply that the direct object is characterized “holistically” in a way that is not necessarily the case when the focal direct object is the moving FG (‘spray white paint over / on the walls’, ‘wrap a towel around the baby’). Note that the English glosses for the German prefixed verb construction frequently lose the explicit reference to a route path. That is, we can say ‘spray paint over the walls’, but there is no convenient way to include *over* in constructions like ‘spray the walls with paint’ or ‘cover the walls with paint’. English frequently has recourse to lexicalized verbs such as *surround*, *envelop*, *cover*, or *permeate* that come closest to capturing the German prefixed verbs. At other times, such as translating (6) and (7), there is no convenient idiomatic English alternative to a construction with a PP. When English does use a construction with a PP, then the meaning can usually be brought closer to the German when *all* is used before the preposition, i.e. *all over*, *all through*, *all around* (e.g. ‘spray paint all over the wall’, ‘wander all through Germany’). In that case we might reasonably connect the use of the word *all* to the notion of paths in all possible directions. *All through the house*, for example, prompts us to scan in all possible paths through the house. Compare also the English “swarm” constructions like ‘The garden is swarming with bees’ (Levin 1993: 53–55, see also Langacker 1991: 347).

Section 1 treats the constructions like (1)–(5) in detail, i.e., those that have spreading mass FGs. As was the case with the linear holistic paths in chapter 7, these verbs are commonly used with abstract FGs, and there are several lexicalized variants. Section 2 turns to the more objectively multi-directional paths that can be expressed by *durch-* verbs like those in (6) and (7). Section 3 provides a very brief look at the lexicalized *unter-* verbs for ‘undermining’.

Throughout the chapter some very general cognitive-semantic processes will play a significant role, including the multiplex / mass transformation that allows us to construe a multiplex (such as a collection of people) systematically as a metaphorical “mass” (a crowd). These processes of extending schematic meanings to objectively very different images are significant enough in the case of multi-directional variants to warrant separate discussion in Section 4. That section addresses the topic of how a multi-directional path can come to be described by an expression that schematically describes a directed linear path. In other words, we will ask how grounded, independently motivated image-schematic transformations can take us from a linear path expression such as *über* (the schematic image in Figure 1) to the kind of multi-directional ‘covering’ path that is indicated by sentence (1).

1. Spreading masses

In the most common and general type, illustrated in (1)–(5), a FG spreads in all possible directions within the relevant region designated by the accusative LM. The relevant region is determined by the meaning of *über-* (upper or facing surface), *unter-* (lower or hidden surface), *um-* (whole curved surface) or *durch-* (interior region) within a pragmatic context.

FGs that spread within a region are prototypically fluid masses. They may also be flexible planar entities such as cloths that can be spread over a surface. Occasionally a multiplex such as a crowd of people may also be construed to spread like a mass. In any event the FGs do not have fixed stable shapes of their own. As reflected in (2), (4), and (5), FGs such as flood waters or smoke or smells that are construed to spread autonomously will typically appear as nominative subjects of the verb. Otherwise the nominative subject of the construction will typically refer to an agent that causes the motion of the path FG as in (1) and (3). In such applicative constructions the FG has reduced syntactic prominence. It may be expressed in a *mit-PP*, it may be indicated in the root of a denominal or deadjectival verb, or it may sometimes be left wholly implicit. No matter how the FG is expressed, the LM in a finite verb construction will always appear as a focal accusative LM.

The FGs in these constructions are often relatively abstract or ephemeral. Diffuse masses such as air or smoke are typical, as are more wave-like phenomena such as light, sound, and energy. The FGs frequently are understood to be perceptible qualities such as warmth, moisture, color, or smells (construed as spreading “masses”). The constructions can be further

extended to nonphysical metaphorical masses, such as emotions and other mental states that can be construed to permeate or cover or envelop a LM.

When such FGs spread within a LM region they typically remain there as an extended presence that characterizes the LM space. (Contrast the transitory ‘passing sensations’ that convey a relatively more directed image as holistic paths.) That is the case in all of the examples (1)–(5); the paint in (1) for example stays visibly on the walls. It is not surprising then that past-participial constructions are especially common with these variants. This includes passives that focus particularly on the LM, and it is especially true of statal passives and other attributive constructions that focus on the resulting state that obtains in the LM space. The point of the construction is that the LM as a whole is characterized by the perceptible presence of the FG.

1.1. Spreading, scattering / pouring, immersing, permeating (*umwickeln, überstreuen, umduften, durchtönen*)

Both *über-* verbs and *um-* verbs can be used when a mass or multiplex FG covers a surface (the top or facing surface with *über-* and the entire curved surface with *um-*). With *über-* it makes little difference whether the base-verb process is one of spreading (e.g. *schmieren, kleben, streichen, ziehen*) or of pouring / scattering from above (e.g. *schütten, gießen, sprühen, streuen*). For pragmatic reasons *um-* verbs are less apt to result from acts of pouring or scattering, but they do occur readily with base verbs of spreading, including

verbs of wrapping, and also with verbs that describe immersing. What matters in all cases is that the mass (or multiplex) FG eventually covers the whole relevant LM surface in multiple directions. As usual, a multi-directional construal is encouraged to some extent by passive constructions, since they direct our attention more to the LM than to the moving FG, and it is especially linked to statal passive or other attributive participial constructions.

- (10) a. Kommen nun die fertigen Stollen aus dem Ofen, so sind dieselben nochmals mit zerlassener Butter zu *überstreichen* und dick mit Zucker zu *überstreuen*.
 ‘When the stollen are taken out of the oven they should be *coated* again [by spreading] with melted butter and *sprinkled* with a thick layer of sugar’
- b. Er *übergoß* sich mit Benzin und brannte sich.
 ‘He *doused* himself with gasoline and burned himself’
- c. Die Betten müssen frisch *überzogen* werden.
 ‘The beds must be given [“*over-pulled* with”] fresh sheets’
- (11) a. Das komplette Element ist mit einer tierfreundlichen Kunststofffarbe *umstrichen*.
 ‘The complete item is *coated* with a synthetic paint that is safe for animals’
- b. eine *umflochtene* Flasche
 ‘a bottle with wicker *woven around* it’
- c. Das Paket wenn man es so nennen darf war sehr schäbig mit Folie *umwickelt* das Adressfeld mit Tesa-Film angeklebt.
 ‘The package, if one can call it that, was very shabbily *wrapped* with foil, the address attached with Scotch tape’

- (12) a. Der Sitzplatzbereich wurde teilweise tatsächlich sehr *umnebelt* und *umstunken*.
 ‘Parts of the sitting area did in fact become *immersed* in foggy smoke and foul odor [“around-fogged” and “around-stunk”]’
- b. Süß *umhallt* von Nachtigallentönen.
 ‘Sweetly *surrounded* [“around-resounded”] by the sounds of nightingales’
- c. Ein laues Lüftchen *umweht* uns noch.
 ‘A balmy breeze still *surrounds* us’
- (13) a. Der ganze Raum schien wie von Sonnenschein und Rosen *durchstrahlt* und *durchduftet* zu sein.
 ‘The whole room seemed to be *permeated* by the *rays* of sunshine and the *aroma* of roses’
- b. Die Räume sind anschließend gut zu *durchlüften*, um alle Fremdgerüche zu beseitigen.
 ‘Afterwards the rooms should be *aired* well to get rid of the foreign smells’

As the ‘immersing’ variants in (12) illustrate, *um-* verbs commonly occur with base verbs that are specifically associated with emitted or reflected light or sound or smell, so that those FGs come to envelop the surface of an accusative LM. Occasional *über-* verbs also occur to indicate that light covers a surface area.² These FGs are essentially like the other mass FGs, but they are

² *Überschatten* is in effect like *überstrahlen*, except that it seems to describe projected darkness (e.g. ‘Eichen *überschatten* den Platz’). *Über-* verbs that describe covering a surface region with light are not that common in part because there is a danger of confusion with *über-* verb constructions that describe competitive layering (‘Der Mond wurde bereits durch die aufgehende Sonne *überschienen*’).

relatively more ephemeral and diffuse. We are also relatively less aware of their purely spatial extent and more aware of their effect on our subjective perception; i.e., of the fact that we could sample the space and encounter the FG at any random point using our sense of sight, sound, smell, or touch. Such FGs are especially apt to occur with *durch-* verbs like those in (13), when the FG permeates the interior of a LM space and characterizes it as a whole.

Multi-directional paths of all types are commonly expressed with denominal base verbs that categorize the FG in the root. *Überzuckern* in (14c) can thus alternate with prefixed verbs whose base verbs refer to the applicative manner as in (14b), and also with constructions that have a simple verb and a PP as in (14a). The denominal constructions do not specify anything about the precise nature of the path that brings the FG to its resulting location; they profile the FG's eventual 'covering' relation with the LM surface. Other typical examples with the FG expressed as a denominal root include *umkleiden* in (15a), *überkrusten* in (15c), and *umnebeln* in (12a) above.

- (14) a. Für den Belag Zucker gleichmäßig über den Kuchen streuen.
 'For the topping sprinkle sugar evenly over the cake'
- b. Kann mit Zimt und Zucker *überstreut* werden.
 '[It] can be *sprinkled* ["over-sprinkled"] with cinnamon and sugar'
- c. ... und bäckt den Kuchen fertig. Dann wird er *überzuckert*.
 '... and bakes the cake until done. Then it is *sugared* ["over-sugared"]'
- (15) a. Der Perlsack *umkleidet* die wachsende Perle.
 'The pearl sack *envelops* [provides a sheath for] the growing pearl'
- b. Was benutzt ihr um eure Pickel zu *überdecken* als Mann?

What do you use as men to *cover* your pimples’

- c. Der Wagen war mit Eis *überkrustet*.

‘The car was *encrusted* with ice’

- d. Der Hausanschluss darf nicht *überbaut* oder mit Bäumen *überpflanzt* werden.

‘The lines connecting to the house may not be *covered with construction* or *with plants*. [“over-built” or “over-planted”]³

The denominal roots vary in how specifically they categorize the FG. They sometimes refer to a quite specific type (e.g. *zuckern*), but they may also classify the FG as a very general functional type (e.g. *kleiden*). When the root refers to a general type, there is often reason to specify the FG more precisely either as an autonomous nominative subject or as the object in an oblique *mit*-PP. Base verbs such as *kleiden* (or *decken* or *hüllen*) blur the line between a denominal verb and a normal verb that happens to be associated with a particular type of FG. The specific FG for the path does not strictly have to be a member of the noun category suggested by the root (*Kleid*, *Decke*, *Hülle*), and it is often specified explicitly as the nominative subject or in a *mit*-PP. The verbs do, however, definitely imply a type of FG that performs a particular kind of function. They are like the unquestionably denominal verbs in the important sense that they do not specify the causal activity that leads to the resulting configuration. In any event, the verbs *umkleiden* and *umhüllen* are

³ *Überbauen* and *überpflanzen* have base verbs that do not necessarily suggest either scattering or spreading, but they do typically convey an image of scattering a multiplex of buildings or plants over an area until it has been covered.

well established, as are *überkleiden* and *überdecken*. Quite a few clearly denominal *über-* verbs incorporate nouns that similarly suggest a ‘covering’ function, including *überlagern*, *überhäufen*, *überdachen*, *überkrusten*, *überkronen*, *überwölben*, and *überspannen*.⁴

The *um-* verbs in (12) and the *durch-* verbs in (13), which involve a FG such as light, sound, smells or air, are particularly apt to have denominal base verbs. In fact, even non-denominal base verbs such as *scheinen* or *stinken* or *klingen* or *wehen* already imply the type of FG rather than the manner of emitting it, so that there is little functional difference between them and denominal base verbs such as *strahlen* or *duften* or *tönen* or *lüften*.⁵ In any event, there are quite a few base verbs that intrinsically suggest light (e.g. *schimmern*, *leuchten*, *glänzen*) or sound (e.g. *hallen*, *gellen*, *schellen*, *schallen*, *läuten*) or air (e.g., *atmen*, *hauchen*), and these base verbs are all common in

⁴ Occasionally, curved enveloping is possible with an *um-* verb such as *umkrusten*. The base verb *wölken* is actually more likely to occur with *um-* than with *über-*, which seems odd from an English-speaking point of view. The image with *um-* apparently presumes a subjective viewpoint in which the sky is dome-shaped and extends all around us (e.g., ‘Die Sonne scheint, aber der Himmel ist halb *umwölkt*’). (Duden glosses *umwölken* as ‘sich von allen Seiten bewölken’.) As far as I can tell, there are no simple base verbs that intrinsically suggest the function of permeating, so there are no *durch-* verbs in this category (though cf. *durchtränken*).

⁵ In fact, from a synchronic point of view it is somewhat arbitrary whether a verb like *schimmern* is considered a denominal verb formed from the noun *Schimmer*, or whether the noun *Schimmer* is understood to be derived from the verb. (Historically, the noun is a back formation from the verb.) Similarly, there is no way to tell whether (or to what extent) a speaker understands *leuchten* to be related to the noun *Licht*.

these constructions. *Durch-* verbs also occur with other denominal base verbs that refer to diffuse and perceptible masses such as smoke (*durchräuchern*) or steam (*durchdämpfen*).

It is a short step from denominal base verbs that refer to diffuse emitted air qualities such as smells, to deadjectival base verbs that refer to perceptible qualities such as temperature or moisture, as in (16). Compare *durchnässen* in (16b) with *durchtränken* (‘ein von Blut *durchtränkter* Verband’). As (16b) reflects, less diffuse masses such as fluids may also permeate a LM. *Durchtränken* and *durchschwitzen* for example are used quite generally to describe saturating something, and *durchbluten* is common for providing a region of the body with nutrients.

- (16) a. Dabei muß die Stube gut *durchwärmt* sein.
 ‘The room must also be well *heated* [“through-warmed”]’
 b. Mein Kissen war vollkommen *durchnäßt*.
 ‘My pillow was completely *damp* [“through-dampened”]’

Light can also be directed to permeate an area in order to illuminate it for purposes of revealing what is there. Compare the common use of verbs like *durchleuchten* to describe illuminating by X-ray. In this case the construction suggests both multi-directional permeation of the interior space and directed penetration through the obscuring outer layers, so that the image could also be considered to be a directed one with a wave-like FG. Permeating a space with light blends with variants for ‘seeing through’ something

(*durchschauen*), as mentioned in the section on holistic penetrating paths. Similar comments apply to scanning by ultrasound.

Adding a layer underneath a bottom surface provides a rare situation when an *unter-* verb construction is pragmatically useful, as in (9) or (17). Such applicative constructions are very much like those with *über-* verbs and describe ‘undercoating’ an accusative LM, for example to add a layer of insulation or foundational ‘support’.

- (17) a. Man hat das Gebäude allseitig *untermauert*.
 ‘They *buttressed* the building on all sides’
 b. Fliesen mit einer Dämmschicht *unterfüttern*
 ‘*line* tiles with an insulating layer’

The following set of examples reflects the extensive use of these prefixed verb constructions to express multi-directional paths. The pattern applies productively with virtually any base verb that is semantically sensible.⁶

⁶ As several examples reflect, the application of a new layer to a surface by spreading, sprinkling or pouring is common in cooking. A layering effect can also be achieved by activities such as browning the surface of something, as described by a verb like *überbacken* (‘einen Auflauf mit Käse *überbacken*’). Such constructions with base verbs that are not obviously applicative are problematic though and need to be restricted. *Über-* verbs can also have a more abstract meaning to describe a quick superficial holistic activity such as re-heating that does not really suggest adding a tangible layer of any kind (‘Darum berief Joseph sogleich seine vier Köche und befahl ihnen, die Fische wieder zu *überbraten*’). *Überkochen* for example can be used regionally (especially Austrian) to mean bringing something to a boil again (‘Die Marmelade muß (noch mal) *überkocht* werden’). More generally, there is danger of

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Nudelröllchen gefüllt mit Schweinehackfleisch, mit Knoblauch und Petersilie geschmort, *überbacken* mit Parmesan, *umgossen* mit Bratensaft. So reduziert sich indische Küche für viele darauf, Fleisch und Reis mit einer süßlichen Currysoße zu *überschütten*. Für die systemgerechte Bewirtschaftung ist es erforderlich, die gesamte Buchtenfläche täglich mit zerkleinertem Stroh zu *überstreuen*. Ein Raucher wird mit Benzin *übertränkt* an den Pranger gestellt und Kandidaten versuchen, ihn mit Kippen anzustecken. Er fordert alle Schüler und Schülerinnen auf, alle Ritzen mit Klebstreifen zu *überkleben*. Bei diesem System wird der zu bewässernde Boden von laufendem Wasser unaufhörlich *überrieselt*, weshalb er ein Gefälle haben muß. Kaffeebohnen mit Schokolade *überzogen*. Mit Beton *umgossen* fanden die Flaschen auch als Behelfsminen Verwendung. Der Motor ist ganzflächig mit einem grauen Dekorstreifen zu *umkleben*. Drei von ihnen beginnen, Handgranatenattrappen in weiche Tücher zu wickeln, sie mit Klebeband zu *umbinden*. Die mit Stroh *umwickelten* Stecken wurden mit Lehm *umschmiert*. Bei alten und hohen Weinpflanzen ist es einfacher, sie mit Fichtenreisig zu *umhängen*. Die Gewandung des Fahrstuhlschachts ist vollständig von glatten Betonpanelen *umkleidet*. Sie hatte eine Klorolle mit einem Stück Tonpapier *umkleidet*. Ein weiter Umhang *umhüllt* seine hagere Gestalt. Dichter Nebel *umhüllte* uns. Wiewohl wir nicht entkleidet, sondern *überkleidet* werden möchten. Die tertiären Sedimente *überlagern* unmittelbar die Gesteine des Buntsandsteins. ... den Schreibtisch mit Akten *überhäufen*. ... die geodätischen Kuppeln, mit denen er ganze Stadtteile zu *überdachen* gedachte. Der Nachbarzahn (7) mußte jetzt eine Wurzelbehandlung bekommen und *überkront* werden. Weisse Schokoladenganache mit Champagneressenz in Milkschokolade

confusing these applicative constructions with the ‘excess’ use of *über-* to mean overcooking or otherwise overdoing a process (‘Also ehrlich Hinrich, findest du den Kuchen nicht auch schrecklich *überzuckert*?’). See chapter 9. Verbs such as *überwässern* are normally used to describe excessive ‘overwatering’ rather than simply distributing water over a surface.

umhüllt, mit Puderzucker *überpudert*. Die ganze Schaltung ist mehrfach mit Plastik 70 *überlackt* worden. Der besseren Haltbarkeit wegen sollen die Beilagen/Garnituren nicht ganz weich gekocht, dafür aber mit Gelee *überglänzt* werden. Das einzige, was ich machen könne, sei, die Hose erneut zu *überfärben*. ... Edelbitter Schoko mit Samtpuderzucker *umpudert*. Fernwärmeverteilungen und Hausanschlussleitungen außerhalb von Gebäuden dürfen innerhalb eines Schutzstreifens nicht *überbaut* und mit tiefwurzelnden Gewächsen *überpflanzt* werden. Im "Friedwald" werden Urnen beigesetzt und mit einem Baum *überpflanzt*. Das Fenster ist mit einer Eisschicht *überzogen*. Die Mauer war von Efeu *überhangen*. Der südliche Teil der Steilküste ist mit Gebüsch, Wurzeln und Gras *überwachsen*. Wie bekomme ich Steinplatten sauber, die mit Löwenzahn *überwuchert* waren? Der Tumor kann den Sehnerven *umwachsen* und Augenmuskeln, orbitale Gefäße und die Tränendrüse befallen. 7.000 Jahre alte Baumriesen, *umwuchert* von Moosen und Schlingpflanzen. Ist es technisch möglich ein Wohnhaus nachträglich zu *unterkellern*? Die Schiene ist unter jedem Winkel zu *unterbauen*. ... eine Glasplatte mit Filz *unterlegen*. Der Rahmen des Teleskops ist rundum sorgfältig zu *unterstopfen*. Dazu sind die Fundamente der vorhandenen Gebäude zu *unterfangen*. Bei kontinuierlichem Permafrost ist mehr als 90% des Gebietes von Permafrost *unterlagert*. Jesus, von Glanz *umschienen*. Und vielstimmiger Vogelgesang *umtönt* uns. Ich stand vom Lärm der Welt *umgellt*, verstrickt ins große Vielgeschick. Man wandelt hier in einem immerwährenden Garten, von Wohlgerüchen *umduftet*. Als erster Bote des Ufers *umatmet* uns der süsse, schwere Duft des Dschungels. Eine leichte Brise mit dem berausenden Duft exotischer Blüten *umweht* Sie und betört Ihre Sinne. Von Tränen *umtränkt*, schenktest du mir den letzten Kuss. Der Mond ist aufgegangen und *überstrahlt* die Wellen. So blieben Ettingen und Lo allein am Tisch, *überschimmert* vom Lichtkreis der Lampe. Die Sandharlandener Heide befindet sich auf einer Anhöhe, die nach der letzten Eiszeit von Sand *überweht* wurde. Das Gebüsch schwarz, *durchschimmert* vom Licht der Johanniskäferchen. Tausende heller Lampen *durchstrahlten* den Nachthimmel. Die Schloßgebäude *durchleuchteten* die Nacht. Musik *durchklang* das Haus. Kreischender Lärm *durchhallt* das Treppenhaus.

Manchmal tun sie das in einer Lautstärke, als hätten sie mit ihren Stimmen das Zillertal zu *durchtönen*. Ein faules Ei *durchstinkt* ein ganzes Haus. Ein ungeheurer Maiblumenstrauß *durchduftet* mein kleines Cabinet. Luft, die vom Salz der Meere *durchhaucht* ist, ... Mediterrane Wärme und eine leichte Meeresbrise scheinen jedes einzelne Zimmer zu *durchwehen*. Das Getreide muß gut *durchlüftet* werden. Zimmer und Ställe mit Weihwasser zu besprengen und mit Weihrauch zu *durchräuchern*. Nach spätestens 2 Stunden dürfte die Faser ausreichend stark *durchfärbt* sein. Die Sonne *durchwärmte* sie. Ich fühlte mich *durchkältet* und mußte ganz weit gähnen. Die anderen kamen *durchfrozen* von der stundenlangen Fahrt ins Hotel. Unaufhörliche Regenböen *durchnäßten* alles. ... eines vom Schnupfen *durchfeuchteten* Taschentuches. Peitschender Regen *durchweichte* den Boden. Das Wasser *durchtränkt* den Erdboden. Der Kapellmeister riß sich den *durchschwitzten* Kragen herunter. Die ist einwandfrei um der Haut Feuchtigkeit zu spenden, sie aber nicht zu *durchfetten*. Der arbeitende Muskel wird besser *durchblutet* und damit auch besser ernährt. Mich hatten sie *durchleuchtet*, geröntgt, untersucht, befragt. ... mit denen alle verdächtigen Postsachen *durchleuchtet* werden. Ich vergaß im Augenblick der 'Großen Prüfung' alles, ..., dachte an das Auge des Polypen, hörte das Auge lachen, sah mich *durchstrahlt*, *durchleuchtet*, *durchschaut*, verhöhnt, gedemütigt, kastriert. Dabei weist der Ultraschallstrahl einen so geringen Querschnitt auf, daß ausschliesslich der Bereich der Schweissnaht *durchschallt* wird. Alles geht durch den Zoll und wird *durchläutet*.

The verbs in this category are used very much like *be-* verbs. *Be-* verbs also are common in agentive applicative constructions, they typically have a vaguely bounded FG that may appear in a *mit*-PP or as a denominal root, they virtually always have an accusative LM, and they prompt a synoptic construal. Speaking broadly, *be-* verbs describe the iterative introduction of an unbounded supply into an accusative-LM space, with the resulting

accumulation of the FG at random locations there. (See Dewell 2004.) The *be-* verbs do not imply anything about how the FG is distributed within the space. The route-path prefixes on the other hand describe specific types of multi-directional paths that take place within the LM space. *Be-* verb constructions thus do not necessarily imply covering the whole surface the way *über-* verbs do (Günther 1974: 246–7).

For example, *bestreichen* would profile repeated strokes of the knife in spreading butter over a slice of bread, while *überstreichen* would profile the covering layer that is being created. Verbs of scattering like *überschütten* or *überstreuen* suggest distributing the FG evenly in a layer over the whole LM surface. If the image were one of more randomly scattering the FG somewhere on the surface, then a *be-* verb would be appropriate. Similar comments apply to base verbs of planting or building. The *über-* verbs contrast with *be-* verbs like *bebauen* or *bepflanzen*, which do not convey a clear image of even distribution to cover the whole LM region. Of course the distinction is often practically unimportant. ‘Er bezieht das Bett mit frischer Wäsche’ for example pragmatically implies spreading the sheets to cover the bed (Günther 1974: 246). Still, *beziehen* does not profile the spreading motion that would be salient with *über-*.

At times an *über-* verb may contrast subtly with a *ver-* verb as well. If we include the possibility of a simple base verb, a four-way opposition may arise such as ‘Eine Eisschicht deckt / überdeckt / bedeckt / verdeckt den See’. Plain *decken* suggests that the lake is transformed into a new state, for

example that it is “protected” from being used in the normal way (such as boating or fishing). *Überdecken* portrays the lake as a pure region of space whose surface is being covered by a layer of ice. *Bedecken* also marks the lake as a true accusative LM, but it does not suggest the spatial ‘covering’ image of lateral extension the way *überdecken* does. As for *verdecken*, it means that the lake is no longer recognizable as what it is or was before (Günther 1974: 246). Similar comments apply to *umhüllen* in comparison with plain *hüllen* or *verhüllen*. Although the distinction is admittedly very subtle, a construction like ‘Sein Material hüllt das Baby in maximales Wohlbehagen’ prompts us to construe the baby as an accusative FG that enters a new state, while a construction with *umhüllen* conveys a purely spatial enveloping image and *verhüllen* would suggest causing the baby to disappear from view. As for *be-*, it does not make sense with *hüllen* because there can be no sense of iterative adding (or of filling a prepared slot). Compare ‘Er umwickelt / bewickelt den Lenker mit Bändern’ (Günther 1974: 248).

The prefixed verb constructions in this section also contrast subtly with simple verbs and PPs, as illustrated by the alternations in (14). Constructions with a simple verb and a PP profile a directed path in which the FG moves from an original location such as the hands of an agent and continues on to move over the surface of the LM in a clear sequence of locations. Even though the FG may be known to extend in various directions once it reaches the LM, the construal invites us to concentrate relatively more on the wave-like path of the FG than on its resulting configuration covering the surface. In this example

with *gießen* and an *über*-PP for example, we are aware of the incremental progression of the liquid over the surface: ‘Dann hörte es auf und wieder spürte er, wie Wasser über ihn gegossen wurde’. Contrast the holistic image conveyed by the *übergießen* construction in (10b).⁷

Compare also the particle verb variants discussed in chapter 4 that describe a sequential path by an already extended accusative FG that is moved into a position over or around an implicit part of a dative object (‘Ich zog mir eine warme Jacke *über / um*‘). There is again a distinction between multi-directional covering and a more sequential path by an extended FG into a new location.

1.2. Transitional cases between multi-directional and linear directed images

The constructions we have considered so far have been prototypical multi-directional variants with spreading mass FGs, as illustrated by the opening examples (1)–(5). A careful second look at example (2) with *überfluten* however suggests that it is not obviously as purely multi-directional as the

⁷ One indication of the subtle semantic difference between the constructions is the use of prefixed *übertauchen* to describe covering the LM by dipping it in the FG (‘Die Kerzenrohlinge (Halbfertigfabrikate) werden in speziell eingefärbten Tauchmassen farbig *übertaucht*‘). That method of application objectively involves moving the LM rather than the FG, but the image of a FG that spreads to cover the surface is unaffected. It is difficult to imagine using a construction with the simple verb and an *über*-PP to describe the event.

others. Flood waters may eventually spread out laterally to cover a region in all directions, but they are also typically thought to flow in a single overall direction in a more wave-like image. In other words, these events occupy a position that is not clearly at either pole of the continuum between linear directed images and multi-directional ones. Similar comments could be made about other flowing wave-like “masses” such as air currents or sounds. Even a slow-moving process such as blood soaking through a bandage can be construed as a directed path from a wound to the interior of the bandage and on to its visible exterior. Of course it can also be construed to saturate the bandage in all possible directions, with no sense of any predictable sequence of locations.

These two types of flow – multi-directional spreading and wave-like directed flow – are not usually kept clearly distinct. Most paths with mass or multiplex FGs could in theory be construed either way, i.e., either as directed holistic paths or as multi-directional covering, enveloping or permeating. In practice though, the multi-directional reading is more likely with prefixed verbs.

For one thing, many factors can tip the scales pragmatically in favor of the multi-directional reading. Diffuse, slow-moving FGs such as smells are obviously more apt to spread in all directions. Even faster-moving FGs such as sound or light will typically bounce off of restricting walls and create a multi-directional reverberating effect within a region. (In such cases the distinction blurs between a mass FG and a multiplex of linear paths – see section 2.)

Some syntactic forms also tend to favor a multi-directional reading. Denominal or deadjectival base verbs for example tend to channel our attention to the lasting presence of the extended FG in the LM space, rather than on its manner of motion. Past-participial constructions typically prompt us to focus on a resulting state that characterizes the LM as a whole, and thus to favor a reading in which the FG spreads multi-directionally within the space rather than engaging in a directed wave-like path.

More generally, even if none of these factors is present and both kinds of reading are equally feasible pragmatically, the multi-directional ‘spread’ reading is still generally preferred with a prefixed verb construction. The reason is that prefixed verb constructions with an accusative LM are the unmarked norm for multi-directional paths, but when they describe linear directed paths they are marked both semantically and stylistically in comparison with with particle verbs or simple verbs with a PP. All other things being equal then, it is more probable that a prefixed verb construction expresses a multi-directional path whenever that reading is feasible.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... im Trubel und Jubel, im Brausen der kerzenstrahlenden Säle, die von den entblößten Schultern der Damen, den Stickereien auf Kleidern und Galaröcken, den gold- und silberbetreßten Livreen der Lakaien *durchleuchtet*, von den Figaroklängen der Streicher und Trompeten, der Pauken und Hörner *durchflutet*, von den Blicken der Frauen *durchblitzt*, vom Lachen der Männer *durchklirrt*, von den Düften der Speisen und Getränke *durchrauscht* waren, fand Konstanze das erträumte Glück.

1.2.1 *Flooding an area* (überschwemmen, durchdringen)

Base verbs such as *fließen* and *strömen* typically profile directed flowing motion, and sentences like (18a) invite a reading with a wave-like holistic path. Even with these base verbs though, a sentence like (18b) can invite a more diffuse image of covering (or enveloping or permeating) the accusative LM rather than simply moving over it like a wave.

- (18) a. Da gibt es so viele Steine zu *überfließen*, zu *umschmeicheln* oder zu *unterspülen*.
 ‘There are so many stones there to *flow over*, to *caress* or to *wash under*’
- b. Dennoch sind ihre Körper von Schweiß *überströmt*.
 ‘Still, their bodies are *covered* [“over-streamed”] by sweat’

Base verbs that describe flooding, like *fluten* or *schwemmen*, provide an interesting transitional case. They typically suggest flowing motion directed away from a source container, implying an original event of ‘overflowing’. If that containing bound is construed as a focal obstacle, then a prefixed *über-* verb may describe a holistic wave-like path that crosses it as in (19a). More commonly though, the containing bound remains implicit and a particle ÜBER- verb is appropriate for events of overflowing. Prefixed verbs such as *überfluten* and *überschwemmen*, then, are more apt to describe the ensuing path of the water as it floods the surrounding areas, and in such cases the sense of a directed flow is apt to dissipate into a more vaguely directed

covering image. The difference between these two types of flooding – with the LM as containing bound or as surrounding areas – is not sharply defined; in fact the two types can co-occur as in (19c). Still, base verbs like *fluten* or *schwemmen* tend to invite a more multi-directional image of a resulting state in which the FG spreads to occupy the LM space in every direction. As usual, the multi-directional ‘covering’ image is encouraged by past-participial constructions with the LM as nominative subject.

- (19) a. Dort wurde nach Angaben des stellvertretenden Stadtsprechers Sven Kindler ein Deich *überschwemmt*.
 ‘According to statements by the city’s spokesman Sven Kindler a dike was *overflowed* there’
- b. Venedig ist am Montag fast vollständig *überschwemmt* worden.
 ‘Venice was almost completely *flooded* on Monday’
- c. Ist das Wasser höher, wird der Deich und das Land hinter dem Deich *überflutet*.
 ‘If the water is higher then the dike and the land behind the dike get *submerged* [overflooded]’
- (20) a. an den Wänden der *durchfluteten* Häuser
 ‘on the wall of the *flooded* [“through-flooded”] houses’
- b. von Licht *durchflutete* Wohnräume
 ‘living areas *inundated* by light’
- c. Jede Zellmembran wird von tausenden von hochmobilen Alkoholmolekülen *umschwemmt*.
 ‘Each cell membrane is *inundated* [“around-flooded”] by thousands of very mobile alcohol molecules’
- (21) a. Das Öl hat das Holz *durchdrungen*.

- ‘The oil has *permeated* / *penetrated* the wood’
- b. Die lockere Erde ist gut von der Luft *durchdrungen*.
‘The loose soil is well *pervaded* by air’
- c. Das Räucherwerk *durchdrang* die Luft mit der Essenz von Harz.
‘The incense *imbued* the air with the essence of resin’
- d. Tiergeruch *durchzieht* die Luft.
‘Animal odor *pervades* the air’

Similar variants also occur with *durch-* and *um-* as in (20). More diffuse FGs such as warmth or sunlight are of course more apt to be read to move in multi-directional paths. Agentive flooding constructions with the FG in a *mit*-PP also occur, especially when *durch-* suggests permeating a LM region with beneficial elements.⁸ The common verb *durchdringen* can also describe a permeating path with a mass FG as in (21), even though the base verb conveys a definite sense of directed forward motion. Again there is no clearly marked distinction between a wave-like penetrating path and a true multi-directional permeating one. Again the FG often refers to more diffuse masses such as smells or sounds. More generally, verbs like *durchziehen* with a base that clearly suggests a linear path can be used similarly to convey an image that suggests a multiplex of linear paths (section 2). Similar constructions occur with base verbs that suggest both motion and an attendant sound.

⁸ ‘Ist deine alte Tastatur gerade mit Cola *überkippt* worden?’ is an interesting example that prompts an image of “flooding” the accusative LM, even though the base verb profiles an inadvertent prior causal event rather than the flooding per se.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Wir in Bad Aibling haben Ortsteile, die regelmäßig bei Hochwasser *überflutet* werden, und das, obwohl nirgends ein Deich *überflutet* oder undicht wird. Im sächsischen Torgau hat die Elbe den Deich *überflutet* und droht nun die Stadt zu *überschwemmen*. Das Wasser *umspült* den Felsen. Nach heftigen Regenfällen wurden am Freitag mehrere Parkhäuser, Straßen und Keller *überflutet*. Sein Gesicht war von Blut *überströmt*. Die Fahrbahn war mit Schlamm *überspült* worden. Licht *überflutete* den Platz. Der ganze Himmel breitet sich, von Sonnenlicht *umflutet*. Sommerliche Wärme *durchströmt* das Tal. Die Nieren werden reich mit Blut *durchströmt*. Es dauert 1/2 - 1 Stunde, bis der Magensaft die zerkaute Speise ganz *durchdrungen* hat. Ein gräßlicher Gestank *durchzog* die Gassen. Das Geräusch *durchdringt* die sonntägliche Stille. Ein leichter Stoß *durchzitterte* das Haus. Der furchtbare D-Moll-Akkord *durchbrauste* das Theater. Sie erhalten Pflgetipps, damit die Pflanzenwelt üppig gedeiht, ohne jedoch das Aquarium wild zu *durchwuchern*.

1.2.2 *Multiplex / mass FGs with um-* (umschwärmen)

Another situation that can blur the distinction between directed paths and multi-directional ones commonly arises with *um-* verbs that have multiple FGs which collectively surround a focal LM of interest. In some cases, such as (22a), the result can be a pure encircling image. In other cases, such as (22b), the multiplex of FGs can be construed to surround the LM in all directions, almost like an enveloping mass.⁹ (Compare the discussion in section 2 of a multiplex of paths with *durch-* verbs.)

⁹ Generally speaking, *um-* verbs do not distinguish linear encircling from multi-directional enveloping, and the reading depends on the nature of the application

- (22) a. Die Polizei *umstellte* das Haus, in dem sich der Dieb aufhielt.
 ‘The police *surrounded* the house in which the thief was staying’
- b. Fledermäuse *umschwärmten* den alten Turm.
 ‘Bats are *swarming around* the old tower’
- c. Der Schlagersänger wird von vielen weiblichen Fans *umschwärmt*.
 ‘The pop singer is *swarmed* by many female fans’

Between those two images are common examples like (22c). Unlike the bats in (22b), the FGs in (22c) are earthbound. The image cannot be truly multi-directional, since the FGs are all moving in the same horizontal plane and they cumulatively surround the LM only in that plane. On the other hand, the sentence is not read as pure geometric encircling either. The verb suggests motion inward toward the focal LM, and there is a definite sense that the FG has depth in outward directions. The multiplex is very much mass-like, and in some ways similar to a wave-like FG that has an overall direction but involves extent in other directions as well. Compare also the sense of lateral extension and of inward pressure suggested by grasping events that can be described by *umgreifen*. In any event, the sentences clearly call for a synoptic perspective

process and/or the FG. Thus for example *umgeben*, which commonly describes linear encircling, can also describe enveloping: ‘Das Haus war von einer Rauchwolke *umgeben*’. *Um-* is unique in that even a single directed *um* path intrinsically tends to be confined to a setting as long as the path continues, since it curves back in on itself. Moreover, its LM intrinsically remains at the center of the image as long as the path keeps curving. Unlike *über-*, *unter-* and *durch-*, *um-*’s use as a prefix is semantically unmarked even with a directed path. (English verbs like *enclose* and *surround* can similarly apply equally to linear encircling and multi-directional enveloping.)

that reveals both the FG and the LM simultaneously without concentrating attention on any particular sequence of locations occupied by the FG (or by any particular part of the FG).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Burg war von Feinden *umzingelt*. Neugierige *umstanden* den Verletzten. Die Schar der Fans *umringte* den Star. Männer *umschwirren* mich wie Motten um das Licht. Schwarze Raben *umflattern* den Turm des Schlosses. Die Menge *umdrängt* Beckenbauer. Nach dem Schlußpfiff waren die Sieger von ihren Fans *umlagert*. Ich fand mich von begeisterten Menschenmengen *umflutet*. Die Wellen *umspielten* ihre Füße. Hierzu ist der Spitzeinsatz in einen Handgriff eingebracht, der als solcher von einer menschlichen Hand gut *umgriffen* werden kann.

1.3. Metaphorical mass FGs

1.3.1. Occasional metaphors based on general metaphorical principles

The notions of covering, enveloping, immersing and permeating all lend themselves to uses with a metaphorical “mass” FG. Many such uses are predictable from general patterns in the language, i.e., they are not conventionally linked to particular lexicalized verbs.

For example, *über-* verbs commonly express metaphorically ‘flooding’ an area as in (23a). *Über-* verbs may also particularly profile the functional implications of covering, such as obscuring the LM surface from view (see section 1.3.2.2 on ‘overlaying and obscuring’). *Um-* verbs are used similarly,

but the functional implications of obscuring visibility typically work in the opposite direction. That is, rather than obscuring the LM from view, the configuration frequently has the effect of enclosing the LM in a metaphorical fog that obscures its view of the outside world. *Um-* verbs such as *umwölken* may also suggest an impending threat.

- (23) a. Das Land wurde von Touristen *überschwemmt*.
 ‘The country was *inundated* by tourists’
 b. Der Alkohol *umnebelt* seinen Geist.
 ‘Alcohol *befogs* his mind’

The ‘permeating’ image with *durch-* verbs is especially common in metaphorical usage. In fact, the line between “literal” spatial permeating and nonspatial “metaphorical” permeating is often blurred. Even treating many physical FGs as masses seems somewhat metaphorical in nature. It is fairly arbitrary, for example, whether an example like (24a) is considered metaphorical or literal, and the same goes for abstract physical qualities such as color or the perceptible sensations of warmth or moisture. Other transitional variants include the spread of diseases with a verb like *durchseuchen*, which straddles the distinction between the spatial motion of relatively concrete FGs such as germs, and the more abstract image of a disease that is construed metaphorically as a spreading mass. In common cases like (24b) of course the FG is obviously nonphysical and the ‘permeating’ image is interpreted according to general metaphorical principles. *Durchdringen* is particularly

common in such uses with LMs that refer to mental or social regions, especially in attributive constructions such as statal passive. The LMs range from individual people to social groups to cultural activities to abstract notions such as “life”. Permeating a region with light generally implies seeing it and thus understanding it more clearly, as in (24c).

- (24) a. Nach taoistischer Lehre ist es wichtig, den ganzen Körper mit Energie zu *durchtränken*.
 ‘According to Taoist teaching it is important to *imbue* the entire body with energy’
- b. Die totalitäre Propaganda *durchdringt* alle Bereiche der totalitären Diktatur.
 ‘Totalitarian propaganda *pervades* all areas of the totalitarian dictatorship’
- c. ... die Fehler der Regierungsarbeit kritisch zu *durchleuchten*.
 ‘... to *illuminate* the mistakes of the government’s work critically’
- d. Ich bin *durchglüht* von Idealismus, bin aber kein Phantast.
 ‘I am imbued with idealism but I’m not an unrealistic dreamer’
- e. Ein angenehmer Plauderton *durchklingt* die Kapitel.
 ‘A pleasant conversational tone *runs* [can be heard] *through* the chapters’

Permeating with light may also connote adding warmth or passion, as in (24d). At that point the FG represents an abstract perceived sensation, emotion or mood, which is being construed as a mass that permeates a sentient LM. Compare the wave-like ‘passing sensations’ expressed as holistic paths with *durch-* or *über-* verbs. In a sentence like (24e) that image of mass

permeation can blend with another *durch-* verb image, namely that of a meandering multiplex of paths (section 2.2). At that point another general conventional metaphor is involved, namely that of weaving thematic threads or emotional tones into texts. As (24e) illustrates, that image can combine with base verbs for sounds so that the topical threads can be heard through the text.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Sie *überzogen* das Land mit Krieg. Noch im Tod *überstrahlt* der 40. Präsident der USA die politische Wirklichkeit. Eine Welle der Begeisterung *überflutete* ihn. Eine Menschenmenge *überflutet* die Straßen. Im Frühjahr, als Anbieter und Abnehmer die Preise zuletzt verhandelt haben, war der Markt *überschwemmt* mit Milch. Derzeit droht uns, von der Welle der Konzentration und Globalisierung *überschwappt* zu werden. Er ist geistig *umnachtet*. Frau Meier, immer *umwölkt* von Sorgen um alles und jeden. Satte Empörung *durchflutete* das Land. In Zeiten, die so von Unruhe *durchströmt* sind wie die Gegenwart, Fremdenfeindlichkeit *durchzieht* unsere Gesellschaft. So *durchtränkt* von Erinnerungen, so *durchdrungen* von Geist. Zitternd und von Todesängsten *durchfröstelt* stand neben ihm die schöne Sara. Der amerikanische Puritanismus *durchdringt* jede der großen Konfessionen. Alles ist von göttlichen Kräften *durchwaltet*. ... die Dinge nicht nur an der Oberfläche zu behandeln, sondern sie zu *durchdringen*, zu *durchweichen*, zu *durchstechen* und dabei Löcher in die Logik zu stoßen. Neuplatonische Lichtmetaphysik *durchleuchtet* den Kosmos. Die Augen der Weltenschöpfer *durchstrahlen* ihr Reich. Den Film *durchgellt* ein einziger Aufschrei gegen den Krieg. Etwas wie Panik *durchdrang* seine Stimme. Es gibt keinen einzigen guten Grund, die Welt mit KHV zu *durchseuchen*. Ein "Aufwallen von Farbe und Bewegung" *durchläuft* das Stadion.

1.3.2. *Lexicalized metaphors*

Even though the interpretation might be predictable from the spatial configuration plus general metaphorical principles, speakers often begin to associate a particular nonspatial reading directly with a particular verb. For example, *überschatten* and *übertünchen* are more apt to describe metaphorically casting shadows over something or verbal whitewashing than they are to describe spatial events. We would expect a good dictionary to mention the metaphorical variants in the entry for those particular verbs. Similarly, the verbs *überhäufen* and *überschütten* are lexically associated with heaping words or wealth on people. *Durchlüften* has developed a conventional use for “airing out” institutions to make them publicly open and transparent. In some cases a semantically related cluster of verbs has developed lexically associated metaphorical meanings, and some of these sets of verbs are significant enough to warrant particular mention.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Auschwitz hat nicht aufgehört, mit seinen ungelösten Fragen die Gegenwart zu *überschatten*. Das Problem mit den G8-Treffen ist doch, dass Meinungsunterschiede, wenn es sie gab, im Communiqué *übertüncht* wurden. ... ihn mit Reichtum zu *überhäufen*. ... die UNO und ganz besonders deren Generalsekretär Kofi Annan mit Vorwürfen zu *überhäufen*. ... die vergeblich versucht haben, uns auf diesen seiten mit lob zu *überschütten*. ... einen hellen, *durchlüfteten* neuen Bundestag.

1.3.2.1 *Covering with attention* (überblicken, überwachen, überlegen). There are several *über-* verbs that describe covering a LM with attention. Such

variants prototypically just exploit the general metaphorical principle that a person's sight can be conceived as an extending FG being projected onto an object of attention. As seen in chapter 7, the image can be directed so that a holistic path either skips over the object without making "contact" (so that the subject "overlooks" the LM and does not see it) or skims quickly over a route-like LM. When the multi-directional covering image applies on the other hand, almost the opposite meaning is conveyed. The visual attention is construed to scan in various directions until the whole two-dimensional region is eventually covered and the subject has an "overview" of the region from a synoptic viewpoint above it. The verb *übersehen* is thus ambiguous. It can describe overlooking something in the sense of passing over it without seeing it or acknowledging it, or it can mean to have an unrestricted overview and be able to see the whole surface of the LM as in (25a). To avoid confusion, the verbs *überschauen* and *überblicken* are consistently associated with the multi-directional image of having an overview.¹⁰

- (25) a. Von dieser Stelle kann man die ganze Bucht *übersehen*.
 'From this position one can *see* [have an overview of] the whole bay'
 b. Ein Esel auf der Hasenmatt *überblickt* die wolkgige Weite des
 Mittellandes.
 'A donkey on the Hasenmatt *looks out over* the cloudy expanse of the
 midlands'

¹⁰ English *overlook* invites similar potential confusion. In English we tend to avoid confusion by restricting the 'overview' meaning to locative subjects: *The mountain overlooks the city* vs. **The people who live on the mountain overlook the city*.

- c. seine Fähigkeit, Neues zu sehen und Zusammenhänge zu *überschauen*
 ‘his ability to see something new and to *have an overview* of the
 context’
- d. Immer mehr Videokameras und Computer *überwachen* unsere Städte.
 ‘More and more video cameras and computers are *monitoring* our
 cities’

The conception of vision as extending toward an object of attention can be extended to cognitive attention generally, which can be directed at objects that lie completely outside the spatial domain. The same prefixed *über-* verbs are commonly used to describe being able to adopt a synoptic perspective with an overview of purely mental topics or ideas, which can be held in conscious attention simultaneously as in (25c). While *überschauen* and *überblicken* suggest potentially seeing any part of the LM, the verb *überwachen* implies constant surveillance, “overseeing” something. There is also an implication of superiority, not only of observing the LM from a higher position that affords the overview but also of having some control or mastery over the LM or responsibility for it, as in (25d).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... obwohl ihre Auswirkungen und Folgen aufgrund der bisherigen Erfahrungen noch nicht ausreichend zu *übersehen* sind. Das Marktangebot an Fernsehern ist kaum noch zu *überschauen*. Dieser aktualisierte und vollständig überarbeitete Architekturführer *überblickt* erneut fast 90 Jahre. Nur das Genie *überblickt* das Chaos. Die Filialen in Wien würden in Abstimmung mit der Polizei offen und verdeckt *überwacht*. China *überwacht* Millionen von Chats.

The verb *überlegen* is an important special case that can be mentioned here, even though it stands out from the other *über-* verbs both semantically and syntactically. It is a very common lexicalized verb that describes covering a topic with cognitive attention, much as the preposition *über* does with a verb like *nachdenken*, but it does not really invite a vision metaphor. Moreover, the object of attention with *überlegen* is not a normal accusative LM. Rather than a pre-existing topic to be observed, the accusative object refers to possibilities that are being put on the table for consideration. The object is frequently expressed as an *ob*-clause or a construction with *zu* and an infinitive, and it may remain vague or unspecified. *Überlegen* is also syntactically unusual in that it may take a dative reflexive object, which is a construction normally incompatible with accusative LMs. With the dative reflexive it is more likely to take a *dass*-clause rather than an indirect question or a construction with *zu* and an infinitive. Even the *dass*-clause usually refers to a possibility being considered rather than an already existing situation, though it may occasionally refer to a known fact that is being brought into consideration.

