

Spatial Meaning Shifts in German Particle Verbs with “auf” and “an”

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Motivation

Particle Verbs and Meaning Shifts

- German particle verbs (PVs): highly productive compositions of particle prefixes and base verbs (BVs)

schieben ('push something') ▷ an+schieben ('push something forward')

- PVs often trigger (regular) **meaning shifts** with respect to their BVs

- Focus: particles that differ in their **predominant spatial meaning**

- AN: horizontal directionality (↔)
- AUF: vertical directionality (↕)

Hypothesis

- Match between particle direction (an ↔) and base verb direction (schieben →): **literal PV meaning** ('push something forward')
- Mismatch between particle direction (auf ↕) and base verb direction (schieben →): **meaning shift** ('postpone')

Prediction

Meaning shifts may be reflected in **longer reaction times** (inhibition process) during language comprehension

Item Generation

Classification of Base Verbs

- Human annotators (15 per BV) selected one or more directions that best represent the action described by the BV

	↑	↓	↔	⇒
schieben			✓	
setzen	✓			

Selection of Experimental Items

- 22 German BVs with a strongly preferred direction
 - 11 with **horizontal** preference (e.g., *schieben*)
 - 11 with **vertical** preference (e.g., *setzen* 'sit')

Experimental Design: Go/No-Go Priming Study

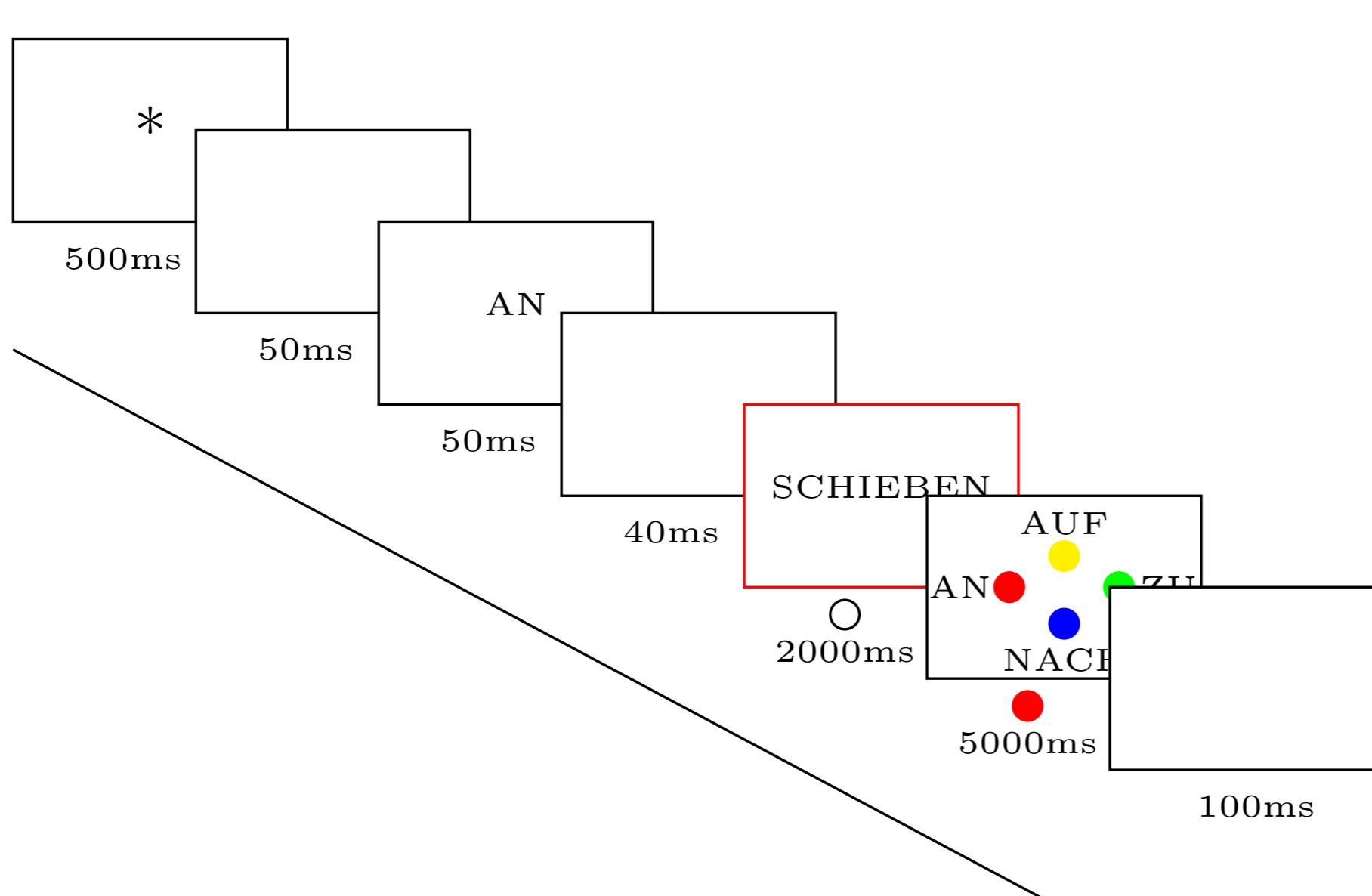
- Task: **go/no-go lexical decision** (press a button if the target is a word)
 - Prime: particle (an, auf, other)
 - Target: base verb
- 3 x 2 Design (Particle x Direction of Base)