All told, *überlegen* probably belongs in chapter 9 with prefixed *über-* verbs that have an accusative FG rather than an accusative LM. It is certainly strongly lexicalized, and speakers no doubt vary as to how aware they are of its analysis into the morphemes *über-* and *legen*. Presumably though, they do associate it at least vaguely with verbs such as *überdenken* (and with the use of prepositional *über* to mean ‘about’ a topic). Still, the verb is basically

different from the other verbs in this section. According to Duden, *überlegen* goes back to an older sense of totaling up a sum ('zusammenrechnen') and has a similar semantic history to that of *überschlagen* (whose sense of 'calculate quickly' they relate to an original image of turning book pages). If I understand this correctly, *überlegen* would thus reflect an image of laying one page on top of another, calculating by laying new considerations on top of older ones. That kind of history suggests that *überlegen* might be understood as "overlying" one consideration onto the other aspects of a topic.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Es ist ernsthaft zu *überlegen*, die olympischen Spiele in Sotschi abzusagen.
 Es gibt viel zu *überlegen*, bevor man sich so ein kleines Nympherl anschafft.
 Nun fing er an zu *überlegen* wieso - warum - weshalb - weswegen? Ohne lange zu *überlegen* begann er sein Studium. hey ich hab es mir anders *überlegt* ich will doch mit auf die Party. Ich muß mir noch sehr *überlegen*, ob ich annehme. Hast du dir denn nicht *überlegt*, daß der Whisky gefälscht sein könnte, wenn er so billig ist? Hast du dir schon mal *überlegt*, daß die Essensverweigerung wegen deinem Mann ist? Ich habe mir meine Worte genau *überlegt*.

1.3.2.2 *Overlaying and competitive obscuring with über-* (übermalen, übertönen). A common implication when a FG 'covers' a LM is obscuring the LM from visual perception, or at least altering its surface appearance. To some extent this is true of 'enveloping' *um-* verbs such as *umhüllen*, but the implication is particularly associated with *über-* verbs. Generally speaking, the extent to which the LM is obscured from perception is left up to pragmatic

interpretation. The *über-* verb merely reports that the FG covers it. Some *über-* verbs seem more lexicalized though, adding an implication that the FG and the LM are competing for access to perception and the overlaying FG is winning. (Compare ‘competitive surpassing’ with linear directed images.) Such implications are particularly associated with base verbs that refer to an activity that is normally intended to create a visible product – verbs such as *übermalen*, *überschminken*, *überstreichen* or *überpinseln*.¹¹

- (26) a. Hallo gibt es eine Möglichkeit, Tattoos zu *überschminken*?
 ‘Hello, is there a way to *cover* tatoos *with make-up*’
- b. Und kein Graffiti-Sprüher hat bisher versucht, seine Wandmalereien zu *überschmieren*.
 ‘And up to now no graffiti sprayer has tried to *cover over* [over-smear] his murals’
- c. Der Chor *übertönte* die Solistin.
 ‘The choir *drowned out* the soloist’

As (26c) illustrates, the image of overlaying and obscuring perception can apply to auditory perception as well as visual. The auditory variants also typically suggest that the FG and the LM are competing to be heard and the FG is winning, i.e., drowning out the other sound. The general verb in this category is *übertönen*, and *überschallen* also occurs occasionally. Other verbs like *überschreien* or *überlachen* can be used similarly to describe

¹¹ Note the potential ambiguity between normal covering variants and variants for competing with the LM for access to perception. *Überstrahlen* for example could mean to ‘outshine’ something (‘Ihr Charme *überstrahlte* alles’).

particular manners of winning out over auditory competition. *Übersprechen* is specialized to describe adding new auditory information to a recording (e.g. a translation or a commentary). As an indication that these verbs are lexicalized in the meaning, *übertönen* can be used for non-auditory sensations such as smell or pain as well (though *übertäuben* is the more appropriate choice for pain and *überstinken* or *überriechen* are available for smells).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Niemand hatte einen Verdacht geschöpft, da die Verletzung mit einer Haarlocke *überkämmt* worden war. Unsere Fußspuren waren *übergangen*. Aber ich denke eine richtig kräftige Farbe mit einer helleren zu *überstreichen*. Eine Schwellung zu *überschminken* ist nicht so einfach, es gibt aber eine "grüne" Foundation, die die Rötung (oder nachher das Blau) abtönen kann. Ein altes Tattoo wird *überstochen* und so unsichtbar gemacht. Die Anzeige *überblendet* den Seitentext. Der Originalton ist einige Sekunden lang zu hören und wird dann in der Fremdsprache *übersprochen*. Der lärmende Fernsehapparat im Flur wird glücklicherweise von der Klimaanlage *übertönt*! Der Sender wird auf dieser Wellenlänge von einem anderen *überlagert*. Mit ihren Trommeln *übertäuben* sie eure Seufzer. Es ist noch immer möglich, jedes Jammern und Winseln zu *überschreien* und zu *überlachen*. ... wodurch der Juckreiz zunächst teilweise durch Schmerz *übertönt* wird. Das Kopfweh *übertäubte* selbst ihre Zahnschmerzen. Mit welcher Substanz kann der Geruch von Buttersäure *übertönt* werden? Normale Seife *überstinkt* den Zwiebelgeruch nur mit einem anderen Duftstoff. Habe heute die Handcreme erhalten und gleich aufgetragen, die riecht sehr und *überriecht* sogar das Parfüm das man aufgetragen hat. ... um das Aroma der Pilze nicht zu *überdecken*.

These *über-* verbs suggest that the FG is winning the competition for access to perception, but not necessarily that the LM is completely obscured to the extent that it is obliterated or transformed. Cf. *ver-* verbs (e.g. *verdecken*, or specific verbs like *vergolden* or *verglasen*), which imply transforming the accusative object, creating a substantially new appearance for it. The question does arise though whether an *über-* verb ever entails true transformation of the accusative object as a necessary part of its meaning (and not just as a pragmatic implication). See Günther (1974: 246). The use of *überschreiben* in computer programming for example does seem to entail replacing the object rather than just writing over it. Compare also the potentially relevant notion of a holistic “re-writing” path of doing something over. At times these variants seem definitely to be crossing over into ‘transfer’ variants with accusative FGs (see chapter 9).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

In dem Artikel geht es um US-Fernsehen, die unanständige Begriffe (four-letter words) bei Aufzeichnungen mit einem Piepton *überblenden*. Daten, die Sie in die obigen Felder eingeben, *überschreiben* die Daten aus der Datenbank. Die Voice Tag Recorder mit ihren 10-Sekunden-Kleinstspeicher können immer neu *übersprochen* werden. Hier kommt meine Frage, ist es überhaupt möglich bereits gefärbtes Haar in einen Naturton zu *überfärben*, oder wird es immer grau oder grün?

1.3.2.3 *Surrounding an object of interest with um-* (umwerben). Surrounding a target of interest (especially a “mobbing around” image like that for

umschwärmen) extends to various more abstract kinds of focusing attention, including enveloping someone in (maternal) care as expressed by verbs such as *umsorgen*, or smothering people with flattery or scorn as expressed by verbs like *umschmeicheln*. *Umwerben* can describe aggressively trying to obtain an object of interest, and verbs like *umstreiten* can have a LM that is an object of contention or disagreement.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Den meisten frisch Verheirateten fällt es leicht, einander zu lieben und zu *umsorgen*. Sie *umhegt* die Kinder mit mütterlicher Liebe. ... den Monarchen zu *umschmeicheln*. Balthazar macht mit und tut sein Bestes, um sie [Sienna Miller] wie ein Gentleman aus dem 19. Jahrhundert zu *umwerben*. ... ein heiß *umkämpfter* Sieg. Die geplante Gaspipeline von Sibirien bis an den Greifswalder Bodden ist hoch *umstritten*.

2. Multiplex of linear paths with *durch-*

To say that a spreading mass engages in a “multi-directional“ path basically means that its ultimate extent can be scanned in any randomly selected path that corresponds to the path expression (*über*, *unter*, *durch* or *um*). When the FG is a bounded moving entity, or a collection of such entities, the term “multi-directional“ can apply in a more straightforwardly objective sense as a multiplex of linear paths in a variety of directions.

As we have seen, this type of image can arise when multiple FGs engage in *um-* paths around an object of interest in a variety of directions, so that the paths collectively seem to envelop the LM. In effect, the paths collectively form a multiplex that can be construed as if it formed a continuous mass. Such variants are not that common with *um-* verbs though, since a true multi-directional enveloping image – as opposed to one of linear encircling – requires FGs that are not earthbound. A reading as a multiplex of objective linear paths in varying directions is mainly associated with *durch-* verbs.

Durch- verbs generally have a broader range of multi-directional types than verbs with the other prefixes. They not only describe continuous spreading (or flowing) masses that permeate a region as in (5); they also commonly describe collective sets of linear paths in various directions as in (6), as well as meandering paths in various directions by a single FG as in (7). As a result, constructions with a *durch-* verb generally allow a wide range of potential interpretations.

As far as I can tell, there is no systematic way to distinguish a reading as a plural set of separate holistic *durch-* paths from a multi-directional reading as a composite multiplex of paths. Examples like those in (27) could all be read either way, i.e., each caravan in (27a) could be read to cross the desert in an individual *durch-* path, or the caravans collectively could be read to criss-cross the desert. Generally speaking though, the same considerations that favor multi-directional readings with a spreading mass over directed ones with a wave-like FG apply here as well. A prefixed verb construction is

semantically marked when it describes single holistic directed paths, but it is the norm for multi-directional paths. All things being equal then, the prefixed verb construction with a plural FG tends to favor a multi-directional reading – though it does not force one.

- (27) a. Karawanen *durchzogen* die Wüste.
 ‘Caravans *traversed* the desert’
- b. Mit heute noch unvorstellbaren Geschwindigkeiten *durcheilen* Raumschiffe unser Milchstraßensystem.
 ‘At speeds that are still unimaginable today space ships *speed through* the milky way’
- c. Heute *durcheilen* manche Leute als Jogger die Landschaft.
 ‘Today many joggers *traverse* the countryside’
- d. Löwen, Bären, Wölfe, Tiger und Schakale *durchstreifen* blutdürstig das Land.
 ‘Lions, bears, wolves, tigers and jackals *roam* the land, bloodthirsty’
- e. Nach dem Erdbeben *durchzogen* Plünderer die Stadt.
 ‘After the earthquake looters *roamed through* the city’

Verbs that commonly occur with multiple extended FGs are largely the same verbs that describe individual holistic paths that visibly bisect a space, such as *durchziehen* and *durchschneiden*. The multi-directional image becomes especially difficult to avoid when statal passive constructions or other attributive participles profile the result of plural paths, as in (29).¹²

¹² In a few instances the multiplex-path reading is expressly indicated by a subject such as *Netz* (‘In jüngster Zeit *durchzieht* ein Netz von Autobahnen die Stadt’). Compare also the use of *durchschneiden* to describe multiple extended FGs that

- (28) a. Bahnlinien *durchschneiden* das Gebiet.
 ‘Rail lines *run through* [“through-cut”] the region’
 b. Viele Flüsse *durchziehen* die Ebene.
 ‘Many rivers *run through* the plane’
- (29) a. Das Land ist von Kanälen *durchschnitten*.
 ‘The country has canals *running all through* it [it is “through-cut” by canals]’
 b. Sein Gesicht war von vielen Falten *durchzogen*.
 ‘His face had wrinkles *running all through* it’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Giftgrüne Laserblitze *durchzucken* den Raum. Rauchwolken *durchziehen* die Luft. Dazu *durchstreiften* die kleinern Wanderhändler die Lande. Seine Wanderprediger (» lollards «) *durcheilten* das Land, heftig bekämpft vom Klerus. Frösche, Salamander und Kröten, von Gestalt und Aussehen ähnlich den heutigen, *durchkrochen* den Sumpf. Weite Hügelketten *durchziehen* die ursprüngliche Landschaft. Tiefe Risse begannen, sowohl die Tapete als auch die Wand zu *durchziehen*. Graue Strähnen *durchziehen* Polsters Haare. Schützengräben *durchfurchen* den nassen, lehmigen Boden. Ihr Gesicht ist von Leid *durchwühlt*. Diese Bayous sind nämlich von zahllosen Flüssen, stehenden Gewässern und Sümpfen so *durchschnitten* und *durchkreuzt*, daß selbst bei genauer Kenntnis der ... Die Hochwälder und die Täler sind *durchzogen* von Feldtelefonkabeln.

2.1. Interspersion (*durchlöchern, durchsetzen, durchmischen*)

intersect a LM that itself has a linear shape (e.g., ‘Queralleen *durchschneiden* die Hauptallee’). Even though the *durch-* paths individually extend across the LM’s bounds, a multiplex-path reading keeps our attention on the LM space in a synoptic reading.

In one possible reading, plural FGs can each move in a holistic *durch-* path that is parallel to the path of the others, creating a collective wave-like image that is essentially directed, as in (30a). A complex special case arises when such parallel paths are also penetrating paths that leave visible holes in the surface of a LM, as in (30b). Now there is not only an image with plural parallel *durch-* paths each going through the LM; there is also potentially one in which the holes created by the puncturing paths form a multiplex pattern that spreads laterally across the surface of the LM in various directions. A pattern of interspersed holes can appear collectively to permeate the LM surface in a sieve-like image, “filling it with holes”. Such an image can be clearly prompted by a denominal verb such as *durchlöchern* that makes specific reference to the resulting holes, or by one like *durchsieben* that refers to the overall pattern of holes. A construction like (30c) is in effect an applicative construction that describes distributing the root holes randomly in the accusative LM space until they cumulatively seem to characterize the space. Note that this pattern of lateral distribution within the LM space requires our attention to remain steadily within the LM’s surface. Not surprisingly, such variants are strongly associated with attributive participial constructions.

- (30) a. Elektronen *durchströmen* die Röhre von unten nach oben.
 ‘Electrons *stream through* the pipe from bottom to top’

- b. Der Kopf des Toten war von mehreren Kugeln *durchschossen*.
 ‘The dead man’s head was *shot through* by several bullets’
- c. In dieser Gegend gibt es kein Ortsschild, das nicht mit Kugeln *durchlöchert* worden ist.
 ‘In this area there is not a single place-name sign that has not been *riddled* with bullets’

The image of visible gaps interspersed through a LM can also be invoked when cuts sever and segment the LM. For example, *durchbrechen* can be used to describe visibly interrupting the continuity of a surface with interspersed gaps, and *durchschießen* can describe increasing the spacing between the lines of a text or interleaving a book with blank pages interspersed to make correction notes. The image of interrupting a written text with blank spaces that serve to divide it into sections no doubt also helps to motivate the more abstract image of segmenting and thus subcategorizing a text using *durchgliedern*.

The most common *durch-* verb that describes interspersing multiple FGs through a LM region is *durchsetzen*. Unlike *durchlöchern* (or even *durchstecken*), *durchsetzen* does not convey any real sense that the individual paths are puncturing *durch-* paths (cf. *ein-*), so it is now fully clear that the predominant image is multi-directional distribution within the LM space (rather than individual holistic paths).¹³ The verb *durchsetzen* is lexicalized to

¹³ Compare similar images with verbs like *durchstecken* or *durchstellen* or *durchwachsen* in which linear-extended FGs are left interspersed sticking through the

profile a pure multi-directional image of interspersal, but similar images can occasionally also be expressed by other *durch-* verbs with more specific base verb activities, as in (31b).

- (31) a. Die Landschaft ist mit Bäumen *durchsetzt*.
 ‘The landscape is *interspersed* with trees’
 b. ein mit Rosinen *durchbackener* Kuchen
 ‘a cake *baked* with raisins *all through* it’

Another special case worth mention in this section is mutual permeating or intermixing. Generally speaking, masses or multiplexes can serve either as permeating FGs or as LM spaces, and reciprocal constructions can describe events in which two separate masses perform each function relative to the other. A verb like *durchdringen* for example can occur in reciprocal constructions with *sich* (often together with *gegenseitig*) and occasionally with *einander*. This notion of intermixing can be expressly suggested by the base verb in *durchmischen* and *durchmengen*, and as usual the notion of reciprocal interspersal is most clearly conveyed by attributive participial constructions – especially with a *mit*-PP.

- (32) a. Die verschiedenen Kräuter und Gräser *durchdringen* und
 überschneiden sich.
 ‘The various weeds and grasses *permeate* and intersect each other’

LM (e.g. ‘... als die indischen Mädchen ja ihr Haar mit Blumen zu *durchstecken* pflegen’ or ‘Jene Höhlen waren *durchwachsen* von Tropfsteinen’).

- b. Der Kalk ist mit Sand *durchmischt*.
 ‘The lime is *intermixed* with sand’

Prefixed *durch-* verbs such as *durchrühren* can also occasionally be used when there is only one explicit substance involved and its component parts are being intermixed, but now a particle verb construction with a DURCH- verb is a more likely alternative. A *durch-* verb seems to focus somewhat more on the holistic agentive routine. Compare the closely related use of a verb such as *durchschütteln* to convey the image of a passing wave-like force with no apparent sense of intermixing. Particle DURCH- verbs by contrast seem to focus more on the particular moving parts and on carrying out the mixing thoroughly to its maximum extent. On the other hand, there is a tendency to prefer prefixed *durch-* verbs when the reading is more abstract and metaphorical. With regard to social intermixing it is easy to see why a prefixed verb is chosen, since there is an accusative LM space (usually *Gesellschaft*) that is being permeated by the FGs collectively as they become interspersed there. Thus verbs such as *durchmischen* and *durchrasen* have been widely used, especially since Edmund Stoiber’s infamous statement in 1988 about a “*durchmischte und durchrasste Gesellschaft*”. Prefixed ‘intermixing’ verbs are also common to describe intermixing in artistic or architectural contexts or with respect to ideas. (The closely related ‘interweaving’ variants are treated separately in section 2.2 as a multiplex of meandering paths with an extending FG.)

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... keine *durchlöcherten* Socken. Die Tür war von Kugeln *durchsiebt*. Das Gewebe ist von Motten *durchfressen*. Zimmerdecken und Fußböden sind von Geschossen *durchschlagen*, die Einrichtung demoliert, zerbrochen. ... [Krankenhaus] mit seinen hart die Front *durchbrechenden* regelmäßigen Fenstern. ein gut *durchgliederter* Aufsatz. Schmidts Versuche, die Parteispitze mit seinen Helfern zu *durchsetzen*. Seine Haare sind anscheinend schon mit Grau *durchsetzt*. Wenn wir das Wort Schlüssel hören, wird unser Inneres von vielerlei Gedanken *durchbildert*. Beide Stoffe, Lignin und Zellulose, *durchdringen* sich gegenseitig und bilden so ein ... Rasch fließt das Blut mit Wasser *durchmischt* in den Rinnsalen ab. Hamburger und Berliner saßen gut *durchmischt*. Wir empfehlen die Nudeln zwischendurch zu *durchrühren* damit Sie nicht an einander kleben. Das Produkt ist vor Gebrauch gut zu *durchmischen* und aufzurühren. Außerdem sind die Netzsäcke ständig zu *durchrütteln* damit die Austern nicht miteinander zusammenwachsen. Stürme *durchschütteln* die winterlich kahlen Bäume und Sträucher. ... und schließlich *durchschütteln* die bewußten Krämpfe ihren Körper. Die *durchrassten* Franzosen spielen besser Fußball als unsereins. Heiraten wir [Türken] Deutsche, *durchrassen* wir sie, heiraten wir Türken, überfremden wir Deutschland. Intensive Rottöne, *durchmischt* von Grün, Blau und Schwarz, ... Beifallsstürme, *durchmischt* mit den üblichen Buhs. Beide Tendenzen bedingen einander und *durchdringen* sich gegenseitig. Magie und Realismus *durchwirken* sich in Rulfos Meisterwerk auf die ...

2.1.1 *Contrasting be- verbs*

The difference between *durchsetzen* and *besetzen* is subtle. See Günther (1974: 242–3), who finds *be-* verbs to be very similar to *durch-* verbs generally, differing essentially only in that *durch-* has a stronger locative quality. Both constructions have an accusative LM and prompt a synoptic

construal, but *be-* verbs profile the iterative insertion of individual FGs at random locations in the space, without regard to how they are distributed there. Where *besetzen* for example might suggest only a couple of FGs randomly introduced into the space, or even a single FG inserted into a prepared slot, *durchsetzen* implies that the FGs appear interspersed throughout the space with a cumulative permeating effect that characterizes the whole space. The *be-* verb focuses on the insertion, while the *durch-* verb focuses on how the FGs are distributed within the LM space. These variants with *durch-* can also be very similar to the ‘sprinkling’ or ‘scattering’ variants with *über-*, except that *über-* verbs describe distributing the FGs over the surface of the LM rather than throughout its interior. Another subtle difference is that the *über-* verbs suggest a continuous covering layer, while *durch-* verbs suggest that there are gaps between the interspersed FGs.

2.1.2 *Penetrating vision*

Vision is normally construed as a kind of extending ray-like FG that moves in a straight line from the eye to a target. Such paths can be described as normal directed holistic *durch-* paths. There is a special construction with *durch-* verbs though that seems to combine holistic directed penetration with multi-directional (or at least wave-like) permeating. For example, X-raying something (*durchleuchten*) means penetrating an exterior surface but then permeating and illuminating the interior space. A very similar but more abstract image describes gaining cognitive insight into something that is

normally obscured. *Durchschauen* routinely describes “seeing through” a misleading facade to become aware of what lies beneath it, and *durchblicken* consistently expresses seeing through a complicated exterior and gaining understanding of a difficult matter. The seemingly ubiquitous verb *durchdringen* is also used this way (especially with *Blick* as the FG appearing in an instrumental PP). Even more than with X-rays there is a strong element of penetration in these variants; but *durch-* still needs to be kept distinct from an ‘entry’ construction such as one with *EIN-*.¹⁴

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ich ließ mir die Lunge *durchleuchten*. ... sah mich *durchstrahlt*, *durchleuchtet*, *durchschaut*, verhöhnt, gedemütigt, kastriert. Männer sind so leicht zu *durchschauen*. Diesen Trick habe ich gleich *durchschaut*. Das Problem ist vielmehr, die komplizierte Datenbank-Struktur vom ATLAS-Projekt zu *durchblicken*. Die Quantenwelt ist nicht leicht zu *durchdringen*.

2.2. Meandering paths

There is one further variant that is peculiar to *durch-* verbs, namely a multi-directional meandering path by a single FG in randomly varying directions as in sentence (7). That is, a FG can change directions randomly until it has

¹⁴ Where a particle verb like *DURCHsehen* would focus on the projection of sight past the LM to something on the other side, the prefixed verb focuses attention on the accusative LM itself. In Brecht’s *Flüchtlingsgespräche* for example we read “Der Große hielt sein Bierglas hoch und durchschaute es”. In the next line the character says “Das Bier ist kein Bier.”

visited more or less every region in the accusative LM space, eventually seeming to tour the area as a whole.

This variant can be motivated image-schematically in a couple of ways. It might be considered to derive from multiple internal path segments linked together in a sort of connect-the-dots image – a multiplex of relatively short *durch-* paths, each with a different direction. Imagine touring a country going from city to city until we could say generally that all regions of the country have been visited. An alternative motivation might consider meandering paths to be simply an extreme relaxation of the normal presumption that a prototypical *durch-* path is straight. There could be a continuum from a straight directed internal path (e.g. a straight road or rail), to a river or a winding road that meanders through a region with a definite sense of overall direction, to an essentially aimless path through a region that loses all sense of an overall direction. In any event, a meandering path can be clearly multi-directional in effect. It invites a construal in which the path cumulatively seems to permeate a two-dimensional LM region as a whole.

There are two basic types of meandering with *durch-* verbs. One is a multi-directional tour of an area by a simple moving FG. The other is an ‘interweaving’ image with a linear-extended FG. In both cases there is no clearly marked distinction between a true multi-directional meandering path and a winding path with a more or less consistent overall direction (such as a river flowing through a valley) – or for that matter a straight holistic path from one side of the LM to the other. A typical example such as *ein Tal*

durchwandern can be read anywhere on a continuum from hiking straight through the valley to extensively criss-crossing until all relevant areas within the LM space have been contacted.¹⁵ The usual factors that can favor a multi-directional reading with a prefixed verb apply though, and verbs such as *durchwandern* are normally associated with multi-directional images.

2.2.1 *Meandering tours* (durchwandern, durchsuchen)

A sentence such as (33) commonly implies visiting various specific places scattered through the country, a meandering inspection path that cumulatively connects several locations within the region until the impression has been created that the whole LM space has been visited. *Durchwandern* and *durchreisen* are common in this usage, and other base verbs of motion occur occasionally as well.

- (33) Im Urlaub *durchfahren* wir Portugal.
 ‘On our vacation we *traveled through* Portugal’

¹⁵ What the construction with a prefixed *durch-* verb and an accusative LM always makes clear is that our attention should be restricted to the accusative LM region. A construction with a simple verb and a PP, like ‘Wir reisten durch Frankreich’, typically implies passing through the LM as part of a longer journey, e.g. on the way from Germany to Spain (Schulz and Griesbach 1960: 40). As Schmitz (1964: 8, note) puts it, ‘Wir haben das Moseltal *durchwandert*’ means “daß unsere Wanderung wirklich und eigens das ganze Moseltal erfaßt hat”, while ‘Wir sind durch das Moseltal gewandert’ means “daß wir – übertrieben gesagt – unter anderem auch im Moseltal gewandert sind”.

Many meandering tours imply an inspection of the LM area, such as tourists looking for points of interest. A common special case arises when the base verb explicitly suggests inspecting or searching, as is the case with a range of verbs including *durchsuchen*, *durchforschen*, *durchstöbern*, *durchwühlen*, *durchkämmen*, *durchkramen*, *durchfilzen*, and *durchschnüffeln*. More general path verbs such as *durchwandern* may also be used in a context that clearly implies searching. The search path may also be purely visual with verbs such as *durchmustern*, and more abstract searches for information in databases or fields of study are also quite common. The target of the search can be specified in a PP with *nach*.¹⁶

- (34) a. Man hatte auch ein paar Strassen *durchkämmt*, ein paar Wohnungen *durchsucht*.
 ‘They had *combed* a few streets, *searched* a few apartments’
 b. Der Posten vor dem Tor *durchsucht* mich nach Waffen,
 ‘The guard at the gate *frisks* me for weapons’

The notion of a systematic cognitive examination is particularly associated with *durchdenken*. On the face of it there is little basis for deciding whether this verb evokes an image of a holistic linear thought path (temporally from beginning to end) or of a permeating path that meanders through the topic in various directions like an inspection or search path. Given the Duden

¹⁶ According to Eroms (1982: 40), *durchsuchen* with a person as LM is specialized for frisking. See the discussion in chapter 11 comparing these constructions with the corresponding particle DURCH- verbs.

definition as “vollständig, in allen Einzelheiten, hinsichtlich der Möglichkeiten und Konsequenzen überdenken“, it seems fair to conclude that the verb suggests the more multi-directional image of looking at the matter from all angles. It certainly does not suggest a cursory holistic process (the way *überdenken* can). Similar examinations of a topic from all angles can involve communal discussion with verbs such as *durchsprechen*. (See the discussion in chapter 11 contrasting the prefixed verb with a particle verb.)¹⁷

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Verzweifelt *durchirrt* Storch den nächtlichen Prater. Als Werbeoffizier für Wallenstein *durchzieht* Tansur die Lande. Zu Fuß und zu Wagen haben wir dies Gelände mehrfach bei allen Tageszeiten *durchwandert* und *durchfahren*. Er hat Deutschland von Norden nach Süden, von Osten nach Westen mit seinem Auto *durchkurvt*. Im Jahr 1997 hatte ich einmal einen ganzen Vormittag lang die Gelegenheit, allein in einem sehr weiträumigen, dabei tageslichtlosen Keller die Sachen-Sammlung Kiefers sozusagen zu *durchwandern*; auch bis in die hintersten Winkel und innersten Fächer zu *durchstöbern* und zu *durchschnüffeln* (die Nase war immer wieder mit dabei). Heimatlandschaften werden *durchfahren* und *durchforscht*. Sie *durchstöberte* alle möglichen Ecken ihrer Wohnung, Vergebens *durchforschte* die Gendarmerie die ganze Gegend. Ich *durchsuche* ihn genau, *durchwühle* fieberhaft meine Taschen. Zöllner *durchsuchten* die

¹⁷ In this connection we might also mention the occasional use of verbs like *durchbilden* or *durchformen* to describe shaping something by thorough processes carried out on its interior (‘Er *durchformt* und *durchbildet* mehr und mehr die ganze Welt’). Such verbs are like a more abstract version of *durcharbeiten*: ‘... der physikalischen Therapie, bei der die äußeren Gewebsschichten mechanisch, systematisch und schichtweise zu Heilzwecken *durcharbeitet* werden’.

Kofferräume nach Schmuggelgut. Die Polizei *durchkämmte* den Wald nach der Vermißten. Die haben viel zu viel damit zu tun, die Leute auf Drogen zu *durchfilzen*. Auf einer Rakete montiert, bot das Teleskop erstmals für fünf Minuten die Möglichkeit, das Universum nach Röntgenquellen zu *durchmustern*. Hilfreiche Suchmaschinen *durchkämmen* Tag und Nacht die Weitender Netzwelt. Gut *durchdachte* Vorschläge gibt es längst. Das alles habe auch ich *durchfühlt* und *durchdacht* - wenn auch ... Man hat eben keine besondere Veranlassung, dieses Vorurteil besser zu *durchdenken*. ... und *durchsprachen* den verlebten Abend.

It may seem odd at first that this ‘meandering’ image is strongly associated with *durch-* but not with the other route-path expressions. In particular, it is not immediately obvious why *über-* verbs do not describe meandering paths that eventually ‘cover’ a surface – especially since expressions such as ‘The drunk wandered all over the city’ or ‘He ran all over the house looking for a bottle opener’ can be used to describe a meandering path in English. German *über* does not describe such paths either as a preposition or as a verb prefix. The base verb *wandern* for example, which typically suggests a meandering path, scarcely occurs at all with *über-*, and when it does the event is construed to be a directed holistic crossing.¹⁸ Even

¹⁸ ‘Ein schwankendes Labyrinth aus Flößen gilt es zu *überwandern*’ for example describes getting across an obstacle rather than touring within a space. Google returned 15,500 instances of “durch das ganze Haus gelaufen”, 32,500 for “durch die ganze Stadt gelaufen”, and 17,100 instances of “durch das ganze Land gereist”. Google did not return a single instance of “über das ganze Haus gelaufen” or “über die ganze Stadt gelaufen” or “über das ganze Land gewandert”, and there was only one instance of “über das ganze Land gereist” (and it is clearly a directed path). By

multiplex-path images (as opposed to meandering paths) are not common with *über-*.¹⁹

I would suggest that the reason why *durch-* is preferred over *über-* to describe a meandering path or a multiplex of individual linear paths is that *durch* can describe a true internal path that is wholly contained within the LM. It thus lends itself nicely to a collective image of paths or path segments, each of which is contained entirely within the interior of the LM. *Über* on the other hand consistently describes paths that cross the entire LM, so that no individual whole path segments take place entirely within the LM bounds. *Über-* verbs thus do not lend themselves to connect-the-dots images, or even to images that focus on criss-crossing paths that intersect at various places interspersed within the LM space. Speaking very generally, *über-* verbs imply that the FG covers the LM completely as a whole, while *durch-* verbs are typically used when the FG is interspersed throughout the LM space but does

contrast, Google returned 151,000 for the English expression “traveled over the whole country” (vs. 231,000 for “traveled through the whole country”).

¹⁹ The rare instances in which an *über-* verb does describe multiple linear paths that cumulatively cover a surface might well be considered ‘holistic path’ variants that are not really multi-directional – i.e., either separate plural holistic paths or a single directed path with a multiplex FG. An instance like ‘... mein Lager war von kleinen schwarzen Ameisen *überlaufen*’ for example is also reminiscent of ‘passing sensations’ by a wave-like FG or of being “overrun” by the FG and overwhelmed. Even in the rare instances of *überwimmeln* the notion of multi-directional activity seems contributed more by the base verb *wimmeln* than by *über-*, which seems to add a connotation of excess, that the space is being overrun by the FGs (‘Heute ist der See *überwimmelt* von Surfern’).

not fill it exhaustively. It is no accident that *über-* verbs are typically used with a mass FG while *durch-* verbs typically suggest a multiplex.

2.2.2 *Interweaving (extended-FG meandering) (durchweben)*

Extending or extended FGs are generally common with multi-directional paths, since they leave behind a visible trace that seems to characterize the LM space. The counterpart to ‘meandering’ by a simple FG is an extending FG that is interwoven through the LM space. Some ‘interweaving’ verbs, such as *durchwachsen* or *durchwurzeln*, describe autonomous extending motion by a nominative FG. More typical are applicative verbs with a nominative agent and an oblique or implicit thread-like FG, such as *durchflechten*, *durchweben* and *durchwirken*. The most general verb in the category is *durchziehen*, which can describe straight bisecting paths, meandering paths like these, or criss-crossing multiplexes of paths. As usual, statal passives are common to report that the LM is characterized by the presence of a FG that is interspersed in it.²⁰

- (35) a. Das Gebusch ist mit Efeu *durchwachsen*.
 ‘The bushes have ivy *growing all through* them’
 b. ... Zigeunerinnen, das strähnige Haar ganz *durchflochten* mit Schnüren
 und Perlen und Bändern.

²⁰ *Durchwachsen* has lexicalized extensions with abstract LMs, suggesting random distribution through the space and frequently also mixed quality for the space, marking it as “so so” (e.g., ‘Gewiss ist die Qualität der Solisten *durchwachsen*.’).

‘... Gypsy women, their stringy hair completely *interwoven* with laces and pearls and ribbons’

c. Diese Frage *durchzieht* das ganze Buch.

‘This question *runs through* the whole book’

The image for interweaving is sometimes applied to FGs that are normally considered masses rather than linear extended threads. *Durchziehen* commonly describes themes that metaphorically run through a text like a thread, as in (35c), which suggests the image of separate occurrences that are interspersed through the text. Qualities such as humor can also be metaphorically interwoven into texts, creating an image that is very similar to mass-FG pervading. If colors are said to be interwoven through a material we may get an image of linear streaks rather than a continuous pervading mass. Similarly, sounds or shuddering effects – which are normally construed as wave-like masses – can be described as weaving through a space with a verb such as *durchweben*. This more linear interspersal image is particularly appropriate when there is a sense of temporal extension or recurrence at various places within the LM space.

Touring a geographical region such as a country or a city usually implies a network of intersecting roadways, so that a meandering path suggests a linked set of route-like segments in randomly changing directions. In a special case the accusative LM may strongly suggest such a set of intersecting roadways, for example the streets of a city (‘Er will eine Anzahl Straßen *durchwandert* haben zum Zweck der Wohnungssuche’). A similar

image occurs with fluid FGs such as blood flowing through vessels in the circulatory system. Although that course may be predetermined, it is multi-directional and an interweaving image makes sense. The image is so similar to the one with traffic flowing on roadways that the two images are sometimes combined. A very similar situation can be described leaving the particular channeling vessels implicit and depicting the event as a multi-directional interweaving path through the whole body, making the image essentially like that with rivers that meander through a region.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ihre Haare waren von Silberfäden *durchwoben*. Setzlinge sollen einen gut *durchwurzelten* Ballen haben. Der Stoff war mit Silberfäden *durchschossen*. Verworrene Stränge scheinen dein Gehirn zu *durchspinnen*. Die Mädchen pflegen ihr Haar in mehrere Zöpfe zu flechten und diese mit bunten Bändern zu *durchwinden*. Dicke rote Adern *durchzogen* das Weiße in seinen wäßrigen Augen. Sowjetische Fachleute *durchzogen* das Land mit großen Verbindungsstraßen. Das Suppenfleisch, am besten mit Fett *durchwachsenes* Rindfleisch, ... Die Kritik an ihnen *durchzieht* sein Werk wie ein roter Faden. Ein leiser Humor *durchzog* Trollers Kommentar. ... ist das ganze Werk von jener Symbolik *durchwebt*. Graublau, mit Gold *durchwirkt*. Kein Zittern und kein Zetern *durchzieht* ihre Stimme. Blut *durchpulst* die Adern. Buntes Leben *durchpulste* die Straßen. Goldhaltige Gewässer *durchströmen* nicht nur Ostbayern.

3. ‘Undermining’ *unter-* paths (untergraben, unterwandern)

Verbs such as *durchlöchern* can suggest disturbing the structural integrity of the LM object, implying for example that principles or proposals are “full of holes” (‘Dieses Gesetz ist aber *durchlöchert* wie ein Sieb’). Intermixing verbs like *durchmischen* may also on occasion have negative connotations of disturbing the former purity of the LM space. With *durch-* verbs though, these implications remain occasional and inferential. Expressly implied ‘undermining’ is largely linked to *unter-* verbs rather than *durch-* verbs.

With a verb such as *untergraben* a path underneath the LM implies taking away parts of its support. *Unter-* verbs with that implication commonly have base verbs that describe digging or flowing, including *untergraben*, *unterminieren*, *unterhöhlen*, *unterwühlen*, *unterspülen*, and *unterwaschen*. Similar constructions that imply the weakening of support also occur when there is no sharp distinction between the bottom of the LM and the ground underneath it, as in (36b). It makes little difference whether the path is meandering and multi-directional or wave-like with a single overall direction and lateral extension.

- (36) a. Die Wassermassen schwemmen Autos von der Straße, drohen
 Wolkenkratzer zu *unterspülen*.
 ‘The masses of water sweep cars from the street and threaten to
undermine skyscrapers’
- b. Der Fluß hat das Ufer *unterhöhlt*.
 ‘The river has *undercut* [hollowed out the space under] the banks’
- c. die Basis der alten Ordnung zu *unterhöhlen*
 ‘to subvert [*undermine*] the basis of the old order’

- d. Hexen und Heilkundige versuchen, die Schulmedizin zu *untergraben*.
 ‘Witches and healers are trying to subvert [*undermine*] mainstream medicine’

- (37) Al Qaida versucht angeblich die CIA zu *unterwandern*.
 ‘Al Qaida is allegedly trying to *infiltrate* the CIA’

The functional implications become especially salient in metaphorical variants in which an abstract position of some kind has its support undermined, as in (36c) or (36d). (37) illustrates a common metaphorical variant that is particularly associated with the lexicalized verb *unterwandern*. *Unterwandern* clearly suggests a meandering path, but the path is now under the LM’s surface rather than under the whole LM. The construction suggests infiltrating the interior of the LM itself, so that the FG becomes interspersed through the LM’s private space as a kind of alien intruder. The image is now almost the same as the interspersal image associated with *durch-* verbs, except that *unter-* suggests being hidden among the other entities in the space and beneath the LM’s outer surface, while *durch-* conveys a more neutral spatial image. The image conveyed by *unterwandern* is also very similar to that conveyed by intermixing verbs such as *untermengen* or *untermischen* insofar as the FG becomes interspersed through the LM space.²¹ Moreover, the prefix

²¹ Kühnhold (1973: 266–7) includes the ‘intermixing’ verbs and *unterwandern* together with verbs like *unterhandeln*, *sich unterreden*, and *unterhalten*, which she glosses with “untereinander”, in a category “Verbindung” under the general “among” types (as opposed to the main “under” types).

unter- may also suggest that the infiltration is surreptitious (unseen because under the surface). Compare the very similar *unterlaufen* type in which a dative host is “visited” by something unpleasant, discussed in chapter 10.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Doch Maulwürfe haben sich den Friedhof als Lebensraum ausgesucht und drohen nun die Grabsteine zu *unterwühlen*. ... dass diese Flüsse die Tendenz haben, das rechte örtliche Ufer zu *unterwaschen*. Relativismus und Laizismus drohen die Fundamente unserer Kultur auszuhöhlen und zu *unterspülen*. ... Moskau versuche die demokratische und unabhängige Entwicklung gerade dieser Länder zu *unterminieren*. ... selbst wenn sie die Absicht haben, unsere Gesellschaftsordnung zu *unterwandeln* und gewalttätig zu stürzen.

4. How multi-directional path images develop from linear path images

For those readers interested in more general underlying cognitive-semantic issues, it is worth pausing to ask how multi-directional variants like those discussed in this chapter can arise. That is, how do expressions that schematically describe a directed linear path – like the route-path expressions *über*, *unter*, *durch* and *um* – come to be used in multi-directional paths such as those in (1)–(9)? A discussion of that issue can also help clarify the related issue that may still be nagging some readers: Why are paths like those

described in sentences like (1)–(5) aptly characterized as “multi-directional” at all?

The core image schemas for the route-path expressions *durch*, *um*, *über* and *unter*, as well as the holistic paths discussed in the last chapter, are all directed. That is, they can be aptly represented graphically by a single linear arrow with a schematic shape, such as those in Figures 1–4. There are at least two sequences of image-schematic transformations that can add awareness of directions other than the canonical linear one though, and each of these two sequences can plausibly transform the directed linear images into multi-directional ones. One possible transformational sequence is especially associated with *durch* and begins with constructions that describe plural linear paths, eventually grouping them conceptually into multiplexes. An alternative sequence is more intuitively appealing for variants with a mass FG. It begins with the notion of a FG that has salient linear extension but can take on lateral extent as well, forming a ribbon-shaped FG. Both of these developmental sequences can serve to relate a multi-directional image such as those prompted by (1)–(9) to the basic directed images of Figures 1–4 using image-schematic transformations that are all independently established and grounded. Both eventually create an image in which we can conceptually scan in any randomly chosen directed path that can be expressed schematically by the prefix, in any direction. That is, a cumulative image results of extent in every possible direction. The sum of all possible *over* paths relative to a LM creates

an image of extending *all over* the LM, and similarly for all *through* paths or all *around* paths.

4.1. Multi-directional paths as a multiplex of linear paths

One image-transformational sequence that could allow the same expression to describe both a directed path and a multi-directional one can be illustrated most easily using the canonically straight path expressed by the preposition *durch* – or by English *through*. To begin with, the path expression can generally occur with a plural FG to describe a plural set of linear paths that take place separately in sequence.²² Each child in (38a) might take exactly the same route through the yard, or each individual path might have its own direction. In any case, as long as each individual path event is construed to occur separately we are simply dealing with a plural set of normal directed paths. The plural FG in (38a) might also be read as a composite multiplex. That is, the children might be imagined to move together simultaneously as a group, for example as a ball-shaped cluster or in single file. Such multiplex entities are still engaged in a directed linear path.

(38) a. Die Kinder gingen durch den Garten.

²² A similar image with a plural set of paths can occur with a single FG and plural LMs (such as ‘The child walked through every yard on the street’), or with plural FGs and plural LMs (‘The children walked through all of the yards’).

‘The children walked through the yard’

- b. Die Kinder gehen nebeneinander durch den Garten.

‘The children are walking side by side through the yard’

- c. Würdet ihr eure Kinder im Sommer nackt durch Garten und Hof laufen lassen?

‘Would you let your children run naked through garden and yard’

- d. Die Kinder rasen durch das Haus, sie suchen sich die Plätze aus.

‘The children race wildly through the house looking for their places’

The image becomes a little less purely directional if we imagine the children to form a multiplex with prominent lateral extent – for example if they are walking side by side so that each individual child is walking parallel to the others as in (38b). Compare wave-like FGs. Still, it is reasonable to consider such a path to be essentially directed. After all, the children all share a common overall direction. Things have become somewhat more complicated, however. Our attention is distracted to some extent by the competing lateral scan necessary to construe the shape of the multiplex FG.²³

The clear sense of a single overall direction for a wave-like path can be dissipated still further if the multiplex actually moves laterally as well as in the primary forward direction. For example, children walking abreast through a field might gradually fan out, so that there is still an overall shared direction

²³ There is also a special case associated with *über* in which a multiplex or mass FG moves outward from a center (or inward toward a center). Imagine a herd of horses jumping simultaneously over a corral fence in all directions, or water overflowing from a glass. In one sense there is a direction shared by each individual horse, namely “outward”.

but there is also some distracting motion to the sides. Similarly, a wave-like mass such as the leading edge of a flash flood will lose forward momentum as it slows down, and as it does so it will gradually begin to fan out and flow laterally as well as forward. Despite the lateral extent of a multiplex (or mass) FG and its slight lateral motion, the image is still essentially directed; but a continuum is beginning to form so that the directed image is blending with a multi-directional one.

Now consider examples such as (38c) or (38d). Of course we can still imagine a plural set of independent linear *durch* paths – even if they overlap temporally. Or we could imagine a multiplex of FGs moving together as a collective group. Realistically speaking though, such construals are becoming less likely. Rather than individual children engaged in individual paths, or a collective multiplex moving in concert, we are apt to imagine a confusing array of paths going simultaneously in various directions – even if each individual path is a normal *durch* path. The image that begins to suggest itself is one in which the *paths themselves* form a multiplex. The children's individual *durch* paths appear collectively as a confused criss-crossing pattern in apparently random directions, so that the LM space (the yard or house) seems characterized by general motion in all possible directions. At this point, when a plural set of *durch* paths becomes construed as a composite multiplex, a construction with a prefixed *durch-* verb becomes appropriate. While (38c) and (38d) still prompt a construal that focuses on directed paths by individuals or groups of individuals, a sentence like (6) prompts a true multi-directional

image as a multiplex of individual *durch* paths in many random directions that appear to occur simultaneously.

This image-transformational account of the development of multi-directional images in terms of a criss-crossing multiplex of directed paths works nicely for *durch*- verbs like that in sentence (6), which objectively involve a multiplex of linear paths. The account is not so intuitively appealing when the FG is a continuous mass, as in typical examples such as (1)-(5). Liquids or spreading entities such as tablecloths typically move in a concerted wave-like fashion, so that there is little sense of a multiplex of objective linear paths – even if it is clear that the masses are spreading in more than one direction at a time. On the other hand, it is an obvious image-transformational step to construe a multiplex of paths such as those in (6) as a mass image by the well-established multiplex-mass transformation (Lakoff 1987: 442), resulting in an image like that in (5).

In other words we can maintain the notion of a multiplex of linear *durch* paths (or *über* paths or *um* paths) for sentences like (1)–(5) as well. In order to make that connection though, we need to think in terms of subjective scanning paths (fictive motion) rather than objective linear paths. It makes little difference whether a tablecloth is spread out over a table mainly by draping it from above or by pulling it across the surface of the table. Typically both motions will be involved to some extent. What motivates the use of *über*- in such situations is primarily the resulting configuration rather than the actual route taken by the FG. If the cloth eventually spreads to cover the tabletop in

every possible direction, then *über-* is appropriate no matter how the cloth was moved objectively to reach that configuration. What is most purely multi-directional in the construal – and what sanctions the use of *über-* – is our scanning of the cloth’s ultimate extension. If we can scan in any randomly chosen *über* path over the tabletop and encounter the cloth there, then the *über* relation holds for the cloth with respect to the tabletop. What justifies the description in terms of an *über* path is that we conceive the resulting extent of the mass by scanning in a multiplex of *über* paths.

4.2. Multi-directional paths as planar extensions of linear-extending paths

If an account of the images conveyed by (1)-(5) in terms of a multiplex of linear subjective scanning paths still seems somewhat strained when the FG is a continuous mass, there is a complementary alternative account that may be more intuitively appealing and arrives at the same result. It relates the role of subjective scanning more directly to the objective paths of continuous masses by beginning with the notion of an extending FG.

Path expressions generally can have a linear-extending FG. For example, the preposition *um* can be used to describe pulling a string around a package, so that the string’s leading part traces a normal *um* path, while its trailing parts eventually occupy the whole summary-scanned pathway around the package, as in (39a). The stationary resulting state in which the FG is extended around the LM can also be described using the same path expression

(the string is ‘around the package’). The *um*-PP in (39b) clearly describes the fictive scanning motion (not necessarily the prior objective motion by which the string came to be in that configuration).

- (39) a. Es ist auch zu empfehlen, eine stabile Schnur kreuzweise um das Paket zu binden.
 ‘It is also advisable to tie a strong string in a crossing pattern around the package’
- b. Der alte Baumann hatte, während er sprach, die Schnur um das Paket gelöst.
 ‘While he was speaking, old Baumann untied the string around the package’
- c. Ich muss erst noch ‘ne Schleife um das Paket machen.
 ‘I still have to put a ribbon around the package’
- d. Anschliessend wird von Hand das Klebeband um das Paket geklebt.
 ‘Then the tape is stuck around the package by hand’
- e. Aufgrund einiger Risse im Paket, die lieben Hermesleute haben eine Menge an Klebeband um das Paket gewickelt.
 ‘Because of some torn places in the package, the dear people at Hermes wrapped a bunch of tape around the package’
- f. kurz vor dem raus gehen sagte sie mir auch noch das ich papier um das paket machen müsste und das auch in den shops finde.
 ‘Shortly before leaving she also told me that I had to put paper around the package and find that in the shops too’
- g. Langsam, wie in Trance, entfernte er das Papier, welches um das Paket gewickelt war.
 ‘Slowly, as if in a trance, he removed the paper which was wrapped around the package’

The same path description (*um das Paket*) can also be applied when the FG is a ribbon with some salient lateral extent in addition to its primary linear-extending dimension, as in (39c). (Again, compare wave-like FGs.) If the LM surface is curved in the lateral dimension— as would occur for example in wrapping a ribbon around a globe – then that lateral dimension will become even more conceptually prominent as the ribbon bends “downward”. Moreover, the FG may continue to extend laterally as far as possible. It may eventually cover the whole LM surface, enveloping it in every possible direction. Sentences such as those in (39) illustrate a continuum from an essentially linear directed path to one with a ribbon-shaped FG and eventually on to one that extends all around the LM laterally as well – such as wrapping a package completely in wrapping paper (or wrapping the baby in a towel in sentence (3)). At that point, it no longer makes any difference which direction was the original “forward” one. Finally, the same path constructions can be used to describe the extent of a static FG (both the ribbon and the wrapping paper are then located ‘around the package’), so that the path in question is again that of the fictive scan rather than its prior objective motion. Only now, with a planar-shaped FG like that in (39g), the scanning path is multi-directional. It is irrelevant how the wrapping paper was applied objectively; its resulting state of being around the package is confirmed by scanning in an *um* path in any possible direction.

These semantic processes apply to the prefix *um-* just as they do to prepositional *um*. (40) reflects a continuum from a holistic linear encircling

image to a true multi-directional enveloping one. Note that there is no formally marked distinction between the two readings.

- (40) a. Ich hab auch schonmal gehört, dass man ein Paket mit Spinnenfäden *umschnürt* hat und das dann völlig gehalten hat.
 ‘I have also heard that somebody *tied* a package with spider web threads and it held completely’
- b. Also kam mein Paket total mit Klebeband *umwickelt* hier an.
 ‘So my package arrived completely *wrapped* with adhesive tape’
- c. Die Einzelnen und die Eierschachtel waren mit Luftpolsterfolie *umwickelt*.
 ‘The individual pieces and the egg carton were *wrapped* with bubble wrap’

Similar image-transformational processes apply with *über-* verbs. We might begin for example with a linear-extended FG that ‘spans’ a LM as in (41a). Then imagine giving the linear-extended FG some lateral extension so that it takes on a more ribbon-like shape. That process will eventually produce an image like a roof or a ceiling over the LM (or else a covering layer in contact with it). At some point the FG takes on a planar shape without any particular privileged length-wise dimension and the image calls for a multi-directional scan of the FG’s extent. The same process can produce a dome-shaped extension from an arch-shaped extended FG. *Überwölben* can describe an essentially linear arch over a LM such as a doorway. More commonly though, it describes a dome-shaped vaulted ceiling that curves downward in all compass directions, as in (42b). (The only difference between a dome-

shaped *über* image and one of complete enveloping with *um* is that the *über* image stops at the ground and only semi-encloses the LM.) An image of multi-directional planar extension has thus developed using an expression (*über*) that is defined primarily in terms of a directed linear path. A multi-directional *über* path is one in which any random directed *über* scan applies. (Compare the discussion of English *over* in Dewell 1994.)

- (41) a. Sie berechtigen ihren Inhaber beispielsweise, das Grundstück mit einer Stromleitung zu *überspannen* oder eine Rohrleitung im Grundstück zu verlegen.
 ‘They entitled their owner for example to *span* the property with a power line or to lay a pipeline’
- b. Früh entwickelte er eine zeltähnliche Gewebedecke aus einer Betonstruktur, die es ihm erlaubte große Räume säulenlos zu *überspannen*.
 ‘Early on he developed a tent-like web ceiling out of a concrete structure, which allowed him to *span* large rooms without columns’
- c. Die Tische werden mit Packpapier *überspannt* (zweilagig).
 ‘The tables are *covered* with packing paper (two layers thick)’
- (42) a. Diese letzten Worte wurden unter dem Schirme einer weiten Buche gesprochen, die den Eingang der Schlucht *überwölbte*.
 ‘These last words were spoken under the cover of a broad beech tree that *spanned* the entrance to the ravine’
- b. Michelangelo dachte den Raum mit einer ovalen Kuppel zu *überwölben*.
 ‘Michelangelo thought to *cover* the space with an oval dome’

It ultimately makes little difference which grounding sequence motivates the development of multi-directional images from linear path expressions. We could imagine a multiplex of linear paths such as moths swarming around a flame and then apply the multiplex-mass transformation to form a mass set of paths that envelop the flame. Or we could extend the image of a linear-extending FG to that of a ribbon-shaped FG and ultimately to a planar-shaped mass that envelops the LM in all directions. The result in either case is a scanning process that consists of a set of subjective *um* paths in any random direction – used to describe the planar extent of a spreading FG. The same goes for *über*, *unter* and *durch*.

CHAPTER 9

Prefixed verb constructions with an implicit LM

All of the prefixed verb constructions in chapters 7 and 8 had an accusative LM, and in the case of *durch-* and *um-* that is all there is to say. Prefixed *über-* verbs and *unter-* verbs on the other hand also occur in another kind of construction, one with the LM left implicit.¹ In such cases the prefixed verb can occur with an accusative FG as in (1a) or (1c) – and on rare occasions even with a nominative FG as in (1b). The *über-* verbs in these constructions form a fairly cohesive semantic group describing abstract ‘transfers’ of some kind, while *unter-* occurs in a variety of highly lexicalized verbs that typically correspond to English verbs with prefixes such as *sub-* or *inter-*.

- (1) a. Ich habe angefangen, das Studio Handbuch ins Deutsche zu *übersetzen*.
‘I’ve begun *translating* the Studio Handbook into German’
- b. Deutsche, die nach Österreich *übersiedelt* sind
‘Germans who have *moved* to Austria’
- c. Er *unterwirft sich* dem Willen Gottes.
‘He *surrenders* [subjects himself] to the will of God’

¹ *Be-* verbs, like *um-* verbs and *durch-* verbs, occur almost exclusively with an accusative LM. The other pure verb prefixes though, such as *ver-*, *er-*, *zer-* and *ent-*, commonly also occur with an implicit LM under circumstances that are similar to those in this chapter with *über-* and *unter-*.

As contrasting sentences like those in (2) illustrate, prefixed verb constructions with an implicit LM can be almost indistinguishable from normal particle verb constructions. There is sometimes uncertainty even among native speakers about whether a prefixed verb is appropriate as in (2a), or a particle verb as in (2b). After we have surveyed the variants with prefixed *über-* and *unter-* verbs in this chapter, those subtle semantic contrasts will be the topic in chapter 10. The prefixed verb constructions in this chapter require a very precise understanding of the distinction between synoptic and sequential perspectival modes.

- (2) a. 1963 wurde er in eine andere Klinik *überführt*, wo er bis 1974 blieb.
 ‘In 1963 he was *transferred* to a different clinic, where he remained until 1974’
- b. Wegen Suizidgefahr wurde der Tatverdächtige in eine psychiatrische Klinik *übergeführt*.
 ‘Because of the danger of suicide the suspect was *transferred* to a psychiatric clinic’

Prefixed *über-* verbs and *unter-* verbs also occur productively in “scalar“ constructions (Risch 1995) like those in (3). In such sentences *über-* describes taking a base-verb activity beyond an accepted norm, overdoing it. *Unter-* serves as the converse of *über-*, so that the base-verb activity stops short of the implicit norm. *Über-* and *unter-* are used so generally in these constructions that they can occur with virtually any verb phrase that expresses a process. Essentially, there is an abstract image in which the FG is the verb

process itself, which either extends too far and crosses an implicit normal extent on the scale (*über-*), or else does not extend far enough to reach the expected norm (*unter-*). Both the scale itself and the appropriate normal extent are implicitly associated with the verb process. The soccer players in (3a) for example are being evaluated implicitly on a scale of excellence at the game, and there is an implicit correct level on that scale that the assessments either exceed or do not reach.

(3) a. Hier will ich von euch wissen, welcher Fussballer ihr für *überschätzt* / *unterschätzt* hält?

‘I want to hear which soccer player you consider to be *overrated* / *underrated*’

b. Die wichtigen Transitstraßen in Europa sind bereits heute *überlastet*.

‘The most important transit roads in Europe are already *overburdened*’

These scalar variants are generally restricted to prefixed verb constructions, so that directly contrasting constructions with particle verbs do not occur. There is however a complicating situation caused by the fact that the prefixes can combine productively with virtually any base verb – including verbs that are themselves already formed with prefixes or with the suffix *-ieren*. As a result, *über-* and *unter-* can occur with base verbs that have an unstressed initial syllable (e.g. *überbewerten*), and that causes a phonological problem. Even though *über-* and *unter-* are essentially inseparable prefixes, with these base verbs they receive phonological stress like a particle.

The following discussion begins with the non-scalar *über-* verbs that describe abstract ‘transfers’. Then there is a brief survey of the hodgepodge of highly lexicalized *unter-* verbs, many of which are placed in this category somewhat arbitrarily. It is often difficult to say whether the accusative object is a FG or a LM in relation to the prefix *unter-* – particularly when it corresponds to English *inter-* rather than *sub-*. Finally, section 3 examines the various issues surrounding scalar ‘overdoing’ and ‘underdoing’.

1. Abstract transfers with *über-* (and an implicit LM)

Particle ÜBER- verbs can describe purely spatial transfers, moving an accusative FG from one discrete location to another across an implicit spatial boundary or gap (chapter 4). If there is any further nonspatial implication however, suggesting that the transfer is a functional routine of some kind and involves issues other than the spatial location of the FG, then a prefixed *über-* verb is called for. The most general ‘transfer’ verb is *übertragen*, and its variants in (4) can serve to illustrate most of the typical uses of *über-* verbs in this category. These uses include transferring possession, control or responsibility, and also transmitting things such as information, infectious diseases or emotional states from one (metaphorical) place to another.

- (4) a. Mit der Übergabe soll dem Käufer auch das Eigentum *übertragen* werden.
 ‘With delivery possession is also understood to be *transferred* to the buyer’
- b. Wir Deutsche müssen bereit sein, der Europäischen Gemeinschaft mehr Rechte zu *übertragen*.
 ‘We Germans must be ready to *transfer* more rights to the European Community’
- c. Die nächsten Seminare mit Kiran werden online live *übertragen*.
 ‘The next seminars with Kiran will be *transmitted* live online’
- d. Der Roman wurde aus dem Spanischen ins Deutsche *übertragen*.
 ‘The novel was *translated* from Spanish into German’
- e. Die Krankheit wird vorwiegend durch Ratten oder Mäuse *übertragen*.
 ‘The disease is *transmitted* mainly by rats or mice’
- f. Die Nervosität *übertrug sich* auf die Pferde.
 ‘The general nervousness *spread* to the horses’

With transfer of possession or control, the accusative FG moves across an implicit divide from one abstract sphere of influence to another. Even when the event involves a literal spatial transfer of a physical object, as in (5a), the prefixed verb construction implies more than just a change of location. The transfer is understood in a social or legal context with definite nonspatial functional implications for the people involved. Practically any base verb that makes sense in this meaning can occur generally with *über-*, including *übergeben*, *überlassen*, *übermachen*, *überschreiben*, *überreichen*, and *übereignen*, as well as *übertragen*. The verbs often co-occur with a dative recipient or a destination PP. Other verbs are linked to more specific situations, such as the lexicalized use of *überweisen* to describe transferring

funds. *Überführen* has a specialized use for convicting someone of a crime, presumably with the image of transferring authority over the prisoner to the penal system. *Überstellen* can be used similarly to mean transferring or extraditing a prisoner. As such examples illustrate, transferring possession or control of something merges naturally with transferring responsibility for it, and that meaning may sometimes predominate. The verb *überantworten* makes the notion of responsibility explicit. Other verbs such as *überwälzen* imply passing on a burden, such as responsibility for paying a debt. The reception of the transfer can also be profiled using *überkommen* and especially *übernehmen*, which is very common to describe assuming responsibility or control as in (5b).

- (5) a. Vor Ort hatten wir eine Engländerin als Ansprechpartnerin, die uns auch die Schlüssel *übergeben* hat.
 ‘We had an English woman on site as contact person, and she also *gave* us the keys [transferred possession]’
- b. Der Verkäufer hat den Hauptteil der Transportkosten zu *übernehmen*.
 ‘The seller is obligated to *assume* the bulk of the transportation costs’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Wir *überhändigen* Ihnen die Schlüssel Ihrer neuen und wunderschönen Bleibe. Bei der ersten Variante wird das Staffelholz von unten dem nächsten Läufer *übergeben*. Nach einem der letzten Befehle von Hitler sollte kein Häftling an den Feind *übergeben* werden können. Die American Civil Liberties Union (kurz ACLU) hat dem Obama-Biden-Team eine detaillierte Forderungsliste *überreicht*. Der Kaufvertrag schließlich (contrato de compraventa) verpflichtet den Verkäufer ,dem Käufer den

Vertragsgegenstand zu *übereignen*‘. Gleichzeitig *übermachte* ich hundert Pfund jeder meiner Schwestern auf dem Lande. Ich hab es so mitbekommen, dass er vor hat die Bar an den Freund oder an die Tochter zu *überschreiben*. Normalerweise wird das Geld am letzten Werktag des Monats im voraus für den Folgemonat auf dein Konto *überwiesen*. Ich wurde zur Absicherung einer Diagnose an einen weiteren Facharzt *überwiesen*. Religion ist zu wichtig, um sie den Männern zu *überlassen*. Den Himmel *überlassen* wir den Engeln und den Spatzen. Ist es möglich Versandrisiko an Käufer zu *übertragen*? Wenn Sie einen Berater ausgewählt haben, empfiehlt es sich, diesem anwaltliche Rechte zu *übertragen*. Dem Pfarrer ist die Aufgabe der Gemeindeleitung *überantwortet*. Der Gernsheimer Wald wird dem Absterben *überantwortet*. Dank aufmerksamer Zeugen konnte ein Täter (37) nach einem Einbruch in einen Lkw gestellt und der Polizei *übergeben* werden. Auch technische Mittel sollen helfen, Täter zu *überführen*. Am Abend wurde er in die Todeszelle *überstellt*. Im Normalfall werden die Gebühren auf den Endnutzer *überwälzt* und erhöhen die Kosten einer Transaktion (unwesentlich). Hat der Läufer das Staffelholz *übernommen*, besteht seine Aufgabe darin, so schnell zu laufen wie er kann. Eine Organisation, die als “Pendel” bekannt ist, plant, das Militär zu *übernehmen*. Die Konsumenten haben die Kontrolle *übernommen*.

The transmission of information is another kind of transfer of possession, consistent with the basic “conduit” metaphor. Transferring possession of a physical thing such as a written document that “contains” information blends naturally with transferring more abstract pieces or bodies of information, as in (6). The construction also applies to mass electronic transmission, typically using the verb *übertragen* as in (4c). Other common verbs in this category include *übermitteln*, *übersenden* and *überbringen*. The most common use of *überliefern* is similar, describing the cultural propagation

of information. *Überkommen* is used for cultural reception and *übernehmen* for taking possession of ideas from a source.

- (6) Hierbei würden aber keine personenbezogenen Daten *übermittelt*, verspricht der Software-Riese.
 ‘No personal information is being *transmitted* in the process, the software giant promises’
- (7) a. Wie *überspielt* man Handy Games aufs Handy?
 ‘How do you transfer cell-phone games onto a cell phone’
- b. Peinlich: bei einer Comedysendung von SAT1 stellte man fest, dass die Lachschleife eine englische Lachkonserve war. Sie wird jetzt ins Deutsche *überlacht*!
 ‘Embarrassing: It was determined that a comedy show on SAT1 had a laugh track using canned laughter from an English audience. It’s now being translated into German laughter [“over-laughed” into German]’

In a related construction, information can be transferred not to a (human) receiver but to a new medium. The information is in effect being duplicated (e.g. re-written) in another form, which is construed to be a container as part of the conduit metaphor. The main verb associated with this general category is again *übertragen*. More specific verbs for transfer of medium include the use of *überspielen* for transferring taped audio or video recordings as in (7a). (7b) is an example of an occasional and novel use of this kind of construction. An especially common case of transferring information from one medium to another is translation from one language to another. *Übersetzen* is lexicalized in this use as in (1a), and *übertragen* occurs as in

(4d). *Übertragen* is also used to refer to metaphor, i.e., to transferring an informational pattern from one semantic domain to another within the same language ('in *übertragener* Bedeutung').

This sort of image is also useful with other kinds of abstract "masses" besides information. Verbs like *übertragen* are common with abstract conditions like infectious diseases or states of mind that can spread from one sphere of activity to another, as in (4e) and (4f). Since such FGs can be construed to move autonomously, reflexive constructions with *sich übertragen* also occur as in (4f).

There are a few other miscellaneous variants of *über-* verbs that can be classed here generally as 'transfers'. One common special case is the lexicalized use of *überzeugen* and *überreden* to describe convincing people, causing them to change their minds or to come over to the other side of an issue. In one sense this image is similar to the intransitive *ÜBERwechseln* type for going over to the other side, but the prefixed verbs describe a purely mental event.²

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

² Other *über-* verbs that can be mentioned here include the use of *überpflanzen* to describe medical transplants, the occasional use of *überwechseln* to describe resettling from one hospital "home" to another or from one educational track to another, reflexive *sich übergeben* used to describe vomiting, and the use of *überholen* for overhauling an engine.

Das Fernsehsignal wird per Funk *übertragen*. Die Staatsanwaltschaft hat nun einen Haftbefehl an Interpol *übermittelt*. Und sind die Daten erst einmal *übermittelt*, hat man keine Kontrolle mehr darüber. Grundsätzlich dürfen auch diese Dokumente elektronisch *übersendet* werden. Als Anlage *übersenden* wir Ihnen die Unterlagen. Da haben meine Kollegin und ich beschlossen, die Nachricht selbst zu *überbringen*. Aus der Nervenklinik der Charité ist ein umfangreicher Krankenaktenbestand *überliefert*. Die nachfolgenden Texte wurden zum Teil mündlich *überliefert*, daher sind Fehler nicht ganz auszuschließen! ... dass Kant diese Gedanken direkt, oder indirekt, vom Aristoteles *überkommen* habe. ... eine *überkommene* Tradition ... Ich bin scheinbar zu dumm, Filme von der Festplatte auf den PC zu *übertragen*. Es ist nicht immer sinnvoll die Filme selber zu *überspielen*. Was bedeutet der Begriff Karate ins deutsche *übersetzt*? Der Komponist hat diese Idee großartig in Musik *übersetzt*. Erworbenes Fachwissen in pflegerische Handlungskompetenz zu *überleiten*. Entsprechend ist bei den modifizierten Mosquitos die Fähigkeit, Malaria zu *übertragen*, stark herabgesetzt. Schon kurz nach der Jahrhundertwende versuchten mehrere Ärzte, Keimdrüsen von Mensch zu Mensch zu *überpflanzen*. Die Krankheit *überträgt sich* nur auf anfällige Personen. Er *übertrug* seine Begeisterung auf alle anderen. Letztendlich ist es seine Frau, die ihn *überzeugt* den Job zu übernehmen. Was Sie heute gesagt haben, hat mich nicht *überzeugt*, und ich bezweifle stark, dass es die Bürger auf der Besuchertribüne *überzeugt* hat. Informiert Werbung? Oder sollen wir zum Kauf *überredet* werden?

One particular type of ‘transfer’ involves moving a physical entity such as a person from one situation to another, as in (2a) when *überführen* is used to describe transferring a patient from one clinic or room to another. Similarly, *übersiedeln* can be used as in (8a) to describe moving someone or something to a new base of operations. Despite the obvious nonspatial functional implications, such events involve a strong spatial image of moving

a physical FG from one location to another, and a particle verb may also be appropriate. See the next chapter contrasting *über-* and *ÜBER-* verbs to examine the reasons for choosing one construction over the other.

- (8) a. Die Alternative wäre, die gesamte TU auf das ehemalige Flugfeld Aspern zu *übersiedeln*.
 ‘The alternative would be to *relocate* the whole Technical University to the former airfield at Aspern’
- b. Das Gemeindeamt ist *übersiedelt*.
 ‘The town hall has *relocated*’

What is especially noteworthy about *übersiedeln* is that it is commonly used in intransitive constructions to describe the relocation of a nominative FG that moves autonomously. (Cf. the reflexive constructions with other verbs such as *übertragen*.) The FG is often an organization as in (8b), but the construction can also describe private individuals or families that resettle as in (1b). This use of an *über-* verb in intransitive constructions like (1b) or (8b) is very unusual.³

³ The only basically intransitive *über-* verbs in the language are the peculiar temporal denominal formations *übernachten* and *überwintern*. Even scalar ‘excess’ *über-* rarely occurs with an intransitive base verb, though occasional exceptions can be found (‘Bei meinem Rechner *überhitzt* ständig der Prozessor’). There are also occasionally omitted but specifically recoverable accusative LMs. Otherwise, the only *über-* verbs that can generally appear in intransitive constructions are the occasional setting-subject constructions in which a nominative LM is an overflowing container or a surface that covers over (‘Und hin und wieder, wenn der Ich-Erzähler vor Glück zu *überströmen* scheint, droht auch die Sprache in Bildern zu

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Hi, ich habe vor im kommenden Frühjahr nach Linz zu *übersiedeln*. Die Schönbrunner Eisbärenzwillinge Arktos und Nanuq sind am Montag in den Zoo Hannover *übersiedelt*.

2. “Sub-“ verbs and “inter-“ verbs with *unter-*

At a highly general schematic level the *unter-* verbs in this section are similar to the *über-* verbs discussed in section 1. They describe complex whole events with definite nonspatial functional implications. The events are executed in a particular context (other than generic space-time), and the *unter-* verbs are lexicalized to suggest that context. Beyond that however, *unter-* verbs with implicit LMs do not lend themselves to a coherent semantic categorization corresponding to the sense of ‘transfer’ that underlies the *über-* verbs. Moreover, there is often some question about whether the accusative object of an *unter-* verb is to be understood as an accusative FG or an accusative LM.

The *unter-* verbs under consideration often suggest a basic locational sense of being underneath a LM, in which case they imply the functional relations associated with a spatially inferior position. Such verbs can be

überschäumen‘). We might also mention the verb *überlappen*, which is sometimes used intransitively (e.g. ‘Sobald ich eines markiere oder ausdrücke, dann ist es mit einem anderen Bild *überlappt*’).

assigned fairly unproblematically to *sub-* groups: variants that express supporting an accusative object, or variants that express subjecting a FG to a LM (subordination, suppression, submission). There is also a very specialized group of highly lexicalized *unter-* verbs that ultimately derive from the same locational sense as particle verbs like *UNTERkommen* and *UNTERbringen*. This small set includes intransitive *unterlaufen* and the ‘alleging’ verbs *unterstellen* and *unterschieben* – which suggest that a FG ‘visits’ an interior private space (coming to be under an implicit protective surface).

The semantic analysis of *unter-* verbs is complicated by the additional use of the preposition *unter* to mean ‘among’ rather than ‘under’, so that the prefix *unter-* can also correspond to English (and French and Latin) *inter-* rather than *sub-*. *Untersagen* corresponds to *inter-dict*, *unterbrechen* corresponds to *inter-rupt*, and there is little or no sense of a spatially lower position with such verbs. The two different potential meanings of *unter-* – “sub-” or “inter-” – are often difficult to distinguish. When a verb such as *unterteilen* for example describes dividing, it is not fully clear whether *unter-* suggests subdividing into subparts, or interjecting divisions among the various parts of an object. A verb such as *unterbinden* could plausibly be related to an image of suppressing an event (tying it down), but section 2.4.1 provides better reasons to relate it to an image of interrupting the course of the event (a sort of tourniquet image). *Unterhalten* can mean both to ‘support’ and to ‘entertain’. It seems generally fair to say that speakers are more aware of the semantic role of *unter-* in the compounds when it relates to the basic “sub-“

meaning, while the “inter-“ verbs are more likely to be experienced as unanalyzed lexical wholes.

As is so often the case, *unter-* does not describe a route path in any of the variants discussed in this chapter. That means that non-scalar *unter-* verbs rarely contrast semantically with *über-* verbs, since *über-* verbs are based almost exclusively on a route-path image. The only real exception to that principle is a small set of variants in which an *über-* verb functions as the converse of an *unter-* verb to express an ongoing state of superiority as opposed to inferiority (e.g. *überlegen sein*). In other words, *über-* accommodates itself to *unter-*'s locational sense in that one restricted type, which is treated in the section on ‘subordinating’ (2.2.1). Otherwise the *unter-* verbs and the *über-* verbs seem unrelated to each other.

The relatively unproblematic “sub-” verbs are discussed first, before moving gradually on to the more idiosyncratic *unter-* verbs. A noteworthy feature of many “sub-” verbs is that they occur with a dative object that expresses either a person whose territory is being visited by the FG or an authority whose sphere of influence the FG is being subjected to. Some *unter-* verbs with such dative objects can take a nominative FG in an intransitive construction.

2.1. Support and undertake (*unterstützen, unternehmen*)

The basic locational ‘underneath’ image underlies the use of a handful of lexicalized *unter-* verbs for metaphorically supporting something, as in (9). *Unterbauen* can be used for rational support as in (9a), but the most common ‘support’ verbs are the strongly lexicalized *unterstützen* and *unterhalten*. Both of these verbs are used almost exclusively in abstract nonspatial contexts, as in (9b) and (9c). (Compare unprefixated *stützen* for physical support.) In the case of *unterstützen* the support typically takes the form of financial or social support or of generally facilitating a process. With *unterhalten* the support typically involves maintenance, providing for ongoing needs, and *unter-* seems to suggest (albeit vaguely) an image of social interaction – possibly an image of supporting someone who is having difficulty walking by holding the person under the arm.

- (9) a. das Gefühlte auf rationelle Weise zu *unterbauen*
 ‘to support what is felt emotionally in a rational way’
- b. bestimmte Plan-Projekte ideell und finanziell zu *unterstützen*
 ‘to *support* particular planned projects both intellectually and financially’
- c. eine große Familie zu *unterhalten* haben
 ‘have a large family to *support*’

There are also metaphorical variants of *unterlegen* for adding an artistic medium as a “layer” beneath another medium, or more literally for highlighting a display by placing a colored background under it. *Untermalen* can be used for painting a base underneath layer (for example for a mural), but

it is also specialized in a metaphorical meaning for adding a supporting layer – typically music – to another medium. Compare also the common essentially linear layer formed by adding a signature under a text with verbs like *unterschreiben* or *unterzeichnen*, or underlining or underscoring with *unterstreichen*.

With the verbs in this section the accusative object is obviously the LM of the *unter-* relation, but it is not so clear that it is to be read like other accusative LMs (i.e. as a bottom surface with a FG spread laterally underneath it, cumulatively forming a foundation, with no profiled effect on the LM). The accusative object seems also to be a sort of FG in its own right whose ongoing location is at issue, i.e., an entity that is being held up from below so that it maintains its position and does not fall.

This is also as good a place as any to mention the highly lexicalized and common ‘undertaking’ verb *unternehmen*. *Unternehmen* seems to suggest a basic spatial image of grasping an object from below in order to lift it up and do something with it, which is not exactly a ‘support’ image but does seem vaguely similar to *unterhalten*.⁴

⁴ Compare *unterfangen*, which is used spatially to describe shoring up or ‘underpinning’ a building. There is also a lexicalized use of *sich unterfangen* to mean undertaking something presumptuous or daring (*‘sich unterfangen, ein 6bändiges Wörterbuch zu verfassen’*). At least for an English speaker it is difficult not to entertain a sort of ‘by your own bootstraps’ image of shoring oneself up to attempt an activity without any other apparent foundation for it. *Sich unterstehen* can be used

(10) Es muss mehr gegen Aids *unternommen* werden.

‘More must be *done* [undertaken] against Aids’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Freundschaft unter den Völkern ist durch eine gerechte Verteilung der Rohstoffe zu *unterbauen*. Um die Glaubwürdigkeit der Darstellungen zu *untermauern*, Deine verbalen Beteuerungen mit gefälschten Beweisen zu *unterfüttern*. Gibt es eine Möglichkeit die komplette Präsi durchgängig mit einer Datei zu *unterlegen*? Ist es möglich Diaschus mit jeweils unterschiedlicher Musik zu *unterlegen*? Diese Methode seine Texte musikalischer zu *untermalen* war zur damaligen Zeit nicht gern gesehen. Die Vertragsurkunde ist von beiden Teilen zu *unterschreiben* und, sofern diese Siegel oder Stempel führen, zu *untersiegeln* oder zu *unterstempeln*. Die ausländischen Produktionen werden entweder in die jeweilige Landessprache synchronisiert, übersprochen oder *untertitelt*. Die wichtigsten Textstellen sind *unterstrichen*. ... seine Worte durch lebhafteste Gesten *unterstreichen*. Einen Freund zu *unterstützen* kann auch bedeuten, dass man darauf vorbereitet ist, da zu sein oder zu reden, wenn das Bedürfnis dazu da ist. Software kann in diesem Bezugssystem angesehen werden als Mittel, um den Prozess des Groundings zwischen Interaktionspartnern zu *unterstützen*. ... unser beliebtes und gepflegtes Haus zu *unterhalten*. ... ein Geschäft zu starten und zu *unterhalten*. Beziehungen anzufangen scheint leicht, sie zu *unterhalten* ist es nicht. Wie war euer Urlaub auf Kreta und was habt ihr *unternommen*?

2.2. Suppress, subject (to) (*unterdrücken, unterliegen, unterziehen*)

similarly for daring to do something improper or forbidden (‘*Untersteh dich* ja nicht, das noch einmal zu tun!’).

The spatial image of downward suppression is clearly involved when a verb like *unterdrücken* is used to describe politically or militarily subjugating an accusative FG as in (11a). The verbs *unterwerfen* and *unterjochen* can also be used this way. When a more abstract FG such as information is suppressed, i.e. concealed and prevented from emerging into public view, the verb *unterschlagen* can also be used. (*Unterschlagen* can also describe withholding evidence, or misappropriating funds (embezzling).)

- (11) a. Das Regime von Islam Karimov *unterdrückt* das Volk mit Polizeibrutalität und Folter.
 ‘Islam Karimov’s regime *oppresses* the people with police brutality and torture’
- b. Ein Land *unterdrückt* Informationen zum Schutze seiner Bürger, die sexuellen oder gewalttätigen Inhalts sind.
 ‘For the protection of its citizens a country *suppresses* information that has sexual or violent content’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Gefühle, die *unterdrückt* werden, fangen an zu faulen! Der Kapitalismus macht gewaltige Anstrengungen, um die junge Revolution zu *unterdrücken*. Mehrere Beispiele belegen, dass auch die internationale Atomenergiebehörde Informationen *unterschlagen* hat. Man bekommt eine Strafe wenn es bekannt wurde, dass man ein Testament *unterschlagen* hat. Und wie kann ich rechtlich gegen die Person vorgehen die das Geld vom WG-Konto *unterschlagen* hat? Danach wurden sie von verschiedenen Herrschern wie Phoenicier, Karthager, Römer und Spanier *unterjocht*. Wie der Arbeiter vom Kapitalisten *unterjocht* wird, so die Frau vom Manne. Markgraf Gero *unterwirft* grosse Teile Polens, und macht sie seinem Kaiser Otto I tributpflichtig.

In (11b) the implicit LM is evidently a kind of concealing surface that the FG is prevented from crossing. (11a) might suggest a similar image of a vague threshold that the FG is being held beneath, but it could also suggest that the FG is being held in a position that is inferior to that of the nominative subject. The sense of a more specific two-party relationship between the FG and the LM becomes clear when the superior LM is expressed as a dative object, which is commonly the case in instances like (12) and (13). In (12) the LM is a person whose authority the FG is subjected to, and in (13) it is a more abstract force.

- (12) Philipp gerät unter Druck und *unterwirft sich* dem Kaiser.
 ‘Philipp comes under pressure and bows to [*subjects himself* to the authority of] the emperor’
- (13) a. China: Myspace ist strenger Zensur *unterworfen*.
 ‘China: Myspace is *subjected* to strict censorship’
 b. Die Struktur des Nervensystems *unterliegt* genetischer Kontrolle.
 ‘The structure of the nervous system *is subject* to genetic control’
 c. Jedes Projekt *untersteht* der Volksabstimmung.
 ‘Every project *is subject* to a referendum’
 d. Fünfundzwanzig Prozent kannten jemanden, der *sich* einer Implantation *unterzogen* hat.
 ‘Twenty-five percent knew someone who had *undergone* [subjected him- / herself to] an implantation’

The submission is sometimes voluntary, in which case reflexive constructions are common – such as *sich unterwerfen* or *sich unterziehen*. *Sich unterziehen* is commonly used for subjecting oneself to (“undergoing”) a procedure such as surgery as in (13d). Otherwise, being subjected to a force is typically involuntary. *Unterliegen* and *unterstehen* are both common verbs, differing from each other mainly in the implications of the posture described by the base verb (i.e. with *liegen* suggesting a more submissive involuntary prone position and *stehen* one of being subordinate but unbowed). In all of the examples in (12) and (13) the constructions profile the functional interaction between the FG and the LM, and the LM suggests a force field of some kind that the FG is exposed to. All of these verbs are lexicalized as prefixed verbs.⁵

The highly lexicalized and common verb *untersuchen* can be included in this section as well. It describes subjecting the accusative object to examination, as if placing it under a microscope or other visual scrutiny. It is semantically similar to the ‘subjecting’ verbs. Unlike those verbs however, *untersuchen* does not take a dative object.

⁵ COSMAS returned 1,728 hits for “zu unterdrücken“ and zero for “unterzudrücken“. The Google returns were 763,000 and 1,340 respectively. The corresponding numbers (COSMAS followed by Google) for *unterschlagen* were 117 to 0 and 71,600 to 1,480, for *unterwerfen* 1,747 to 3 and 1,070,000 to 1,310, for *unterjochen* 44 to 0 and 113,000 to 696, for *unterliegen* 345 to 1 and 132,000 to 2,320, for *unterstehen* 15 to 2 and 11,100 to 2,430, for *unterziehen* 3,314 to 2 and 802,000 to 4,120.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Lehrerschaft *unterwirft sich* dem Regime Hitlers - viele Opportunisten werden Nazis. Die Menschen sind vielen Veränderungen *unterworfen*. Wem *unterlag* Ruderer Peter-Michael Kolbe in drei aufeinander folgenden Olympiafinalen? Es *unterliegt* keinem Zweifel, dass es auch schmeckt. Der Zivildienst *untersteht* der Wehrpflicht und ist Teil des Bundeswehrsystems. Was *unterfällt* der Mehrwertsteuer? In der Ehe spielte der Mann die dominante Rolle, die Frau war ihm *untergeben*. Die Polizei *untersucht* nun den Vorfall. Die Bertelsmann-Stiftung *untersucht* zehn Vorurteile gegen Migranten. Ich werde am Mittwoch beim Arzt *untersucht*.

2.3. Subordinate (*unterstellt sein, unter- / überlegen sein*)

One indication that the constructions in (11)-(13) profile a functional relation of inferiority rather than a more purely spatial relation is that there are no corresponding constructions with *über-* verbs to express the converse relation. The spatial notion of occupying an inferior position (albeit a metaphorical one) does seem more prominent in examples like (14) however, when the participle *unterstellt* reports the resulting state of having been subjected to a dative person in a hierarchical chain of command. Compare English expressions such as “he has three people (working) under him”. The image suggests a formally subordinate position on a ranked scale, with relatively little emphasis on the authority or power that the inferior entity is subjected

to.⁶ As a result there are occasional corresponding uses with *überstellt*, although the forms with *unterstellt* are overwhelmingly more common.⁷

- (14) Wer ist wem innerhalb des Unternehmens *über-* oder *unterstellt*?
 ‘Who *is* above or *below* whom within the company’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Der Maître d’hotel ist im Servicebereich tätig. Ihm *überstellt* sind je nach Betriebsart der Geschäftsführer, Restaurantdirektor, Wirtschaftsdirektor und der Generaldirektor. Ihm *unterstellt* ist die gesamte Servicebrigade, wie z.B.
 ...

A stronger sense of an abstract and ongoing functional relation between the inferior FG and its superior LM is expressed by the lexicalized participle *unterlegen*, which is used to describe the (resulting) state of being at a relative disadvantage to a LM that is expressed as a dative object. *Unterlegen* is lexicalized in this use to the point that it has quasi-independent status as an adjective (rather than just as the participial form of *unterliegen*). That, combined with the sense that the relation is static and ongoing, presumably explains why *überlegen sein* is commonly used as the converse of

⁶ Even so, *unterstellen* may suggest functional subordination slightly more than the particle verb *UNTERordnen* does. See the discussion in chapter 10.

⁷ “Unterstellt ist” outnumbered “überstellt ist” 683 to 3 in COSMAS (94,900 to 1,720 in Google).

unterlegen sein, as reflected in (15).⁸ (There is no verb **überliegen* in common usage.)

(15) Spielerisch sind uns die Engländer *unterlegen*, an Erfahrung jedoch *überlegen*, psychologisch wiederum definitiv *unterlegen*.

‘The English are *inferior* to us in playing skill; they do have more experience [are relatively *superior* in experience], but when it comes to psychology they are again definitely *at a disadvantage*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Diotima ist ihrem Geliebten *überlegen* und *unterlegen* zugleich: Sie ist ihm *überlegen*, weil in ihr noch eine unversehrte Seligkeit lebt, die Hyperion teilweise zwanghaft in den Bann zieht. Sie ist diesem *unterlegen*, weil Hyperions irrender Geist auf sie zerstörerisch wirkt.

2.4. Abstract visits

Another set of *unter-* verb variants is syntactically similar to the variants for being subjected or subordinated to a dative object, but their meaning has little or nothing to do with inferiority. These variants are closely related semantically to the family of constructions with a particle UNTER- verb that are used when a FG visits the personal space under an implicit protective

⁸ *Überlegen sein* is actually more common than *unterlegen sein*: “überlegen ist” returned 952 in a COSMAS search and 306,000 in a Google search, while the corresponding numbers for “unterlegen ist” were 308 and 85,300.

covering (e.g. a roof or skin).⁹ Chapter 10 looks closely at the subtle differences between prefixed *unter-* verbs such as *unterstellen*, *unterlaufen* or *unterschieben* and particle UNTER-verbs such as *UNTERjubeln*, *UNTERkommen* or *UNTERschieben*. Here we briefly survey the uses of the prefixed verbs.

2.4.1 *Allege* (unterstellen, unterschieben)

The prefixed verbs *unterstellen* and *unterschieben* can describe (unfair) allegations or insinuations, attributing words or deeds or motives to someone as in (16a) or (16b). The prefix *unter-* suggests that the act is deceptive or underhanded.¹⁰

(16) a. Dinge, die rein gar nichts mit ihm zu tun hatten, wurden ihm *unterschoben*.

‘Things were *attributed* to him that simply had nothing to do with him’

b. Aber mein Ehrgeiz ist längst nicht so ausgeprägt, wie mir *unterstellt* wird.

‘But my ambition is not nearly as pronounced as people *presume*’

⁹ There might also be an associated image of laying something at someone’s feet (or door), or of assigning things “under” the person’s name (as if under a written category heading).

¹⁰ *Unterstellen* can express either subordinating or alleging. We should also mention yet another related use, without the dative object, to describe hypothetically presuming something for the sake of discussion (hypothetically alleging it to be true?): ‘*Unterstellen* wir einmal, er hätte recht, dann wäre Ihre These falsch.’

The verb *unterbreiten*, meaning to submit a proposal to a dative object, can be mentioned here as well. Several additional images now suggest themselves, including laying out a set of plans under a gapped specific part of the dative person, such as the eyes, or possibly even of providing abstract support for a decision. Cf. *vor-*. Compare also the verbs for social interaction (e.g. *unterrichten*).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Trotz persönlicher Integrität wird ihm *unterstellt*, ein Despot gewesen zu sein. Ich habe ihn [Michael Jackson] sehr gemocht und nie an die schrecklichen Taten geglaubt, welche ihm *unterstellt* wurden. Sie hat mir *unterstellt*, das ich es gerne hätte, wenn sie Tot wäre. Nach dieser Methode wird ihm *unterschoben*, dass er den Zionismus als “Irrweg” sehe. Nämlich auf Terroraktionen, die unter «falscher Flagge» durchgeführt und der anderen Seite *unterschoben* werden. Ihnen wird unter anderem Schwarzarbeit, Handel mit Drogen *unterworfen*, zu dem sie nicht einmal Stellung nehmen dürfen. Im Streit um ausstehende Zahlungen für Erdgaslieferungen hat der russische Energiekonzern Gazprom der Ukraine ein Kompromissangebot *unterbreitet*.

2.4.2 *Intransitive unwanted visits (unterlaufen)*

The prefixed verb *unterlaufen* can be used intransitively to express that a dative object is visited by an unwanted experience, most typically an error of some kind that may go unnoticed until it has had its effect on the dative person

as in (17).¹¹ In fact, the specific word *Fehler* is overwhelmingly the most common subject of *unterlaufen* in this variant.

- (17) Zum Glück ist mir so ein Überweisungsfehler noch nicht *unterlaufen*.
 ‘Fortunately that kind of money-transfer error has never *happened* to me’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Dem Dortmund TZ ist dieser Fehler (bisher) noch nicht *unterlaufen*. Eine derartige Unverschämtheit ist mir noch nicht *untergekommen*. Als Ausdruck für “Helligkeit” ist mir das Wort noch nicht untergekommen.

2.5. “Inter-“ verbs with *unter-*

2.5.1 *Intervene* (*unterbinden*, *unterbrechen*)

Unterdrücken can also be used as in (18) to describe suppressing an accusative event, keeping something from happening. This is essentially the same image of suppressing that was used in (11) with FGs like people or information. It is mentioned separately in this section because of its similarity to verbs such as *unterbinden* or *untersagen* in (19) and (20). All three verbs can describe what is objectively the same event, namely preventing something from occurring. In the case of *unterbinden* and *untersagen* however, it is not at all clear that the operative image is one of ‘suppressing’ or subduing the

¹¹ Oddly, the dative object is now “subject to” the FG, in contrast to the constructions in which a FG is subject to a dative LM. Compare ‘Der Irrtum *unterläuft* vielen’ and ‘Er *unterliegt* einem Irrtum’.

accusative event, keeping it from emerging. Of course the event in (19b) might be understood as suppressing the discussion by “tying it down”, but a more likely image is the one clearly illustrated by the physical event described in (19a). These verbs invite an image of ‘intervening’ to block something from happening, ‘interrupting’ its potential flow.

(18) a. Es ist ein Gesetz das versucht jede offene Diskussion zu *unterdrücken*.

‘It is a law that attempts to *suppress* all open discussion’

b. Helen schlug die Hand vor den Mund, um einen Schrei zu *unterdrücken*.

‘Helen put her hand over her mouth to *suppress* a scream’

(19) a. Bei einer Tubenligatur werden die Eileiter *unterbunden*.

‘In a tubal ligation the fallopian tubes are *tied off*’

b. Diese Diskussion zu *unterbinden* schadet letztlich der Demokratie.

‘*Prohibiting* this discussion will ultimately do damage to democracy’

(20) Mein Arzt hat mir strengstens *untersagt* zu rauchen.

‘My doctor has strictly *forbidden* me to smoke’

Unterlassen seems semantically related to *untersagen*, except that the potential agent of the prohibited event is expressed as the subject rather than as a dative object, and the prohibiting authority is left implicit. (Duden defines *untersagen* as ‘anordnen, dass etwas zu *unterlassen* ist’.) Similarly, both the authority and the agent of the event can be left out of an intransitive

construction with *unterbleiben* (with *sein*-perfect), which means simply that the event ceases or does not occur.¹²

A similar image of coming “between” an extending process and its potential continuation is expressed by the highly lexicalized verb *unterbrechen*. *Unterbrechen* consistently implies interrupting the temporal continuity of an otherwise continuous linear flow. If the accusative object is a person as in (21b) then it stands metonymically for an activity such as talking or working. Even when the sentence describes interrupting an optical scan as in (21c) there is a definite temporal element of intervening to break the otherwise continuous linear scan.¹³

- (21) a. Der Schiedsrichter *unterbricht* das Spiel wegen Handspiels.
 ‘The referee *interrupts* the game because of a hand ball’
- b. Ich habe ihn *unterbrochen*, weil ich wußte, was er sagen wollte.
 ‘I *interrupted* him because I knew what he was going to say’
- c. eine durch Säulen gegliederte und von Balkons und Arkaden
 unterbrochene Fassade

¹² Risch (1995: 16, note) and Kühnhold (1973: 267) similarly relate verbs like *unterbinden* and *untersagen* to a notion of preventing by intervening (or interrupting). Kühnhold (1973: 355) lists *unterbleiben* and *unterlassen* completely separately (i.e., not in either of her basic categories for “under” or “among”), suggesting that *unter-* has purely intensifying force and is semantically superfluous.

¹³ *Unterbrechen* is occasionally used intransitively with an implicit accusative object, especially for computer connections that are disrupted and thus interrupt whatever processes are being carried out at the time: ‘Meine W-Lan Verbindung *unterbricht* ständig’.

‘a façade segmented by columns and *interrupted* by balconies and arcades’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Dabei gilt es, jede Form von Störung zu *unterbinden*. Um den Aktienmarkt zu beruhigen, *untersagt* die US-Börsenaufsicht SEC vorübergehend Leerverkäufe von insgesamt 799 Finanzwerten. Sexistische und vulgäre Äußerungen sind zu *unterlassen*. Jedwede Verhandlungen mit dem Veranstalter über Erstattungen oder Abfindungen haben zu *unterbleiben*. Jim Rogers *unterbricht* das Telefoninterview, um seine zweijährige Tochter zu begrüßen. Morphin *unterbricht* die Schmerzweiterleitung. Ziel ist es, eine von unzähligen Hindernissen *unterbrochene* Strecke in möglichst kurzer Zeit zu bewältigen.

2.5.2 *Make distinctions* (unterteilen, unterscheiden)

In another set of *unter-* verbs there is a common theme of introducing a division within a space (between or among its various parts or members), but without the sense of intervening to prevent its linear continuation. Of course in a sentence like (22), when verbs such as *untergliedern* or *unterteilen* imply a cognitive organization into subparts, the “inter-“ image may well be joined or replaced by an image of “sub-dividing” into a hierarchical organization.

(22) Die Strecke ist in drei Etappen *unterteilt*.

‘The course is subdivided into three stages’

(23) a. Ja, er hat Charisma und das *unterscheidet* ihn für mich von vielen anderen Schauspielern.

‘Yes, he has charisma, and for me that *distinguishes* him from many other actors’

- b. Wie können die verschiedenen Zertifikatstypen *unterschieden* werden?
 ‘How can the various types of certification be *distinguished*’

Unterscheiden as illustrated in (23) also belongs in this category. It often appears with a *von*-PP as in (23a), or in reciprocal constructions with plural accusatives as in (23b). Reflexive constructions are also common. *Unterscheiden* is so lexicalized that speakers are probably only minimally aware that it can be analyzed as a combination of *unter-* and *scheiden*. The corresponding English terms (distinguish, discriminate) now have *dis-* rather than either *sub-* or *inter-*. (Compare the sense of “dis-continuing” a flow that is associated with *unterbrechen*.)

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Das Ziel ist, Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen einzelnen Beispielen zu finden und/oder diese in Gruppen von gemeinsamen Beispielen zu *unterteilen*. Durch den Einsatz von Registern ist es möglich lange Texte zu *untergliedern*. Diese Abteilung wird wiederum in drei Gruppen *untertrennt*: MMS-VC, MMS-PD, und wir, MMS-IS Infrastruktur und Support. Das Becken ist in einen Schwimmer- und Nichtschwimmerbereich *untertrennt*. Grundsätzlich kann zwischen 3 Zellenarten *unterschieden* werden: ... Wir haben gelernt, Wichtiges von Unwichtigem zu *unterscheiden*. Eine feste Beziehung *unterscheidet sich* von einer guten Freundschaft durch das Verlangen stets bei dem “Partner” zu sein!

These *unter-* verbs can be very similar to *durch-* verbs, which can also indicate a more highly organized internal structure. Generally speaking, *durch-* verbs have a purer sense that there is a materially unaffected accusative

LM. *Durchbrechen*, *durchteilen* and *durchtrennen* typically describe a holistic slicing or severing path that focuses more on the passage of the FG than on the discontinuation of the accusative object. A verb like *durchgliedern* suggests recognizing divisions that are already there, such as discriminating the phonemes in a word, as opposed to the act of subdividing and creating a new and more complex organization that is suggested by *untergliedern*. The *durch-*verbs do not co-occur with destination phrases such as an *in*-PP that would suggest a new state that the accusative object is transformed into. The *unter-*verbs on the other hand commonly do take such an *in*-PP, as in (9) and in common collocations such as *in Gruppen unterteilen*.

2.5.3 Intersocial support (*unterhalten*, *unterrichten*)

In many of the ‘support’ examples an element of social interaction “among” people seems clearly prominent. That aspect is even more pronounced when the verb *unterhalten* is used to describe entertaining someone, or when *sich unterhalten* describes entertaining oneself or reciprocally having a conversation. The verb may suggest a vague ‘support’ image of edifying (or maintaining a relationship), but now the intersocial element predominates. Similar comments apply to the use of *sich unterreden* to mean ‘confer’ and *unterhandeln* meaning to ‘negotiate’. Like *unterhalten*, the ‘instructing’ verb *unterrichten* is highly lexicalized, and to the extent that *unter-* is felt to contribute separately to the meaning it is probably simply as a suggestion of social exchange (as opposed to a vague support image such as

edifying or holding someone upright). *Unterweisen* is similarly used to mean ‘instruct’.¹⁴

- (24) a. Das “perfekte” Buch *unterhält* mich bis zum Ende.
 ‘The “perfect” book *entertains* me all the way to the end’
 b. Sie *unterrichtet* die 11. Klasse.
 ‘She *teaches* the 11th grade’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... der alles Erdenkliche anbietet, um sein Publikum zu *unterhalten*. Neue Wege, *sich* mit dem Computer zu *unterhalten*, ... Wie häufig *unterhalten* Sie sich mit anderen Menschen, während Sie im Internet surfen? Sokrates *unterredet* sich umhergehend mit jedermann. Dieses Deserteurs wegen wurde wiederum mit dem Gouverneur *unterhandelt*. Hast du ihn vom Tod seines Vaters *unterrichtet*? Fremdsprachen sollen häufiger von ausländischen Lehrkräften *unterrichtet* werden. Beschäftigte sollen über Gesundheitsfragen am Arbeitsplatz *unterwiesen* werden.