	Horizontal	Vertical
An	MATCH	MISMATCH
Auf	MISMATCH	MATCH
Other	CONTROL	CONTROL

- 320 items (words/non-words), in total balanced by **frequency** and **distributional semantic similarity**:

- 22 target items
- 78% fillers

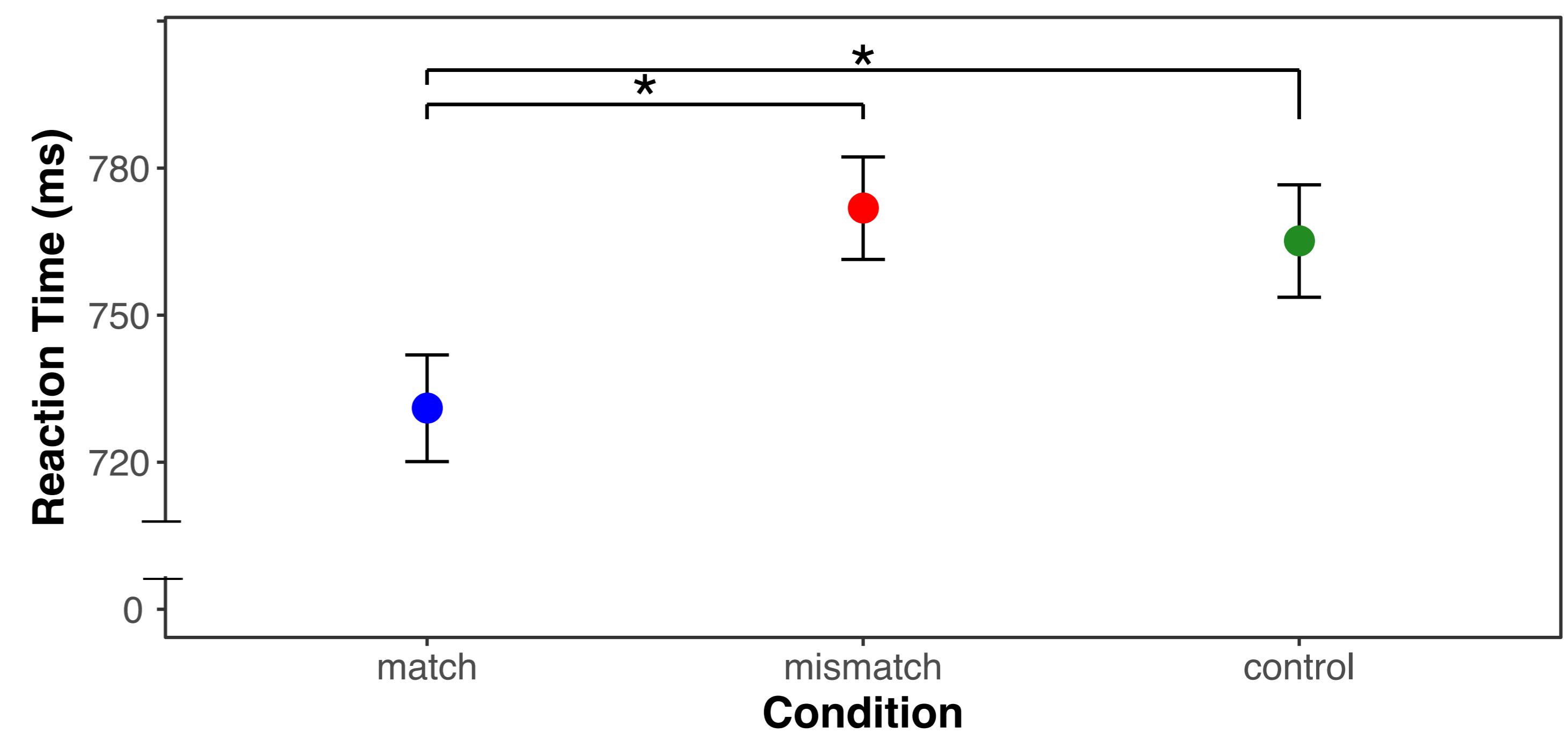
- 65 (66-1) participants: 14 females, 23yo (± 3)