3. Overdoing / Underdoing

¹⁴ According to Duden, the original meaning of *unterrichten* was to establish something (“einrichten, zustande bringen”), but other accounts relate it to intersocial meaning. Risch (1995: 16, note) cites the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen* (1989: 1876-8) definition of *unterrichten* as “etwas zwischen zweien zum Zwecke der Erkenntnis(vermittlung) darlegen”. Brinkmann (1962: 189) discusses *unterrichten* and *unterhalten* in terms of “zwischenmenschliches Verhalten”. Kühnhold (1973: 267) includes *unterhandeln*, *sich unterreden*, *unterhalten*, *unterrichten*, and *unterweisen* all as a kind of “among” variant (“untereinander”).

One highly general use of prefixed verbs with *über-* and *unter-* has an implicit LM that is a generic norm on a scale, a standard for measuring how far the base-verb-phrase activity extends. *Über-* implies going beyond that norm (excess), and *unter-* implies falling short of it.

These verbs have been discussed extensively in Risch's (1995) definitive study as part of a distinct class of scalar-prefix verbs (Skalierungspräfixverben). She classes the scalar verbs into three basic types, which I would characterize for *über-* as "outdoing" as in (25a) and as two variations on "overdoing" – either going too far as in (25b) or exceeding a capacity as in (25c).¹⁵

- (25) a. Die Studenten *überschreien* den Grammatikprofessor.
 'The students drown out the grammar professor with their yelling [*out-yell* him]'
- b. Erna *überfüllt* den Wagen. / Marie *unterschätzt* ihre Ausstrahlung.
 'Erna is *overfilling* the car. / Marie *underestimates* her charm'
- c. Hans *übernimmt sich* mit dem Job.
 'Hans is *taking on too much* with the job ["over-taking himself"]'

¹⁵ Risch's (1995) terms are also apt: *Ereignisvergleich* and *Normvergleich*. Among other distinctive characteristics, Risch notes that the scalar prefixes cannot be derived from PPs (**schreien über den Professor*, **schätzt unter ihre Ausstrahlung*, **nimmt über sich*) and so cannot be related to constructions with simple base verbs and PPs by argument shift (cf. *Hans tritt über die Schwelle* vs. *Hans übertritt die Schwelle*). She estimates (1995: 10) that over one third of all *über-* verbs and a fifth of *unter-* verbs have such scalar prefixes.

Risch's first class has already been treated separately in chapter 7 as 'competitive surpassing'. Competitive surpassing involves comparing the extension of one process (which serves as the FG) to that of another process that is also extending in parallel, so that their extents can be measured on a common scale. The students' yelling in (25a) thus extends further on a scale of volume than the professor's voice does. The accusative object (the professor) cannot be identified directly with the LM for the *über-* path, but it does stand metonymically for it – the LM is understood implicitly to be the extent of the professor's own yelling. Given that the LM is only implicitly associated with the accusative object in sentences like (25a), it would certainly be legitimate to treat the 'outdoing' constructions in this chapter. On the other hand, they are in several ways more similar semantically to the constructions that describe holistic paths with accusative LMs, for example spatial constructions with *überholen* for passing a moving object, or *überragen* for extending further than something else extends. A key difference between outdoing and overdoing is that outdoing compares two actual extending processes, while overdoing involves only one. (25a) compares the FG process with another process that is extrinsic to it, even if they can both be measured on a common scale. (25b) compares the FG process with its own intrinsic "normal" extent. Another, related difference concerns the evaluative implications. Constructions like (25a) are usually evaluated positively as outdoing the competition, while the constructions in (25b) and (25c) imply exceeding (or

failing to reach) an intrinsic normative limit. Overdoing implies going *too* far (and underdoing implies not going far enough).

One more indication of an important semantic difference between outdoing and overdoing is that *unter-* verbs are not generally used for outdoing. Risch (1995: 32) can cite only one clear example, the use of *unterbieten* to describe underbidding someone ('Hans *unterbietet* die Konkurrenz'). While that example certainly qualifies as competitive surpassing, it adds an unusual additional element that is necessary before *unter-* could be used, namely a measured scale that happens to be evaluated so that downward motion is positive. In other words, *unterbieten* can be understood as a special case that gives priority to the spatial meaning of *underbidding* someone rather than to the purely competitive meaning of *outbidding* them.

3.1. Going past a norm on a scale (*überschätzen, übertreiben*)

An obvious semantic source for the *über-* verbs that describe 'overdoing' is the pattern for a spatial path with a FG that 'crosses' an explicit accusative-LM boundary. That spatial type can be extended by general metaphorical principles to paths that go beyond abstract boundaries or limits ('ein Gesetz *übertreten*', 'die vorgeschriebene Geschwindigkeit *überschreiten*'). The LMs are often understood to be social or legal norms that are not normally to be crossed, so that crossing them suggests going too far, overstepping,

transgressing, exceeding – or at least going beyond the ordinary and appropriate.

Some *über-* verbs are associated with specific scales of measurement such as monetary amounts, providing a clear metaphorical scale on which the implicit norm can be located. These scales are often conceived as vertical and oriented in an upward direction, so that larger levels are “higher” than others and *über-* tends to suggest upward extension that reaches ‘above’ the norm (and *unter-* suggests not rising high enough). Verbs such as *überschätzen* (*unterschätzen*) and *überwerten* (*unterwerten*) are commonly used to describe over- or underestimating the value of something, either on an objectively measurable scale or on a more subjective scale of evaluation as in (26). Other verbs that tend to suggest a given monetary or other numerical scale include *überhöhen* (‘*überhöhte Preise*’), *überteuern*, *überzahlen*, *überzeichnen* referring to stock-market oversubscribing, *überziehen* to overdrawing a bank account. *Über-* / *unterreizen* can refer to how high one bids in card games. The verb *unterkühlen* is a special case that implies excess in a downward direction on a scale.

(26) Die meisten Bergsteiger, die zu Tode kommen, haben sich selbst *überschätzt* oder die Gefahr *unterschätzt*.

‘Most mountain climbers who meet their death either *overestimated* themselves or *underestimated* the danger’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Diese Zahl *überschätzt* sicherlich die Anzahl der in Deutschland lebenden Muslime. Lange Jahre hat man seine Tätigkeit *unterschätzt*, alle haben ihn *unterschätzt*. Die Relevanz des Internet für den Einzelnen wird grundsätzlich *überwertet*. Bill Gates gesteht Fehler ein und hält Google für *überwertet*. Ein Beruf, der leider noch vielfach *unterwertet* wird, ist der Beruf der Kindergärtnerin. Andererseits *unterwertet* unsere Geschichtslehrerin immer die Arbeiten. Auch die Gebrauchtimmoblie kann also *übersteuert* angeboten werden. Thutmosis III. selbst nennt insgesamt 330 Fürsten und Könige, eine Zahl, die von den Historikern als *überhöht* bezeichnet wird. Vermutlich hat Moskau in diesem Punkt die europäische Karte *überreizt*. Muss ich ALG2 zurückzahlen, wenn es durch einen Fehler der ARGE *überzahlt* wurde? Die Anleihe ist um 20% *überzeichnet* worden. In Zeiten von Arbeitslosigkeit, aber auch in anderen Situationen kann es schnell vorkommen, dass das Konto *überzogen* ist. *Unterkühlte* Flüssigkeiten und *überhitzte* Gase.

Several established *über-* verbs describe generally ‘exaggerating’ or ‘overdoing’ virtually any activity, whether or not it is normally related to a measurable scale. The most common verb in the category is *über-* / *untertreiben* as in (27), and other lexicalized verbs also occur – including *überspitzen*, *übersteigern*, *überhöhen*, *überborden* and *überziehen*. More specific verbs for overdoing the base-verb activity include *überzeichnen* used to mean ‘overcharacterize’ or exaggerate a characterization, and *überspielen* meaning to overplay something. Compare the relatively concrete variants such as using *über-* / *unterdrehen* or *über-* / *untersteuern* to describe turning too far or not far enough.

(27) Hier ist nichts *über-* oder *untertrieben*, dies sind (leider) die nackten Tatsachen!!!

‘Nothing is either *exaggerated* or *understated* here, these are (unfortunately) the naked facts’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ich rate dringend, in dieser Debatte nicht zu *übertreiben*. Nicole Kidman *übertreibt* es mit Botox-Behandlungen. Komm, *untertreib* nicht schon wieder – du kannst es doch sehr gut! Klingt das nicht etwas *überspitzt*? Politisch nie korrekt *überspitzt* er die Lage sarkastisch mit *überbordender* Lust am Chaos. Die Farben sind hier natürlich absichtlich etwas *übersteigert*. Israel *überhöht* die Bedrohung durch den Iran aus strategischem Interesse. In der Debatte über einen besseren Schutz von Nichtrauchern hat SPD-Bundestagsfraktionschef Peter Struck vor *überzogenen* Strafen gewarnt. Dieser Abwärtstrend weckt die Frage, ob die Stadt früher *überbordet* habe. In seinem Roman “Geisterstadt” *überdreht* und *überhöht* Robert Coover den Western. Kinski fand ich immer zu *überspielt*. Eine wirklich gediegene Farbaufnahme. Hier zeigen sich klar die Stärken Deiner Technik ohne zu *überzeichnen*. Einige Spins z.B. sind zu früh fertig oder werden abgebrochen bzw. sie werden nicht schnell genug ausgeführt; sind also *unter-* oder *überdreht*. Laut Polizei sei er auf Grund eines Fahrfehlers von der Fahrbahn abgekommen, habe sein Fahrzeug *übersteuert*, geriet dabei nach links über die Gegenfahrbahn ...

Although *untertreiben* is an established form, *unter-* verbs for not going far enough are generally much less common than *über-* verbs for going too far. In fact, one participant in a forum discussion about illogical gaps in the language cited the absence of a concept *untersteigert* that is the opposite of

übersteigert.¹⁶ Occasional examples can be found (‘Irak und ähnliches sprechen nicht grad für die US, wenn auch vieles vielleicht *über* - oder *unterspitzt* wurde’), but they are rare.

3.2. Exceeding capacity (*überfüllen, überladen, überfordern*)

The image of exceeding a norm on a linear scale of extension often applies to a particular spatial setting. In (28) for example, the normally appropriate extent is intrinsic not just to the verb process per se (filling, feeding, loading) but to the combination of that verb process and an object with a built-in capacity to contain it or bear it – i.e. the beaches, the baby and the trucks. In other words, the construction can suggest the spatial image of being “too much” in addition to the more purely verbal or aspectual image of going “too far”. A number of *über*- verb constructions thus describe exceeding the capacity of an accusative object, continuing a process there until it can no longer appropriately bear it. Such verbs are often either denominal or deadjectival, including *übervölkern, überdüngen, übersäuern, überheizen, überstrahlen* and *übersättigen*. Compare also more abstract verbs like *überzüchten* or deadjectival *überfeinern* and *überfremden*. A similar type for extending an activity beyond what is appropriate for the space involves taking

¹⁶ www.cosmiq.de/qa/show/1795683/Warum-sagt-man-z-B-Irrsinn-und-Groessenwahn-Weiter-lesen-bitte/

too much away from the space, as in overfishing an area (*überfischen*, *überweiden*, *überschießen*).

- (28) a. Und die Strände im Ausland sind sowieso *überfüllt*.
 ‘And in any case the beaches abroad are *overcrowded* [“overfilled”]’
- b. Außerdem kann ein Baby mit diesen Milchnahrungen *überfüttert* werden.
 ‘Besides that a baby can be *overfed* with these formulas’
- c. Den Verantwortlichen eines Tiefbauunternehmens und vier Subunternehmern wird vorgeworfen, seit März 2006 wiederholt LKW *überladen* zu haben.
 ‘The people in charge of an underground construction company and 4 subcontractors are charged with repeatedly *overloading* trucks since March 2006’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Viele Touristen *übevölkern* die Insel im Sommer. “Wir sind so *überfüllt* wie noch nie zuvor in dieser Jahreszeit”, sagt Tierheimsprecher Marcel Gäding. Schütten Sie eine kleine Menge der *übersättigten* Lösung in eine Uhrglas-Schale. Laut OPEC-Generalsekretär Abdullah al-Badri ist der Erdölmarkt *übersättigt*. In einer mit Nachrichten *übersättigten*, aber uninformierten Gesellschaft. Von Pre-Nahrung, davon geht man momentan aus, kann ein Kind nicht *überfüttert* werden, d.h. auch nicht zu dick werden. Die Futterzufuhr erfolgt über mehrere Stunden, so dass die Fische aktiv bleiben und nicht *überfüttert* werden. Der alte Kontinent könnte dereinst, *überaltert* und *übersättigt*, fremdbestimmt und fremdenfeindlich, ... Meine Heilpraktikerin meint ich wäre extrem *übersäuert* und hat mir einen Schwung “basischer” Sachen verschrieben. Die Zimmer sind gemütlich eingerichtet, allerdings sehr *überheizt*. Die Scans, die ich bekomme, sind alle hoffnungslos *überstrahlt* (keine Zeichnung mehr in hellen Bildbereichen) Und [der Tierarzt] meinte, dass die Wellensittiche generell *überzüchtet* sind. Sind dann

die Menschen, die mehr frieren als andere, auch *überzchtet*? ... eine *überfeinerte* Kultur. Die größte Zustimmung verzeichnet die Umfrage bei der Behauptung, dass Deutschland “durch Ausländer in einem gefährlichen Maß *überfremdet* ist”. Von allen von der FAO beobachteten Beständen in den Weltmeeren sind 17 Prozent *überfischt* und sieben Prozent gehen zurück. Zudem zeigt das Riff bereits deutliche Schäden, da das Lighthouse ein sehr beliebter Tauchplatz und demnach hoffnungslos *übertaucht* ist.

Similar verbs, like *überladen*, have salient force-dynamic implications of applying more force or energy to an object than it will bear. Other verbs for adding burdens include *überlasten*, *überfrachten* and *überbürden*, all of which are commonly used for abstract burdens rather than literal spatial ones. (29a) is a typical example. Verbs in this category frequently describe overtaxing the capacity of people or other animals or organs or machines to continue functioning. Similar constructions occur with base verbs that suggest applying energy or pressure in ways other than adding burdens. Such verbs include *überanstrengen*, *überreizen* and *überhitzen*. At times adding too much pressure to something results in “stretching” it too far: *überdehnen*, *überdrehen*, *überspannen* (‘den Bogen *überspannen*’). Some verbs have become lexicalized in this meaning even though the base verb does not suggest any physical pressure. *Überfordern* is particularly common as in (29d) to describe making too many demands on a person. *Überfragen* is used to mean expecting answers that the person is not able to provide.

- (29) a. Freilich wurde dadurch der Lehrplan *überlastet* und die Schülerschaft *überbürdet*.
 ‘Admittedly that caused the curriculum to be *overloaded* and the pupils to be *overburdened*’
- b. Das Bild ist die ganze Zeit über scharf, und somit werden die Augen nicht *überanstrengt*.
 ‘The picture is sharp the whole time, and so the eyes are not overly *strained* [overexerted]’
- c. Wenn Kinder *überdreht* sind, dann können sie schlecht einschlafen.
 ‘When children are *too wound up* [overwound] they have trouble going to sleep’
- d. Somit wird vermieden, dass ein Kind *unterfordert*, *überfordert* oder auch „*über*“- oder „*unterreizt*“ wird.
 ‘This way we avoid *making too few or too many demands* on the child and either *over-* or *understimulating*’
- e. Prinzessinnen *übereilen* nichts. Sie überlegen ruhig und gelassen.
 ‘Princesses don’t (overly) *rush* anything. They think about things calmly and serenely’

Verbs such as *überstürzen*, *überhasten* or *übereilen* as in (29e) do not really involve a particular spatial setting and in that sense they could be classed with the variants like *übertreiben* rather than with the verbs for exceeding a capacity. On the other hand these verbs do definitely suggest losing proper control, overloading the capacity of an activity with too much frantic energy, and they seem semantically closer to verbs like *überreizen* and *überhitzen*. (Cf. the reflexive constructions with these same verbs used to convey ‘going too fast for control’.)

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Der große Ansturm auf die neue Version des Firefox-Browsers hat den Server *überlastet*. Diese Art der Kriminalität *überlastet* die Justiz. Auch machen kleine, aber feine Neuerungen das Spiel interessanter ohne es zu *überfrachten*. Wir alle wissen ja nur zu gut, wie sehr die Studierenden der Medizin mit Arbeit *überbürdet* sind. ... von dem *überschuldetem* Volke. Sie wird schon verstehen, daß du *übermüdet* und *überreizt* warst. Sie sollen Ihre Kunden beflügeln und Lust auf Neues machen, ohne die Besucher mit wilder Optik zu *überreizen*. Sitzheizung im Auto *überhitzt* die Hoden. ADHD-Kinder sind am besten bei der Sache, wenn sie nicht *unterreizt*, aber auch nicht *überfordert* werden. Hallo, habe mir wohl in der letzten Pilatesstunde die Beine *überdehnt*, jedenfalls habe ich ziemliche Schmerzen in der Rückseite der Beine. Hab ein Problem, hab gestern beim Ölwechsel die Schraube *überdreht*. Handlung wie Figuren sind in äußerst angenehmer Weise *überspannt* und *überdreht* - aber nie zu viel. Wie der Titel schon sagt, fühle ich mich langsam mit meinem Chemiestudium *überfordert*. Du *überforderst* das Kind mit dieser Aufgabe. Etwas für die Farbprofis, bin immer noch *überfragt*. Die Abschaffung der Ich-AG war *übereilt*. FRA fängt die Bälle im Mittelfeld gut ab, doch sie spielen *überhastet* nach vorn und so entstehen sinnlose Ballverluste. Wenn man auf das Geld nicht angewiesen ist, sollte man jetzt nicht *überstürzt* verkaufen.

It is not usually noteworthy when something's full capacity is not reached, so there is not much practical use for a corresponding construction with an *unter-* verb. If *unter-* verbs do occur in constructions that are otherwise similar to these with *über-* verbs, as in (30), then they are not that semantically different from any other *unter-* verbs for falling short of a norm on a linear scale – i.e. there is little sense of force-dynamic capacity. Compare *unterfordert* or *unterreizt* in (29d).

- (30) a. Viele Lebensmittelpackungen sind *unterfüllt*.
 ‘Many grocery packages are *not filled* to capacity’
 b. Kann es daran liegen dass meine Batterie *unterladen* ist?
 ‘Can it be because my battery is *undercharged*’

As can be expected generally when prefixed verbs characterize the resulting state of a space, attributive past participles are very common. In fact, Risch (1995: 37) observes that many of the verbs in this category sound odd (“seltsam”) when they occur as finite verbs rather than attributive participles, and she speculates that the finite forms for verbs like *übersättigen* or *überfragen* are back formations from the attributive participles. It is difficult to compare the frequency of finite verbs vs. attributive past participles in an automated search. We can however get a rough measure of the relative frequency of attributive participles as opposed to participles that occur in passive constructions by searching for strings of the form “[participle] *ist*” compared with “[participle] *wird*”. Such searches confirm a very strong preference for attributive participial uses of verbs such as *übersättigen*, *übermüden*, *überfüllen*, *überhöhen*, *überspitzen*, *übersäuern*, *übevölkern*, *überbürden*, *überfragen*, *überdüngen* and *überhasten*. Generally speaking the *unter-* verbs are even more strongly inclined to occur as attributive past participles, including verbs like *unterfordern* and *untertreiben* whose

corresponding *über-* verbs were more evenly divided.¹⁷ Risch (1995: 45) even notes true adjectival uses of the participle in comparative forms, and such constructions can indeed be found on the internet.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Je länger der Ping dauert, desto langsamer oder *überlasteter* ist die Verbindung. Dass der Film noch *übertriebener* ist als sein Vorgänger, muss dabei nicht jedem gefallen. Größer und auch bekannter (also ein bisschen *überfüllter*) ist der Kanzianiberg/Skocjan. Je älter der Mensch, desto langsamer der Stoffwechsel und so *übersäuerter* ist er.

3.3. Reflexive exceeding capacity (*sich überarbeiten*)

¹⁷ Here are frequency results for the string “[participle] ist”/ “[participle] wird” from COSMAS and then from Google: *übersättigen* (53/ 4; 28,700/ 4,760), *übermüden* (19/ 0; 23,500/ 303), *überfüllen* (300/ 20; 394,000/ 11,300), *überhöhen* (82/ 45; 24,700/ 13,800), *überspitzen* (12 to 6; 9,290/ 2,190), *übersäuern* (6 to 0; 13,500/ 922), *übevölkern* (17 to 2; 4,870/ 1,010), *überhitzen* (36/ 4; 25,700/ 19,200), *überlasten* (396/ 77; 45,400/ 121,000). The Google results reveal the same tendencies for many verbs that did not get enough COSMAS returns to be significant: *überbürden* (1,330/ 796), *überfragen* (4,450/ 339), *überdüngen* (2,200/ 1,120), *überhasten* (607/ 293). The ratio for *unterfordern* in COSMAS was 57 to 19 (37,700 to 7,390 in Google), for *untertreiben* 65 to 0 (32,400 to 1,120), compared with 938 to 188 (528,000 to 80,200) for *überfordern* and 284 to 130 (76,500 to 112,000) for *übertreiben*. The most prominent exception to this general tendency to favor the attributive construction over the passive one are the verbs *überschätzen* (16/ 186; 13,300/ 94,300) and *unterschätzen* (78/ 743; 24,200/ 74,000). Other verbs that do not follow the general trend include *übereilen* (0/ 4; 2,490/ 2,250), *überanstrengen* (2/ 3; 9,020/ 10,100), *übersteigern* (4/ 5; 2,640/ 3,780), *überfüttern* (4/ 6; 1,240/ 2,250).

An interesting issue with regard to ‘excess’ variants is whether an accusative object is needed, i.e., whether the prefixed construction still requires the transitive pattern that is so consistently linked to it. Certainly there is no absolute rule requiring an accusative object. The strongly lexicalized verb *übertreiben* occurs freely in intransitive constructions – albeit with a more specific activity recoverable from context. Generally speaking though, speakers do seem uncomfortable with intransitive *über-* verbs even in this meaning. For example, I have been unable to find any instances such as **Er hat überlacht* to mean he laughed more than was appropriate or more than he was physically able to bear, or **Er hat überschrieen* to mean he screamed more than was socially acceptable or until he was hoarse. Similarly, **Er hat übergessen* or **Er hat überarbeitet* do not occur to mean that he exceeded his capacity for eating or for working.

What one does sometimes find, though, are reflexive constructions like (31) that express exceeding one’s capacity to engage in a base-verb activity. Verbs such as *sich überessen*, *sich überfressen* and *sich überarbeiten* are lexicalized in this meaning, and more occasional instances like (31c) or even (31d) can also be found. These reflexive constructions are very limited in their use however. They refer only to exceeding the subject’s intrinsic capacity and not to exceeding something external (such as an appropriate social norm).¹⁸

¹⁸ *Sich überreizen* in the meaning of overbidding one’s hand seems at first to imply a more linear external scale rather than intrinsic capacity, but even here the meaning is

They describe events such as overeating, or working more than is good for you, but not for example overdressing or overachieving or talking more than is socially acceptable. *Sich übertrinken* does not describe simply getting drunk and acting badly; it implies drinking until one is sick of it and cannot drink any more.¹⁹

- (31) a. Da haben *sich* einige wohl *überfressen* und *übertrunken*.
 ‘Some certainly *ate* and *drank beyond their capacity* [“overate and overdrank themselves”]’
- b. Ist Dorothea Trudel deshalb so früh verstorben, weil sie *sich überarbeitet* hat?
 ‘Did Dorothea Trudel die so young because she *worked more than she was able* [“overworked herself”]’
- c. Der Sänger *überschrie sich* häufig fast und klang angenehm krank und hasserfüllt.

to exceed the legitimate intrinsic capacity of the hand at Skat: ‘Hätte er höher reizen müssen, zum Beispiel bis 44, so hätte er *sich überreizt* und das Spiel verloren’.

¹⁹ These reflexive prefixed constructions are very similar to particle verb constructions that prompt an image in which an accusative FG is a substance that accumulates until its highest level exceeds an implicit limit related to a dative object: ‘Ich hab mir nutella *übergegessen* und bin auf marmelade umgestiegen’. In comparison with the prefixed verb constructions there is a clear focus on the substance being consumed, and on its sequential extension past an implicit LM. There are actually quite a few instances like this one on the internet, in which a particle verb occurs with an accusative reflexive rather than a dative one in a pattern that supposedly should call for a prefixed verb: ‘An Nüssen habe ich *mich* so *übergegessen*, dass ich sie im Moment nicht mag’. Apparently explicit mention of the substance being consumed, even obliquely, can trigger the use of a particle verb rather than a construction that focuses on the subject’s capacity.

- ‘The singer frequently almost *screamed until his voice cracked* and sounded pleasingly sick and filled with hate [“overscreamed himself”]’
- d. Ich hab *mich überlacht*. Mein Lachgetriebe ist kaputt.
 ‘I *laughed more than my body could take*. My laugh mechanism is broken [“overlaughed myself”]’

Apart from the overeating verbs, the construction is most generally available with base verbs that indicate exertion, such as *sich überarbeiten* and *sich überanstrengen*. It is occasionally extended to base verbs that more indirectly suggest exertion, such as *sich überspielen* or *sich übertun*. There are also verbs such as *sich übereilen*, *sich überhasten* and *sich überstürzen* that imply rushing too much and thus losing proper control over one’s activity. These verbs are especially common as past participles used adverbially.

The reflexive use of many of these verbs can be considered syntactically normal. Given the general transitive use of a verb like *überfüttern* for example, it makes sense that one might overfeed oneself just as one might overfeed a baby or a pet. Similarly, if one can overexert one’s body (‘den Körper *überanstrengen*’) then it makes sense that one can overexert oneself (*sich überanstrengen*). Similar comments apply to *sich übersteigern*. Moreover, *sich eilen* is normally used in reflexive constructions and that obviously motivates a corresponding use of *sich übereilen*. These syntactically transparent constructions can presumably be considered transitional instances that motivate the reflexive constructions with an intransitive base verb like *arbeiten*, or with a base verb like *essen* that takes an extrinsic accusative

object rather than a person, or with a truly idiomatic compound such as *sich übernehmen*.

There are also a few highly lexicalized verbs in this general category that are more idiomatic (i.e., that are not interpreted simply as “V-ing beyond the subject’s capacity to V”, where V is the base verb). *Sich übernehmen* and *sich überheben* are both similar in meaning to the English ‘bite off more than one can chew’. *Sich übernehmen* is used quite generally as in (32a) to describe taking on too much, and *sich überheben* suggests being presumptuous (*überheblich*), overestimating one’s ability to accomplish the act in question.²⁰ *Sich überschlagen* can be included in this category as well. It is in many ways like *sich überstürzen*, suggesting an excess of momentum that causes the FG to go too far and lose control. In spatial uses it typically describes things that tumble head over heels, which is an image that can also be related to variants such as “falling all over oneself” and to reflexive-trajector toppling over. *Sich überschlagen* can also be used for voices that go out of control and crack, making it similar to *sich überschreien*.

- (32) a. Er hat *sich* mit dem Hausbau finanziell *übernommen*.
 ‘He *overextended himself* financially building the house’
 b. Einige Banken haben *sich überhoben* und einige Leute haben viel Geld verloren.

²⁰ *Sich überheben* can also be used in the normal productive way to describe lifting too much and straining oneself: ‘Nein ich habe *mich überhoben*, als ich eine schwere Tasche trug’.

‘Some banks *acted arrogantly* and some people lost a lot of money’

c. Die Nazipresse *überschlug sich* in Haßtiraden auf den Emigranten.

‘The Nazi press *went overboard* in its hate-filled tirades aimed at emigrants’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Wer langsam isst, spürt das Sättigungsgefühl schneller und *überisst sich* nicht so leicht. Die andere [Katze] jedoch *überfrisst sich* dermassen, bis sie aussieht wie ein aufgeblasener Ballon. Er *überschrie sich* dabei, seine Augen quollen aus ihren Höhlen, und die Adern an seinen Schläfen schwellen. Ich würde mindestens 12-13 Stunden schlafen, aber dann hätte ich *mich überschlafen*. Aus Leichtsinn und aus Ruhmsucht hat er *sich übereilt*, und sein Straßenabschnitt hat der Belastungsprobe nicht standgehalten. Der FCZ geht nicht auf Ballhalten sondern *überhastet sich* in Angriffen. Wer gleich auf einmal zu viel verlangt, der *überstürzt sich*. Der Sozialstaat Deutschland hat *sich übernommen*, wir müssen ihn jetzt heilen. Meinst du nicht, dass du *dich* mit dieser Gleichstellung etwas *überhoben* hast? Es ist dir gelungen, *dich* mit deinem Wagen 5 mal zu *überschlagen*. Annika beispielsweise geht lieber bedächtig durchs Leben, anstatt *sich* zu *überschlagen*. Doch seine Wut *überschlägt sich*. Er jammerte fast, seine heisere Stimme *überschlug sich*.

Nur mit Muttermilch kann kein Baby *überfüttert* werden. / Ist doch krank zu glauben, dass ein Baby *sich überfüttert*. Seine Arbeitsanforderungen haben ihn *überanstrengt*. / Er hat *sich* beim Jogging *überanstrengt*. Doch die Fifa würde gut daran tun, die Erwartungen nicht zu *übersteigern*. / Jede Macht birgt in sich die Tendenz, *sich* zu *übersteigern* und dadurch zugrunde zu richten. Und das geht hin und *eilt sich*, dass es endet. / Die Natur *übereilt sich* nicht, sondern geht langsam vor.

There is little practical demand for a corresponding construction with *unter-* verbs to describe doing something under full capacity (Risch 1995: 48).

Sich unterkühlen can describe going too far in a downward direction on a

scale, however (‘Wenn man *sich unterkühlt* hat, gibt es viele Möglichkeiten, den Körper wieder aufzuwärmen’).

3.4. Constraints on the use of scalar *über-* verbs

The pattern reflected in this section can in principle be applied to any activity that can be read to have an appropriate limit to its extent, and the construction is not quite as limited to particular lexicalized compound verbs as was generally the case with the other variants in this chapter (such as ‘transfer’ verbs with *über-*). Still, most occurrences do have verbs that are lexicalized in this usage, while a truly productive construction would add an adverbial expression like *zuviel* (or *zuwenig*) to the base verb. The reason for this constraint on the general productivity of the *über-* verb construction may be the pragmatic danger of confusing it with other variants. Confusion could arise for example if *überfärben* could mean overdoing the dying process rather than coloring the hair as intended. Without a clear lexical association, how does one know that *überdüngen* means excessive fertilizing in a sentence like ‘Laut einer Untersuchung von Stiftung Warentest sind viele Kleingärten in Deutschland mit Mineralstoffen *überdüngt*’ – rather than covering a surface with fertilizer?²¹

²¹ At times the intended scalar meaning can be clarified by explicit contrast between *über-* and *unter-*. For example, even the lexicalized ‘transfer’ verb *überliefern* can be

The sort of confusion that can arise when the verbs are not lexicalized is illustrated by a verb such as *überzählen*. If one consults a handbook such as Duden the situation looks straightforward enough: *überzählen* means making a holistic pass to count quickly (‘((noch einmal, schnell) nachzählen’). That is indeed the most common meaning, but it is not the only meaning reflected in a Google search. *Überzählen* can also mean to overdo the counting process and reach a total that is too high, as in the first example below. Not only that, it can also mean to overlook something when counting – thus reaching a total that is too low.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Bestrahlungsabteilungen sind häufig zentralisiert und betreuen daher eventuell auch Patientinnen, die von anderen als dem nahe liegenden Brustzentrum behandelt werden oder auch überhaupt nicht in Betreuung eines Brustzentrums sind. Wird die Bestrahlungsabteilung nun dem Brustzentrum zugerechnet und alle Therapien/Fälle eingerechnet, die durch so eine Bestrahlungseinheit behandelt werden, werden die eigentlichen Fälle des Brustzentrums *überzählt*. Es gibt da einen Satz auf Englisch mit der Aufgabe, die darin vorkommenden “f” zu zählen. Der Dreh ist, daß “f” am Ende von kurzen Wörtern meistens *überzählt* werden. Habe mal gestern nachgezählt und es fehlen ein paar [Gar]Nelen (entweder hab ich welche *überzählt* oder sie sind nicht mehr unter uns).

3.5. Stressed but inseparable *über-* and *unter-* (*ÜBERbetonen*)

used to mean exceeding a norm in a sentence like: ‘Wird bei der Lieferung nach festen Regeln *unter-* oder *überliefert*?’

The potential confusion between *über-* verbs for ‘excess’ and those that express other meanings does not apply to the use of *über-* (or *unter-*) with base verbs that are already derived by adding an unstressed prefix such as *be-* or *ver-*, or by adding the stressed suffix *-ieren*. Prefix *über-* does not freely combine with such base verbs in its other meanings, so the scalar prefix is free to occur generally with base verbs like *bewerten*, *bezahlen*, *bevölkern*, *betonen*, *belichten*, *erfüllen*, *entwickeln*, *produzieren*, *repräsentieren*, and so on. Combining the prefix *über-* (or *unter-*) with such base verbs does cause a grammatical complication, however.

Adding unstressed *über-* or *unter-* to a base verb that begins with an unstressed syllable would mean that the new compound would begin with two consecutive unstressed syllables, and that violates general rhythmic patterns for German verbs. When this conflict between two competing phonological patterns arises, the more general phonological pattern wins. The prefix is stressed in verbs such as *ÜBERbewerten* or *ÜBERdosieren* – as if *über-* were a particle.

In most syntactic situations that is all we need to say about the issue: general phonological stress patterns override the more specific stress patterns normally associated with prefix *über-*, and so the prefix is stressed but remains syntactically inseparable. Thus the infinitive *ÜBERdosieren* can be considered to have a stressed prefix, as could the past participle *ÜBERdosiert*. Many verbs occur as past participles in the overwhelming majority of instances anyway, including for example *ÜBERbeansprucht* or *ÜBERbelastet*, as well as

a large number of *unter-* verbs including *unterbewertet*, *unterbezahlt*, *unterbelichtet*, *unterbelegt*, *unterbeschäftigt*, *unterbesetzt*, *unterversichert*, *unterversorgt*, *unterentwickelt*, *unterernährt*, *unterprivilegiert*, *unterrepräsentiert*. Even finite verbs can be understood to have a stressed prefix when they occur at the end of a subordinate clause (‘dass er oft *ÜBERdosiert*’). In all of these cases, the only marked difference between a prefixed construction and a particle construction is phonological stress, and we could think of the phonological distinction between prefixed verbs and particle verbs to be neutralized.

- (33) *unterbezahlt* und *überbelastet*
 ‘underpaid and overburdened’

Serious confusion arises with finite verbs in main clauses though, when speakers are forced to make word-order choices between a separable particle construction and an inseparable prefix construction, so that the difference is no longer merely rhythmic. That is, should one class the verbs unequivocally as particle verbs and say ‘Er *dosiert* oft *ÜBER*’? Or should one class the verbs basically as prefixed verbs but with an overriding stress pattern and say ‘Er *ÜBERdosiert* oft’?

The main strategy followed by speakers is to avoid the choice altogether and restrict the use of these verbs to nonfinite forms. That is, they will accept sentences like ‘Medikamente kann man leicht *ÜBERdosieren*’, but

they tend to reject any use that requires a decision about separating the prefix (preferring alternatives like ‘Überdosis geben’). If they are truly forced to make the choice though, speakers will most typically opt for the pattern where *über-* is inseparable but stressed, i.e., ‘Er *ÜBER*dosiert oft’ but never *‘Er *dosiert* oft *ÜBER*’. In fact, Duden occasionally cites inseparable examples under verbs listed with stressed *ÜBER-* or *UNTER-*. It seems clear that these verbs are felt to be basically prefixed verbs grammatically and semantically, even though the stress patterns do not conform. See McIntyre (unpublished).

- (34) Also entweder liegt es an der Hitze draußen, oder das Spiel *überbeansprucht* irgendwie die Hardware.
 ‘So either it’s a matter of the heat outside, or else the game is somehow *putting too much strain* on the hardware’

There is one situation, however, where speakers tend to opt for a slight syntactic separation and choose the pattern associated with particle verbs, namely infinitives with *zu*. Thus Duden gives two examples for *ÜBERdosieren*: ‘Er *ÜBER*dosiert oft’ and ‘Um nicht *ÜBER*zudosieren, sollte man ..’. Searches of COSMAS and Google reveal that the inseparable prefixed pattern does occur (e.g. *zu überbelichten*), but the particle pattern is decidedly more common (*überzubelichten*).²²

²² Here are the ratios of “zu über-V” and “über-zu-V” with some representative verbs, with COSMAS results followed by Google results: *ÜBERbelasten* (4/12; 334/612), *ÜBERbelegen* (1/2; 6/78), *ÜBERbelichten* (0/0; 215/1,390), *ÜBERbetonen* (2/29;

- (35) Viele Leute machen den Fehler, ihren Hausrat *unterzuversichern*, manchmal sogar 50%.
 ‘Many people make the mistake of *underinsuring* their household effects, often even by 50%’

367/5,070), *ÜBERbewerten* (6/556; 1,540/34,600), *ÜBERbezahlen* (0/0; 39/114), *ÜBERdimensionieren* (0/1; 224/693), *ÜBERdosieren* (0/2; 199/1,160), *ÜBERerfüllen* (0/17; 112/2,190), *ÜBERinterpretieren* (1/15; 354/1,300), *ÜBERkompensieren* (1/3; 1,140/1,570), *ÜBERorganisieren* (0/0; 96/83), *überrepräsentieren* (0/0; 8/46), *ÜBERstrapazieren* (14/117; 1,960/8,480), *ÜBERtrainieren* (0/3; 32/1,230), *ÜBERversichern* (0/2; 7/108).

PART 4

Comparisons and conclusions

CHAPTER 10

Contrasting *über-* and *ÜBER-* (and *unter-* and *UNTER-*)

In most situations there is no confusion about whether to use a prefixed verb construction or a particle verb construction. If we make basic semantic distinctions between types of accusative object, then the two constructions are largely in complementary distribution.

- Prefixed verbs typically occur with a focal accusative LM that locates the whole route path, which is either a holistic linear path or a multi-directional path.
- Particle verbs have an implicit LM and a FG that attracts concentrated focal attention at each point on the route. (If the FG extends rather than moving as a whole, then our attention is concentrated on its leading part.) The FG is most typically the nominative subject of an intransitive construction, and it can also appear as an accusative FG in a caused motion construction or as an accusative reflexive-trajector.

The two constructions contrast directly only when one of them deviates from those typical complementary patterns, and that happens in two basic situations. In one, a particle *DURCH-* verb takes an accusative

incremental theme (chapter 6) and can thus contrast directly with a *durch*-verb that has a route-like LM (chapter 7). That contrast is the topic in chapter 11. In this chapter we look at the other general situation in which the two constructions can sometimes seem equivalent. It arises when prefixed *über*-verbs or *unter*-verbs occur with the LM left implicit (chapter 9). In that case they can have an accusative FG (or on rare occasions even a nominative FG in an intransitive construction) and thus contrast directly with particle verb constructions (chapter 4). These directly contrasting situations can reduce the difference between prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions to a kind of core semantic minimum – the meaning of the grammatical constructions themselves.

In (1)–(2) for example, the contrasting constructions with particle ÜBER- and prefix *über*- describe very similar events, and the same might possibly be said for UNTER- and *unter*- in (3). Even educated native speakers can sometimes be uncertain which construction is more appropriate or “correct” – the particle verb as in the (a) variants or the prefixed verb as in the (b) variants. On the other hand, speakers do sense subtle semantic differences between the two constructions. Such contrasts – together with those to be treated in the next chapter involving *durch*- and DURCH- – offer an opportunity to look very precisely at the “feel” that native speakers have for the constructions.

- (1) a. Die Mg-Verbindung Citrat wird ja durch die Magensäure aufgelöst und in Chlorid *übergeführt*.
 ‘The Mg compound citrate is dissolved by the stomach acid and *transformed* into chloride’
- b. Durch spezielle Verfahren kann die Mehrheit der Atome eines Systems in den angeregten Zustand *überführt* werden.
 ‘Using special procedures the majority of the atoms in a system can be *transformed* into a state of agitation’
- (2) a. Und diese 200000 Menschen sollten, so forderte die tschechoslowakische Regierung, nach Ungarn *übersiedelt* werden.
 ‘And according to the demands of the Czechoslovakian government, these 200,000 people should be *relocated* to Hungary.’
- b. 150 Patienten müssen *übersiedelt* werden.
 ‘150 patients have to be *moved*’
- (3) a. Hast du deinem Süßen denn schon mal einen Brief *unterschieden*, in die Arbeitstasche oder so.
 ‘Have you ever secretly *slipped* your sweetheart a letter, in his briefcase, say’
- b. James Garfield wurde ein gefälschter Brief *unterschieden*, in dem er die chinesische Einwanderung befürwortete.
 ‘A forged letter was *attributed* to James Garfield in which he endorsed the Chinese immigration’

In this chapter we look first generally at the usual differences between particle ÜBER- verbs and prefixed *über-* verbs that describe ‘transfers’, differences that basically reflect whether the meaning is lexicalized and has nonspatial implications. Then we will look carefully at two sets of contrasting verbs that could be read according to either pattern: ÜBER- / *überführen* and

ÜBER- / *übersiedeln*. A similar discussion will contrast *UNTER-* / *unterschoben*, as well as the particle verb *UNTERkommen* and the prefixed verb *unterlaufen*. The chapter closes with a summary of the semantic patterns that distinguish particle verb constructions from prefixed verb constructions of this type.¹

1. **ÜBER- vs. über-**

¹ We could also mention one other situation when some confusion arises between prefixed *über-* (or *unter-*) and particle *ÜBER-* (or *UNTER-*), namely when either construction can describe eating too much of something. Overeating generally can be expressed by a reflexive construction with *sich überessen* (e.g. ‘Wer langsam isst, spürt das Sättigungsgefühl schneller und *überisst sich* nicht so leicht’), as reported in chapter 9, and eating too much of a specific substance can be expressed by *ÜBERessen* together with a dative person and an accusative substance that accumulates beyond an implicit limit (e.g. ‘Ich hab mir nutella *übergegessen* und bin auf marmelade umgestiegen’), which is an accusative-FG variant of the ‘overflow’ image discussed in chapter 3. The two constructions describe objectively very similar events when the prefixed construction specifies the consumed substance in an *an-PP* (‘Als Kind habe ich *mich* an diesen Dingen völlig *übergessen*’). Still, the semantic difference between them is clear enough. The particle verb prompts us to focus on the accumulation of the particular substance being consumed, and the prefixed verb focuses on exceeding the capacity of the accusative object as a whole. True confusion between the constructions does arise, however, in sentences that replace the prefixed verb in the reflexive construction with a particle verb: ‘An Nüssen habe ich *mich* so *übergessen*, dass ich sie im Moment nicht mag’. This construction is not standard German, but there are quite a few instances like it on the internet. Apparently explicit mention of the substance being consumed, even obliquely, can trigger enough focus on the FG to elicit a particle verb.

1.1. Spatial ÜBER- transfers and lexicalized *über-* transfers

These directly contrasting constructions with *über-* and ÜBER- are the ones that the handbooks have in mind when they generalize that prefixed verbs tend to be more abstract and “figurative” while particle verbs are more concrete and spatial. The parade examples of that tendency are prefixed *übersetzen* (‘translate’) as in (4a), as opposed to the particle verb *ÜBERsetzen* in (4b), which means taking something across an implicit spatial LM such as a river.

- (4) a. Martin Luther hat auf der Wartburg innerhalb von 80 Tagen das ganze Neue Testament ins Deutsche *übersetzt*.
 ‘At the Wartburg Martin Luther *translated* the whole New Testament into German in 80 days’
- b. Mit Schlauchbooten mussten alle 294 Passagiere *übergesetzt* werden.
 ‘All 294 passengers had to be *brought across* with rubber rafts’

It does seem generally true that particle ÜBER- verbs typically describe spatial changes of location (transferring an accusative FG from one discrete location to another across an implicit spatial boundary or gap), while all other transitive transfers across an implicit LM have a prefixed *über-* verb. As reported in chapter 9, prefixed *über-* verbs can describe transferring possession, control or responsibility, as well as transmitting abstract FGs such as information, infectious diseases or emotional states from one (metaphorical) region to another. Many of the verbs are lexicalized for very

specific types of transfer (e.g. *übersetzen* for translating, *überzeugen* for convincing, *überweisen* for transferring funds, *überführen* for convicting someone of a crime), while others such as *übertragen* are used for a range of abstract transfers. The prefixed verbs are lexicalized, and they suggest particular contexts that are defined in terms of nonspatial functional features.

Situations do occasionally arise when both constructions might reasonably apply, but even here the principle seems basically to hold. In (5) for example there is a bounded physical FG (the keys) that is being spatially moved from one location to another, and a particle verb construction would be sensible. Still, the event is clearly understood in a social or legal context with definite nonspatial functional implications for the people involved, i.e. transferring possession or responsibility. That nonspatial aspect of the event normally takes precedence so that the prefixed verb is chosen. As a rule of thumb, if a lexicalized prefixed *über-* verb *can* be used appropriately, then it nearly always *is* preferred over the particle *ÜBER-* verb.²

² The results from electronic searches of infinitives with *zu* reflect an overwhelming general preference for the prefixed verbs when a ‘transfer’ is being described. The ratios of prefixed verb to particle verb in a COSMAS search followed by a Google search are as follows: *übernehmen* (42,995/0, 3,910,000/2,320), *überzeugen* (23,583/0, 2,780,000/680), *übertragen* (9,517/2, 2,450,000/12,100), *übermitteln* (1,930/0, 1,700,000/371), *übersetzen* (2,118/154, 798,000/35,900), *überlassen* (7,534/0, 700,000/454), *übergeben* (5,202/0, 658,000/14,400), *überweisen* (2,972/1, 606,000/218), *überreden* (2,317/0, 335,000/8), *überführen* (2,291/190, 331,000/89,500), *übersenden* (114/0, 276,000/128), *überreichen* (3,006/0, 162,000/35), *überbringen* (1,708/4, 145,000/1,250), *übereignen* (104/0, 130,000/5),

- (5) Vor Ort hatten wir eine Engländerin als Ansprechpartnerin, die uns auch die Schlüssel *übergeben* hat.
 ‘We had an English woman on site as contact person, and she also *gave* us the keys [transferred possession]’
- (6) a. und auf elektronischem Wege werden ihm dann auch die Zugangsdaten *übergesandt*.
 ‘and the access data are then also *transmitted* to him electronically’
- b. Die vor allem emotionalen Hochs und Tiefs der Ausbildung werden informativ *übergebracht*.
 ‘The primarily emotional highs and lows of education are *conveyed* informatively’

In the unusual event that a particle ÜBER- verb is chosen to describe an event such as transferring information, it may call attention to the detailed manner of transmission (e.g. specifying that the information goes through an electronic system, or that it is being walked over from one office to another), as in (6a). The particle verb may also suggest functional connotations that are not normally associated with the lexicalized prefixed verb, such as conveying or “putting across” an emotional tone or an attitude rather than normal information, as in (6b).

We should be careful using the term “figurative” to characterize the prefixed *über-* verbs in contrast to ÜBER- verbs. It is generally true that the

überspielen (686/0, 118,000/491), *überschreiben* (129/0, 75,500/228), *überliefern* (112/0, 70,200/7), *überantworten* (202/0, 33,100/6), *überstellen* (288/0, 16,400/2,330), *überkommen* (18/2, 8,710/621), *übermachen* (0/0, 7,020/7), *überpflanzen* (1/0, 1,280/416).

prefixed verbs are used to convey nonspatial functional information, while the particle verbs are preferred in pure spatial contexts. The more precise difference between the two constructions however is that prefixed *über-* verbs are *lexicalized* to convey nonspatial functional implications, while the *ÜBER-* verbs are typically used productively to convey a basically spatial image for a particular occasion. Paradoxically, this means that prefixed verbs actually do not seem very metaphorical at all. Verbs like *überreden* or *übersetzen* are simply the normal way to describe the acts of persuading or translating. As the next two sections demonstrate, the key to distinguishing *überführen* and *ÜBERführen*, or *übersiedeln* and *ÜBERSiedeln*, is whether the verbs are lexicalized – not whether they are figurative.

1.2. *ÜBERführen* vs. *überführen*

The principle that *über-* verbs tend to be lexicalized to profile nonspatial implications, and that they are preferred over particle *ÜBER-* verbs whenever that is the case, leaves room for gray areas when it is unclear whether the *über-* verb is lexicalized in a particular meaning or not. True uncertainty about which construction is more appropriate arises generally only with the base verbs *siedeln* and *führen*.

The prefixed verb *überführen* is commonly used to describe transporting a physical entity such as a person from one situation to another, as in (7a) when *überführen* describes transferring a patient from one clinic or

room to another. It is also commonly used for events like that in (8a) in which human remains are transported to the appropriate authorities for handling. In both cases there is a strong spatial element of physically transporting, and the particle verb *ÜBERführen* is a sensible alternative as in (7b) and (8b). In both cases though, there is also a strong sense of transferring responsibility (as well as executing a routine act within an organized system), and the prefixed verb *überführen* has become lexically associated with these particular contexts. The principle thus holds that lexicalized *über-* verbs are preferred, and the prefixed (a) variants are decidedly more common.³

- (7) a. 1963 wurde er in eine andere Klinik *überführt*, wo er bis 1974 blieb.
 ‘In 1963 he was *transferred* to a different clinic, where he remained until 1974’
- b. Wegen Suizidgefahr wurde der Tatverdächtige in eine psychiatrische Klinik *übergeführt*.
 ‘Because of the danger of suicide the suspect was *transferred* to a psychiatric clinic’
- (8) a. Jede Leiche ist innerhalb von 36 Stunden in eine Leichenhalle zu *überführen*.
 ‘Every corpse is to be *conveyed* to a mortuary within 36 hours’

³ Google searches returned 1210 hits for “Leiche zu überführen“ and none for “Leiche überzuführen“, 9390 for “Patienten zu überführen” and 3 for “Patienten überzuführen”. There were 57,200 hits for the combination of “Leiche” and “zu überführen”, and only 2,070 for “Leiche” and “überzuführen” (COSMAS had 5 and 0), and the corresponding numbers for cooccurrence with “Sarg” were 17,600 to 681. “Krankenhaus zu überführen” returned 568 hits as opposed to 8 for “Krankenhaus überzuführen”.

- b. Im Juli 1867 erhielt er den Befehl, die Leiche des erschossenen Kaisers Maximilian von Mexiko nach Europa *überzuführen*.

‘In July 1867 he received the order to *transport* the executed body of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico to Europe’

The prefixed verbs in (7a) and (8a) describe routine acts of delivering the patient or the body to the proper responsible authority within the normal system. In that sense these variants are similar to the very strongly lexicalized use of prefixed *überführen* for convicting someone of a crime; they involve routinely transferring an accusative FG to a predictable authority that will assume responsibility for it. When the particle verb is chosen as in (7b) and (8b) on the other hand, the destination is typically not so predictable and routine (i.e., not as lexically implied by the *über-* verb construction), and the construction seems to focus more on reporting the specific destination where the FG is being transported.

In any event, true uncertainty about whether to use *überführen* or *ÜBERführen* does not really arise in cases like (7) and (8). Native speakers can become genuinely unsure which construction is more appropriate in sentences like (1) however, which describe converting something “into” a different state or form. It is not fully clear whether *überführen* is lexicalized in this meaning or not. Such variants are obviously metaphorical, but they can be read as a general spatial metaphor according to which a change of state is expressed in terms of an essentially spatial image as a change of location. It

makes sense that *ÜBERführen* might function in a sentence like (1a) as the transitive counterpart to *ÜBERgehen*.

- (1) a. Die Mg-Verbindung Citrat wird ja durch die Magensäure aufgelöst und in Chlorid *übergeführt*.
 ‘The Mg compound citrate is dissolved by the stomach acid and *transformed* into chloride’
- b. Durch spezielle Verfahren kann die Mehrheit der Atome eines Systems in den angeregten Zustand *überführt* werden.
 ‘Using special procedures the majority of the atoms in a system can be *transformed* into a state of agitation’

As in contrasts like (7) and (8), the deciding factor in the choice of construction seems to be whether the destination is predictably routine. If it is, then a foreseeable whole act is being executed and the prefixed verb *überführen* is called for. For example, when the destination is an abstract generic one that commonly occurs with *überführen*, like *Zustand* or *Besitz*, then the prefixed verb is decidedly more common than the particle verb.⁴ On the other hand if the collocation seems more occasional and the destination less predictable, then the general particle verb construction becomes more likely, as in (1a).⁵

⁴ Google searches returned 94,300 hits for “Zustand zu überführen“ and 8,980 for “Zustand überzuführen“, and 19,500 for “Besitz zu überführen” and only 378 for “Besitz überzuführen”.

⁵ Generally speaking, the particle verb *ÜBERführen* is probably somewhat more common in this meaning. With all destinations combined there is certainly a

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er schüttelte mit dem Kopf und empfahl mir, meine Frau ins Krankenhaus zu *überführen*. Seine Familie bat darum ihn in ein anderes Krankenhaus zu *überführen*, was aber abgelehnt wurde. Dennoch hat die Kölner Feuerwehr einen Rettungshubschrauber angefordert um den verletzten jungen Mann in eine Kölner Klinik zu *überführen*. Schließlich reist der Sohn des Toten an, um die Leiche zu *überführen*. Mira Markovic schickte gestern ihren Sohn nach Den Haag, um Milosevic' Leichnam zu *überführen*. Erst im Sommer 1999 bekam ich die Gelegenheit diesen Vinylschatz in meinen Besitz zu *überführen*. Durch Veränderungen im Bereich der medikamentösen Therapie gelingt es in vielen Fällen, die CML wieder in die chronische Phase zu *überführen*. Nach Bildung von zwei Molekülen Glutamat wird der Rezeptor in einen offenen Zustand *überführt*.

Er überredet sofort die Angehörigen, die Frau in meine Klinik *überzuführen*. Der Leichnam des polnischen Präsidenten war bereits am Samstag nach Warschau *übergeführt* worden. Starb der Mann fern von seiner Frau, so war es in der Regel nicht möglich, die Leiche in die Heimat *überzuführen*. Freud warnte uns in Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse vor Führern, die versuchen, uns mittels Manipulation in eine unkritische Masse *überzuführen*. Es geht viel mehr darum, die Erkrankung in ein früheres, leichteres Stadium *überzuführen*. Das Ziel ist, innovative Ideen und Forschungsinitiativen aufzugreifen und in konkrete, erfolgreiche Projekte *überzuführen*.

preference for prefixed *überführen* (2,291 hits for “zu überführen” in COSMAS, 190 for “überzuführen“, with the corresponding Google numbers 372,000 to 239,000), but those numbers include uses like (7) and (8) as well as the one for convicting a prisoner. It is reasonable to assume that *ÜBERführen* becomes relatively more common when those uses are subtracted. (Of course the numbers for *ÜBERführen* also include spatial paths.)

An indication of the potential confusion among educated native speakers about sentences like (1) is an internet forum discussion (www.wer-weiss-was.de/theme143/article1431519.html) in which one participant asks if “zu überführen“ is correct in the sentence ‘Es ist gelungen, die deutsche Sprache in ihr letztes und endgültiges Stadium zu *überführen*’. She adds that she personally prefers “überzuführen“ – though that sounds somewhat odd (merkwürdig) to her as well. When speakers turn to the handbooks with such questions they receive no help. Duden treats the two verbs as interchangeable in sentences like (1), (7) and (8), and all of the handbooks and style manuals that I have been able to consult duck the issue of *überführen* completely.

The best way I know to go about answering the question raised in the forum is to look at the frequency of occurrence. A COSMAS search returned 5 co-occurrences in the same sentence of “zu überführen“ and “Stadium” and zero for “Stadium” co-occurring with “überzuführen“. A Google search for the string “Stadium zu überführen” returned 329 and “Stadium überzuführen” 293 – thus confirming the discussants’ uncertainty. Interestingly however, “Phase zu überführen” returned 12,800 in a Google search while “Phase überzuführen” returned only 339. (There were no returns for either form together with “Phase” in COSMAS.) *Phase* and *Stadium* seem very similar semantically, but the difference could be explained in terms of how predictable the destination is construed to be. A next *Phase* is typically predictable, but the final *Stadium* for the German language is somewhat less so.

1.3. ÜBERSiedeln vs. übersiedeln

The other common contrast that can cause uncertainty is that between *übersiedeln* and *ÜBERSiedeln*. Being resettled in a new location obviously involves a pure spatial change of location, but it can also be considered a routine event and it definitely has nonspatial implications such as functioning in a new environment.

- (2) a. Und diese 200000 Menschen sollten, so forderte die tschechoslowakische Regierung, nach Ungarn *übergesiedelt* werden.
 ‘And according to the demands of the Czechoslovakian government, these 200,000 people should be *relocated* to Hungary’
- b. 150 Patienten müssen *übersiedelt* werden.
 ‘150 patients have to be *moved*’
- (9) a. Nach dem Tod von Kringel bin ich dann langsam in die Wohnung *übergesiedelt*.
 ‘After Kringel’s death I slowly *moved* [over] into the apartment’
- b. Und ca. zur selben Zeit sind wir dann in unsere jetzige große Wohnung *übersiedelt*!
 ‘And about the same time we *moved* into our current large apartment’

What is especially noteworthy about *übersiedeln* is that it is used in intransitive constructions like (9b). (Cf. reflexive constructions with other verbs such as *übertragen*.) The FG is often an organization that is relocated (‘Das Gemeindeamt ist *übersiedelt*’), but the construction can also describe

private individuals or families that resettle as in (9b). As might be expected, the choice of *übersiedeln* or *ÜBERSiedeln* is influenced by whether the construction is transitive or intransitive, with intransitive constructions generally favoring particle verbs. A form like “übersiedelt werden” reflects a passive construction that is typically based on a transitive pattern, while a form like “übersiedelt sind” most typically reflects an intransitive construction (with *sind* as a perfect auxiliary). Those two phrases with prefixed *übersiedelt* occur with approximately the same frequency (133 with “werden” and 96 with “sind” in COSMAS, and 7,920 to 7,690 in Google). The particle *ÜBER-* verbs on the other hand overwhelmingly favor the intransitive construction over the transitive: “übergesiedelt sind” returned 25,400 and “übergesiedelt werden” only 1,200 in Google (40 to 1 in COSMAS).⁶

Beyond the effects of transitivity, *übersiedeln* is like *überführen* in that the prefixed form is more likely to occur when the destination is routine and predictable as in (2b) – or, as in (9b), already known. The prefixed verb is also more likely when the whole event takes place within a given system. In the case of *übersiedeln* that tends to mean a routine change of residence within the same city, as opposed to completely resettling in a new city or country. The particle verb *ÜBERSiedeln* on the other hand becomes more likely when the

⁶ The same clear link between intransitive constructions and particle *ÜBER-* is reflected with other forms of the auxiliary: “übergesiedelt ist” returned 14,500 Google hits and “übergesiedelt wird” only 526; “übergesiedelt bin” had 1,230 and “übergesiedelt werde” 3.

communicative focus is on where the FG resettles to, as in (2a), especially when there is a major relocation to a new city or country.⁷ The particle verb is also more apt to call attention to the details of the process, such as moving furniture and possessions (the manner of relocating). That is obviously the case in sentences like (2a), and it is also a subtle factor in choosing the particle verb in (9a). (9b), unlike (9a), portrays the event as relatively simple and holistic, without calling attention to its “internal” details.

Once again the handbooks offer no help, either avoiding the issue altogether or treating *übersiedeln* and *ÜBERSiedeln* as synonyms without further comment. Duden for example sanctions both forms in the example ‘Die Firma siedelte hierher über / übersiedelte hierher’.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Die Alternative wäre, die gesamte TU auf das ehemalige Flugfeld Aspern zu *übersiedeln*. Meine Katzen waren erst ein paar Monate alt, als ich sie in die andere Wohnung *übersiedelt* hatte. Jetzt sollen die Beamten wieder einmal *übersiedelt* werden. Jetzt bin ich allerdings vor einiger Zeit in eine andere Wohnung *übersiedelt*, und hier ist der Klang einfach fürchterlich! Unsere Homepage ist *übersiedelt*! Im gleichen Jahr *übersiedelt* das Paar nach Berlin. Die Schönbrunner Eisbärenzwillinge Arktos und Nanuq sind am Montag in den Zoo Hannover *übersiedelt*. Kurz vor dem Sterben in ein anderes Zimmer oder in ein Heim zu *übersiedeln*, ...

⁷ The string “Wohnung überzusiedeln“ for example returned only 98 hits in a Google search while “Wohnung zu übersiedeln“ returned 471. The phrase “nach Berlin überzusiedeln” on the other hand returned 11,700 while “nach Berlin zu übersiedeln” returned only 1,160. Similarly, “nach Deutschland überzusiedeln” had 7,640 Google hits while “nach Deutschland zu übersiedeln” had only 500.

Die Nets sollen nach Brooklyn *übergesiedelt* werden. Nun überlegen sie und ihr Mann, nach Deutschland *überzusiedeln*. Meine Tochter hat es wirklich geschafft, und ist in ihre neue Wohnung *übergesiedelt*. Probanden, die von Westdeutschland nach Ostdeutschland *übergesiedelt* waren, schätzten ihre Lebensqualität niedriger als alle anderen Gruppen ein.

2. UNTER- vs. unter-

When non-scalar *unter-* verbs occur with implicit LMs and accusative FGs they rarely compete directly with particle UNTER- verbs. For one thing, UNTER- verb constructions are not normally used to describe spatial route paths. For another, *unter-* verbs are typically even more lexicalized than *über-* verbs; they are usually selected as unanalyzed lexical units. There is no real decision involved in selecting the prefixed verb rather than the particle verb with, say, *unterscheiden*, *unterrichten*, *untersagen*, *unterhalten* (in the meanings ‘maintain’ or ‘entertain’), *untersuchen*, *unternehmen* (meaning ‘undertake’), *unterbrechen*, or even *unterstützen*, *unterdrücken*, *unterliegen*, *unterstehen*, *sich unterziehen*, or *unterbinden*. As is the case with *über-* verbs, the prefixed *unter-* verbs are preferred over UNTER- verbs whenever their lexicalized meaning is appropriate.

Prefixed *unter-* verbs and particle UNTER- verbs can compete more or less directly however when the UNTER- verb itself has a lexicalized meaning. As described in chapters 3 and 4, verbs like *UNTERkommen* and

UNTERbringen can describe a FG that enters the private area under the implicit protective roof or skin or clothing of a dative person. As noted in chapter 9, some *unter-* verb variants are closely related semantically to the UNTER- verbs for entering a personal space. Subtle contrasts arise for example between the prefixed verb *unterlaufen* and the particle verb *UNTERkommen* to describe events in which something (unwanted) happens to a dative person. A similar sense of invading someone's personal space is evoked when UNTER- verbs such as *UNTERjubeln* or *UNTERSchieben* describe surreptitiously planting something unwanted on a person, and those variants in turn can be similar to variants with prefixed *unter-* verbs like *unterstellen* or *unterschieben* for 'alleging' something about someone. In the case of *UNTER-* / *unterschieben* then, situations can arise when the constructions seem to contrast directly.

We should also mention the contrast between *unterstellen* and *UNTERordnen*. Prefixed *unterstellen* is lexicalized to describe assigning an accusative FG to a lower rank in a hierarchical organization or chain of command relative to a dative LM. *Unterstellen* (or *unterstellt sein*) thus functions very much like other prefixed *unter-* verbs discussed in chapter 9, such as *unterstehen* and *unterlegen sein*. The particle verb *UNTERordnen* (like *ÜBERordnen*) is also lexicalized to describe placing an accusative FG in a ranked hierarchy. Where *unterstellen* typically suggests a formal administrative relation, *UNTERordnen* typically describes a subjective ranking

reflecting a value judgment about which entity is more important (takes precedence or has priority over the other). See chapter 3.⁸

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Wer ist wem innerhalb des Unternehmens *über-* oder *unterstellt*? Beide Partner sind gleichwertig und gleichberechtigt, keiner ist *über-* oder *untergeordnet*.

2.1. *UNTERSchieben* vs. *unterschieben*

As noted in chapter 4, particle UNTER- verbs like *UNTERSchieben* and *UNTERjubeln* are commonly used for planting tangible things such as evidence on someone, or else for palming off something such as (responsibility for) a child as in (10a). Similar constructions can describe foisting unpleasant tasks or obligations on someone. As described in chapter 9, the prefixed verbs *unterstellen* and *unterschieben* can convey a similar image in sentences like (10b) or (10c), including connotations that the act is underhanded or deceptive. These constructions describe (unfair) allegations or insinuations, attributing words or deeds or motives to someone.

⁸ *UNTERordnen* is strongly lexicalized as a particle verb. “Unterzuordnen” returned 1,454 in COSMAS while “zu unterordnen” had only 5, and the corresponding Google numbers were 618,000 and 7,900. (Reliable automated frequency counts are difficult for *unterstellen*, since it is commonly used to describe ‘imputing’ and *UNTERstellen* can occur in pure spatial variants.)

- (10) a. Immer mehr Väter fürchten, dass ihnen ein Kind *untergeschoben* sein könnte.
 ‘More and more fathers are afraid that a child could have been [deceptively] *palmed off* on them’
- b. Dinge, die rein gar nichts mit ihm zu tun hatten, wurden ihm *unterschoben*.
 ‘Things were *attributed* to him that simply had nothing to do with him’
- c. Aber mein Ehrgeiz ist längst nicht so ausgeprägt, wie mir *unterstellt* wird.
 ‘But my ambition is not nearly as pronounced as people *presume*’

Still, the division of labor between *unterschieben* and *UNTERSchieben* is generally clear. The particle verb typically describes sticking somebody with something fairly concrete (albeit with functional implications of responsibility), while the prefixed verb describes a more abstract event – most typically a verbal allegation.⁹ The FGs with particle verbs typically attract our focal attention as entities that exist independently of the dative object and of the event described by the UNTER- verb, and the construction describes moving them into the dative object’s personal space. That description obviously applies to incriminating evidence or the child in (10a), and it might also be said of tasks or obligations that must be assigned to someone. The accusative FGs with *unter-* verbs are less tangible things such as allegations or

⁹ “Kind unterschoben“ returned only 324 hits in a Google search while “Kind untergeschoben“ returned 5,650. Generally speaking *UNTERSchieben* occurs much more frequently than *unterschieben* (“zu unterschieben” had 36 in COSMAS and 16,300 in Google, “unterzuschieben” had 126 and 139,000 respectively).

claims that typically do not really exist independently of the event described by the verb – in any event they do not attract concentrated focal attention.

Occasionally the two constructions can be used in superficially very similar circumstances though, as reflected in (3), but the similarity is more apparent than real. The particle verb in (3a) is a perfectly normal instance of (surreptitiously) putting a physical object in someone's personal space. (3b) is a rare instance in which the prefixed verb *unterschieben* is used with a tangible spatial FG, but the construction does not describe physically planting the letter on Garfield. It describes alleging that he wrote the letter.

- (3) a. Hast du deinem Süßen denn schon mal einen Brief *untergeschoben*, in die Arbeitstasche oder so.
 'Have you ever secretly *slipped* your sweetheart a letter, in his briefcase, say'
- b. James Garfield wurde ein gefälschter Brief *unterschoben*, in dem er die chinesische Einwanderung befürwortete.
 'A forged letter was *attributed* to James Garfield in which he endorsed the Chinese immigration'

An interesting online forum discussion focused on the stylistic effects of separating the particle from the base verb with such constructions. It was prompted by a question about which verb is correct in the sentence 'Die Mutter hat einer unbekanntem Familie ihr neu geborenes Baby *unter(ge)schoben*'. In the course of the discussion the participants distinguish between fully separated particles in a finite main clause (*schiebt .. unter*) and

forms where the particle is attached directly to a form of the base verb, i.e. the participle *untergeschoben*, the infinitive form *unterzuschieben*, or a finite form in a subordinate clause. One participant says that using *UNTERschieben* with an extended meaning in a fully separable construction like [?]‘Die Mutter *schiebt* ihr Kind einer unbekanntem Familie *unter*’ or [?]‘Bei der Hausdurchsuchung *schiebt* der Polizist dem mutmasslichen Drogendealer ein Paket Heroin *unter*’ sound unidiomatic to him (“funktionieren” nicht), with only the concrete spatial use for events like putting a pillow under someone’s head seeming unproblematic in such constructions. In the extended meanings he would prefer an alternative formulation that avoids separating the verb and the particle, such as ‘Die Mutter hat ihr Kind einer unbekanntem Familie *untergeschoben*’ or ‘Der Polizist hat bei der Hausdurchsuchung dem Drogendealer ein Paket Heroin *untergeschoben*’ or, in the present tense, a passive construction like ‘Das Kind wird von der Mutter einer unbekanntem Familie *untergeschoben*’ or ‘Bei der Hausdurchsuchung wird dem Drogendealer ein Paket Heroin *untergeschoben*’. The other discussants concur that the constructions with *schiebt .. unter* sound somewhat uncommon or awkward, even though they are grammatically correct in comparison with the alternative prefixed construction ^{*}‘Die Mutter *unterschiebt* ihr Kind einer unbekanntem Familie’. They see no corresponding stylistic problems with the present-tense form in a subordinate clause (‘Wenn eine Mutter ihr Kind einer

anderen Frau *unterschiebt ...*’) or with an infinitival construction (‘Die Mutter versucht, ihr Kind einer unbekanntem Familie *unterzuschieben*’).¹⁰ Apparently speakers feel that the more idiomatic lexicalized verbs with extended meanings need to be phonological units as well as semantic ones, and fully separated particle verbs disturb that principle more than forms such as the past participle that separate the particle from the base verb only by the prefix *ge-*. (Compare also the tendency mentioned in the final section of chapter 9 to allow syntactic separation of phonologically stressed ‘excess’ *über-* only in forms like *überzudosieren*.)

2.2. *UNTERkommen* vs. *unterlaufen*

As the sentences in (11) illustrate, the prefixed verb *unterlaufen* can be used in a way that is very similar to the particle verb *UNTERkommen*, expressing that a dative object is visited by an unwanted experience. There is usually a more apparent difference between *unterlaufen* and *UNTERkommen* however. (12) is a much more typical use of *unterlaufen*, with a FG that refers to an error of some kind that may go unnoticed until it has had its effect on the dative

¹⁰ The discussion can be found at forum.wordreference.com/showthread.php?t=1238099. One participant further suggests that the present indicative ‘Die Mutter *schiebt* ihr Kind einer unbekanntem Familie *unter*’ may be odd for semantic reasons since the deceptive act might not be successful – making the sentence ‘Sie versucht, ihr Kind einer anderen Familie *unterzuschieben*’ more appropriate.

person. In fact, the specific word *Fehler* is overwhelmingly the most common subject of *unterlaufen* in this variant. The FG of *UNTERkommen* on the other hand is typically a more overt event or situation that confronts the person openly. The dative object of *UNTERkommen* is confronted with a situation (encounters it; compare *begegnen*); the dative object of *unterlaufen* has something happen to it.¹¹

- (10) a. Sowas ist mir noch nicht *untergekommen*.
 ‘I’ve never *encountered* anything like that’
- b. Ich wusste in dem Moment nicht wirklich, was ich jetzt machen sollte, so eine Situation ist mir bisher noch nicht *unterlaufen*.
 ‘At that moment I really didn’t know what to do. A situation like that has never *happened* to me before’ [teacher with a disciplinary problem]
- (11) Zum Glück ist mir so ein Überweisungsfehler noch nicht *unterlaufen*.
 ‘Fortunately that kind of money-transfer error has never *happened* to me’

¹¹ Duden calls this use of *UNTERkommen* to mean ‘begegnen’ regional, especially Austrian. Although *unterlaufen* is much more common than *UNTERlaufen* (COSMAS returned 1,054 for “zu unterlaufen” and 0 for “unterzulaufen”, 347 for “unterlaufen ist” and 0 for “untergelaufen ist”), *UNTERlaufen* does sometimes occur in very similar circumstances, especially with FGs such as *Fehler*: ‘Ist wohl ein Missverständnis *untergelaufen*, oder?’. Google returned 6,370 for “untergelaufen ist” (vs. 200,000 for “unterlaufen ist”). In that case the image can seem like the more concrete spatial variants with particle DURCH- in which a FG slips past a control (e.g. ‘Oliver Kahn ist der Ball auch mal unter dem Fuß *durchgerutscht*’). The particle verb is relatively more apt to occur if the FG slips by unnoticed among several other things: ‘Es müsste dazu geprüft werden, ob und wo etwa bei seiner Herleitung Fehler irgend welcher Art mit *untergelaufen* sind.’ (“Mit untergelaufen ist” returned 1,710 Google hits and “mit unterlaufen ist” 1,070.)

In terms of the constructional meaning being proposed here, that difference in meaning is important. The FG of *UNTERkommen* is typically an event or situation that is objectively apparent and can be conceived as such before it “visits” the personal space of the dative object. The FG with *unterlaufen* typically refers to something that originally slips unnoticed past a person’s defenses and then has an undermining effect on its private space. Frequently the error is made by the dative person, in which case there can’t very well be a sequential image of moving from outside to inside the person’s private space. While the *UNTERkommen* construction prompts an image in which an external situation manages to invade the dative object’s personal space, the *unterlaufen* construction focuses on the more diffuse effect that an event has once it is inside the person’s space. It is basically like multi-directional undermining (compare *unterwandern*), except that the LM is implicit as the space beneath the dative object’s outer bounds.

3. Summary

If we look at the unproblematic uses of the two constructions, such as the cliché contrast of *übersetzen* and *ÜBERsetzen* in (4), then several factors stand out as typical:

- The particle verb construction invites us first to concentrate our focal attention on the FG, which exists independent of the ÜBER- path. We tend to zoom in on it before the path begins, so that it is prominent in a relatively restricted setting at the original location (on one side of the river). Then we are invited to track the focally prominent FG as it moves through a sequence of intermediate locations on its route, until it eventually reaches its new location (on the other side of the river). The FG remains a centrally focal entity throughout the path construal, and we tend to restrict our attention to the location that the FG is occupying at any particular time. Put another way, we tend to hold the FG steadily at the center of our conceptual frame, like a tracking shot in a motion picture. The construal thus tends to remain narrowly focused in several senses: on the FG (as opposed to the rest of the setting), on each particular location that the FG occupies in the path sequence, and on each particular moment during the path. The setting is also typically generic space, so that our attention is not distracted away from the FG's location by functional information such as motives or social interaction. The FG is typically a bounded entity with its own definite shape (often engaged in a particular accompanying activity that attracts our attention). If the FG is saliently extended in the direction of the path, then we concentrate on its leading part.

- The prefixed verb construction invites us to focus relatively more on the route path itself in comparison with the moving FG, and more

on particular aspects of the setting in which the whole path event takes place. The FG is typically not simply a bounded physical thing that attracts our concentrated attention, and it is typically not engaged in a detailed accompanying activity. It is frequently an abstract mass such as the information being translated in (4a). The path is situated in a setting that is not simply the spatial domain. The setting is structured so that the path implies nonspatial functional consequences, as well as routine routes. The structure for the setting is lexically associated with the prefixed verb, complete with an implicit type of LM and an implicit type of destination (such as the path from one language to another that is implied by the verb *übersetzen*). The implicit LM of *ÜBERsetzen* could be the gap between any two regions in space. The implicit LM of *übersetzen* is known to be the gap between two languages.

These general differences between a particle verb construction and a prefixed verb construction are specifically evident with directly contrasting verbs such as *ÜBER-* / *überführen*. The prefixed verb *überführen* tends to occur with destinations that are predictable in a structured nonspatial setting lexically implied by the verb. The path is construed as a routine whole event within that setting. That aspect of the construction is completely obvious in the variants for convicting a criminal, and it accounts unproblematically for routine transfers to a mortuary or to a hospital. It is also a critical factor in distinguishing borderline cases such as the changes of state in (1). If the

destination can be predicted as normal given the meaning of *überführen* with a particular object, then the prefixed verb is appropriate; otherwise the particle verb *ÜBERführen* is better.

One way to look at the subtle meaning distinction that might be conveyed by the choice of construction is that the particle verb portrays the event as a shift from one place to a different place that is unrelated to the first (except that they are both places). The compound in (1) is understood first as citrate, and then it is understood to move into a quite different metaphorical place / state, namely chloride. The prefixed verb on the other hand describes a predictable shift within a single, more structured context. The prefixed verb *übersiedeln* suggests changing residences within a constant given context (e.g. the same city), while *ÜBERSiedeln* suggests a true shift to a new place that is unrelated to the first.

CHAPTER 11

Contrasting *durch-* and DURCH-

The second basic situation when prefixed verbs and particle verbs can occur in direct contrast and seem virtually synonymous occurs with DURCH- verbs and *durch-* verbs. Basically, potential confusion arises because DURCH- verb constructions can describe a thorough and continuous path through an accusative incremental theme (chapter 6). At times the accusative incremental theme may be objectively very similar to an accusative LM (which would be expressed with a *durch-* verb).

We can distinguish three particular situations when this confusion can occur. (The contrasting examples in (1)–(3) are all taken from standard handbooks.)

1. The same objective event might be described either as a multi-directional path permeating an accusative LM space with a *durch-* verb construction (chapter 8), or as a process of thoroughly and continuously extending through an accusative incremental theme with a DURCH- verb construction (chapter 6).

- (1) Er hat das ganze Zimmer *durchgesucht* / *durchsucht*.

‘He *searched (through)* the whole room’

2. A path lengthwise through an entity that is construed to have a linear shape can be described either with a *durch-* verb construction as a holistic path through an accusative route-like LM (chapter 7), or with a DURCH- verb construction as a process of thoroughly and continuously extending through an accusative incremental theme (chapter 6).

- (2) a. Er hat die Nacht *durchgeschlafen / durchschlafen*.
 ‘He *slept through* the night / spent the night sleeping’
 b. Ich habe die Zeitschriften *durchgeblättert / durchblättert*.
 ‘I *leafed through* the magazines’

3. A path through a solid object can be described either with a *durch-* verb construction as a holistic path through an accusative LM (bracketing whatever implicit disruptive effect the path may have on the LM (chapter 7)), or with a DURCH- verb construction as a thorough and continuous path through an accusative incremental theme – possibly also involving a profiled reflexive-trajector split in the accusative object.

- (3) a. Er *schnitt* das Band *durch*. / Er *durchschnitt* das Band.
 ‘He *cut through* the ribbon’
 b. Er hat die Platte *durchgebohrt / durchbohrt*.
 ‘He *drilled through* the metal plate’

In all of these cases the two constructions are practically synonymous, and even native speakers can be at a loss to articulate any semantic difference between them. The choice between, say, *DURCHschneiden* and *durchschneiden* often seems purely random. Nevertheless, when we look very carefully at the way speakers actually use these contrasting constructions, some consistent underlying patterns gradually emerge. The grammatical constructions themselves do contribute a meaning, and that meaning reflects the subjective construal patterns we have been noting throughout the book. One type of construction prompts us to concentrate focal attention on particular parts of the path in sequence; the other type prompts us to adopt a more synoptic perspective and construe the path holistically as part of a larger setting. Ultimately, the contrasting sentences in this chapter reflect the meaning of the grammatical constructions themselves as purely as any particular uses can. This discussion will complete our preparation for the general conclusions to be drawn in chapter 12.

1. Multi-directional *durch-* paths vs. *DURCH-* paths with incremental themes

1.1. Spreading masses (*DURCH-* / *durchschwitzen*)

In sentences like (4) and (5), in which a spreading mass (air, sweat) saturates a space, neither the *durch-* verb construction nor the *DURCH-* verb construction applies unproblematically. *DURCH-* verbs are well suited to profile that the FG saturates the space thoroughly, but they are generally associated mainly

with linear directed paths rather than multi-directional ones. *Durch-* verbs on the other hand are typically associated with multi-directional paths, but those paths do not normally involve a continuous spreading mass that occupies every interior part of the LM space exhaustively. *Durch-* verb constructions more typically describe multiplex paths such that a FG becomes interspersed within the accusative LM space (e.g. children running all through the house, or raisins baked all through a loaf of bread). They do on occasion occur with spreading masses, but those masses are typically abstract ones tied to perceived sensations, such as moisture or smells. The *durch-* verb construction means that the LM space is characterized generally by the distributed presence of the FG (no matter where you sample you will sense the presence of the moisture or smell, the air or the sweat). The FG may happen to fill the space exhaustively, but the construction with a prefixed *durch-* verb does not profile that fact.

- (4) a. Nachdem die Zimmer *durchgelüftet* wurden, konnten die Gäste das Haus wieder benützen.
 ‘After the rooms were *aired out* the guests were able to use the house again’
- b. Alle Räume sind einmal gründlich zu *durchlüften*, danach sind Fenster und Türen zu schließen.
 ‘All of the spaces are to be *aired out* thoroughly, after which the windows and doors are to be closed’
- (5) a. Guttenberg nimmt am Ende doch noch das Sakko ab, steht im *durchgeschwitzten* Hemd da.

‘Guttenberg finally does take off his jacket, standing there in a sweaty shirt [a shirt that has been *sweated through*]’

- b. Erschlagen liege ich im *durchschwitzten* Hemd.

‘I lie [there] exhausted in a sweaty shirt [a shirt *with sweat all through it*]’

If a speaker does want to profile that a mass spreads to saturate every part of a two- or three-dimensional space, then a DURCH- verb is usually preferred as in (4a) or (5a). The construction in effect imposes the image of an abstract linear sequence onto an objectively multi-directional event, so that the verb process is construed to extend all the way through each step in an ordered sequence until every part of the multi-dimensional space has been occupied. In other words, the space is portrayed as an incremental theme that has been thoroughly permeated.

According to Duden’s *Richtiges und gutes Deutsch*, *DURCHlüften* is the normal verb to describe thoroughly airing out a space such as a room, and it is used exclusively if the construction is intransitive (e.g. ‘Also öffnete ich das Fenster ein wenig um kurz *durchzulüften*’). The prefixed verb *durchlüften* is not as common, but it can sometimes be used to describe the same events. Electronic searches confirm that general assessment.¹ To the extent that the

¹ The overall ration of “durchzulüften“ to “zu durchlüften“ was 59 to 34 in COSMAS and 32,200 to 10,400 in Google. “Zimmer durchzulüften” had 57 Google hits vs. only 8 for “Zimmer zu durchlüften”. “Zimmer durchgelüftet“ returned 79 and “Zimmer durchlüftet” 24 (and most sentences with *durchlüftet* were present tense verbs in a subordinate clause, i.e. presumably particle verbs).

prefixed verb construction is used, it may focus subtly more on the causal act as a holistic technical routine. That is clearly the case in (4b), which is part of a set of technical instructions on how to check for exhaust gasses. Predictably, *durchlüften* is also the appropriate form to describe airing something like stored grains or soil, which are not only technical routines but also imply that the air is interspersed within the space and does not necessarily reach every internal part. (“Getreide zu durchlüften” got 7 Google hits; “Getreide durchzulüften” 0.)

Another factor that may influence the choice of construction with mass FGs is an association of particle DURCH- verbs with concentrated focus on the (leading part of the) FG, while prefixed *durch-* verbs suggest a more diffuse FG. The particle DURCH- verb construction in (4a) might encourage us to imagine the event with a slightly stronger sense of directed wind-like flow from one side of the room to the other, as opposed to a more distributed overall effect on the space. That aspect of the construction may contribute to the preference for *DURCHschwitzen* in variants such as (5a).² That is, we may be led to imagine that the sweat moves in an overall directed path from the person’s body to the publicly visible area on the outside of the shirt. Compare the similar flow of blood through a bandage with *DURCHbluten* in (6a). The DURCH- verb construction might still be read so that the shirt or the bandage

² The overall ratio of “durchzuschwitzen“ to “zu durchschwitzen“ was 7 to 0 in COSMAS and 1,500 to 87 in Google. Another factor in the preference for *DURCHschwitzen* is that these events can scarcely be read as a holistic routine.

is saturated thoroughly without regard for any spatial direction, but a more directed path image is at the very least consistent with the general uses of the construction.³ In any event, the particle verb construction with DURCH- is very strongly preferred over the prefixed verb construction whenever complete saturation occurs. The occasional occurrence of prefixed *durchschwitzen* in sentences like (5b) is probably influenced by more established verbs like *durchnässen*. As for *durchbluten*, it is used almost exclusively in applicative constructions like (6b) to describe providing an accusative LM (a body part) with nutrients, i.e., an image that suggests dispersing the nutrients rather than exhaustively saturating the space.

- (6) a. In der Früh bin ich aufgewacht und mein Verband am Finger war *durchgeblutet*.
 ‘In the early morning I woke up and the bandage on my finger was bloody [had *bled through*]’
- b. Raucherhaut ist meist schlecht *durchblutet*.
 ‘The skin of smokers is usually badly *supplied with blood*’

Generally speaking, it is fair to say that particle DURCH- verbs are the norm when a mass FG saturates an accusative object. Prefixed *durch-* verbs are normally used only when the mass is interspersed throughout the space

³ In theory the prefixed verb construction might also have two corresponding readings, one as a multi-directional permeating path and one as a directed holistic path from one side to the other, though in practice the multi-directional reading is clearly the norm.

and characterizes it, but does not necessarily fill it exhaustively. The prefixed verb construction may also sometimes suggest that an agentive event is carried out as a holistic routine.

1.2. Inspection tours (*durch-* / *DURCHsuchen*)

The construction with a prefixed *durch-* verb becomes much more attractive when the FG is not a continuously spreading mass, for example in the common variants that describe searching or inspecting an area as in (7a). Such events are quite naturally considered multi-directional paths that meander through a space until all relevant parts of it have been occupied, and prefixed verbs like *durchsuchen* are the norm.

- (7) a. In der Nacht wurde meine Wohnung *durchsucht*, aber nichts gefunden.
 ‘My apartment was *searched* during the night, but nothing was found’
- b. Hast Du schon die ganze Wohnung *durchgesucht*? Hinter Schränken oder im Schrank?? Die [Katzen] finden manchmal die tollsten verstecke.
 ‘Did you *search through* the whole apartment? Behind cabinets or in them?? They [cats] often find the craziest hiding places’
- c. Die ganzen Internetversand- und Auktionshäuser hab ich schon alle *durchgesucht*!
 ‘I’ve already *searched through* all of the mail-order and auction sites on the internet’
- (8) a. Klar lohnt es sich Flickr auf der Suche nach Texturen zu *durchstöbern*.
 ‘Of course it’s worth it to *browse through* Flickr looking for textures’

- b. Man kann wirklich Stunden verbringen um alles *durchzustöbern*.
 ‘You can really spend hours to *search through* everything’

Still, particle *DURCHsuchen* does also occur in sentences like (7b) and (7c), and the handbooks cite other supposedly synonymous pairs such as *DURCH-* / *durchstöbern*, *DURCH-* / *durchkämmen*, *DURCH-* / *durchwühlen* and *DURCH-* / *durchschnüffeln*. In most situations, such as searching a room in (1), there is little practical difference between the two and the verbs can seem interchangeable. There are potentially significant semantic differences however, to the extent that speakers are choosing their constructions carefully. To begin with, prefixed verbs such as *durchsuchen* are definitely the unmarked default for an ordinary search, while a particle verb such as *DURCHsuchen* can be used to mark the search as especially thorough, detailed or sequential. Compare the presumably routine search described in (7a) with the particularly detailed and elaborate one implied in (7b). Base verbs like *wühlen* or *schnüffeln* also occur more commonly with prefix *durch-*, but they do suggest a prominent manner of searching that is presumably not so routine, so they are somewhat more apt to occur in the particle verb construction than is the generic base verb *suchen*.⁴

⁴ The ratio of “zu durchsuchen“ to “durchzusuchen“ was 776 to 3 in COSMAS (382,000 to 25,900 in a Google search). The corresponding ratios for *durch-/DURCHstöbern* were 135 to 15 (160,000 to 39,900), *durch-/DURCHwühlen* 120 to 14 (49,700 to 38,400), *durch-/DURCHKämmen* 97 to 27 (18,300 to 11,700), *durch-/DURCHschnüffeln* 4 to 0 (964 to 751). (Generally speaking, the particle verbs are

Finally, particle verbs generally are associated with moving from one item or compartment to the next in a linear series, such as the web sites in (7c) or the implicit individual items in (8b). The base verb *kramen*, which tends to suggest rummaging through the items in a space such as a drawer or a purse, is actually more common with particle DURCH- than with prefix *durch-*. Similarly, *DURCHfilzen* is more common than *durchfilzen*. (“Durchzukramen“ returned 923 and “zu durchkramen“ 304 in a Google search, and “durchzufilzen” was preferred 90 to 49. COSMAS did not return either form of either verb.)

- (9) a. Du erwartest von mir doch hoffentlich nicht, den gesamten Thread zu *durchkramen*.
 ‘Hopefully you don’t expect me to *sift through* the entire [web forum] thread’
- b. Hab grad keine Lust 35 Seiten des Threads *durchzukramen*.
 ‘[I] don’t really feel like rummaging through 35 pages of the [web forum] thread’
- (10) a. Um weitere undeutliche Galaxien zu finden, fingen die Astronomen systematisch an den Himmel fotografisch zu *durchmustern*.
 ‘In order to find more vague galaxies the astronomers began systematically to *scan* the sky with taking photographs’
- b. Es wird Zeit die Schränke meiner Kinder *durchzumustern*.
 ‘It is about time to *go through* my children’s closets’

somewhat more inclined to occur in the nonprofessional texts reflected in Google. The numbers with *DURCHwählen* are misleadingly high though, because they include a large number of reflexive constructions (e.g. ‘*sich* durch youtube *durchzuwählen*’.)

Whether the accusative object is conceived as a multi-dimensional space or as a linear series of items is also a factor with *DURCH-* / *durchmustern*. Duden lists the two forms as interchangeable, with both meaning “der Reihe nach prüfend ansehen, mustern, auf etwas hin durchsuchen“. Generally speaking, the particle verb *DURCHmustern* conforms to the “der Reihe nach prüfend ansehen” part of the dictionary definition as in (10b), inspecting an implicit series of items in classic sequential mode. The prefixed verb *durchmustern* on the other hand is more common for events such as systematically scanning the sky in the interests of astronomical research as in (10a) – i.e. with a LM conceived as a non-linear space that is examined in an automated way that may involve a multi-directional path and is naturally construed in synoptic mode.⁵

There is potential confusion between two senses of the words *DURCH-* / *durchforsten*. The source meaning is thinning out a forest, and it can also be used that way for weeding out a library collection. The verbs have also acquired a use for searching or sifting through a mass of material however, so that ‘ein Archiv durchforsten’ can be ambiguous between the two meanings. When the internet’s “Fragen Sie Dr. Bopp” is asked whether one should say ‘um (die Bibliothek) zu *durchforsten*’ or ‘um (die Bibliothek) *durchzuforsten*’, it is not fully clear whether the questioner means weeding out

⁵ A Google search returned 15,400 for “zu durchmustern“ and 7,520 for “durchzumustern“. The COSMAS count was 7 to 3.

a library collection or searching through a collection looking for something. Dr. Bopp seems to have the latter meaning in mind when he (she?) responds by saying that either form is possible with no difference in meaning, except that the prefixed verb is more usual.⁶ The difference between *durchforsten* and *DURCHforsten* actually seems exactly like that between *durchsuchen* and *DURCHsuchen*. Speakers have an opportunity to express the subtle difference between an exhaustive sequential examination of each book (*DURCHforsten*), or a more distributed process of consulting (or selecting out) books scattered throughout the collection space (*durchforsten*). As Dr. Bopp says, the prefixed verb is the more common unmarked choice (“zu durchforsten” outnumbers “durchzuforsten” 873 to 42 in COSMAS and 49,900 to 19,500 in Google).

We can make a similar distinction with respect to the cognitive “inspection” paths suggested by *DURCHdenken* and *durchdenken*. Duden’s definition of *DURCHdenken* sounds like a textbook example of a construal with a particle verb and an incremental theme that proceeds step by step from beginning to end: ‘in Gedanken von Anfang bis Ende durchgehen, Schritt für Schritt bis zu Ende denken’. For prefixed *durchdenken* on the other hand their definition suggests a multi-directional image of going through a topic from all possible angles, considering all possible consequences and objections no matter what direction they may take: ‘vollständig, in allen Einzelheiten,

⁶ canoo.net/blog/2007/12/22/zu-durchforsten-oder-durchzuforsten/ (December 2007)

hinsichtlich der Möglichkeiten und Konsequenzen überdenken‘.⁷ The most obvious pattern that emerges from looking through the databases is that *durchdenken* is clearly more common – especially as the attributive participle *durchdacht*: ‘Und ein einfacher, sauber *durchdachter* Plan hilft mehr als ein komplexer Plan’. (Duden’s *Richtiges und gutes Deutsch* advises that only *durchdacht* is used as an attributive participle, though instances such as ‘Am Anfang einer jeden Badrenovierung sollte immer ein gut *durchgedachter* Plan stehen’ can be found in the internet.) Apparently thinking is normally considered to be a multi-directional process that covers a topic, rather than a thorough, sequential logical process.⁸ All in all, the contrast between *DURCHdenken* and *durchdenken* seems essentially like that between *DURCHsuchen* and *durchsuchen*.

Generally speaking then, it is fair to say that prefixed *durch-* verbs are preferred for search paths through a multi-dimensional space that is construed

⁷ Interestingly, Wahrig (‘genau nachdenken über, gründlich überlegen’) and Langenscheidt *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (‘etwas gründlich überlegen und dabei alle Details und Konsequenzen beachten’) also resort to an *über-* verb as a gloss for prefixed *durchdenken*.

⁸ COSMAS returned 166 for “zu durchdenken“ and 71 for “durchzudenken, and the Google figures were 171,000 to 53,100. The ratio of *durchdacht* to *durchgedacht* was 4,339 to 113 (801,000 to 67,500 in Google). “Durchdacht- Plan” returned 38 and “durchgedacht- Plan” 0 in COSMAS (9,380 to 46 in Google). Compare the more intrinsically sequential process of talking through a topic. *DURCHsprechen* and *DURCHplaudern* are favored almost exclusively over their prefixed counterparts: COSMAS returned 111 instances of “durchzusprechen” and 0 for “zu durchsprechen” (Google had 81,400 to 426).

without any salient internal structure that might suggest a sequence. Particle DURCH- verbs come into consideration when the accusative object does suggest an intrinsic sequential order such that the path is construed to go from one point on the route to the next, proceeding step-by-step until the whole route has been completed. Such a sequential order can sometimes be imposed on a non-linear space, hence the particle verb *DURCHsuchen* in (7b).

2. Incremental themes vs. route-like LMs

2.1. Reading through texts (*DURCH-* / *durchblättern*)

Whether to choose *durch-* or DURCH- becomes especially problematic when the search area is not necessarily multi-dimensional. Both *durch-* verbs and DURCH- verbs can occur with accusative objects that have a linear shape or that clearly suggest an intrinsic sequence of some kind – such as the words or pages in a text. As we have seen, the path can be portrayed as a thorough one with a DURCH- verb and an accusative incremental theme. It can also be portrayed as a holistic path through an accusative route-like LM with a prefixed *durch-* verb (chapter 7).

Reading a text definitely suggests a sequence of moving from word to word or from page to page, and particle verbs like *DURCHlesen* or *DURCHgehen* are the norm to describe reading something through to the end.

See chapter 6. It is also possible to skim through a text in a holistic routine though, particularly with a base verb like *blättern* that describes leafing through a book or a magazine as opposed to reading words. Even with *blättern* though, the notion of sequentially turning individual pages or groups of pages is usually salient and the particle verb *DURCHblättern* can be considered the default option. COSMAS returned 102 for “durchzublätern“ and 16 for “zu durchblättern” (Google 176,000 to 22,400). Still, prefixed *durchblättern* does also occur, and native speakers are sometimes not sure which construction is better.⁹

The particle verb construction with *DURCHblättern* is called for when there is a search for a particular item of interest contained in the accusative object, as in (11a). It is also more common when the accusative object explicitly or implicitly refers to a plural set of individual items, as in (11b–d), especially if there is explicit reference to characteristics of the individual items as in (11b) or to the sequence as in (11c), or to a careful systematic process as in (11d). The key factor is consistently an image of moving sequentially from one particular internal part of the route to the next. If a magazine is

⁹ One participant in a web forum (www.deutsch-als-fremdsprache.de/austausch/forum/read.php?4,55720) asks in exasperation: “Ist also zwischen trennbaren und untrennbaren *durchblättern* ein Bedeutungsunterschied oder nicht?” The handbooks do not help. Duden lists *DURCHblättern* first and offers *durchblättern* as an alternative without distinguishing them either semantically or stylistically. Wahrig lists only *DURCHblättern*.

durchgeblättert we get an image of turning individual pages (or at least groups of pages) in a sequence.

- (11) a. ... und *blätterte* das Telefonbuch *durch* nach einer Adresse, die sie leider nicht fand.
 ‘... and *leafed through* the telephone book looking for an address, which she unfortunately could not find’
- b. Ich *blätterte* die dünnen, eingerissenen Seiten *durch*.
 ‘I *leafed through* the thin, torn pages’
- c. Der Geheimrat nahm die Akten auf, *blätterte* sie *durch*, ein Heft nach dem andern.
 ‘The privy councilor picked up the files, *leafed through* them one packet after the other’
- d. Dann *blätterte* er sorgfältig die Korrespondenz *durch*.
 ‘The he *leafed through* the correspondence carefully’

If the magazine is *durchblättert* on the other hand, we get a vaguer image of leafing through the magazine as an undifferentiated whole without any salient individual pages.¹⁰ The event being described may be objectively the same as one described by *DURCHblättern*, but the construal differs subtly. Prefixed *durchblättern* is more apt to occur when someone browses idly through a magazine looking vaguely for anything of interest (as opposed to

¹⁰ This does not mean that *DURCHblättern* necessarily describes looking at each individual page; the internal unit that defines each individual step may be a group of pages. Similarly, *durchblättern* does not mean that only certain parts of the book were scanned and not others. Both verbs imply that the book or magazine was eventually leafed through as a whole object; it is just that the DURCH- path is a relatively thorough and sequential one.

carefully for something specific). The prefixed verb also occurs when the accusative LM does not have an intrinsic sequential order and the subject is not looking for a particular item, as in (12a). In rare cases these subtle distinctions might even be objectively significant. For example, if someone leafs through pages so rapidly that the event appears as an indistinct blur with no awareness of any individual pages as in (12b), then only the prefixed verb would be appropriate.