Analysis

Regression Model

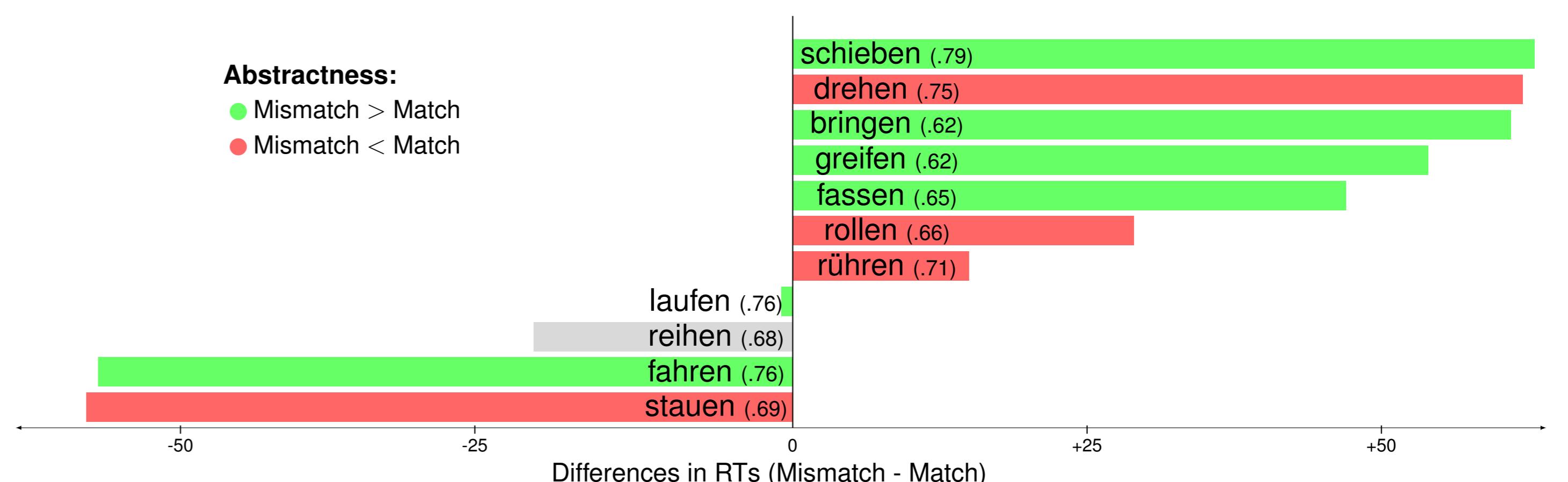
$$\log RT \sim \text{Condition} + (1 + \text{Condition} | \text{Subject}) + (1 + \text{Condition} | \text{Item})$$