- (12) a. Lustlos, aber mit Kennerblick *durchblättern* sie die ausgehängten Kleider und Blusen.
 ‘Dispassionately but with an expert eye they *leafed through* the dresses and blouses hung out on display’
- b. Dies ist mit dem guten alten Daumenkino vergleichbar, dessen Seiten schnell *durchblättern* werden müssen, so dass die Zeichnungen auf den einzelnen Seiten den Eindruck eines bewegten Bildes vermitteln.
 ‘This is comparable to the good old ‘thumb cinema’, whose pages have to be *leafed through* rapidly such that the drawings on the individual pages convey the impression of a motion picture’

Similar distinctions between moving sequentially from item to item in an inspection tour and making a more holistic pass through the set of items collectively can occur with other verbs as well, including verbs for looking (*DURCHsehen*, *DURCHgucken*) and inspecting (*DURCHtesten*, *DURCHprüfen*, *DURCHchecken*, *DURCHmustern*, *DURCHackern*, *DURCHKosten*), as well as reading (*DURCHlesen*). In all of these cases the

particle verb constructions are overwhelmingly more common, describing a step-by-step examination of one item after the other.¹¹

2.2. Spatial and temporal accusatives (*DURCH-* / *durchfahren*, *DURCH-* / *durchschlafen*)

As observed in chapter 7, when an accusative object is construed to have a linear shape that corresponds basically to the *durch* route it can still be read as a route-like LM with a *durch-* verb. In that case it expresses a directed holistic path like any other, except that the LM happens to coincide with the path. In other words, there is no real difference between the crosswise path in (13a) and the lengthwise path in (13b). In both cases the prefixed verb construction has an accusative LM that does nothing except serve as a focal location that the whole path moves through. The LMs in (13b) and (14a) are pre-existing spaces like any other, except that they happen to have a linear shape extending in the same direction as the path.

- (13) a. Noch einmal *durchschwamm* er den Ärmelkanal.
 ‘He *swam* [through] the English Channel again’

¹¹ The COSMAS (Google) ratios of “durchzu-V” to “zu durch-V” include: *DURCHlesen* 292/0 (294,000/9,960), *DURCHsehen* 179/0 (138,000/3,060), *DURCHhackern* 52/1 (47,300/747), *DURCHtesten* 18/0 (46,700/6), *DURCHchecken* 38/0 (34,400/365), *DURCHgucken* 3/0 (33,200/234), *DURCHfragen* 21/0 (18,100/120), *DURCHprüfen* 7/0 (14,800/260), *DURCHkosten* 18/0 (7,210/1,060).

- b. Der Hund hat den Tunnel zu *durchgehen*.
 ‘The dog is to *go through* the tunnel’
- (14) a. der Fahrpreis für die bereits *durchfahrene* Strecke
 ‘the fare for the stretch just *traveled*’
- b. nach dieser *durchtanzten* und *durchzechten* Nacht
 ‘after this night *spent dancing and carousing*’

As noted in chapter 7, the possibility of a lengthwise path through an accusative LM makes an important new variant possible, namely a path through a temporal route-like LM as in (14b). Just as a stretch of space can be traversed by a path that extends in space and time as in (14a), so can a period of time be traversed (metaphorically) by an activity that extends only in time. The *Strecke* in (14a) is characterized and identified by the path that went through it, and the time period in (14b) is similarly characterized by the verb activities that went through it.

Turning now to the accusative routes discussed in chapter 6, constructions like those in (15) with particle DURCH- verbs can look very similar to the *durch-* verb constructions in (14). The difference is that the accusative objects are a type of incremental theme that guides the path through each step in a defined sequence. Sentence (15a) for example profiles the uninterrupted extension of the swimming path in space and time – the swimming continues exactly as long as the course continues. The construction in (15b) is the same except that the path is purely temporal. The construction prompts us to focus on the uninterrupted extension of the sleeping activity

from one moment to the next until the end of the temporal incremental theme has been reached. In such a construal the night and the sleeping are both gradually extending in our minds together. *DURCHschlafen* reports how long the sleeping continued – namely, as long as the night continues.

- (15) a. Alle Teilnehmer des TCO schafften diese Strecke *durchzuschwimmen*.
 ‘All participants in the TCO were able to *swim all the way through* this course’
- b. Wie kann ich meinem Baby helfen, die Nacht *durchzuschlafen*?
 ‘How can I help my baby to *sleep through* the night’

Constructions like (14b) and (15b) may look very similar, but there is a definite difference in meaning, a difference that is nicely reflected in Duden’s definition of *DURCHschlafen* as “(einen bestimmten Zeitraum) ohne Unterbrechung schlafen” and *durchschlafen* as “schlafend verbringen”. If the main point of the sentence is that the sleeping continues uninterrupted all the way through the night, as in (15b), then the particle verb is called for. That is the normal construal in most sentences with a temporal accusative, and the particle verb construction is overwhelmingly more frequent in most syntactic situations.¹² When a prefixed verb such as *durchschlafen* or *durchtanzen* does

¹² For example, “durchzuschlafen“ returned 44 in COSMAS while “zu durchschlafen“ returned 0 (67,300 to 1,390 in Google). *DURCHtanzen* was similarly favored 43 to 5 (17,300 to 1,130). More specific searches for “die Nacht durchzufahren“ and “die Nacht zu durchfahren“ returned 3 and 0 (8,700 and 0); “die Nacht durchzuschlafen” and “die Nacht zu durchschlafen” returned 9 and 0 (40,500

occur, it prompts us to think of the night as a pre-existing accusative LM that is characterized as a whole by the base-verb activity. ‘Er hat die Nacht *durchschlafen*’ does not report how long the subject slept; it reports how the subject spent the night – namely, sleeping.

Given that the temporal accusative is a pre-existing LM that comes to be characterized by the verb activity, it makes sense that these prefixed *durch-*verbs would be more common as attributive participles in constructions like (14b). And in fact, in that particular syntactic construction prefixed *durch-*verbs are actually more frequent than particle DURCH- verbs.¹³ In an attributive expression such as *eine durchtanzte und durchzechte Nacht* we call

and 5); “Nacht durchzuarbeiten” 9 and “Nacht zu durcharbeiten“ 0 (1,920 and 0); “Nacht durchzufeiern“ 10 and “Nacht zu durchfeiern“ 1 (11,300 and 5).

¹³ “Durchtanzt- Nacht” for example returned 111 in COSMAS and “durchgetanzt-Nacht” only 5 (13,400 for “durchtanzte Nacht” in Google vs. 932 for “durchgetanzte Nacht”). The corresponding ratios for other attributive participles before *Nacht*: *durchfeiert/durchgefeiert* 5/1 (7,100/2,160); *durchzecht/durchgezecht* 871/4 (108,000/1,010); *durchwacht/durchgewacht* 132/0 (25,600/206); *durchschlafen/durchgeschlafen* 18/4. Google actually returned more for *DURCHschlafen* even in attributive position (“durchschlafene Nacht” 1,740, “durchgeschlafene Nacht” 3,070), and both Google and COSMAS returned more attributive *durchgearbeitet* than *durcharbeitet* before *Nacht* (8 to 3 and 881 to 230). With these verbs as well though, the prefixed forms are relatively much more apt to occur as attributive participles than they are in infinitival constructions with *zu*. It makes semantic sense that the verbs *DURCHschlafen* and *DURCHarbeiten* might have a relatively stronger link to the particle verb constructions, since speakers would be particularly inclined to report how long the subject slept or worked, rather than to characterize a particular night as one filled with sleep or work.

the night to mind as a given stretch of time and then characterize it as one filled with dancing and carousing. (It is worth noting in this context that Duden glosses ‘eine durcharbeitete Nacht’ as “eine Nacht, in der man durchgearbeitet hat”.) The use of prefixed participles in the pattern “nach einer durch-___-en Nacht” is so well established that almost any plausible base verb activity can occur.¹⁴

Generally speaking then, DURCH- verbs with a temporal accusative describe how long the base-verb activity lasts, while *durch-* verbs with a temporal accusative describe how the time period is spent. Sentences (16a) and (17a) with *DURCHtanzen* emphasize that the dancing continues uninterrupted all the way through to the end of the time period, while (16b) and (17b) with prefixed *durchtanzen* report that the time is spent dancing, as opposed to other possible activities. Note that a prefixed verb construction like (16b) does not mean that the dancing continued uninterrupted – only that the night as a whole was characterized by dancing. With *DURCHtanzen* we imagine that the dancing and the night extend together continuously from start to finish. With *durchtanzen* the night is construed synoptically as a measured length of time that already exists independently of the dancing. It is a temporal LM that is characterized as a whole by the activity of dancing.

¹⁴ Among the clearly non-lexicalized participles attested in this position are *durchfrostet*, *durchschwitzt*, *durchfestet*, *durchschrieben*, *durchregnet*, *durchspielt*, *durchlesen*, *durchfickt*, *durchtobt*, *durchträumt*, *durchmalt*, *durchsteppt*, *durchschaukelt*, *durchgrübelt*, *durchrappt*, *durchrüttelt*, *durchtagt*, *durchliebt*, *durchzockt*.

- (16) a. Du *tanzt* die ganze Nacht *durch*, bis dein Körper so überhitzt und ausgetrocknet ist, dass du zusammenbrichst.
 ‘You *dance* the whole night *through*, until your body is so overheated and dried out that you collapse’
- b. Abends *durchtanzt* man die Nacht in der zweistöckigen Diskothek “Tower Night Club”.
 ‘In the evening you can *spend* the night *dancing* in the two-story discotheque “Tower Night Club”’
- (17) a. In geilem Outfit zu geiler Musik haben wir 6 Stunden *durchgetanzt*.
 ‘We *danced nonstop* for 6 hours to awesome music in awesome outfits’
- b. Habe bei der Tanzschule Carsten Weber viele schöne Stunden *durchtanzt*.
 ‘Spent many happy hours *dancing* at the Carsten Weber Dance School’

It makes sense then that the prefixed verb construction is more apt to occur when the time period is larger or vaguer as in (18). In such cases the *durch-* verbs clearly do not profile uninterrupted continuation. They are apt to suggest that the activity was distributed through the time period to the point that it characterizes it as a whole, but not that it extended continuously and thoroughly all the way to the end of the period. Again, a synoptic perspective is clearly called for.

- (18) a. Ich bin schon ganz gewohnt, diese Zeit im Lehnstuhl zu *durchdösen* oder *durchschlafen*.
 ‘I’m used to *spending* this time in an armchair *dozing* or *sleeping*’
- b. Sie hat ihre ganze Studienzeit *durchbummelt*.

‘She *spent* her whole time in college *bar-hopping*’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Ich habe nie die ganze Nacht *durchgewacht* / *durchwacht*. Und so beschließen sie, die Nacht *durchzuwachen*. Edith Stein *durchwachte* die Nacht im Gebet. Ich beschloss, die Nacht *durchzusegeln*, direkt nach Townsville. Zum ersten Mal *durchfuhr* er die Nacht. Hüls hat die Nacht *durchgearbeitet*, das sieht man ihm an. Er behauptet, die Nächte zu *durcharbeiten*. Die anspruchsvolle 40 Meter lange Finalroute konnte von keinem der Athleten in der erlaubten Zeit bis zum Schluß (top) *durchgeklettert* werden. Aufgrund seiner Erfahrungen vom Ski-Slalom weiß er, wie wichtig es ist, in Gedanken noch einmal die ganze Strecke *durchzugehen*. Eine 150 Meter-Strecke ist innerhalb von vier Minuten so oft wie möglich zu *durchfliegen*. Er *durchlief* die 800 m in weniger als zwei Minuten. Für mich war es kein großes Problem dieses Mal die Grenzkontrollen zu *durchgehen*. die *durchwachte* und *durchgrübelte* Nacht Der kleine Benzwagen *durchfuhr* die Strecke anstandslos mit der durchschnittlichen Geschwindigkeit von 131/2 Meilen.

Accusative spatial nouns like *Strecke*, *Straße*, *Weg*, *Tunnel*, *Route* or *Kurs* are much more likely to occur with prefixed *durch-* verbs than with particle DURCH- verbs (Kühnhold 1973: 263).¹⁵ The reason is presumably

¹⁵ COSMAS does not return enough instances here to provide useful data, but a Google search for “Kurs zu durchfahren“ returned 6,010 hits, as opposed to only 1 instance of “Kurs durchzufahren“. “Strecke zu durchfahren” had 28,900, “Strecke durchzufahren” 413 (and in many of those the word *Strecke* was the object of a preceding PP). “Weg zu durchfahren” had 34,800, “Weg durchzufahren” 37. “Tunnel zu durchfahren” 6,050, “Tunnel durchzufahren” 8. “Route zu durchfahren” 3,220, “Route durchzufahren” 1. “Hürden zu durchlaufen“ outnumbered “Hürden durchzulaufen“ 8,210 to 5. “Route zu durchlaufen” had 1,630, “Route durchzulaufen”

that the plain base verb is normally sufficient with such accusative routes and there is simply no need for DURCH-. The only reason to add DURCH- is to emphasize that the path is uninterrupted and maintains a constant manner “all the way through” or “straight through” to the end. A prefixed verb construction on the other hand is the only convenient way to signal a construal with an accusative route-like LM and a holistic path. The prefixed verb constructions often suggest covering the whole distance in a specified amount of time. They may also suggest a more abstract *durchlaufen*-style image of a holistic path through a fixed routine (see section 2.3).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

... ob es vernünftig wäre, den Kurs langsam auf halber Höhe *durchzufliegen*, Vollendete Läufer verwenden einen 17er Rhythmus aber nur dort, wo Gegenwind herrscht, sonst *laufen* sie den 15er Rhythmus *durch*. Dort waren Röhren und Zäune zu *durchkriechen* und mit Seilen Dachstellungen zu beziehen. ... eine enge, von einem Wildbach *durchbrauste* Schlucht. Er hat die Strecke in Rekordzeit *durchfahren*. Diese markierte Route *durchfahren* Sie am besten mit dem Fahrrad. Hier geht es darum, mit seinem Fahrzeug möglichst ohne Verlassen der Strecke eine Reihe von Checkpoints zu *durchfahren*.

Accusative temporal nouns like *die ganze Nacht* on the other hand are much more apt to take particle DURCH- verbs – at least in non-attributive

1. The exception to this pattern is “Route durchzugehen“, which outnumbered “Route zu durchgehen“ 75 to 0. *DURCHgehen* is used primarily in abstract variants for going over a route in one’s head in preparation for actually taking the path.

constructions. Unlike stretches of space, stretches of time are intrinsically directed (from earlier to later), and that no doubt encourages us to construe them as true sequential routes rather than route-like LMs. Moreover, temporal accusatives like *die ganze Nacht* seem adverbial in function (even more than is the case with spatial accusative routes like *die ganze Strecke*), which means that these constructions can seem relatively more like normal intransitive constructions with a DURCH- verb. The relatively greater frequency of particle DURCH- in constructions with a temporal accusative probably also reflects its potential use as a postposition with the temporal noun as its object (as opposed to a particle that combines primarily with the base verb). That is, a construction like *die ganze Nacht durch* might be read as a syntactic unit.

2.3. Situations and processes (*DURCHstehen* / *durchleben*, *DURCHmachen* / *durchlaufen*)

Periods of time are often defined not in purely temporal terms (e.g. *die Nacht*) but in terms of a temporary condition that is in effect or a temporary process that is taking place (e.g. *den Krieg*). Such periods can be construed just as pure temporal periods with either *durch-* verbs or DURCH- verbs. There is rarely much direct contrast between prefixes and particles though, because the most common verbs are all lexicalized one way or the other – either as a particle verb (*DURCHstehen*, *DURCHmachen*, occasionally also *DURCHsitzen*,

DURCHKämpfen or *DURCHstreiten*), or as a prefixed verb (*durchleben*, *durchleiden*, *durchlaufen*).¹⁶

- (19) a. die Fähigkeit, Durststrecken *durchzustehen*
 ‘the ability to *get through* hard times’
 b. Wir haben keine düstere Phase, keine Durststrecke *durchlebt*.
 ‘We haven’t *experienced* [lived through] a dark phase, a really hard time’
- (20) a. eine Entwicklung vom “Kind” zum “machtvollen Erwachsenen”
durchzumachen
 ‘to *go through* a development from “child” to “empowered adult”’
 b. um die normale Entwicklung zu *durchlaufen*
 ‘in order to *go through* the normal development’

This practice of conventionally associating one construction or the other with a particular verb usually avoids uncertainty about which form is

¹⁶ “Durchzustehen“ outnumbered “zu durchstehen“ 1,738 to 47 in COSMAS (134,000 times to 7,340 in Google). “Durchzumachen“ predominated over “zu durchmachen“ 163 to 0 (75,200 to 192), “durchzukämpfen“ over “zu durchkämpfen“ 185 to 2 (27,700 to 538), and “durchzusitzen“ over “zu durchsitzen“ 7 to 1 (312 to 6). On the other hand, “zu durchlaufen“ outnumbered “durchzulaufen“ 703 to 75 (170,000 to 17,100), “zu durchleiden“ outpolled “durchzuleiden“ 39 to 1 (3,300 to 196), and “zu durchleben“ occurred rather than “durchzuleben“ 168 times to 5 (37,800 to 1,680). (Incidentally, many instances of *DURCHleben* that did occur in the Google search seem to come from non-native speakers. There is a book titled *Woss ich hob durchgelebt = Was ich durchgemacht habe: Brief einer Judin aus der Bukowina verfasst in Transnistrien 1943*, implying that *durchgelebt* is a Yiddish form that needs to be translated into German as *durchgemacht*.)

correct. That is not to say though that the meaning of the grammatical constructions does not play the decisive role in choosing the verb; it is just that the construction comes already packaged with a particular verb. The two constructions in (20) for example are almost synonymous, and the verbs *durchlaufen* and *DURCHmachen* are actually just as similar semantically as, say, *durchtanzen* and *DURCHtanzen* in (17). (Both Duden and Wahrig treat them as synonyms.) To the extent that there is any semantic difference at all between the constructions in (20), it largely boils down to the difference between a particle verb construction and a prefixed verb construction. *DURCHmachen* portrays the event as an incremental path through each phase of a temporal sequence until the last phase is reached, calling attention to particular moments along the way. *Durchlaufen* portrays the event as a holistic path through a route-like LM, without focusing on particular moments during the path. The choice between a construal associated with a particle verb and a construal associated with a prefixed verb is still being made, but it is made by choosing a whole complex verb rather than just the grammatical construction.

Speakers of German thus maintain a basic split between verbs like *DURCHstehen*, *DURCHsitzen*, *DURCHmachen*, *DURCHKämpfen* and *DURCHstreiten* that are lexicalized as particle verbs, and verbs like *durchleben*, *durchleiden* and *durchlaufen* that are lexicalized as prefixed verbs. From the standpoint of a non-native learner of German, it is not immediately obvious why this split occurs exactly where it does. After all, the verbs are all semantically very similar. In fact, the dictionaries define the

particle verb *DURCHmachen* in terms of the prefixed verb *durchlaufen*, and Duden goes on to characterize *DURCHmachen* further as “Schweres, Schwieriges o.ä. durchleben”. Moreover, the definition of *durchleben* in Duden sounds exactly like the kind of sequential image that is generally associated with particle verbs: “(eine bestimmte Zeit, eine Situation) von Anfang bis Ende erleben”. It would seem at first glance that **DURCHleben* or **DURCHleiden* would be obvious candidates to portray a path sequentially so that the subject experiences each successive moment. At least that is how it seemed to me until I was corrected by a native speaker for incorrectly using **DURCHleben*.

If we look carefully at the use of these verbs, a crucial factor often turns out to be whether continuing the path uninterrupted is at issue. That is, if at any individual point along the way a decision might be made to stop the process or to keep it going, then a particle verb construction is called for. Thus *DURCHmachen*, *DURCHKämpfen* and *DURCHstreiten* all suggest that the subject can stop the process at any time but chooses to continue all the way through. The subject of *DURCHsitzen* in (21a) can similarly get up and leave at any point. Contrast sitting through a film with sleeping through one as in (21b). The sleeping person is not consciously deciding to continue sleeping, and the point of the statement is not how long the sleeping continues. The sentence tells us that the person spent the film’s running time sleeping, and a prefixed verb is called for.

- (21) a. Ich persönlich hab's noch nicht geschafft einen ganzen Werner Herzog Film *durchzusitzen*.
 'I personally have never succeeded in *sitting through* a whole Werner Herzog film'
- b. Hatte ich schon letztes Mal den Film "Bandidas" einfach *durchschlafen*, ...
 'After all, last time I had simply *slept through* the film "Bandidas", ...'

Even *DURCHstehen* implies that the subject perseveres and does not surrender, so it makes sense to report how long the subject is able to continue. In the case of *durchleben* and *durchleiden* on the other hand, it is not really up to the subject whether the base-verb process (being alive or suffering) will continue. The subject is along for the whole ride, so to speak, and a synoptic reading of the path is natural. As for the very common prefixed verb *durchlaufen*, it portrays going through a (metaphorical) course as a holistic path. Once the script has been initiated it runs its whole prescribed course automatically, something like a fixed action pattern in ethology, and whether it might stop along the way is no longer an issue. Compare 'eine Lehre *durchlaufen*' with 'eine Lehre *DURCHmachen*' in (22), which for all practical purposes describe exactly the same objective event. The DURCH- verb calls attention to details of the course, conveying a sense of continuing the process over time. The prefixed *durch-* verb on the other hand suggests that the course is construed as a whole. There is no sense of looking inside to focus on any particular moments or detailed characteristics.

- (22) a. Sie arbeiten im kaufmännischen Bereich, haben aber keine kaufmännische Lehre *durchlaufen*?
 ‘You work in sales but never *took* [went through] a sales training course’
- b. Ich habe eine beinharte Lehre *durchgemacht*, bin jedoch meinem damaligen Chef für seine Strenge heute noch sehr dankbar.
 ‘I *went through* a brutally hard training course, but I’m now really grateful to my boss at the time for being so hard on me’

In this regard it is instructive to look at the rare instances when apparently native speakers use a particle verb construction when a prefixed verb would be the norm, or vice versa. In a normal instance of *durchleiden* like (23a) for example, the woman has no real choice but to continue suffering through the situation she is in, so the event is construed synoptically with a route-like LM (a holistic period that she endured). The same goes for the normal use of *durchleben* in (24a). In an unusual event such as that described in (23b) though, the construction does imply choices about whether to continue. The construal now draws us in to consider transitions from one moment to the next, actively continuing the base-verb process until the end is reached. (24b), which comes from an interview with Hans Zimmer about the making of *Black Hawk Down*, is unusual in a similar way. The subjects of *DURCHleben* are reliving something in the mind rather than actually experiencing it in the first place, and so they have the option of discontinuing the purely mental experience. The people who originally lived through the real

situation presumably did not have that option. Compare the use of *DURCHgehen* generally for going through a path mentally.

- (23) a. Diese Weltkriegsjahre *durchlitt* sie in England, von ihrem Gatten getrennt.

‘She *endured* these World War years in England, separated from her husband’

- b. Vor dem angeklagten Herrn, der seine Macht nicht gebrauchen wollte, um vom Kreuz herabzusteigen, sondern die Not des Kreuzes bis zum Ende *durchgelitten* hat, ...

‘Before the accused Lord, who did not want to use his power to climb down from the cross but *suffered through* the affliction of the cross to the end, ...’

- (24) a. Gemeinsam haben sie eine schöne Zeit *durchlebt*.

‘Together they *experienced* a beautiful time’

- b. Ein Problem des Films war für mich auch, während wir ihn gemacht haben, haben wir diesen ganzen Stoff wirklich noch mal *durchgelebt*.

‘Another problem with the film for me, while we were making it, was that we really *lived through* the material all over again’

- (25) a. Dieser Krieg wird hart und unerbittlich *durchgekämpft*.

‘This war is *fought* bitterly and relentlessly’

- b. alle sehr alten Menschen, die ein Leben *durchkämpft* haben,

‘all very old people, who have *struggled through* a life’

- c. Schon achtzig Jahre lang *durchkämpft* dieses Land seine Revolutionen und schwankt zwischen Republik und Kaisertum.

‘For 80 years this country has *fought through* its revolutions and wavered between republic and empire’

Another factor that plays a role in the choice of construction is whether the event invites a relatively distal historical perspective and thus a less detailed construal of the time period. As with the *durch-* verbs that have pure temporal accusatives, typical uses of verbs like *durchleben* or *durchleiden* describe larger, somewhat vaguer time periods that have already taken place, as in (23a) and (24a). It is natural to look back at them as pre-existing time periods construed synoptically from a conceptual distance. (23b) and (24b) in contrast draw us in to imagine individual moments as they pass, conveying a more close-up sense of subjective immediacy.

The examples in (25) illustrate the same principles in reverse. In a normal instance of *DURCHKämpfen* like (25a) the subject can give up and stop fighting at any point, but chooses to continue all the way to the end of the war, and the construction invites a relatively close-up look at the war. In the unusual use of prefixed *durchkämpfen* in (25b) on the other hand, the verb is being used much like *durchleiden*. The event is construed from a synoptic perspective as a whole life that was characterized by struggle, not as an ongoing struggle that might have been discontinued at any point. Likewise in (25c), each revolution is fought as a whole, and we do not “look inside” them to focus on continuing from one phase to the next. *Durchkämpfen* is being used like *durchlaufen*.

The same types of construction can occasionally occur with verbs that are not lexicalized, as in (26). *DURCHspielen* in (26a) describes going through each step in a sequence, presumably in a prescribed order, with a

construal that clearly tracks the FG's progress from each stage to the next. *Durchtoben* on the other hand suggests romping through a space in which the internal order is construed to be insignificant and the path is construed as a normal accusative LM (an ultimately homogeneous region of space). The use of prefixed *durchspielen* in (26b) treats the 9-hole sequence as a set routine to be played as a whole, without "looking inside" to call attention to the internal sequence from one hole to the next. It is not at issue whether the game might be discontinued before the whole nine holes have been played; once the game has been initiated it runs its course. This is the same basic construal that is generally associated with *durchlaufen*.

- (26) a. ... und laden Kinder zwischen sieben und elf Jahren ein, diesen Parcours aus verschiedenen Stationen *durchzuspielen* oder bisweilen auch zu *durchtoben*.
 '... and invite children between seven and eleven years old to *play through* this course consisting of various stations, or occasionally also to *run wild through* it'
- b. 9-Loch-Plätze sind für eine volle Runde zweimal zu *durchspielen*.
 '9-hole courses are to be *played* [through] twice to make a whole round'

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Auch Anfang der 90er Jahre habe die Luftfahrt eine schwere Krise *durchgemacht*. Beide Parteien, SPD und CDU, *durchlaufen* seit 1999 eine existenzielle Krise. Blitzschnell *durchlief* es [sein Gesicht] eine Folge seltsamer Veränderungen. 1942 bis 1943 *durchlief* er eine kaufmännische Lehre. Dieser Protest *durchläuft* verschiedene Phasen. Überdurchschnittlich

viele Durststrecken sind zu *durchwinden*. Die SPD hat nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg eine längere Durststrecke *durchgemacht*. Von Dingen hören, das ist nicht genug. Du musst sie *durchgelebt* und *durchgeliebt* und *durchgelitten* haben. Du scheinst ja gerade eine zweite Jugend *durchzuleben*. Wenn Kinder spät am Abend vor Müdigkeit wie tot ins Bett fallen, haben sie keine Gelegenheit mehr, den Tag noch mal *durchzuleben* und zu überdenken.

3. “Break” verbs

The third group of directly contrasting DURCH- and *durch*- verbs are those with base verbs that imply disrupting the material integrity of an object, i.e., with base verbs that describe activities such as cutting, tearing, piercing, chopping, and breaking. (27)–(29) are typical of the examples contrasted in the handbooks, where either a particle verb in the (a) variants or a prefixed verb in the (b) variants can describe essentially the same objective event, with no obvious difference in meaning. (29c) and (29d) illustrate additional alternatives with a *durch*-PP – one with a simple verb and one with an intransitive DURCH- verb. All four of the constructions in (29) can describe essentially the same objective event, and all four can be translated into English with the words *drill through the wall*. The question before us is: What, if any, semantic difference does it make that a speaker chooses one of these constructions over the others?

- (27) a. Sita Wissenbach hat das Band *durchgeschnitten* und somit das Haus offiziell eröffnet.
 ‘Sita Wissenbach *cut through* the ribbon and officially opened the building’
- b. Zur Eröffnung haben wir nicht einfach ein Band *durchschnitten*.
 ‘For the opening we did not simply *cut* a ribbon’
- (28) a. Zum Verbinden müsste lediglich eine Wand *durchgebrochen* werden.
 ‘To connect [the spaces] it would only be necessary to knock out [*break through*] one wall’
- b. Zwischen dem Esszimmer und dem Wohnzimmer eines Bungalows soll eine Wand *durchbrochen* werden.
 ‘A wall is to be knocked out [*broken through*] between the dining room and the living room of a bungalow’
- (29) a. Es muß lediglich *die Wand durchgebohrt* werden und das Ventil verschraubt werden.
 ‘The wall just has to be *drilled through* and the valve screwed in’
- b. Dazu müsste *die 15cm dicke Wand durchbohrt* werden, sowie neue Rohre angeschlossen und verlegt werden.
 ‘Additionally, the 15-centimeter thick wall would have to be *drilled through* and new pipes hooked up and installed’
- c. Es muss *durch die Wand gebohrt* werden.
 ‘We have to *drill through* the wall’
- d. Da hab ich einfach *durch die Wand durchgebohrt*.
 ‘So I simply *drilled* [all the way] *through* the wall’

The particle verb constructions in (27a), (28a) and (29a) seem normal enough. Like the other DURCH- verb constructions discussed in chapter 6, they profile a continuous path all the way through an accusative incremental theme. For example, the aspectual contour of the cutting in the particle verb

variant of (27a) can be taken to map onto a route from one edge of the ribbon to the other. (These examples were chosen to make the prefixed verb alternative seem equally natural, so they involve relatively thin objects that make the incremental theme reading less salient. Still, the particle verb clearly profiles a sequential path from one side of the object to the other.) What complicates the “breaking” events is the fact that there are two potentially distinct paths that go through the accusative object. One is of course the cutting path of the causal implement (the implicit scissors), but there is now also a reflexive-trajector path that is created by the causal path – namely a split (a fissure or a hole) that follows in its wake.

In typical sentences with a particle DURCH- verb like those in (27a)–(29a), it makes no real difference whether we read the path to be that of the concrete causal FG or that of the resulting fissure or hole. The specific semantic contribution of particle DURCH- relates purely to the incremental-theme reading. DURCH- is most typically used rather than a construction with a simple base verb in order to emphasize that the path is linear and directed and goes all the way through the accusative object. In other words it makes clear that the accusative object is an incremental theme and not merely a more generally affected “patient” (as it could be for example with plain *schneiden*, *brechen* or *bohren*). The DURCH- verb can contrast markedly with an AN-verb that describes a partial cut as in (30).

- (30) Der stehengebliebene Rest wird nun von unten *angesägt* und endlich von oben völlig *durchgesägt*.
 ‘The part that is left is now *given a starting cut by sawing* from below and then finally *sawed all the way through* from above’

Although the constructions with a DURCH- verb and an accusative incremental theme could refer either to the causal path or to the path of the resulting break or to both, they always call attention to the resulting effect on the focal incremental theme. If a speaker wishes to portray an incremental path all the way through a solid object without focusing particularly on the effect that the event has on the object, then an intransitive DURCH- verb construction is called for as in (31). In (31) the effect on the wall is only incidental to the purpose of the sentence, buried in the implications of the base verb *brechen*, and the wall could not be expressed as an accusative incremental theme. It is an oblique LM.

- (31) Noch müssen sie warten, bis die Schützenpanzer durch die Wand *durchgebrochen* sind.
 ‘They still have to wait until the tanks have *broken through* [through] the wall’

If the particle DURCH- verbs in (27)-(29) seem normal enough, the prefixed *durch-* verb constructions are more problematic. There is an inherent tension in (27b), (28b) and (29b) between the meaning of the base verbs and the principle that an accusative LM is not materially affected by the path. The

accusative objects are being cut, broken and drilled, so they are obviously materially affected by the events. Just because we know that they are affected does not mean that the *durch-* verb construction is calling particular attention to that fact however. The LM expressed in the pleonastic *durch-*PP in example (31) is also known to be materially affected, but that effect is not what the construction is profiling. It turns out that it is actually quite common and useful to describe disruptive paths through a solid object without calling attention to how the object is affected.

Consider the sentence in (32a). Obviously the glass door was shattered as the FG went through it; but that is not what the *durch-* verb construction is profiling. The sentence portrays the event as a holistic path by the FG through a resisting obstacle, and the effect on the LM object is incidental and irrelevant as far as the *durch-* verb construction is concerned. In other words, the semantic contribution of *durch-* in this sentence is essentially the same as it would be if the window were open and thus unaffected by the path. The interpretation of (32a) is of course complicated by the additional pragmatic implication that the LM object is affected by the path, but that information is not the communicative point of the sentence. Similar comments apply to (32b) with a base verb that explicitly calls attention to the breaking. The fact that the barricade breaks is not the main point. The sentence describes the event not as something that happens to the barricade, but rather as how the FG gets past a resisting obstacle. Breaking the barricade becomes a manner of motion, much as jumping is the manner of getting through the door in (32a). Whatever effect

the path may have on the LM is backgrounded as far as the profiled *durch-* path is concerned, treated as an incidental side-effect. (32b) is basically like (31), except that the LM is a more focally prominent accusative object and the path is construed to be holistic.

- (32) a. Auf der Flucht *durchsprang* der Asylbewerber eine Glastür und verblutete.
 ‘As he was fleeing the asylum seeker *jumped through* a glass door and bled to death’
- b. Die Demonstranten *durchbrachen* die Absperrung.
 ‘The demonstrators *broke through* the barricade’

So the first principle affecting the choice between particle DURCH- and prefixed *durch-* with these base verbs is that the particle verb construction is called for to emphasize a disruptive effect that goes straight through an accusative incremental theme, while the prefixed verb construction is called for to emphasize that a FG is able to overcome the resistance of an accusative LM and get through it, treating any attendant effect on the accusative LM as an incidental by-product. The sentences in (28a), (29a), and (33) are in this respect typical DURCH- verb constructions, while (32b) and (34) are typical *durch-* verb constructions. Sentences like (34a) describe intentional acts of

penetrating a restrictive or protective barrier, while sentences like (34b) describe involuntary paths through a barrier.¹⁷

(33) Nevermann ... hatte einem Mann in München gedroht, “die Kniescheibe *durchzuschießen*“, wenn er ihm nicht die Kohle gebe, die ihm zustehe.

‘Nevermann had threatened a man in Munich that he would “*shoot his kneecap through*” if he didn’t give him the dough he had coming’

(34) a. Weiterhin versuchte der Reporter mit aller Gewalt die Weste mit einem Messer zu *durchstechen*.

‘The reporter kept trying with all his might to *penetrate* [through-stab] the vest with a knife’

b. Bei dem Unfall *durchstieß* sein Kopf die Fensterscheibe.

‘His head *slammed through* the windshield during the accident’

It makes sense then that the prefixed *durch-* verbs would be especially common to describe paths that break through abstract LMs, from military fronts to truly abstract metaphorical barriers such as the sound barrier or a conventional limit on behavior. There is clearly no material damage done to such LMs, and the breaking effect profiled by the base verb is now more of an attendant circumstance characterizing the manner of motion. The prefixed verb construction is also predictably preferred when the LM has a more

¹⁷ In the rare instances when particle *DURCHbrechen* describes breaking through a restricting barrier of some kind, the focus is localized to describe the creation of a break in the barrier, as opposed to the FG’s motion to the other side: ‘Einige Demonstranten versuchten hierbei den Gendarmeriekordon *durchzubrechen*’.

gaseous or liquid consistency and can be passed through without any lasting material effect, and with ray-like FGs that can pass through solid objects without displacing anything (though incremental theme readings with particle verbs are still a possibility).

In this connection we might also mention the use of *durch-* verbs for holistic paths that optically (or acoustically) bisect an accusative LM region (Beaton 1996: 202), since those verbs typically involve a cutting image of some kind (*durchschneiden, durchtrennen, durchteilen, durchpflügen*). See chapter 7. A specialized extension of that type occurs when verbs like *durchbrechen* or *durchgliedern* take a plural FG and describe optically “breaking” the monotony of an otherwise homogeneous LM surface. The variant is thus a sort of multi-directional interspersing image (cf. *durchlöchern*). Similar constructions can also describe the temporal interruption of a process. Cf. *unterbrechen*.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Diese [Schutzhose] kann weder *durchstochen*, noch *durchbissen* werden. Für die Verwendung von Kurzwaffen, die geeignet sind polizeiliche Schutzwesten zu *durchschießen*, gibt es keine Notwendigkeit. Die Wände eines Flugzeuges sind ja in Wirklichkeit aus dünnem Blech, und sie können leicht *durchschlagen* werden. Das Tier *durchbohrte* die Karosserie mit seinen Stoßzähnen. Eine Kugel hatte die Lunge *durchbohrt*. Man weiß, kein Schwert vermag ein Daunenkissen zu *durchhauen*. Die Pille ist nicht stark genug um die Ummantelung zu *durchbrennen*. Die Fluten *durchbrachen* den Deich. Die Pistolenkugel *durchschlug* die Fensterscheibe. Die Kugel war in den Unterleib gedrungen, hatte alle Eingeweide *durchschlagen* und war dann

im Rückgrat steckengeblieben. Mehrere Truppeneinheiten haben die feindlichen Linien *durchstoßen*. Illegale *durchbrachen* am 14. Juni 1947 die englische Blockade. Sobald diese Front vom Feind *durchbrochen* war, ... Bei 4600 Höhenmetern *durchstößt* der Pfad die Wolkendecke. Ein Lautsprecherwagen *durchbrach* schallend die feierliche Stille. Ich hatte gerade die Schallmauer *durchstoßen*. Pollacks Fähigkeit, die Schranken architektonischer Theorie zu *durchbrechen*. Er *durchstößt* das Gewalt- und Tötungstabu. ... das Schweigegebot zu *durchbrechen*. Es *durchstößt* die Konventionen der Zivilisation, wenn ... Diese Ordnung wurde später *durchbrochen*. ... um diesen Teufelskreis zu *durchbrechen*. Röntgenstrahlen *durchdringen* die Malschicht wie den Bildträger. Neutrinos *durchqueren* ganze Planeten, als seien sie Luft. Das Flugzeug hat die Wolkendecke *durchstoßen*. Die Kriegsgasmaske wurde also vom Blaukreuzkampfstoff *durchschlagen*. Das Schiff *durchschneidet* die ruhige See. Messerscharf *durchschnitt* er die Luft. Der peitschende Knall der Büchse *durchreißt* die Stille. Nur ab und zu *durchbricht* ein Scheinwerferpaar die Dunkelheit. Ein exakter schwarzer Schnitt aus Teer *durchtrennt* die Ebene. Es bilden sich neue Kernmembranen, das Plasma wird *durchteilt*. Man *durchbricht* die Wand mit Türen und Fenstern. ... einer von Toren *durchbrochenen* Stadtmauer. ... die lange von zwei Pausen *durchbrochene* Rede. Die antiken Ordnungen *durchgliedern* das Gewände des basilikalischen Sakralbaus.

Whether the accusative object is saliently disrupted cannot be the only factor involved though. In sentences like (28b), (29b) and (35), having a disruptive effect on the accusative LM is clearly the practical purpose of the act, yet the prefixed *durch-* verb construction can still be chosen. In such cases the distinction between the prefixed verb and the particle verb becomes especially subtle, reflecting two different ways to construe the event aspectually. Where a DURCH- verb construction would portray the event as a

path that proceeds incrementally through the interior of the incremental theme, the *durch-* verb construction describes the event as a holistic path. Even though the effect on the LM is an important aspect of the event, that effect is not what is being profiled by the construction with prefix *durch-*. The *durch-* verb construction itself still focuses only on the path of the agentive act – the thrusting or slicing motion. The key distinction here is whether the construction prompts us to look in detail at the interior parts of the path. Particle DURCH- invites a construal that focuses on how the path proceeds through the incremental theme, while prefix *durch-* portrays the path as a holistic one without salient internal detail.

- (35) a. Gianciotto *durchstößt* Francesca mit seinem Schwert.
 ‘Giancotto *stabs* Francesca with his sword’
 b. Die Täter *durchschnitten* dann die Telegraphendrähte.
 ‘Then the perpetrators *cut* the telegraph lines’
 c. Wann wird routinemäßig die Nabelschnur *durchtrennt*?
 ‘When is the umbilical cord usually *cut* [through-separated]’

Karl Brugmann (1895: 81) observed over 100 years ago that expressions with particle verbs like *DURCHbohren* together with an accusative object were the only instances he knew of in the German language that have “durative-perfective” aspect. Thus a sentence like ‘Der Tischler *bohrt* das Brett *durch*’ combines an imperfective base-verb activity (‘Der Tischler *bohrt* durch das Brett’) with the information that the activity is brought to a conclusion. It would thus be odd (“komisch”) to use the

construction in a sentence like [?]‘Der Soldat *bohrt* den Feind *durch*’, because the point of that sentence can scarcely be that the act was temporally extended for a while before finally reaching its conclusion. The prefixed *durch-* verb construction is appropriate in such cases to call attention only to the execution of the whole event (and not to its prior extension before completion). By the same token it would sound silly (“lächerlich”), according to Brugmann, to use the prefixed verb construction in a sentence like [?]‘Der Tischler *durchbohrt* das Brett’, because we would hardly imagine such an event without profiling the ongoing activity of drilling that leads up to the conclusion of the event. The prefixed verb construction does become appropriate though in a sentence like ‘Die Kugel *durchbohrt* das Brett’, since there is no reason to imagine a continuous activity that leads up to the conclusion of the event. There is now no reason to express duration and conclusion separately.¹⁸ In other words, the prefixed verb construction portrays the path as a holistic one, a single forceful

¹⁸ “... weil hier der Natur der Dinge nach von der Betonung einer zu Ende geführten kontinuierlichen Thätigkeit, von einem Gegensatz zwischen Dauer und Abschluss keine Rede sein kann”. Erben (1968: 75) basically echoes Brugmann’s comments when he calls the particle verbs “phasenhaft-konklusiv” and the prefixed verbs “punktuell-resultativ”. Curme (1922: 328) similarly says that the particle verb “has both durative (denoting duration) and perfective force”, while the prefixed verb “may have perfective (denoting the outcome or result of an action) force”. Weinrich (1993: 1069) seems to have the same distinction in mind when he comments: “Das Präfix *durch-* kann auch über die Vollständigkeit einer in der Grundform bezeichneten Handlungsstrecke instruieren; dabei rücken die mit *durch* präfigierten Verben eher das Ende der Strecke in den Vordergrund, während die vergleichbaren zweiteiligen Verben eher die Strecke selber betonen.”

penetrating thrust, while the particle verb construction portrays it as a temporally protracted one that extends until it reaches the end of an incremental theme.

A prototypical *durch-* verb event will be a single, forceful, temporally compressed thrust, without salient individual parts or phases, often executed as a whole set routine, and the point of the description will be that the FG was able to penetrate the accusative LM. Verbs for puncturing or piercing for example, such as *durchstechen* and *durchstoßen* – and *durchbohren* when the focus is not particularly on a drilling activity as the manner of motion – thus lend themselves to use as prefixed verbs.¹⁹ The same goes for base verbs like *schlagen* or *hauen* or *beißen* – but only if they describe single forceful chops or chomps as opposed to iterated hits or bites. Similarly, a verb like *schneiden* is appropriate for spatial paths with prefix *durch-* as long as it describes a single slicing stroke as opposed to a more complex and protracted cutting motion.

Particle DURCH- verbs on the other hand are favored when the path is relatively complex, with a salient accompanying manner of motion and with salient particular parts or phases, and when it is construed to be relatively drawn out temporally. For example, paths that involve sawing, chewing or other iterative processes tend to be temporally protracted and call attention to

¹⁹ The ratio of “zu durchstechen“ to “durchzusteichen” in COSMAS was 35 to 4, and in Google it was 26,400 to 8,990. The corresponding numbers for *durchstoßen* were 74 to 26 (59,200 to 25,200), for *durchbohren* 75 to 5 (119,000 to 9.020).

individual moments during the overall path, and base verbs that describe such processes prefer particle DURCH- verbs – including *DURCHbeißen*, *DURCHsägen*, *DURCHgraben*, *DURCHFressen*, or *DURCHfeilen*. Chopping motions with verbs such as *DURCHschlagen*, *DURCHhauen*, and *DURCHhacken* similarly favor particle DURCH- when they involve iterative strokes – though not necessarily when they describe single strokes. *Schneiden* also takes particle DURCH- if the detailed manner of cutting is at all profiled, i.e. if there is any protracted sawing-like motion or scissoring as opposed to a single slicing stroke. *DURCHreißen* invites a sequential construal and prefers DURCH-.²⁰ Particle verb constructions are also encouraged when there is strong focus on the particular part of the object where the split occurs, for example with expressions like *in der Mitte* that encourage us to zoom in for a closer perspective on that area. In all of these cases a construction with a

²⁰ Here are the ratios of “zu durch-V” to “durchzu-V” with some common verbs that tend to prefer the particle verb construction, with the COSMAS counts first and Google in parentheses: *DURCHschlagen* 159/540 (53,200/85,000), *DURCHsägen* 9/73 (4,880/13,200), *DURCHgraben* 3/9 (2,330/5,580), *DURCHreißen* 1/8 (2,030/3,880), *DURCHhacken* 0/4 (67/2,030), and *DURCHfeilen* 0/0 (647/1,260). *DURCHbeißen* 4/218 (4,190/66,400) and *DURCHFressen* 1/8 (323/4,700) are also much more frequent than their prefixed counterparts, but those numbers largely reflect other constructions, particularly their common reflexive uses. Among the verbs that are somewhat more evenly divided between the two constructions are: *DURCHschneiden* 139/232 (80,100/75,400), *DURCHgliedern* 0/0 (488/835), and *DURCHhauen* 9/12 (6,580/10,300).

simple base verb would not suffice because it would not specify that the force penetrates all the way through the object.²¹

- (36) a. Irgendwie schaffte er es, den Bettpfosten *durchzusägen*.
 ‘Somehow he managed to *saw through* the bedpost’
- b. Sie nahm es ihm wortlos aus den Händen, *riß* es mitten *durch* und warf es ins Kamin.
 ‘She took it from his hands without saying a word, *ripped* it *in two* and threw it in the fireplace’

The contrast between a prefixed *durch-* verb construction and a transitive DURCH- verb construction when there is a spatial path through a solid object thus involves both how we imagine the path to proceed and whether we are concerned with the effect that the path has on the accusative object.

- The *durch-* verb construction portrays the event with a synoptic construal as a holistic path, without particularly profiling any effect on the accusative LM. The construction typically describes simple, temporally compressed paths and routine acts, without salient manner

²¹ The handbooks offer very little help here. Duden gives a classic dictionary runaround. They define *DURCHschneiden* as “schneidend DURCHtrennen“ and *durchschneiden* as “schneidend durchtrennen“, then they treat *durchtrennen* and *DURCHtrennen* as interchangeable (both meaning “in zwei Teile trennen, entzweischneiden”). Wahrig ducks the issue, as does the Duden *Richtiges und gutes Deutsch*.

of motion – especially if the point of the description is that the FG succeeds in penetrating resisting matter as a kind of obstacle.

- The DURCH- verb construction does call attention to the effect that the path has on an accusative incremental theme. More basically, it portrays the path as a sequence of internal steps that take place within the accusative object. The construction is especially favored for more protracted events, including those that involve a prominent manner of motion such as repeated hits or sawing strokes or twisting.²²

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Er *durchbohrte* einen Wildesel mit dem Pfeil. Notung hat das Herz des Wurms *durchstoßen*. Menschen sind schon vom Schwertfisch *durchstochen* worden. Diese ging mir durch den Leib und *durchriß* den Darm zweimal. Meine Nase und meine Lippen sind *durchbohrt*. Die Arme sind mit insgesamt 46 Nadeln *durchstochen*. Ein 76-Jähriger hat am Dienstag in einem Parkhaus in Neukölln mit seinem Auto eine Wand *durchbohrt*. Die einzige Chance, den alten Deich zu retten, besteht darin, den neuen Deich zu

²² Hallwass (1991: 72) observes that prefixed verbs have stress on the stem and thus emphasize the base-verb activity, while particle verbs have stress on the relational term *DURCH-* and thus emphasize the result of the activity: “Er hat die Platte *durchbohrt* (und nicht *durchstanzt*, *durchschlagen* oder *durchstoßen*)./ Er hat die Platte *durchgebohrt* (= das Loch ist fertig gebohrt, jetzt kommt der nächste Arbeitsschritt).” Things are actually more complicated than that. In a particle verb construction the base verb has more syntactic independence and in that sense its meaning is more prominent. As we have seen, the particle verb constructions actually profile the manner of motion expressed by the base verb more than the prefixed verbs do.

durchstechen. Er *durchschlägt* das Brett mit bloßer Hand. Der Hai hatte mit einem einzigen Biß das linke Bein bis zum Schenkelknochen *durchbissen* und dabei die großen Arterien *durchtrennt*. Mit ihren Beilen machten sie sich über die vermeintliche Liane her und es gelang ihnen auch, sie zu *durchhacken*. Mit der so präparierten Schnur sucht er dann die Drachenschnüre anderer Knaben zu *durchschneiden* oder zu *durchsägen*, daß deren Drachen vom Winde mit fortgenommen werden. Jammer *durchfraß* ihr Inneres.

Serienmäßig mit 2 Bohrungen in der Rückwand (nicht *durchgebohrt*). Schon als Kind versuchte er mit seiner Buddelschippe, die Gitter *durchzuhacken*. Mit dem Taschenmesser *schnitt* ich ihre Fesseln *durch*. Kenner *schneiden* die Wurst in der Mitte *durch*. Brauchst du kleine Würfel, so *schneide* die Zwiebel der Länge nach *durch*. der *durchgesägte* Ast. Zwei Drittel des rechten Beins der Bronzefigur wurden etwa in Knöchelhöhe mit einem zwei Millimeter starken Schnitt *durchgesägt*. Wenn Marder Zündkabel angefressen oder *durchgebissen* haben, so zahlt die Teilkaskoversicherung für den Ersatz. Die großen Lederlaufkäfer (Procrustes) *beißen* starke Schneckenschalen *durch*. Er *beißt* die Schnur mit den Zähnen *durch*. Anfang 2002 hatte ein FE-Kernkraftwerk am Erie-See stillgelegt werden müssen, weil ein Reaktorkessel von Säure fast *durchgefressen* war. Wetten, dass ich es schaffe, in drei Stunden einen Apfel in der Mitte *durchzureißen*? Da ist das Titelblatt der Länge nach *durchgerissen*.

3.1. Base verbs like *brechen* and *trennen*

Given the principle that particle DURCH- verbs tend to profile an effect on the accusative object and prefixed *durch-* verbs do not, one might initially expect that base verbs like *brechen* and *trennen*, which explicitly profile such an effect while leaving the prior causal path implicit, would strongly prefer

particle DURCH-. Actually though, the opposite is true. The electronic counts reflect a decided preference for prefixed *durchbrechen* and *durchtrennen* over their particle verb counterparts.²³

The moral is apparently that particle verb constructions are linked to the manner of the causal path. With *schneiden* it is natural enough to zoom in and focus on a FG such as a knife cutting through the interior of the object in a particular manner, and a construction with DURCH- can prompt us to follow that path in detail all the way to the end of the incremental theme. Compare particle verbs such as *DURCHbohren*, which is used consistently when the causal manner (drilling) is profiled. When prefixed *durchbohren* is used on the other hand, it plays down the specific manner profiled by the base verb and describes a holistic path through a resisting accusative LM. A specific manner of motion detracts from a synoptic construal as a holistic path. (The contrast between a prefixed verb and a particle verb in German is again similar to that between the English verb-framed construction with a verb like *sever* – which does not profile a particular causal manner – and a satellite-framed construction like *cut through*.)

²³ The ratios of “zu durchbrechen“ to “durchzubrechen“ were 3,620 to 117 in COSMAS (451,000 to 120,000 in Google), and for “zu durchtrennen“ as opposed to “durchzutrennen“ 181 to 16 (84,500 to 8,430). (The particle verb totals include occurrences with intransitive *DURCHbrechen* and *DURCHtrennen*, and the prefixed verbs often describe events that are not purely spatial.) *Durchteilen* 0/0 (824/286) also favors the prefixed construction.

It follows that *trennen* and *brechen* are not well suited to occur with particle DURCH-, because they do not profile any causal manner at all. Nothing expressly invites us to zoom in and focus on the sequential progress of a FG such as a knife. In fact, on the relatively rare occasions when *DURCHbrechen* and *DURCHtrennen* do occur then DURCH- seems to prompt a fairly specific image of what the implicit causal path is like. That is, a construction like ‘Die Schokolade ist nicht ganz leicht *durchzubreichen*‘ suggests a manner of causing the break (i.e. pressing down on the sides and applying indirect upward pressure on the middle – compare *reißen*).²⁴ The rare uses of *DURCHtrennen* seem equivalent to *DURCHschneiden*, i.e., they call to mind an image of a cutting motion.

Another factor militating against the use of particle *DURCHtrennen* is that the particle would be semantically superfluous, since *trennen* already implies a split that goes all the way through the object. With *schneiden* or *bohren* and even with *brechen*, the fissure or the hole might not go all the way through the object, and particle DURCH- can be needed to specify that the path goes all the way through – but that is not the case with *trennen*.

²⁴ *DURCHbrechen* is obviously called for when the accusative object is an effected object (a hole such as a window or a door, e.g. ‘Richtung Westen wurden 2 neue Fenster *durchgebrochen*‘), or else a true accusative FG such as a wall being removed as a whole to create an empty space (‘So entstand mal die etwas verrückte Idee, diese Fensterwand einfach *durchzubreichen*, um dann den Cafëbereich auch teilweise nach außen verlagern zu können’).

3.2. The role of larger functional contexts

There is at least one other factor that can come into play in the choice of *durch-* verbs, even when the accusative object is a spatial object that is clearly materially affected, namely the presence of additional functional implications. With respect to examples like (27b) for example, Beaton (1996: 202) observes that *durchschneiden* is the normal verb when a ribbon is cut as part of a symbolic ceremony, while *Er schnitt das Band durch* “would have no symbolic significance”. We might extend that comment to a more general principle, namely that holistic paths are typically situated in a larger context that involves nonspatial functional implications. In the case of symbolic ribbon-cutting, the severing event is obviously part of a larger ceremonial script, but the same principle might apply to non-symbolic events as well. For example, events such as severing a blood vessel or a wire are typically construed as part of an implicit larger functional context, such as interrupting a line of supply or communication. Surgically severing a nerve is one step in a larger surgical operation. Cutting someone’s throat definitely has functional implications that are not purely spatial. Even more generally, a classic spatial holistic path such as overcoming an obstacle implies that this particular path event is a segment of a larger journey. And of course the more abstract the

event is, the more likely it becomes that it will be interpreted as part of a larger functional context.²⁵

- (37) a. Daß Rupsch die Zündschnur *durchschnitten*, um die Explosion zu vereiteln, glaubt der Gerichtshof nicht.
 ‘The court does not believe that Rupsch *cut* the fuse in order to foil the explosion’
- b. Ein Körper, dessen große Halsader *durchschnitten* ist, ist ein sterbender Körper.
 ‘A body whose jugular is *severed* is a dying body’
- c. Sämtliche Hauptverbindungslinien zwischen Nord- und Süddeutschland wurden durch den amerikanischen Vormarsch *durchschnitten*.
 ‘All the main lines connecting northern and southern Germany were *severed* by the American advance’
- d. Es gilt das Band zur Mutter zu *durchschneiden*, sodass aus unseren Söhnen Männer und nicht Muttersöhnchen werden.

²⁵ Incidentally, the association of particle verbs with concrete spatial images and prefixed verbs with more abstract functionally complex images does not preclude the metaphorical use of particle verb constructions. It is generally the case though that the particle verb constructions participate only in general spatial metaphors. That is, they express an essentially pure spatial image that is then metaphorically transferred from the spatial domain to another, separate domain. (Contrast embedding a spatial event in an extended context that includes associated nonspatial functions.) For example, the particle verb *DURCHschneiden* can describe cutting through a textual “thread” or a metaphorical social entity (‘Man spürt, wie der Faden *durchgeschnitten* wird und die Erzählung abstürzt’). Note that spatial adverbials like *mitten* or *quer* are still common, reflecting the strong spatial nature of the image (‘Diese unilinealen Verbände *schneiden* also jede Familie *quer durch*.’ ‘Ein wehmütiges Lächeln des andern *schnitt* ihm den Satz *mitten durch*’).

‘It’s time to *cut* the bond to the mother, so that our sons become men and not mama’s boys’

Obviously, this factor also applies to the prefixed *über-* and *unter-* verbs discussed in chapter 10. The principle might be stated generally this way:

- A holistic path construal intrinsically introduces a larger context in which the path event is being interpreted, while a sequential construal intrinsically concentrates our attention more on the particular locations within the route – without much awareness of a larger context other than generic space. As a result, prefixed verb constructions are relatively more apt to describe events that are understood as holistic parts of a complex context with nonspatial functional implications.

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Um zehn Uhr morgens *durchschnitten* damals die Stadtväter das seidene Band. Sie hätten ja in diesem Falle in der Tat den Römern die Operationslinie *durchschnitten* und die Zufuhr verhindert. Wird der Ringnerv an 2 Stellen *durchschnitten*, so ist die Koordination gestört.

3.3. Arbitrary choices

Although there are definite factors that favor one construction over another, those factors often do not converge to make the choice clear. As one example where either choice seems equally justified, consider cutting an umbilical cord. It is a concrete spatial event of cutting an object completely in two, but it is also a fairly routine and simple act that is part of a larger sequence and can suggest severing a connection between mother and child. It is not surprising then that both constructions can be found, and that speakers will seem to pick either the *DURCH-* verb or the *durch-* verb more or less randomly.²⁶ Still, all of the principles mentioned above can influence the choice of construction to the extent that the speaker is choosing carefully.

- (38) a. Mein Mann war im Kreißsaal dabei und hat auch die Nabelschnur *durchgeschnitten*.
 ‘My husband was in the delivery room and *cut* the umbilical cord’
- b. ja also mein freund war bei der geburt von klein alexander von anfang bis zum schluss dabei und hat auch die nabelschnur *durchschnitten*.
 ‘So, my boyfriend was there at little Alexander’s birth from beginning to end and even *cut* the umbilical cord’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Sobald sie die Nabelschnur *durchgeschnitten* haben, beginnt das Baby selber zu atmen. Erst wenn die Nabelschnur *durchschnitten* wird, atmet das Kind

²⁶ A Google search returned 1,170 for “Nabelschnur durchzuschneiden“ and 998 for “Nabelschnur zu durchschneiden“. “Nabelschnur durchgeschnitten“ returned 4,540 and “Nabelschnur durchschnitten“ 2,180. (The COSMAS results were 2 to 0 and 5 to 4 respectively.)

selbständig. „Ich habe sogar die Nabelschnur *durchgetrennt*“, sagt er stolz. Kurz nach dem ersten Atemzug des Babys wird die Nabelschnur *durchtrennt*.

Both constructions can be justified with the bars of a jail cell too. There is normally a protracted iterative process involved that strongly suggests a particle verb such as *DURCHsägen*, and DURCH- verbs are indeed more common.²⁷ On the other hand, it is possible to construe the event as a fairly simple single purposeful act from a synoptic perspective, and the purpose of the act is to get past a resisting barrier rather than to have an effect on the accusative object per se, so that *durch-* verbs also occur.

- (39) a. Volker Franz hat das Fenstergitter *durchgesägt* und sich mit Bettlaken abgeseilt.
 ‘Volker Franz *sawed through* the window bars and climbed down using bedsheets’
- b. Adnan H. hatte die Gitterstäbe seines Zellenfensters *durchsägt*.
 ‘Adnan H. had *sawed through* the bars of his cell window’

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Im Waggon erfuhren wir, dass jemand eine Feile mitgebracht hatte, um die Gitter *durchzufeilen*. ... Versuch, die Gitterfenster zu *durchfeilen*.

²⁷ A Google search returned 50 instances for “Gitter durchzusägen“ and 8 for “Gitter zu durchsägen“; 312 for “Gitter durchgesägt“ and 204 for “Gitter durchsägt“; 6 each for “durchgesägte Gitter“ and “durchsägte Gitter“. (COSMAS showed 9 for “Gitter durchgesägt“ and 3 for “Gitter durchsägt“.)

An especially striking example of the potential interchangeability of the constructions is cutting the proverbial Gordian knot, which combines a fairly difficult concrete spatial cutting process with an abstract meaning that has definite functional implications. Both *durch-* and *DURCH-* occur with *den gordischen Knoten*, with either *schlagen*, *hauen*, *schneiden* or *trennen!*²⁸ Even here though, one can still maintain that the *durch-* verb portrays the event as a holistic agentive routine with nonspatial functional implications while the *DURCH-* verb focuses on creating a rupture in the accusative object.

- (40) a. Dann kommen die Minister, um den großen Gordischen Knoten *durchzuschlagen*.
 ‘Then the ministers come to *chop through* the great Gordian knot’
- b. Sein Vorschlag wird helfen, den gordischen Knoten zu *durchschlagen* und eine Lösung für Opel zu finden.
 ‘His suggestion will help to *sever* the Gordian knot and find a solution for Opel’

²⁸ The prefix *zer-* also occurs (*zerschlagen*, *zerschneiden*, *zerhauen*, *zerreißen*), and there is an occasional *lösen*, *aufknüpfen* or *entwirren*. Generally speaking, the most common verbs with “gordischen Knoten” seem to be *durchschlagen* and *zerschlagen*. A Google search for “gordischen Knoten” and “durchzuschlagen” returned 660 hits, vs. 1,510 for “gordischen Knoten” and “zu durchschlagen”. The combination of “gordischen Knoten” and “durchzuhauen” returned 567 hits, vs. 937 for “gordischen Knoten” and “zu durchhauen“.) The COSMAS texts reflect a more decided preference for the prefixed verbs, returning 57 instances of “zu durchschlagen” in the same sentence as “gordischen Knoten” and only 4 of “durchzuschlagen”. The prefixed forms were also preferred for *durchhauen* (3 to 1), *durchtrennen* (5 to 0) and *durchschneiden* (2 to 0).

ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES

Meine Bestrebung geht dahin, diesen gordischen Knoten zu *durchhauen*. Wie Alexander der Große *haute* er den Gordischen Knoten einfach *durch*. Es wird Zeit, hier endlich den gordischen Knoten zu *durchschneiden*. Wenn sie auch nicht in der Lage sind, den Gordischen Knoten *durchzuschneiden*, besitzen sie mindestens eine gewisse Klasse. Er hat sie nur gebraucht, um einen gordischen Knoten zu *durchtrennen*. Ohne erkennbaren Grund gelang es dann aber Gregor Sliz, den Gordischen Knoten *durchzutrennen*.

CHAPTER 12

The Meaning of the Constructions

The range of variants surveyed in this book can seem bewildering. Most observers do sense that there are underlying semantic patterns running through the jumbled set of actual uses, but linguists have had only very limited success in articulating what those patterns are. Aside from a couple of very broad generalizations, the semantic differences have been treated essentially as a matter of individual verb vocabulary.

The time has come now to look back over all of the variants we have encountered in chapters 3-11 and see if we can discern meaningful patterns that might help us make more sense out of these constructions. The following discussion assembles a range of general observations based on the detailed evidence – each marked with a bullet point. As these observations accumulate, they combine to suggest a basic semantic pattern that runs through the myriad specific uses of the constructions. That pattern constitutes the schematic meaning of the grammatical constructions themselves.

1. Transitivity

We can begin with a grammatical observation that is commonly made in the handbooks, namely the link between prefixed verbs and transitivity.

- The prefixed verbs surveyed in this book are associated almost exclusively with accusative objects.¹
- Particle verbs on the other hand are prototypically associated with intransitive constructions (chapter 3), although they occur with several types of accusative object as well (chapters 4–6).

The semantic evidence accumulated here also allows us to make more precise observations about the types of accusative object that are associated with each verb construction, distinguishing accusative FGs, accusative reflexive-trajectors, accusative incremental themes, and accusative LMs.

- Accusative LMs are exclusively linked to prefixed verbs (chapters 7 and 8); particle verbs never occur with them.

¹ Exceptions to this principle are rare, and are largely limited to special cases with *über-*. *Übersiedeln* can be used intransitively, as can the temporal denominal formations *übernachten* and *überwintern*. There are occasional setting-subject constructions with *über-* verbs like *überlaufen* or *überfrieren* in which a nominative LM is an overflowing container or a surface that covers over. Even scalar ‘excess’ *über-* verbs are rarely intransitive. Otherwise, intransitive constructions with prefixed verbs occur only when there is an omitted accusative LM that is specifically recoverable from context (for example with *überwiegen* or *überleben*)

- Reflexive-trajectors are exclusively linked to particle verbs, whether they appear as nominative subjects or as accusative objects (chapter 5).
- Accusative FGs are strongly associated with particle verbs. They occur with a prefixed verb only in the variants discussed in chapter 9, when the compound verb lexically implies a LM.
- Particle verbs are always chosen over prefixed verbs if there is an incremental theme (a situation that arises largely only with DURCH-verbs as discussed in chapter 6).

Aside from the *über-* and *unter-* verbs discussed in chapter 9 that lexically imply a LM, verbs with route-path prefixes are consistently associated with accusative LMs. Particle verbs on the other hand are either intransitive or take an active accusative participant of some kind (whether that participant is a moving accusative FG, a reflexive-trajector, or an incremental theme that co-extends with the base verb process). The key principle that is beginning to emerge is this: The accusative object in a prefixed verb construction calls attention to a focal part of the setting for the path, while the accusative object in a particle verb construction calls attention to a focal part of the path itself.

An aside on accusative LMs and argument shift

Although accusative LMs are not generally recognized as an argument role (cf. “locations” or “goals”), the most common syntactic approach to productive prefixed verb constructions does imply their existence by relating them to the object of a preposition. Generative accounts frequently relate prefixed verbs to constructions with a simple verb and a PP by a process of argument shift, i.e., by deriving an accusative LM from something that would normally appear as the object of the preposition (e.g. ‘Sie umlegten das Grab mit Blumen’ from the structure that underlies ‘Sie legten Blumen um das Grab’). See for example Stiebels and Wunderlich (1994) or Olsen (1996). That syntactic account is perfectly consistent with the semantic nature of the accusative LMs as described in chapters 7 and 8. As for syntactic accounts of particle verbs, the obvious and common approach is to relate them to constructions with a simple verb and a PP by leaving the object of the preposition implicit (an “intransitive” P).

2. Lexicalization

The handbooks commonly recognize a link between prefixed verbs and lexicalization, and the evidence in this book confirms that broad tendency.

- Prefixed verbs are relatively more apt than particle verbs to be lexicalized, i.e., to be recognized and selected at least partially as whole grammatical and semantic units.

The evidence in chapters 3 and 4 also supports a second broad generalization:

- Particle verbs in turn tend to be relatively more lexicalized than combinations of a simple verb with a PP, and plain particle verbs tend to be more lexicalized than those that are combined with deictic particles such as *hin-*.

Lexicalization is certainly a very important factor in determining the schematic meaning of the grammatical constructions. We should, however, guard against setting up an absolute dichotomy between lexicalized compound verbs and those that are productively generated by the grammar. Lexicalization is typically partial rather than absolute, with particular compound verbs falling somewhere on a continuum from fully productive to fully lexicalized. At one end of the spectrum speakers may well on occasion use a strongly lexicalized prefixed verb such as *unterbrechen* without even noticing that it is an analyzable prefixed verb construction. In most cases though, speakers are aware that a prefixed verb is a compound formed by combining a prefix with a base verb according to a general syntactic pattern.

Part of its meaning may be assigned to the compound as a whole lexical item, but part of its meaning also reflects the constructional pattern itself.

The fact that prefixed verbs tend to be relatively lexicalized makes it natural to think of them primarily as individual vocabulary items, rather than as instances of a more general construction with semantic effects of its own. That is the attitude that is usually adopted by linguists interested in general syntactic processes, who tend to restrict their discussions to fully productive constructions and treat the meaning of individual verbs largely in the lexicon. That is also the most natural way for ordinary speakers to think about the matter. After all, we are more consciously aware of choosing individual words than we are of choosing higher-level constructional patterns. Speakers generally tend to imagine that they choose a verb such as *überspringen* as a lexical package complete with prefix, and then the rest of the grammatical construction is entailed by that choice of verb. The particle verb *ÜBERSpringen* would be a lexical alternative, and choosing it would trigger a different grammatical construction. It does not usually occur to us that the process might also work the other way around, i.e., that we might choose the particle verb construction rather than the prefixed verb construction independently of selecting the particular base verb or prefix / particle.

3. Stylistic tendencies

Even when the verbs are significantly lexicalized, the grammatical patterns themselves are known to have consistent “stylistic” effects. For example, it has been noted that prefixed verbs are more apt to occur in marked discourse domains (Eroms 1982) and in certain types of grammatical construction.

- Prefixed verbs are often associated with technical language, and more generally with holistic agentive routines in particular structured functional contexts (chapters 7–9).
- Prefixed verbs are more likely than particle verbs to occur as passive or attributive past participles.

These stylistic traits are especially evident with the multi-directional applicative constructions (chapter 8). The cumulative result of an applicative path characterizes a focal accusative LM as a whole, and that result is naturally expressed in an attributive construction with the LM appearing as the nominative subject of a past participle. These stylistic tendencies all reflect the deeper underlying meaning of prefixed verb constructions generally.

At this point we might also mention the obvious stylistic effects of explicitly mentioning the LM as the direct object of the verb, as opposed to leaving it implicit or mentioning it only obliquely. Similar principles of grammatical salience apply to the FG. That is, an element that is explicitly mentioned is more salient than elements that are not explicitly mentioned at all, and elements that are explicitly mentioned as nominative subjects or

accusative objects of the verb are being portrayed as more salient than those that appear obliquely in a PP (or are embedded as the root of a denominal verb).

- An accusative LM with a prefixed verb is more prominent than it would be as an oblique object of a PP, and it is even more prominent in comparison with the implicit LM of a particle verb construction.

4. The nature of the FG

4.1. The FG in particle verb constructions

There is one core observation about the nature of the FG in particle verb constructions, and it applies to all of the various types encountered in chapters 3–6:

- Particle verb constructions always prompt concentrated attention on the FG, either as a whole moving object or as a salient particular part of a larger extending object (including reflexive-trajectors and the extending processes with incremental themes).

That core observation is related to several other observations about the role of the FG in particle verb constructions.

- The FG is explicitly designated either as the nominative subject or as the accusative object of the verb.
- The FG does not share the stage with a prominent LM. (The LM for the path remains implicit, and is at most indicated obliquely.)
- Reflexive-trajectors, which are exclusively linked to particle verbs, not only have an implicit LM but they also intrinsically invite concentrated attention on a particular part of the FG.
- The FG is often engaged in a distinctive activity that accompanies its motion and further attracts our concentrated attention to the FG.
- The FG is prototypically a bounded entity with its own definite shape.
- The FG exists independent of the path.

4.2. The FG in prefixed verb constructions

Now contrast these general observations concerning the role of the FG in prefixed verb constructions.

- In comparison with the particle verb constructions, the FG in a prefixed verb construction does not attract the same level of concentrated attention.

- The FG typically does not have a definite shape of its own independent of the path route (i.e., it is typically extended so that its shape merges with that of the path route, forming either a geometric configuration or a diffuse multi-directional path).
- The prefixed verb constructions with an accusative LM very often elicit fictive motion, so that the holistic or multi-directional path is scanned subjectively but it does not necessarily correspond to any actual objective path – and the shape of the FG again merges with that of the path route.
- The FG is often expressed only obliquely, for example in a *mit*-PP or as a denominal verb root.
- The FG is often abstract (such as spreading moisture or emotions, or information being transmitted or translated).
- The FG typically shares the stage with a prominent accusative LM (and always with a structured setting of some kind).
- The FG with a prefixed verb is typically not engaged in a detailed accompanying activity that would attract concentrated attention to it.
- Prefixed verbs are the only means available to express a true multi-directional path image, since that image is intrinsically diffuse.

5. The nature of the setting for the path

The most common generalization found in the pedagogical handbooks, along with the link between prefixed verbs and transitivity, is that prefixed verbs tend to be used more “figuratively” while particle verbs tend to be more spatial and “literal”. With the contrasting *über-* and *ÜBER-* verbs discussed in chapter 10 for example, such as *ÜBERsetzen* and *übersetzen*, there certainly seems to be truth in this generalization.

If we want to get to the heart of what is going on here however, we need to find a much more precise formulation than “figurative” vs. “literal”. To begin with, those terms are much too vague. Moreover, particle verbs can also be figurative and lexicalized. In fact, the difference between particle verbs and simple verbs with PPs, or between the plain particles and deictically marked particles such as *HINÜBER-*, is often that the plain particle verbs are relatively more lexicalized (chapter 3). Moreover, prefixed verbs can be clearly spatial and productive. To take the most obvious counterexample to the “literal” / “figurative” principle, the most common uses of prefix *um-* describe the same kind of spatial path that the preposition describes, while particle *UM-* verbs consistently have more abstract meanings.

To some extent, the notion of “figurative” overlaps with the tendencies we have already noted for prefixed verbs to be relatively more lexicalized and to have FGs that are typically more abstract and diffuse. “Literal” reflects the tendency for particle verbs to have spatial FGs that exist independent of the path. Most fundamentally though, the terms “literal” and “figurative” are

attempting to capture some basic facts about how the setting for the path is portrayed.

5.1 The setting in particle verb constructions

On the basis of the evidence in chapters 3–6 (and 10–11) we can assemble these general observations about the setting for a particle verb construction:

- A particle verb construction has an unmarked setting, usually generic space-time.²
- The implicit LM suggests a region of space.
- Each particular location that the FG occupies is defined only as a place somewhere in space (relative to an implicit LM).
- The rest of the spatial setting is unstructured background. Our attention is not distracted away from the FG's location by a focal

² The only variants in which the accusative object of a particle verb even comes close to specifying a particular structured setting for the whole path are the DURCH- verb constructions with incremental themes in chapter 6. In one sense incremental themes do seem to constitute the setting for the entire path. It is more accurate to say, however, that the path and the incremental theme share a common setting. In 'die Nacht DURCHschlafen' for example, both the sleeping and the night extend within the same temporal domain. That is precisely the subtle semantic difference from prefixed verbs like 'die Nacht durchschlafen', where the accusative LM does provide a setting for the whole path.

accusative LM, or by additional features of the setting such as complex nonspatial functional relations.

- The FG's path involves a shift from one place in the setting (the original location of the FG) to a different place that is not related to the first one in any way except that they are both places in space.

5.2 The setting in prefixed verb constructions

Those aspects of construing the setting for a particle verb construction would seem unremarkable if they did not contrast with the way a prefixed verb construction prompts us to construe the setting. Here are some general observations about the setting for a prefixed verb construction:

- In a prefixed verb construction the core verb phrase (i.e. the compound verb together with its accusative object) always indicates a particular type of structured setting within which the path event takes place.
- Prefixed verbs do not simply describe the movement of a FG from one place in space to another; they describe a shift from one part of a

complex structured setting to another, a shift that is often predictable and routine.³

- The locations occupied by the FG are related to each other in a way that goes beyond the purely spatial.

Those comments about the nature of the setting with prefixed verbs are perhaps most apparent in the case of the *über-* and *unter-* verbs with implicit LMs discussed in chapters 9 and 10. In contrast with the particle verbs, these prefixed verbs consistently call to mind a complex structured setting that is lexically associated with the compound verb and involves nonspatial functional factors such as intentions or social / legal relations.⁴ The event described by the verb (e.g. a transfer of possession) is understood to fit into a given larger functional structure, and the setting has numerous features that are not ascribed to generic space-time. Similarly, the *durch-* verbs discussed in chapter 11 consistently call to mind a structured functional context while the corresponding DURCH- verb paths take place in generic space.

³ This description might seem to apply to particle UM- verbs for ‘switching’ as well, but those verbs profile primarily the reflexive-trajector turn and change of direction rather than the predictable shift from one discrete location to another.

⁴ These comments apply to scalar *über-* verbs as well. The verb together with its complements lexically implies a complex structured setting that involves an appropriate extent, and the construction prompts us to focus on the whole extent of the verb process in relation to that standard extent.

The setting for a prefixed verb construction can generally be specified by the combination of a compound verb with an accusative LM, as in chapters 7 and 8. With multi-directional paths the setting is obviously defined largely in terms of the bounded accusative LM, which provides a stable structured setting within which the whole path event takes place. When a linear extended FG enters into a geometric configuration with the accusative LM, that LM again maintains a constant presence that defines a particular setting that locates the whole path – not simply in space but in a particular structured relation to the focal LM. Even the relatively uncommon prefixed verb constructions that have a compact FG moving in a uni-directional path always involve a complex setting defined relative to an accusative LM, suggesting nonspatial factors such as the intention of the FG to get past an obstacle within the setting of a larger journey.

In all of these variants there is a stable, unchanging setting with marked and prominent features – as opposed to the unmarked, backgrounded, unstructured setting for the paths described in particle verb constructions. With particle verb constructions, nothing about the setting distracts our attention from the focal FG; with prefixed verb constructions, we are always aware at least to some extent of features in the larger setting within which the path takes place.

6. Aspect

Helbig and Buscha (2001) (followed by Burianová (2008) and Untaru (2009)) maintain that particle verbs like *DURCHbohren* profile the result of the event (Resultat, Ergebnis, Ende der Handlung), i.e., that the hole is drilled completely (“das Loch ist fertig gebohrt”). The prefixed verbs like *durchbohren* on the other hand profile the course of the event or its manner (Verlauf, Art oder Weise der Handlung), i.e., that the process is the one designated by *bohren* and not by some other method like *stechen* or *schlagen*. Similarly, *Er schnitt das Band durch* particularly profiles the result of the act while *Er durchschnitt das Band* profiles its course.

Unfortunately, aspectual characterizations like these are very difficult to state clearly in a way that is generally applicable. In fact, most other linguists use the same set of aspectual notions to come to almost the opposite analysis from Helbig and Buscha. According to Weinrich (1993: 1069), it is the prefixed *durch-* verbs that can profile the end of the path (“Ende der [Handlungs]strecke”, e.g. *Man durchsägt den Baum*) while the particle *DURCH-* verbs emphasize the route itself (“die Strecke selber”, “[den] Verlauf der Strecke”, e.g. *Man sägt den Baum durch*). Kühnhold (1973: 323) similarly maintains that *Er durchsägte das Brett* profiles “Ergebnis, Punkt der Bewältigung des Objekts”, while *Er sägte das Brett durch* profiles “Ablauf und Vollendung der Handlung”. Erben (1968: 75) and Curme (1922: 328) continue a tradition that goes back at least to Brugmann (1895: 81), according to which the particle verbs have “both durative (denoting duration) and

perfective force” (in Erben’s terms, “phasenhaft-konklusiv”) while the prefixed verbs are perfective (“punktuell-resultativ”).

One problem here is that the aspectual notions being employed are not themselves well understood. Another problem is that aspectual terms that describe one set of variants may not be appropriate for other types. For example, it is perfectly reasonable to say that DURCH- verbs such as *DURCHbohren* particularly profile the “result” of the event, namely a hole. It might also make sense to say generally that sequential construals of normal spatial paths profile the “result” of the path, to the extent that they ultimately focus on the FG in its final location. That does not necessarily mean however that the term “result” aptly characterizes the various other specific variants of DURCH- verbs. Is sleeping uninterrupted through the night the “Resultat einer Handlung”? What is the “result” of leafing through a magazine or searching a room? As for “perfective” force, Curme correctly observes that the term characterizes both constructions – so it can hardly be used to explain the semantic difference between them. The endpoints of the path – whether they are understood in terms of “result” or of “perfective” aspect – should not be our primary focus in differentiating the two constructions. Finally, the whole discussion applies only to *durch-* verbs and DURCH- verbs, not more generally to the constructions with *um* or *unter* or *über*.

That being said, the observation by Brugmann and the others that particle DURCH- verbs express both duration and conclusion is a valid and important insight. It can be given firm cognitive-semantic grounding,

particularly if we look carefully at how the constructions prompt us to concentrate our attention.

7. Concentrated attention vs. distributed attention

There is an interesting passage in a 1906 book on German writing style by Hermann Dunger (1906: 72) that seems relevant at this point. Dunger is discussing the sentence in (1).

- (1) Im großen und ganzen ist das geistes- und gedankentiefe Buch jedem denkenden Leser, der das Leben *durchkostet* hat, nur bestens zu empfehlen.
 ‘All in all, this intellectually and spiritually rich book can be highly recommended to every thinking reader who has *sampled* what life has to offer’

He corrects the sentence by changing prefixed *durchkostet* to particle *durchgekostet* and elaborates as follows:

Nicht *durchkostet* sondern *durchgekostet* muß es heißen. Denn es bedeutet hier: alles, was das Leben an Leid und Freud, an Widerwärtigkeiten und Erfahrungen jeder Art bringt, der Reihe nach gründlich kennen lernen, ‘schmecken’, ‘auskosten’. *Durchkósten*, mit unbetontem *durch*, könnte, wenn die Form überhaupt üblich wäre, nur so viel sein wie: flüchtig kosten, hie und da nippen am Leben. Einen ähnlichen Bedeutungsunterschied finden wir auch bei anderen Zusammensetzungen mit *durch*. Man

vergleiche: *durchgebackenes Brot* und *mit Rosinen durchbackenes Brot*, *durchgeflochtenes Haar* und *mit Lorbeer durchflochtenes Haar*, ein *durchgeblättert Buch* und ein *durchblättert Buch*, *er hat die ganze Stadt durchgebettelt* (d.h. von Haus zu Haus) und *er hat das Land durchbettelt*, *durchgelebte Tage* und *durchlebte Tage*, *durchgeackert* und *durchackert*, *durchgezählt* und *durchzählt*, u.a.

[‘Not *durchkostet* but *durchgekostet* must be used here. For the meaning is: become thoroughly acquainted with, ‘taste’, experience to the fullest everything that life brings in the way of sorrow and joy, of unpleasantness, of experiences of all kinds, one after the other. *Durchkósten*, with unstressed *durch*, if the form were usual at all, could only mean something like: superficially sample, take a sip of life here and there. We find a similar difference in meaning with other *durch* compounds. Compare: *durchgebackenes Brot* ‘bread baked all the way through’ and *mit Rosinen durchbackenes Brot* ‘bread baked with raisins all through it’, *durchgeflochtenes Haar* ‘braided hair’ and *mit Lorbeer durchflochtenes Haar* ‘hair interwoven with laurel’, ein *durchgeblättert Buch* ‘a book that has been leafed all the way through’ and ein *durchblättert Buch* ‘a book that has been leafed through’, *er hat die ganze Stadt durchgebettelt* ‘he begged through the whole town’ (i.e. from house to house) and *er hat das Land durchbettelt* ‘he traveled through the country begging’, *durchgelebte Tage* ‘days that have been thoroughly experienced (in sequence)’ and *durchlebte Tage* ‘days that have been lived through’, *durchgeackert* ‘plowed through (thoroughly)’ and *durchackert* ‘plowed through’, *durchgezählt* ‘counted (exhaustively)’ and *durchzählt* ‘counted (holistically)’, among others.’]

Dunger’s basic insight here is that the particle verbs prompt us to construe the route as a connected sequence of particular places and moments – in this case with an incremental theme as discussed in chapters 6 and 11. The

prefixed verbs on the other hand prompt for a more synoptic construal that does not concentrate on any particular place inside the LM or moment during the path.⁵ With a particle verb the path proceeds step-by-step from one internal part of a route to the next (“der Reihe nach”), and we zoom in conceptually to look at those particular moments and places, one after the other. With a prefixed verb we assume a more synoptic perspective that reveals only the holistic outlines, without internal detail, so that both the path and the LM are construed as wholes without clearly differentiated individual parts. One potentially significant implication of this construal difference is that prefixed *durch-* verb constructions do not necessarily mean that every point in the accusative LM is occupied during the path – only that the cumulative effect seems to characterize the space as a whole. That means that *durch-* verb constructions can describe meandering paths or random occupation of points distributed around in the LM, all in no particular order – as long as the cumulative impression characterizes the LM space as a whole. DURCH- verbs on the other hand always imply a more exhaustive sequential path that touches in turn on each individual internal point that is construed to make up the route sequence.

⁵ Wunderlich (1983: 460) seems to have the same intuition that Dunger articulates when he observes in connection with the sentence *Er durchfährt in 20 Minuten den Park* that “the travel expressed by [the sentence] cannot be considered piece by piece but only as a whole. It is not travel composed of a lot of partial movements.”

Dunger's judgment aligns nicely with the discussion of *durch-* verbs vs. DURCH- verbs in chapter 11, and also with the aspectual observations made by Brugmann and the others. If bread is *durchgebacken* it has gone through every prescribed step of a scripted baking process and it is also baked thoroughly, all the way through, affecting each internal part; if it is *mit Rosinen durchbacken* then the raisins have been randomly distributed in the space until they characterize the loaf in a more gestalt-like image as a whole (even though they do not exhaustively fill the space). If a night is *durchgeschlafen* the sleeping continues uninterrupted from each moment to the next until the night is over; if it is *durchschlafen* then the night as a whole is characterized by the activity of sleeping (as opposed to other potential activities). If a board is *durchgebohrt* we are aware of a detailed drilling process that continues incrementally through each part of the board, until it has gone all the way through and leaves a hole in its wake; if it is *durchbohrt* then we construe the path event holistically without zooming in to focus on the rotating drill bit as it makes its way through any particular point inside the board. That is why the handbooks sanction *durchbohren* only for holistic paths such as stabbings or the penetrating paths of bullets.

7.1 Particle verbs: Attention concentrated on parts of the path

Dunger's comments accord nicely with the evidence in this book about how attention is concentrated in the construal of paths with all four of the route-

path expressions, not just *durch*. The hallmark of particle verb constructions is concentrated focal attention: on the FG, on the particular locations that it occupies, and on particular moments during the path.

- As stated already in section 4.1, particle verb constructions prompt us to concentrate spatially on the FG. The FG typically moves as a bounded whole entity, and if it extends then we concentrate our attention particularly on its leading part.
- Concentrating attention on the FG implies concentrating attention on the particular region of space that it occupies.
- As the FG moves, we thus concentrate our attention on each current location that it occupies in temporal sequence. That means that we are also concentrating our attention on particular moments in time.

As noted in section 5.1, particle verb constructions consistently presume a relatively unmarked, homogeneous and backgrounded setting, typically generic space-time, so that nothing about that setting especially distracts us from zooming in to concentrate attention fairly exclusively on the FG at its current location. The focal FG is construed to occupy one particular location on the route after the other, until it has occupied each place in the profiled sequence in turn.

- The path described by a particle verb construction is construed to have salient internal parts.

7.2 Prefixed verbs: Attention distributed to include the whole path as part of a larger setting

By contrast, prefixed verb constructions consistently prompt us to maintain a more holistic construal that resists the temptation to zoom in and concentrate on a particular FG at a particular place at a particular time. As is clear from section 4.2, the FG in a prefixed verb construction is typically not a bounded spatial entity that moves as a whole and would attract our concentrated attention to a compact region of the setting. The FG is commonly a diffuse mass that moves multi-directionally (chapter 8). It is also frequently an extended entity whose linear shape conforms as a whole to the shape of the path route – often moving only fictively (chapter 7). It is frequently abstract, for example a metaphorical spreading mass or something such as information being transferred (chapter 9).

Further confirmation for the analysis comes from this very general observation:

- Prefixed verbs never occur with the deictic particles *hin-* or *her-*, while particle verbs commonly do (chapter 3).

The deictic particles serve to direct our attention to a particular part of the path (its goal or source location). Such concentration of attention on a part of a path aligns nicely with the sequential construal prompted by particle verb constructions, but it is incompatible with the synoptic construal prompted by a prefixed verb construction.

Moreover, as noted in section 5.2, the setting for a path described with a prefixed verb construction typically has a marked structure of its own, as opposed to the unmarked, backgrounded and homogeneous setting associated with particle verb constructions. The larger setting thus attracts our attention to some extent and prevents us from concentrating so exclusively on the FG and on its particular location.

- Prefixed verb constructions portray the path as a whole entity, without salient internal parts of its own, that is itself a part of a larger structured setting.

We can summarize the observations collected so far in this chapter this way:

- The most striking feature of construals with a particle verb is concentrating attention, zooming in from the generic backgrounded setting to the shaped route profiled by the particle and then down to

the FG and to specific internal parts of the path (specific places and specific times in sequence).

- The most striking feature of construals with a prefixed verb is distributing attention, zooming out from the FG to its shaped route and then out further to locate that path as a whole within a larger setting which has a prominent structure of its own (typically defined in terms of a focal accusative LM).

An aside on parts and wholes

The prefixed verb constructions thus reflect a general connection between construing an entity holistically (abstracting away from its internal parts) and conceiving it to be a part of a larger context. For example, it seems to me that the meaning of a subordinate-clause construction in German can be accurately characterized in exactly this way. Marking a clause with an opening conjunction and a finite verb in final position prompts speakers to wrap it into a clearly defined grammatical unit that is then inserted as a whole into the larger grammatical construction of which it is a part. In a conceptually similar way, a prefixed verb construction prompts us to wrap a path into a unit that is then understood to be a part of a larger context. Put differently, there is an intrinsic tension between awareness of internal parts and awareness of an overall shape. In Jackendoff's (1991) classification of material entities for

example, the only things that have an inherent shape are bounded entities that do not have salient internal structure.⁶

8. Sequential vs. synoptic mode

These fundamental insights into the meaning of prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions in German can be formulated in terms of Leonard Talmy's (2000a: 68-76) concept of perspectival modes, as explicated in chapter 1. We can distill all of the observations gathered in this book into these two concluding formulations:

- What the many superficially different particle verb variants in chapters 3–6 have in common is that they all prompt a construal in sequential perspectival mode, concentrating attention on a FG (or on a part of the FG) at each successive particular location that is part of the defined route. That is the meaning of the particle verb

⁶ Jackendoff (1991) does not attribute internal structure to non-iterative paths, but if we construe a path as having defined internal phases such as beginnings and middles and ends, then we are imposing an internal structure on the path. Such an analysis would also naturally allow a word such as *end* to designate a concluding part of the path (rather than arbitrarily loosening the notion of an endpoint to include some of the path). See also Zwarts (2006) as well as Piñon (1993) with respect to route paths and boundedness.

construction itself (as opposed to the prefixed verb construction), underlying all of its myriad specific variants.

- What the many superficially different prefixed verb variants in chapters 7–9 have in common is that they all prompt a construal in synoptic perspectival mode, distributing attention over a stable and structured setting of which the whole profiled route path is a part. That is the meaning of the prefixed verb construction itself, underlying all of its myriad specific variants.

Talmy's concepts do not just account for the contrasting effects of zooming in to concentrate attention on particular parts of the path as opposed to zooming out to distribute attention more evenly over a larger relevant setting. They also serve to embed the analysis in an independently motivated cognitive-semantic framework. The cognitive processes that are relevant to the meaning of German prefixed verb constructions and particle verb constructions turn out to be relevant to a range of other linguistic topics as well, suggesting that we are on the track of deep and important semantic processes.⁷

⁷ Sequential and synoptic perspectival modes are intimately related to, but are not identical to, the even more basic cognitive processes of sequential and summary scanning (Langacker 1987: 145). Sequential mode essentially forces a sequential scan of the path. Synoptic mode is necessary for a summary scan: a summary scan requires a perspective far enough away from the scene to include all of the locations in a single frame, and conceiving a stable shape requires a stable perspective. Synoptic

9. Postscript: Route paths and other prefixes

In closing, we should zoom out and take a more synoptic view of how the constructions examined in this book fit into the larger system of German particle verbs and prefixed verbs. The obvious remaining question is whether the conclusions drawn for the route-path expressions *um*, *durch*, *über* and *unter* can be extended to path expressions generally. Do constructions with other particles, such as AUF-, AB-, EIN- or AUS-, also prompt for sequential perspectival mode? Do constructions with other prefixes, such as *be-*, *ver-*, *ent-* and *er-*, prompt for synoptic perspectival mode?

We will not come to any definitive answers to these questions here, since valid answers can only be based on extensive and detailed studies of the constructions. Just as the conclusions about route-path particle / prefixes had to be based on detailed evidence from the range of particular variants that speakers actually use and understand, conclusions about the meaning of

mode does not *require* a summary scan however. It is possible to adopt a stationary distal perspective and execute a sequential scan. In fact, if we interpret a finite verb construction in synoptic perspectival mode we will have to employ a sequential scan. Finite verbs describe what Langacker calls a “process” that unfolds in time and calls for a sequential scan as opposed to a summary scan. Figure 10 for example (chapter 7) does show a temporal sequence of conceptual frames, even though each frame remains identical to the preceding except for the movement of the FG.

constructions with the other prefixes and particles will have to be based on similarly comprehensive studies. Only then can we abstract away from the particular semantic contributions of particular prefixes, particles, base verbs and lexicalized compound verbs to focus on the meaning of the constructions themselves.

We can make a few preliminary observations however. With regard to the first question, it seems intuitively reasonable to expect that detailed studies of the other particle verbs will show that they are indeed essentially like those with DURCH-, UM-, ÜBER- and UNTER-, i.e., that they generally do prompt a construal in sequential perspectival mode with concentrated focal attention. The status of the prefixed verbs on the other hand seems intuitively much more problematic. It is not at all obvious that the other prefixed verb constructions prompt a construal in synoptic mode.

9.1 Route paths vs. goal and source paths

One more very general observation can be made about the subject matter of this book:

- The route-path expressions *um*, *durch*, *über* and *unter* can appear as verb prefixes (and also as Ps or particles), but goal-path expressions and source-path expressions cannot be verb prefixes. (There are no

constructions of the form **Er aufspringt den Tisch* or **Sie ausläuft das Haus*.)

This grammatical constraint on the goal- and source-path expressions is semantically predictable given the meaning of prefixed verb constructions as analyzed here. Goal and source paths by definition call explicit attention to a particular phase of the path (which is even more pronounced when combined with the deictic particles *hin-* or *her-*). A goal path is defined in terms of a final location, so it intrinsically directs our attention to that particular part of the path. The rest of the path is left vaguely unspecified as somewhere other than the goal location. The path thus consists of a sequence from the unspecified earlier part of the path to the profiled end location. A source path similarly calls explicit attention to the original location in the path sequence, leaving the rest of the route unspecified except as somewhere other than the source location. Put another way, explicit goal paths and source paths intrinsically prevent a balanced construal of the path as a whole, because they concentrate attention on a particular profiled part of the path. If attention is concentrated on either the first or last part of the path at the expense of the rest, then it is necessarily construed in sequential mode.

Route paths on the other hand do not have to concentrate attention on a particular intermediate part of the path that is clearly distinct from the rest. They *can* do that, which is why they are available for construals in sequential mode that profile a sequence from earlier unspecified parts of the path to a

profiled intermediate part to an unspecified later part beyond the profiled intermediate location. Thus for example *DURCHgehen* or *ÜBERsetzen* can describe a sequence of starting on one side of the implicit LM and finishing on the other, clearly dividing the path into internal stages (chapters 3 and 4).

But route-path expressions can also describe paths that do not call special attention to any particular phase of the path. That is clearly the case with multi-directional paths that take place within the space profiled by the accusative LM, prompting us to distribute attention evenly over all possible path locations (chapter 8). Route-path expressions can also describe paths as shaped linear wholes that participate in a geometric configuration with the accusative LM (chapter 7).⁸ In such constructions no particular internal part of the path is singled out for special profile.

9.2 Can other prefixed verbs prompt a synoptic construal?

⁸ Incidentally, it is also evident that goal paths will not appear in constructions like ‘Her office is through that door’ or ‘The store is just around the corner’ or ‘The restaurant is just over the bridge’. Such constructions locate the FG at the end of an imaginary path, but there is no reason to locate something at the end of an imaginary goal path. We can simply say that the FG is “in” or “on” or “at” the LM. Source paths on the other hand might occasionally be used in constructions like ‘The restaurant is out of town’, but the location would normally be too unspecified to be useful. Contrast the closely related directional constructions like ‘The restaurant is 2 miles out of town’. The English expression *into* may sometimes be pressed into service for such directional paths (‘The village is 20 miles into the jungle’). Contrast also the closely related constructions that locate a FG at the end of a real path that it has already taken (‘He’s out of the office’).

These considerations might seem to suggest that prefixes such as *be-*, *ent-*, *ver-*, *zer-* or *er-* should not be able to mark a construal in synoptic mode. After all, *be-* verbs are commonly analyzed to describe goal paths, *er-* verbs also seem to profile goals, *zer-* verbs seem to describe sequential events of falling apart, *ent-* verbs are often taken to describe source paths, and *ver-* verbs have an especially bewildering range of uses that often seem like source paths. In other words, *ent-* seems to correspond to *von* or *aus* much as AB- or AUS- do, and *be-* seems to correspond to *auf* or *in* much as AUF- or EIN- do.⁹

There is, however, good reason to question the contention that *be-* verbs portray sequential goal paths (Dewell 2004). *Be-* verbs typically describe the iterative introduction and accumulation of a multiplex FG that is distributed at various places within an accusative-LM space (e.g. ‘mit Zucker *bestreut*’). *Be-* verb constructions thus typically prompt us to distribute attention, rather than ultimately concentrating on a particular final location the way *auf* would do. They are in many ways similar to the multi-directional prefixed verbs in chapter 8. And even in the unusual case when there is a single bounded FG with a *be-* verb, there is a structured setting such that the destination is routinely predictable just as it is with prefixed *über-* verbs.