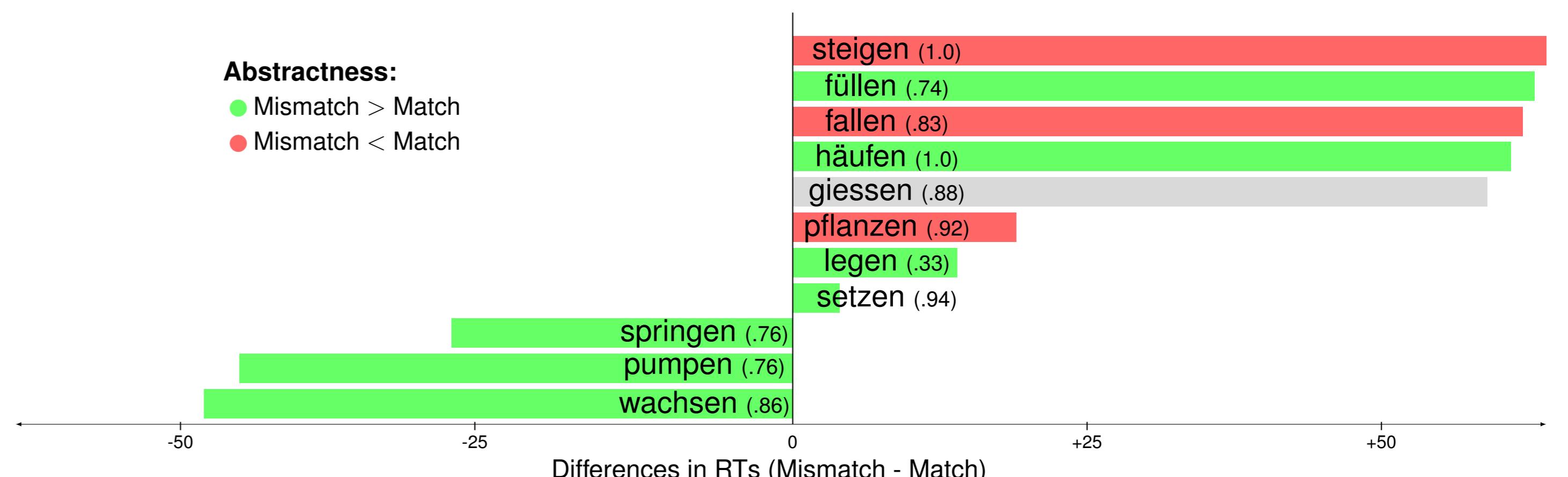
- **matching** condition (an+schieben, ↔ + →) processed **significantly faster** than **mismatching** (auf+schieben, ↕ + →) and **control** (nach+schieben) condition
- **No significant difference** between the **mismatching** and **control** condition

Qualitative Analysis by Item

Horizontal Direction (AN+BV)



Vertical Direction (AUF+BV)



Discussion

Findings

- The primary direction of the particle has an effect
- **Inhibition process:** mismatch in the directionality of particles and base verbs results in **longer processing time** (RTs) with respect to the matching condition

MATCH literal	MISMATCH meaning-shifted	CONTROL
AN+SCHIEBEN 'push something forward'	AUF+SCHIEBEN 'postpone'	NACH+SCHIEBEN 'continue pushing'
AUF+SETZEN 'put on'	AN+SETZEN 'begin'	VOR+SETZEN 'put in front'

Open Issues

- What is triggered by the mismatch?
 - **Metaphorical shift** (increase in abstractness)
 - **Verb polysemy** (not necessarily more abstract)
- Need for a better understanding of the control condition