⁹⁹ See for example the analyses of *be-* verbs by Brinkmann (1987), Wunderlich (1987), Olsen (1994), Günther (1974, 1987), and Eroms (1980), but contrast Michaelis and Ruppenhofer (2001). For *ent-* verbs, *er-* verbs and *ver-* verbs see Stiebels (1996). For *ver-* verbs see also Belz (1997).

Moreover, finite *be-* verbs direct some steady attention to the space *between* the subject and the accusative LM, holding them both in view simultaneously in a way that typically suggests iterative application. They do not concentrate attention exclusively on the moving FG or on its final location. In short, *be-* verb constructions do impose a synoptic construal on the event.

At this point there is less evidence available on the semantics of the other verb prefixes, but I am confident that careful analyses will support the thesis that they do in fact prompt a construal in synoptic perspectival mode. *Ent-* verbs for example are much like *be-* verbs in reverse (‘Wer *be-* und wer *entwaffnet* die Faschisten?’). That is, they prompt a construal in synoptic mode that distributes attention between the LM location and the various locations occupied by the FG. *Er-* verbs (e.g. ‘den Gipfel *erreichen*’) prompt us to hold a goal steadily in mind throughout the course of the whole path, much as a holistic *über-* path can be related to a focal obstacle that is a constant presence in the event. (We might think of an *er-* verb as profiling an ever-decreasing gap between the FG and the goal.) *Zer-* verbs (e.g. ‘*zerfallende* Familien’) profile disintegration distributed within the original space, conveying an image similar to that of the multi-directional paths in chapter 8. They certainly do not concentrate attention on any particular point. *Ver-* verbs (e.g. ‘in der Menge *verschwinden*’) most typically prompt a synoptic view of a stable setting that originally contains the FG, holding that setting unchanged except that the FG (gradually) disappears.

In the absence of careful studies these remarks are purely speculative, and demonstrating in a convincing way that the prefixes all prompt a consistent schematic construal pattern will not be easy. Still, there is good reason to pursue the hypothesis seriously. If the evidence in this book suggests that prefixed verb constructions with *durch-*, *um-*, *über-* and *unter-* prompt a construal in synoptic perspectival mode, then the odds are greatly increased that other German prefixes will do the same. Similarly, if particle verb constructions with DURCH-, UM-, ÜBER- and UNTER- prompt a construal in sequential mode, then there is a good chance that other German particles will do so as well. And the evidence will continue to build that the meaning of grammatical constructions is to be found in “subjective” construal patterns that cannot be demonstrated definitively as such in any particular instance, but that can be demonstrated as a recurring pattern that underlies all of the more specific instances.

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Index of subjects and names

- ab-*, 12, 13, 46, 143, 154, 514, 518
accusative FG, 56, 98–138, 488–489
accusative LM, 56, 81, 97, 115, 117,
192, 197, 199, 216–217, 223, 225,
232, 236, 241, 245, 248–250, 253,
256, 259–260, 264–265, 267–269,
271, 273, 275, 278, 283, 286, 288,
291–292, 294, 304–305, 313, 316,
318–321, 328, 343, 354, 373,
376–377, 400, 428–429, 431, 434,
444–446, 448, 461, 465, 467,
469–470, 473, 475, 478, 488–490,
493–494, 496, 498–499, 501, 506,
511, 517–519
accusative object, 42, 46–47, 55–56,
71, 79, 98–102, 105–107, 109–113,
115–116, 119–121, 123, 125,
127–128, 133–134, 141, 143, 146,
154–155, 161, 163–164, 170, 172,
175–178, 184, 186–188, 191–194,
196–197, 201, 203–204, 208, 210,
215–216, 232, 234, 258, 260, 262,
264, 288–289, 304–305, 308, 343,
346–347, 354–355, 358, 360, 362,
368, 370, 372–373, 376, 381,
388–390, 400–401, 403–404, 409,
416–417, 419, 428–429, 434, 438,
441–442, 445–446, 451–453,
463–467, 470–471, 475–477, 480,
484–485, 488–489, 494–495, 499
(see 'accusative FG', 'accusative
LM', 'accusative route', 'temporal
accusative', 'transitivity')
accusative route, 175, 192, 201,
205–206, 210–211
"all", 269, 270, 273, 333
als- phrase, 78
an-, 13, 154, 189, 191, 464
an-PP, 403
argument shift, 21, 375, 490
around, 131, 145
aspect, 24, 75, 102, 181–184,
186–189, 192–193, 198, 202, 205,
266, 433, 463, 470–471, 501–504
attributive participle, 23, 59, 124,
276–277, 299, 312, 314–315, 493
auf-, 95, 123
auf-PP, 12–13, 87, 93–94, 112–113,
119, 156, 161, 209, 514, 518
aus-, 13, 89, 154, 159, 180, 514, 518
be-, 12, 223, 236, 239, 286–288, 318,
343, 514, 518–519
Beaton, 130, 141, 469, 480
bei-, 13
Bellavia, 45
Belz, 518
Bouillon, 45
Brinkmann, 374, 518
Brugman, 45
Brugmann, 23, 471–472, 502–503,
507
Burianová, 502
Buscha, 22, 502
'competitive layering', 278
'competitive surpassing', 219, 233,
240, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248,
255, 261, 306, 376, 377
'continuous extent', 67, 74, 82–84,
102, 175, 178–179, 182, 185, 188,
193–194, 202, 206–207
Curme, 20, 21, 23, 472, 502, 503
dative object, 96, 100, 115, 117–121,
125, 128–129, 289, 356, 361–369,
389, 403, 417, 423, 424
deadjectival verb, 191, 275, 282, 291,
381
Deane, 45
denominal verb, 191, 216, 223, 265,
272, 275, 279–282, 286, 313, 353,
381, 488, 494, 496
Dewell, 50, 197, 287, 341, 518
dis-, 372
Dowty, 55, 95, 192, 199, 206
Duden, 20, 25
Dunger, 504, 505, 506, 507
ein-, 12–13, 46, 93, 154, 159, 314,
319, 514, 518
English, 12, 16, 45, 47, 50, 64, 106,
125, 132, 134, 142, 144–146, 148,

- 150–151, 157–158, 165, 180, 195,
220, 222, 230, 234, 243, 245, 251,
255, 258–260, 268, 273, 281, 296,
302, 324, 325, 333, 341, 517
- ent-*, 12, 343, 514, 518–519
- er-*, 12, 182, 343, 514, 518–519
- Erben, 23, 472, 502
- Eroms, 23, 493, 518
- Evans, 45
- 'excess', 244, 261, 284, 353, 375, 388,
395, 422, 488
- extended FG, 53–55, 90, 108, 117,
120, 215, 217, 220–222, 246
- fictive motion, 31, 53–54, 84, 217,
221, 270, 337, 496
- figure (see 'accusativeFG', 'extended
FG')
- 'focal obstacle', 219, 249–263
- goal path, 46–48
- Günther, 223, 239, 287–288, 308, 318,
518
- Hallwass, 476
- Hawkins, 16, 45
- Helbig, 22, 502
- her-*, 66, 68, 94, 99, 509, 516
- heraus-*, 68
- **herdurch-*, 68
- herüber-*, 68, 70
- herum-*, 65, 68, 70, 75, 130, 135–139,
145, 155, 159, 168–170
- herunter-*, 68, 71, 111
- hervor-*, 68
- hin-*, 66, 68, 94, 99, 491, 509, 516
- hinauf-*, 192
- hindurch-*, 68, 71, 75, 102
- hinein-*, 68
- hinüber-*, 68–69, 71, 75, 497
- **hinum-*, 68
- hinunter-*, 68, 71, 111, 192
- Hopper, 196
- imperfective, 138–139, 143, 145, 168,
183
- in-PP*, 86–87, 95, 225, 373
- incremental theme, 42, 55, 95, 134,
174, 176–177, 182, 188, 192–213,
401, 428–430, 432, 439, 441, 446,
463–465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 476,
478, 488–489, 494, 498, 505
- inter-*, 268, 343, 346, 354–356, 368,
371–372
- intransitive verbs, 42, 66, 81, 94,
98–100, 102–103, 105, 110–113,
133, 142, 146, 149, 172, 175, 178,
183, 191, 351, 353, 355–356, 367,
369–370, 388, 390, 400–401,
413–414, 488–489
- Jackendoff, 46, 106, 269, 511–512
- Kjellman, 22
- König and Gast, 195
- Kühnhold, 22–23, 264, 331, 370, 374,
451, 502
- Lakoff, 336
- Langacker, 29, 46, 54, 88, 131, 191,
222, 273, 513–514
- layer configuration, 101, 114–115
- Levin, 273
- lexicalized verbs, 14, 26, 66, 72, 78,
79, 84, 92, 94, 99, 101–102, 108,
110, 113, 133, 138, 150, 152,
168–170, 183, 185–186, 189, 203,
219, 222–223, 225, 229, 234, 241,
248, 255–256, 258–259, 268,
273–274, 301, 304–307, 315, 327,
330, 343, 346–347, 350–351,
354–355, 357–358, 362, 364, 370,
372–373, 379, 383, 388, 391,
393–394, 402, 404–409, 416–418,
422, 449, 453, 455, 460, 490–493,
497
- Lindner, 55, 131
- Twain, 13
- Matlock, 54, 222
- maximum extent (see 'thoroughness')
- McIntyre, 397
- metaphor, 32, 67, 70, 80–81, 85–88,
91–92, 95, 99, 103, 105, 143, 148,
150, 153, 156, 164–165, 181–182,
204, 219, 221, 224, 234, 237, 241,
243–244, 247, 255–257, 262, 300,
304, 346, 349–350, 357, 363,
377–378, 404, 407, 409, 427, 446,
457, 468, 481, 509
- Michaelis, 518
- mit-*, 13
- mit-PP*, 77–78, 117, 170, 217, 223,
260, 265, 272, 275, 280, 286, 294,
315, 496

- multi-directional path, 42, 88, 115,
 188, 223, 229–230, 236, 239, 243,
 267–342, 428, 430–432, 434–435,
 438–439, 469, 493, 496, 501,
 517–519
 multiplex-mass transformation, 274,
 336, 342
 Mungan, 22, 182
nach-, 13, 322
nach-PP, 140, 168, 209
 nominative FG, 124, 343, 353, 356,
 401
 nominative LM, 353, 488
 Olsen, 73, 75, 202, 264, 490, 518
out, 180
out-, 245, 377
 'outdo', 375–377
over, 131, 134, 144–146, 148,
 150–151, 157–158, 234, 236, 238,
 378
over-, 245
 'overdo', 344, 346, 374–377, 379, 393,
 403
 'overflow', 67, 87
 'overlayer', 306
 'passing sensation', 219, 231, 237, 255,
 276, 300, 325
 perfect auxiliary, 202
 perspectival mode, 29–31, 34,
 512–515, 519–520
 phonological factors, 345, 395, 422
 Piñon, 512
 pleonastic construction, 66, 72–73, 75,
 83, 99, 102, 107–108, 119, 136,
 155
r-, 68
re-, 157, 165
 reflexive constructions, 106–108, 110,
 157, 172, 185
 reflexive-trajector, 55, 106, 130–135,
 139–167, 171–175, 179–180, 182,
 192, 196, 215, 429, 464, 488–489,
 494–495, 500
 Risch, 344, 370, 374–375, 377,
 386–387, 392
 route path, 46
 route-like LM, 176, 219, 231,
 233–234, 236, 239–240, 251, 255,
 257, 401, 429, 441, 445–446,
 452–453, 455, 458
rüber-, 68
rum-, 68
runter-, 68
 Ruppenhofer, 518
 satellite-framed pattern, 64, 251, 478
 scalar verbs, 344–346, 353, 356, 375,
 393, 416, 488, 500
 Schmitz, 45, 137, 227, 321
 Schröder, 25, 45
 Schulze, 45
 Schulz & Griesbach, 321
 sequential mode, 29–32, 64, 512, 514,
 516, 520
 sequential scan, 513
 setting-subject, 88, 191
 source path, 46
 "spray / load" alternation, 273
 Stiebels, 264, 490, 518
 "sub-" verbs, 343, 354–356, 371–372
 subject, 97
 summary scan, 513
 synoptic mode, 29–31, 33, 512–515,
 517–520
 Talmy, 29–31, 46, 54, 64, 222, 512
 Taylor, 32
 temporal accusative, 201–203, 219,
 232, 234–235, 447–449, 452–453,
 460
 'thoroughness', 84, 175, 177–183, 181,
 185, 187–188, 191, 193, 202
 transformations, image-schema 135,
 274, 332 (see 'multiplex-mass
 transformation')
 transitivity, 20, 196–197, 487–490
 (see 'accusative object')
 Tversky, 32
 Tyler, 45
 Ullmer-Ehrich, 32
umher-, 137
 'underdo', 346, 374, 377
 'undergo', 97
 Untaru, 502
unter-PP, 107, 111
ver-, 12, 95, 166, 287–288, 308, 343,
 514, 518–519
 verb-framed pattern, 64, 478
von-PP, 88, 223, 372

- vor-*, 13, 367
vor-PP, 88
wave-like FG, 117, 230, 237, 239,
255, 259, 275, 282, 290–292, 294,
297, 300, 311, 313, 316, 319, 325,
327, 330, 334–336, 339
“way” construction, 106
Weinrich, 20, 23, 472, 502
- Wunderlich, 45, 264, 490, 506, 518
zer-, 12, 343, 485, 518–519
Zifonun, 20, 75, 202
zu-, 13
zurück-, 143
Zwarts, 512
zwischen-PP, 10, 107

Index of verbs

- ABmelden, 160
ANmelden, 160
ANziehen, 162
AUSdrücken, 180
AUSführen, 180
AUStauschen, 161
AUSziehen, 160, 162
besetzen, 318
bestreichen, 287
beziehen, 287
DURCHackern, 108, 190, 209, 444, 445, 505
durchackern, 505
DURCHarbeiten, 85, 108, 189–190, 195–196, 210, 213, 235, 323, 448, 451
ducharbeiten, 323, 448–449
DURCHatmen, 191
DURCHbacken, 189, 200, 505, 507
durchbacken, 315, 505
DURCHbeben, 205
durchbeben, 238–239
DURCHbeißen, 108–109, 204–205, 474, 477
durchbeißen, 255, 469, 477
DURCHbetteln, 108–109, 505
durchbetteln, 505
DURCHbiegen, 133, 171–173, 179, 181
DURCHbilden, 194, 196, 323
durchbilden, 323
durchbildern, 317
DURCHblasen, 190
DURCHblättern, 176, 429, 441–443, 505
durchblättern, 25, 176, 429, 441–444, 505
DURCHbleuen, 184, 186
DURCHblicken, 81–82, 319
durchblitzen, 240, 292
DURCHbluten, 189–190, 282, 433, 434
durchbluten, 286, 434
DURCHbohren, 109, 177, 193, 196, 429, 463, 471, 473, 476–478, 502–503, 507
durchbohren, 177, 429, 463, 469, 472, 476, 507
DURCHboxen, 105, 108–109
DURCHbraten, 186–187, 189–190
DURCHbrausen, 76
durchbrausen, 295
DURCHbrechen, 69, 80, 134, 172–173, 314, 373, 463, 465, 468–469, 478–479
durchbrechen, 317, 463, 467, 469–470
DURCHbrennen, 78–79, 172–173, 469
DURCHbringen, 105–106, 108
DURCHbuchstabieren, 211
DURCHbummeln, 205
durchbummeln, 232, 235, 450
DURCHbürsten, 184, 190
DURCHchecken, 212, 444, 445
DURCHdämpfen, 190
durchdämpfen, 282
DURCHdenken, 210–211, 213, 236, 323–324, 439–440
durchdenken, 324, 440
DURCHdonnern, 85, 211
durchdösen, 235, 450
DURCHdrehen, 178
DURCHdringen, 62, 73, 77–79, 81–82, 84, 292, 294, 299, 300, 315, 316, 317, 319, 470
durchdringen, 240, 294–295, 299–301
DURCHdrücken, 99, 105–106, 108–109, 177–179, 181
durchduften, 278, 286
durchdulden, 235
durchduseln, 235
DURCHheilen, 85, 211, 264
durcheilen, 229, 230, 232, 264, 311–312
DURCHFahren, 76, 83, 178, 200–201, 204, 206, 445, 447, 451

- durchfahren, 231, 235, 237–239, 255,
 322–323, 445–447, 451–452, 506
 DURCHfallen, 79–80
 DURCHFärben, 189–191
 durchfärben, 286
 DURCHfaulen, 191
 DURCHFegen, 190
 DURCHfeiern, 448
 durchfeiern, 448
 DURCHfeilen, 196, 474, 484
 DURCHFertigen, 194, 196
 durchfesten, 449
 DURCHFetten, 189–192, 286
 DURCHfeuchten, 189, 190–192
 durchfeuchten, 286
 durchficken, 449
 DURCHFilzen, 210, 212, 322, 324,
 437
 DURCHFlechten, 505
 durchflechten, 326–327, 505
 DURCHfliegen, 76, 80, 452
 durchfliegen, 233, 254, 451
 DURCHfließen, 77, 85
 durchfließen, 222
 durchfluten, 240, 292–293, 300
 DURCHformen, 194, 196, 323
 durchformen, 323
 DURCHForschen, 210, 212, 322
 durchforschen, 324
 DURCHforsten, 438
 durchforsten, 438
 DURCHfragen, 109, 212, 445
 DURCHFressen, 108–109, 317, 474,
 477
 durchfressen, 477
 DURCHFrieren, 189–190
 durchfrieren, 286
 durchfrösteln, 300
 durchfrostern, 449
 DURCHFühlen, 103, 105, 211, 212
 durchfühlen, 324
 DURCHFühren, 180–181, 184–185
 durchfurchen, 312
 DURCHFuttern, 107
 DURCHFüttern, 105
 durchgähnen, 235
 DURCHgehen, 74, 78–79, 82, 84–85,
 105, 204, 206, 208, 210–212,
 231–232, 238, 255, 439, 441, 446,
 451–452, 459, 517
 durchgellen, 301
 DURCHgerben, 184–185, 191
 DURCHgießen, 104, 189
 durchgliedern, 314, 317, 373, 469,
 470, 474
 DURCHglühen, 172–173, 190, 299
 DURCHgraben, 76, 196, 474
 DURCHgreifen, 181, 183, 185
 durchgrübeln, 235, 449, 451
 DURCHgucken, 212, 444–445
 DURCHhacken, 190, 474, 477
 durchhallen, 286
 DURCHhängen, 79, 172–173
 DURCHharren, 85
 durchhauchen, 286
 DURCHhauen, 107–108, 134, 184,
 469, 474, 485–486
 DURCHheizen, 188, 202
 DURCHhören, 103–104, 209, 212
 durchirren, 323
 DURCHjagen, 104–105
 durchkälten, 286
 DURCHKämmen, 190, 210, 212, 322,
 324, 436
 durchkämmen, 322, 324, 436
 DURCHKämpfen, 106–108, 454–456,
 459–460
 durchkämpfen, 235, 459
 DURCHKlettern, 173, 451
 DURCHKlingen, 82, 103
 durchklingen, 286, 299
 durchklirren, 292
 DURCHKochen, 189
 DURCHKommen, 77–78, 80, 105
 durchkomponieren, 194
 DURCHKosten, 209, 212, 444–445,
 504–505
 durchkosten, 504–505
 DURCHKramen, 437
 durchkramen, 322, 437
 DURCHKreuzen, 196, 212
 durchkreuzen, 222, 225, 313
 DURCHKriechen, 65, 74
 durchkriechen, 249, 251, 252, 254,
 312, 452
 durchkurven, 323

- DURCHlaufen, 76, 84, 172–173, 204,
 231–234, 238, 451–455, 457–458,
 460–461
 durchlaufen, 233, 239, 301, 451, 461
 durchläuten, 286
 DURCHleben, 454, 459, 462, 505
 durchleben, 234–235, 453–460, 505
 DURCHlegen, 182–183, 206
 DURCHleiden, 454, 459, 462
 durchleiden, 234–235, 454–460
 DURCHlesen, 207, 209, 211, 236,
 441, 444–445, 449
 DURCHleuchten, 76
 durchleuchten, 223, 282, 286, 291,
 299–300, 319
 durchlieben, 449
 durchlöchern, 313, 314, 317, 329, 469
 DURCHlüften, 190, 431, 432
 durchlüften, 278, 286, 301–302,
 431–432
 DURCHmachen, 199, 203–205,
 453–458, 461
 durchmalen, 449
 DURCHmanövrieren, 107
 durchmengen, 315
 DURCHmessen, 212
 durchmessen, 222, 229
 durchmischen, 313, 315–317, 329
 DURCHmustern, 212, 437, 438
 durchmustern, 322, 324, 437, 438, 444
 DURCHnageln, 184
 DURCHnässen, 190–192, 282, 434
 durchnässen, 282, 286
 DURCHnehmen, 185
 DURCHnumerieren, 211
 DURCHorgeln, 184, 186, 211
 DURCHpeitschen, 105–106
 DURCHpflügen, 108, 190, 228, 469
 durchpflügen, 229
 DURCHplaudern, 205, 211, 213, 440
 DURCHpressen, 108
 DURCHprüfen, 209, 212, 444, 445
 DURCHprügeln, 183–184
 durchpulsen, 240, 329
 durchqueren, 220, 227–229, 233, 249,
 470
 DURCHradeln, 67, 84–85
 durchrappen, 449
 durchrasen, 232–233
 durchrassen, 316–317
 durchräuchern, 282, 286
 DURCHrauschen, 79–80, 85
 durchrauschen, 292
 DURCHregnen, 15, 66, 189–190, 205
 durchregnen, 449
 DURCHreiben, 173, 189–190
 DURCHreichen, 79, 102–104
 DURCHreisen, 79, 204, 322
 DURCHreißen, 172–173, 228,
 474–475, 477
 durchreißen, 228, 470, 476
 DURCHreiten, 173
 DURCHrennen, 74, 85, 173, 175, 199,
 200, 204, 255
 durchrieseln, 238, 240
 DURCHRinnen, 73
 durchrinnen, 238
 DURCHrobben, 76
 DURCHRühren, 190
 durchrühren, 316, 317
 DURCHrutschen, 79–80, 103, 423
 DURCHRütteln, 191
 durchrütteln, 317, 449
 DURCHsacken, 79–80
 DURCHsägen, 465, 474–475, 477,
 484, 502
 durchsägen, 484, 502
 DURCHsäuern, 190–191
 DURCHsaufen, 205
 durchschallen, 286
 DURCHschauen, 81–82, 283, 319
 durchschauen, 286, 319
 durchschauern, 238, 239
 durchschaukeln, 449
 DURCHscheinen, 82
 DURCHschieben, 98–99, 106, 109,
 181
 DURCHschießen, 104, 468
 durchschießen, 240, 314, 328, 469
 DURCHschimmern, 82
 durchschimmern, 285
 DURCHschlafen, 83, 85, 199, 203,
 205, 235, 429, 445, 447–448, 450,
 457, 498, 507
 durchschlafen, 445, 448, 498
 DURCHschlagen, 79, 82, 85, 108,
 172, 317, 469–470, 474, 476, 485
 durchschlagen, 253, 469, 477

- DURCHschleusen, 104
 DURCHschlüpfen, 73, 77, 79
 DURCHschmettern, 211
 DURCHschneiden, 24, 43, 222, 226,
 228, 311–312, 430, 463, 469,
 474–475, 477, 479–481, 483,
 485–486
 durchschneiden, 216, 225, 228–229,
 312–313, 429, 463, 470–471,
 481–483, 502
 durchschnellen, 233
 DURCHschnüffeln, 210, 322, 324,
 436
 durchschnüffeln, 436
 durchschreiben, 449
 DURCHschreien, 85, 205
 DURCHschreiten, 77, 252
 durchschreiten, 228–229, 232, 252,
 254
 DURCHschütteln, 191
 durchschütteln, 238, 239, 316, 317
 DURCHschwimmen, 204, 447
 durchschwimmen, 252, 445
 DURCHschwitzen, 189–190, 282,
 430–431, 433–434
 durchschwitzen, 286, 430, 432, 449
 DURCHsegeln, 451
 DURCHsehen, 82, 208–209, 212, 319,
 444, 445
 DURCHsetzen, 101, 105–109, 184,
 313, 314, 317, 318
 durchsetzen, 315, 317
 durchseuchen, 298, 301
 DURCHsickern, 77, 82
 DURCHsieben, 104
 durchsieben, 313, 317
 DURCHsingen, 194, 211
 DURCHsitzen, 108–109, 171, 173,
 201, 203, 205, 453–457
 DURCHspannen, 181, 203, 220
 DURCHspielen, 213, 460, 461
 durchspielen, 449
 durchspinnen, 328
 DURCHsprechen, 211, 213, 323, 440
 durchsprechen, 324
 DURCHspringen, 18, 173
 durchspringen, 18, 172, 254, 467
 DURCHspülen, 187
 durchstanzen, 476
 DURCHstarten, 84
 durchstechen, 255, 300, 468–469, 473,
 476–477
 durchstecken, 314, 315
 DURCHstehen, 84–85, 199, 203–205,
 453–455, 457
 DURCHstellen, 104
 durchsteppen, 449
 DURCHsteuern, 72
 durchstinken, 286
 DURCHstöbern, 210, 322, 324,
 435–436
 durchstöbern, 324, 436
 DURCHstoßen, 85, 193, 196, 470,
 473, 476
 durchstoßen, 468, 470, 471
 DURCHstrahlen, 76
 durchstrahlen, 278, 285–286, 301, 319
 DURCHstrecken, 179, 181
 DURCHstreichen, 194, 196
 durchstreichen, 222, 225
 durchstreifen, 311, 312
 DURCHstreiten, 205, 454, 455, 456
 durchströmen, 220, 222, 295, 300,
 314, 329
 DURCHsuchen, 187, 209–210, 212,
 321–322, 428, 435–436, 438–441
 durchsuchen, 322, 324, 428, 435
 durchtagen, 449
 DURCHtanzen, 173, 196, 202, 204,
 447–450, 455
 durchtanzen, 235, 446, 448, 450
 durchteilen, 373, 469–470, 478
 DURCHtesten, 208, 212, 444, 445
 durchtoben, 268, 449, 461
 durchtönen, 276, 286
 durchtränken, 281, 282, 286, 299–300
 DURCHträumen, 205, 210, 213
 durchträumen, 449
 DURCHtrennen, 478, 484, 486
 durchtrennen, 222, 225, 373, 469–471,
 475, 477–479, 484–486
 DURCHtreten, 84, 178, 181
 DURCHtrinken, 205
 DURCHwachen, 205, 448, 451
 durchwachen, 235, 448, 451
 DURCHwachsen, 76, 77
 durchwachsen, 315, 326–328
 DURCHwackeln, 191

- DURCHwählen, 109
 durchwalten, 300
 DURCHwandern, 85
 durchwandern, 15, 268, 321–324, 328
 DURCHwärmen, 187, 189
 durchwärmen, 282, 286
 DURCHwaschen, 186–187, 190
 DURCHwässern, 189–190
 DURCHwaten, 77
 durchwaten, 249
 durchweben, 326–328
 durchwehen, 267, 286
 DURCHweichen, 189–192, 300
 durchweichen, 286
 DURCHwerfen, 104
 durchwerfen, 255
 DURCHwinden, 106, 109
 durchwinden, 235, 328, 462
 DURCHwintern, 108–109
 DURCHwirken, 194, 317, 326
 durchwirken, 329
 durchwuchern, 295
 DURCHwühlen, 108–109, 210, 212,
 238, 322, 436–437
 durchwühlen, 239, 324, 436
 DURCHwurzeln, 108, 326
 durchwurzeln, 328
 DURCHzählen, 211, 213, 505
 durchzählen, 505
 DURCHzechen, 200–201, 448
 durchzechen, 235, 446, 448
 DURCHziehen, 178, 181, 184–185,
 202, 222, 229, 238, 294, 311–312,
 326–327
 durchziehen, 294–295, 300, 311–313,
 323, 327–329
 durchzittern, 238, 295
 durchzocken, 449
 DURCHzucken, 239, 312
 EINSchließen, 225
 EINziehen, 160
 HERUMbasteln, 138
 HERUMdoktern, 137
 HERUMdrehen, 140
 HERUMfahren, 138
 HERUMfragen, 138
 HERUMgehen, 136, 138, 169
 HERUMhängen, 138
 HERUMlaufen, 75, 136
 HERUMleiten, 155
 HERUMliegen, 138
 HERUMreichen, 138
 HERUMreisen, 136
 HERUMrennen, 138
 HERUMsitzen, 138
 HERUMspringen, 138
 HERUMstehen, 138
 HERUMtreiben, 138
 HINDURCHbrechen, 69
 HINDURCHdringen, 75
 HINDURCHKriechen, 252
 HINDURCHmanövrieren, 71–72
 HINDURCHschreiten, 252
 HINDURCHsteuern, 71–72
 HINDURCHwachsen, 72
 HINDURCHwuchern, 72
 HINÜBERbringen, 100
 HINÜBERfahren, 75
 HINÜBERlaufen, 70
 HINÜBERSchauen, 71–72
 HINÜBERSchlafen, 70
 HINÜBERSchlummern, 70
 HINÜBERSchreiten, 252
 HINÜBERSpringen, 252
 HINÜBERsteigen, 192
 NACHdenken, 304
 überaltern, 382
 überanstrengen, 383–384, 387, 390,
 392
 überantworten, 348–349, 406
 überarbeiten, 195, 236–237, 387–390
 überbacken, 283, 284
 überbauen, 280, 285
 überbeanspruchen, 395, 397
 überbelasten, 395, 396
 überbelichten, 397
 überbetonen, 394
 ÜBERbeugen, 134, 148
 überbewerten, 345, 395, 398
 ÜBERbiegen, 134–135, 148
 überbieten, 241, 242, 245–246
 ÜBERbinden, 121
 überblenden, 262, 307–308
 ÜBERblicken, 71–72
 überblicken, 302–304
 überborden, 379–380
 ÜBERbraten, 125
 ÜBERbringen, 111, 406

- überbringen, 349, 352, 405
- überbrücken, 220, 223, 247
- überbürden, 383–387
- überdachen, 281, 284
- überdauern, 248–249
- ÜBERdecken, 118, 120
- überdecken, 279, 281, 288, 308
- überdehnen, 383, 385
- überdenken, 236, 237, 305, 323, 440, 462
- überdosieren, 395–397, 422
- überdrehen, 379–380, 383–385
- überdüngen, 381, 386, 387, 393
- übereignen, 347, 349, 405
- übereilen, 384–385, 387, 390, 392
- ÜBERessen, 389, 403
- überessen, 388, 392, 403
- ÜBERfahren, 98
- überfahren, 233, 234, 259, 260
- ÜBERfallen, 134–135
- überfallen, 239, 259, 261
- überfärben, 285, 309, 393
- überfeinern, 381, 383
- überfischen, 382–383
- überfliegen, 236, 237, 239, 255
- ÜBERfließen, 89–90
- überfließen, 292
- überflügeln, 241, 246
- überfluten, 239, 267, 290, 293, 295, 300
- überfordern, 381, 383–385, 387
- überfrachten, 383, 385
- überfragen, 383, 385–387
- überfremden, 381, 383
- überfressen, 388, 389, 392
- überfrieren, 488
- ÜBERführen, 43, 344, 348–349, 352, 402, 405, 407–412, 414, 426
- überführen, 221, 344, 402, 408, 410–411, 426
- überfüllen, 375, 381–382, 386–387
- überfüttern, 382, 387, 390, 392
- ÜBERgeben, 125, 347, 348, 349, 351, 405, 406
- ÜBERgehen, 67, 87, 90, 92–93, 166, 256, 257, 410
- übergehen, 248, 258, 307
- ÜBERgießen, 111, 117–118, 289
- übergießen, 117, 277
- überglänzen, 285
- ÜBERgreifen, 87, 89
- ÜBERhaben, 119, 124
- ÜBERhängen, 117, 134–135
- überhängen, 285
- überhändigen, 348
- überhasten, 384–387, 390, 392
- überhäufen, 281, 284, 301
- überheben, 391–392
- überheizen, 381–382
- überhitzen, 353, 379, 383–385, 387
- überhöhen, 378–380, 386, 387
- überholen, 240, 243, 244–246, 351, 376
- überhören, 257–258
- überkämmen, 307
- ÜBERkippen, 92–93, 135
- überkippen, 294
- ÜBERkleben, 119–120, 284
- ÜBERkleckern, 75
- überkleiden, 281, 284
- überklettern, 254
- überklettern, 249
- ÜBERkochen, 89
- überkochen, 283–284
- ÜBERkommen, 89, 135
- überkommen, 238–239, 258, 348, 350, 352, 406
- überkronen, 281, 285
- überkrusten, 279–281
- überlachen, 248, 258, 307, 350, 388, 390
- überlacken, 285
- überladen, 381, 382, 383
- überlagern, 281, 284, 307
- überlappen, 354
- überlassen, 347, 349, 405
- überlasten, 345, 383–385, 387
- ÜBERlaufen, 70, 88, 89, 93, 238, 254, 260, 488
- überlaufen, 237, 238, 239, 246, 325
- überleben, 247–249, 488
- ÜBERlegen, 110–111, 115, 117–118, 125, 302, 304–305, 356, 363–365, 384, 440
- ÜBERlehnen, 75, 135
- überleiten, 352
- überlesen, 236–237, 257–258
- überliefern, 349, 352, 393–394, 406

- überlisten, 242–243, 246
- übermachen, 347, 349, 406
- übermalen, 15, 306
- übermannen, 259, 261
- übermitteln, 349–350, 352, 405
- übermüden, 385–387
- übernachten, 247, 248, 353, 488
- übernehmen, 348–350, 352, 375, 391–392, 405
- ÜBERordnen, 128–129, 417–418
- überpflanzen, 280, 285, 351–352, 406
- überpinseln, 306
- überprüfen, 235–237
- überpudern, 285
- ÜBERquellen, 89
- überqueren, 216, 220, 226–227, 229
- ÜBERquillen, 89
- überraagen, 240, 243, 244, 246, 376
- überraschen, 258–259, 261
- überrechnen, 236–237
- überreden, 351–352, 405, 407
- überreichen, 347–348, 405
- überreiten, 255, 260
- überreizen, 379, 383–385, 388–389
- überrennen, 259–260
- überriechen, 307–308
- überrieseln, 239, 284
- überrollen, 261
- überraumpeln, 260–261
- überraunden, 244, 246–247
- übersättigen, 381–382, 386–387
- übersäuern, 381–382, 386–387
- überschallen, 307
- überschatten, 278, 301
- überschätzen, 345, 377–379, 387
- ÜBERSchauen, 72
- überschauen, 302–304
- ÜBERSchäumen, 67, 88, 89, 90
- überschäumen, 354
- überscheinen, 278
- ÜBERSchieben, 111
- überschießen, 257, 382
- überschimmern, 285
- überschlafen, 236, 237, 248, 392
- ÜBERSchlagen, 86, 89, 92–93, 110–111, 236–237, 261–262, 305, 391–392
- überschlagen, 392
- ÜBERSchmierern, 119–120, 306
- überschminken, 306, 307
- ÜBERSchnappen, 92–93
- ÜBERSchreiben, 129, 308, 347, 349, 406
- überschreien, 307, 375, 388–389, 391–392
- überschreiten, 252–253, 263, 377
- überschulden, 385
- ÜBERSchütten, 115, 117, 124, 284, 287, 301–302
- ÜBERSchwappen, 89
- überschwappen, 300
- ÜBERSchwemmen, 89
- überschwemmen, 292–293, 295, 298, 300
- überschwimmen, 254, 255
- übersehen, 244, 256, 257, 258, 302, 303, 304
- ÜBERSenden, 406
- übersenden, 349, 352, 405
- ÜBERSetzen, 76, 110, 404
- übersetzen, 343, 350, 352, 404–405, 407, 424, 426, 497, 517
- ÜBERSiedeln, 24, 90, 352–354, 402–403, 407, 413–416, 427, 488
- übersiedeln, 343, 353–354, 402–403, 413, 415
- ÜBERSpannen, 119, 121, 281, 341, 383
- überspannen, 220, 230, 385
- überspielen, 243, 246, 257, 350, 352, 379–380, 390, 406
- überspitzen, 379–381, 386–387
- übersprechen, 307, 309
- ÜBERSpringen, 86–87
- überspringen, 249, 251–252, 254, 256–258, 492
- ÜBERSprudeln, 89
- übersprühen, 267
- überspülen, 295
- überstechen, 242–243, 307
- überstehen, 248–249
- ÜBERsteigen, 62
- übersteigen, 240–241, 243–246, 254, 264
- übersteigern, 379–381, 387, 390, 392
- überstellen, 348–349, 364, 406, 418
- übersteuern, 379–380
- überstimmen, 243, 246

- überstinken, 307–308
- überstrahlen, 239, 242–243, 278, 285, 300, 381
- ÜBERstreichen, 119, 277, 287, 306, 307
- ÜBERstreifen, 119, 121
- ÜBERstreuen, 117, 276, 277, 284, 287
- überstreuen, 279
- ÜBERströmen, 89
- überströmen, 292, 295, 353
- ÜBERstülpen, 116
- überstürzen, 261, 262, 384–385, 390–392
- übertäuben, 307–308
- übertauchen, 289, 383
- überteuern, 378–379
- übertölpeln, 243, 246
- übertönen, 243, 306–308
- übertragen, 346–347, 349–353, 405, 413
- übertränken, 284
- übertreffen, 240–242, 245–246
- übertreiben, 377, 379–380, 384, 387–388
- ÜBERtreten, 15, 18, 88, 92, 93
- übertreten, 18, 254, 262, 263, 377
- übertrinken, 389
- übertrumpfen, 243
- ÜBERTun, 117, 390
- übertünchen, 301
- übevölkern, 381, 382, 386, 387
- übevorteilen, 243
- überwachen, 302–304
- überwachsen, 285
- überwältigen, 258–260
- überwälzen, 348–349
- ÜBERwandern, 93
- überwandern, 325
- überwässern, 284
- ÜBERwechseln, 91, 351
- überwehen, 285
- überweiden, 382
- überweisen, 347, 349, 405
- ÜBERwerfen, 117, 121
- überwerten, 378–379
- überwiegen, 241–242, 246, 488
- überwimmeln, 325
- überwinden, 254, 258, 260
- überwintern, 247, 353, 488
- ÜBERwölben, 119, 281, 342
- überwölben, 341
- überwuchern, 285
- überwunden, 259, 260
- überzahlen, 378–379
- überzählen, 236, 258, 394
- überzeichnen, 378, 379, 380
- überzeugen, 157, 351–352, 405
- ÜBERziehen, 93, 101, 119, 121, 124–125, 160, 289, 378–379
- überziehen, 277, 284, 300, 379–380
- überzüchten, 381–382
- überzuckern, 279, 284
- UMändern, 166–167
- UMarbeiten, 165, 167
- umarmen, 220–221, 225
- umatmen, 285
- UMbauen, 165–167, 225
- umbenennen, 166
- UMbetten, 161, 163
- UMbeugen, 149
- UMbiegen, 148–149
- UMBilden, 165, 167
- UMbinden, 118, 284
- UMblasen, 146–147
- UMblicken, 170
- UMbringen, 144, 150–151
- UMBuchen, 157–158
- UMdenken, 157–158
- UMdeuten, 167
- umdrängen, 297
- UMdrehen, 130, 139–142, 144–146, 152–153, 156, 168
- umduften, 276, 285
- UMerziehen, 157–158
- UMfahren, 144, 146–147, 216, 232, 233, 254, 260
- UMfallen, 144, 146–147, 151
- umfassen, 225–226
- umflattern, 297
- UMfliegen, 151
- umfliegen, 232, 233
- umflechten, 277
- umfluten, 295, 297
- UMformen, 167
- UMfragen, 168, 171
- UMfüllen, 162
- umgeben, 223, 224, 225, 296

- UMgehen, 138, 159, 167, 169–171,
 249, 254, 256
 umgehen, 256
 UMGellen, 285
 UMGestalten, 165, 167
 UMGießen, 162
 umgießen, 284
 UMgraben, 149–150
 umgreifen, 297
 umgrenzen, 224, 226
 UMgruppieren, 167
 UMGucken, 170
 UMhaben, 124
 umhallen, 278
 umhalsen, 223
 UMHängen, 118, 284
 UMhauen, 146, 150, 151
 umhegen, 309
 UMHören, 169
 umhüllen, 267, 280, 284, 288, 306
 umkämpfen, 309
 UMkehren, 15, 131, 141–142, 144,
 152, 161
 UMkippen, 146–147, 151, 166
 umklammerte, 225
 umkleben, 284
 UMKleiden, 163
 umkleiden, 279–280, 284
 UMknicken, 148–149
 UMKommen, 150–152
 umkreisen, 226–227
 UMKrempeln, 148–149
 umkrusten, 281
 UMLaden, 162
 umlagern, 297
 UMLaufen, 18, 138
 umlaufen, 15, 18, 26, 28, 136,
 232–233, 249, 251, 254
 UMLegen, 118, 121, 124, 151–153,
 156, 158, 160, 162
 umlegen, 490
 UMLEhnen, 149
 UMLEiten, 152, 154–156
 UMLernen, 157–158
 ummauern, 225
 UMMelden, 162
 umnachten, 300
 umnebelt, 278–279, 298
 UMNieten, 151–152
 UMMorganisieren, 167
 UMPacken, 162
 UMPflanzen, 160–161
 UMPflügen, 149–150
 umpudern, 285
 UMPusten, 147
 UMquartieren, 163
 umrahmen, 224
 umranden, 225
 UMRäumen, 162
 UMRrechnen, 164, 167
 UMReißen, 146–147, 149, 224, 226
 UMRennen, 146–147, 232
 umringen, 226, 297
 UMRühren, 150
 umrunden, 229
 UMSatteln, 158
 UMSchalten, 153, 156, 157
 UMSchauen, 170
 UMSchlagen, 131, 146, 147, 149, 166,
 167
 UMSchmeißen, 147, 150
 UMSchulen, 158
 UMSchütten, 147
 UMsetzen, 162, 167
 UMSiedeln, 160, 162
 UMSpringen, 153
 UMSpulen, 163
 UMstecken, 162
 UMsteigen, 131, 157, 158
 UMstellen, 156, 158
 UMstoßen, 147, 150
 UMStülpen, 146, 149
 UMStürzen, 147
 UMSuchen, 171
 UMSinken, 151
 umsäumen, 226
 UMSchalten, 152
 umscheinen, 285
 umschiffen, 254
 UMSchlagen, 146, 148, 165, 166
 umschlingen, 225
 umschließen, 221, 224, 225
 umschmeicheln, 292, 309
 UMSchmeißen, 146
 umschmierern, 284
 UMSchnallen, 118
 umschreiben, 226
 UMSchulen, 157

- umschultern, 223
 umschwärmen, 295–296, 309
 umschwemmen, 293
 umschwirren, 297
 umsegeln, 227
 UMsehen, 167–170
 UMsein, 151
 UMsetzen, 159–160, 165–166
 UMsinken, 150
 umspannen, 225–226
 umspielen, 254, 297
 UMspringen, 166, 170–171
 umspülen, 295
 umstehen, 297
 UMsteigen, 152, 155–156, 159
 UMstellen, 153, 156–158, 296
 UMstimmen, 157–158, 161
 umstinken, 278
 UMstoßen, 146, 150
 umstreichen, 277
 umstreiten, 309
 UMstürzen, 146
 UMsuchen, 169
 UMtauschen, 159, 161, 163–164, 167
 umtönen, 285
 UMtopfen, 163
 UMtöpfen, 161
 umtragen, 250
 umtränken, 285
 UMTreiben, 169–170
 UMTun, 118, 169
 umwachsen, 285
 UMWälzen, 146, 150, 154, 156, 158
 UMWandeln, 163, 166–167
 UMwechseln, 163
 umwehen, 278, 285
 UMWenden, 140–142, 144–146, 152
 umwerben, 309
 UMwerfen, 115, 118, 146–147,
 149–151
 umwickeln, 276–277, 284, 288, 340
 umwölken, 281, 298, 300
 umwuchern, 285
 umzäunen, 216, 225
 UMziehen, 159, 160, 162, 289
 umzingeln, 297
 UNTERackern, 114
 UNTERarbeiten, 114
 unterbauen, 285, 357, 359
 UNTERbekommen, 114
 unterbelegen, 396
 unterbelichten, 396
 unterbeschäftigen, 396
 unterbesetzen, 396
 unterbewerten, 396
 unterbezahlen, 396
 unterbieten, 245, 246, 247, 377
 unterbinden, 355, 368, 369, 370, 371,
 416
 unterbleiben, 370, 371
 unterbrechen, 269, 355, 368, 370–372,
 416, 469, 491
 unterbreiten, 367
 UNTERbringen, 95, 96, 112–113,
 355, 417
 UNTERbügeln, 113
 UNTERbuttern, 113–114
 unterdrehen, 379–380
 UNTERdrücken, 362
 unterdrücken, 113, 127, 359, 360, 362,
 368, 369, 416
 UNTERducken, 100
 unterducken, 253
 unterentwickeln, 396
 unterernähren, 396
 UNTERfahren, 114
 unterfahren, 250
 unterfallen, 363
 unterfangen, 285, 358
 UNTERfassen, 121–124
 unterfliegen, 253
 unterfordern, 384–387
 unterfüllen, 386
 unterfüttern, 269, 283, 359
 UNTERgeben, 114
 untergeben, 363
 UNTERgehen, 16, 62, 67, 93–95, 114
 untergliedern, 269, 371, 372, 373
 UNTERgraben, 114
 untergraben, 329, 330
 UNTERgreifen, 123–124
 UNTERhaben, 124
 UNTERhaken, 122–123
 UNTERhalten, 114, 118, 120–121,
 123, 269, 331, 355, 357–359, 373–
 374, 416
 unterhalten, 374
 unterhandeln, 331, 373–374

- unterhöhlen, 269, 329–330
 unterjochen, 127, 360, 362
 UNTERjubeln, 113–114, 125–126,
 128, 366, 417–418
 unterkellern, 285
 UNTERkommen, 94, 96–97, 113–114,
 355, 366, 368, 403, 416–417,
 422–424
 UNTERkriechen, 97
 UNTERkriegen, 113–114
 unterkühlen, 378–379, 392
 unterladen, 386
 unterlagern, 285
 UNTERlassen, 112, 369, 370, 371
 UNTERlaufen, 423
 unterlaufen, 253, 256, 331, 355,
 366–368, 403, 417, 422–424
 UNTERlegen, 19, 114, 118, 120–121,
 285, 357, 359, 364–365
 unterlegen, 19
 unterliegen, 127, 359, 361–364, 368,
 416–417
 untermalen, 357, 359
 untermauern, 283, 359
 untermengen, 331
 unterminieren, 329, 331
 UNTERmischen, 112, 114
 untermischen, 331
 UNTERmogeln, 128
 unternehmen, 16, 269, 356, 358–359,
 416
 UNTERordnen, 113, 127–129, 364,
 417–418
 UNTERpflügen, 114
 unterprivilegieren, 396
 unterqueren, 227, 229
 unterreden, 331, 373–374
 unterreizen, 378, 385
 unterrepräsentieren, 396
 unterrichten, 269, 367, 373–374, 416
 UNTERrühren, 112
 untersagen, 355, 368–371, 416
 unterschätzen, 345, 375, 378–379, 387
 unterscheiden, 269, 371–372, 416
 UNTERSchieben, 114–115, 122–123,
 125–128, 355, 366, 402–403,
 417–422
 unterschieben, 366–367, 402–403,
 419–420
 UNTERSchlagen, 114
 unterschlagen, 360, 362
 UNTERSchlüpfen, 97
 unterschlüpfen, 253
 unterschreiben, 358, 359
 unterschreiten, 245, 247
 unterschwimmen, 254
 untersiegeln, 359
 UNTERSpielen, 128
 unterspitzen, 381
 unterspülen, 292, 329–331
 UNTERstehen, 97
 unterstehen, 127, 358, 361–363,
 416–417
 untersteigern, 380
 UNTERstellen, 114, 121, 127, 355,
 364, 366, 417–418
 unterstellen, 363–364, 366–367,
 417–419
 unterstempeln, 359
 untersteuern, 379
 unterstopfen, 285
 unterstreichen, 358, 359
 unterstützen, 122, 269, 356, 357, 359,
 416
 untersuchen, 362–363, 416
 UNTERtauchen, 76, 94, 112, 114, 254
 unterteilen, 269, 355, 371–373
 untertiteln, 359
 untertreiben, 379–380, 386–387
 untertrennen, 372
 untertunneln, 220, 223
 untervermieten, 114
 unterversichern, 396, 398
 unterversorgen, 396
 unterwandeln, 331
 unterwandern, 329, 330, 331
 unterwaschen, 329, 331
 unterweisen, 374
 unterwerfen, 127, 343, 360–363, 367
 unterwerten, 378–379
 unterwinden, 254
 unterwühlen, 329, 331
 unterzeichnen, 358
 UNTERziehen, 97, 121, 289
 unterziehen, 127, 359, 361–362, 416
 ZURÜCKlegen, 206

