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## On distributional patterns of verbs in English and German

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This paper addresses the distribution of verbs in English and German with a particular focus on infinitival constructions. One frequently mentioned area of contrast between English and German is a difference in nominal versus verbal patterns. (Kortmann/Meyer 1992, p. 165) discuss a tendency of English to maximise the verb phrase, whereas German is said to expand the noun phrase, resulting in English being primarily verb-oriented and German being noun-oriented. However, such tendencies do not translate to an increased frequency of nouns when accounting for spelling differences of compounds (Berg et al. 2012, p. 280; Neumann 2020; also implicitly Gast/Borges 2023). Against this background, Neumann (2020, p. 150) suggests that a difference in verb usage might be responsible for the perceived preference for nominal versus verbal patterns in the two languages. She speculates that German does not draw on non-finite verbs to the same extent in comparable grammatical contexts which involve similar numbers of nouns, explaining this by the limited additional information a non-finite verb may contribute. English, in turn, seems to express the procedural aspect of an event or state more congruently with the help of a verb.

This study sets out to test this claim with the help of a quantitative corpus analysis in English and German. It draws on the original parts of the CroCo Corpus (Hansen-Schirra/Neumann/Steiner 2012). This balanced corpus contains original and translated texts in both translation directions from eight comparable registers. The original subcorpus comprises 500,697 words across 231 texts in the two languages and is annotated with part of speech (PoS) information and indexed with the IMS Open Corpus Workbench (CWB; Evert/Hardie 2011). Different forms of verbs are extracted with the help of complex queries in the CQP query syntax (Evert/The CWB Development Team 2020) supported by the CWB. A particular focus of the analysis is on *to/zu* infinitives. In German, these are extracted both in the form infinitive marker followed by verb (*zu verstehen*) and as single verbs with the infinitive marker integrated morphologically (*aufzulegen*). All occurrences are normalised using a reasonable unit of measurement, such as the number of finites or sentences per text. Normalised by number of words, English texts generally contain more verbs as well as more *to/zu* infinitives, but similar numbers of finites than German texts. When compared by number of sentences, all three frequencies are clearly higher in English than in German. Linear regression models with these three features as response variables and language and register as predictors (sum-coded) and including an interaction term for language and register yield significant main effects for language and various individual registers. Additionally, the model for *to/zu* infinitives also retrieves interactions between language and register, indicating that registers display specific distributions in the context of German.

These results corroborate claims about the stronger verb orientation of English. Inspection of the query hits suggest that many of the occurrences can be explained straightforwardly by constructions such as embedded clauses serving as postmodifiers within noun phrases, semi-modals such as *need to* and *have to* and the *going to* future. Frequent contexts also include phasal constructions with *continue* or *begin*. To explore possible equivalents for such constructions, the same query was applied to the aligned English-German translation pairs in the CroCo corpus. The results indicate that verbs expressing phase are often translated by adverbs such as *weiterhin* with the *to* infinitive translated by a finite verb. In such cases, the German clause contains only one instead of two verbs and the only remaining verb is finite, thus offering one explanation for the difference in frequency of verbs. The results suggest that German offers a wider range of distributional options corresponding to the English infinitival constructions. These options are reflected by the frequency difference in the formally corresponding construction and underline the importance of complementing system-based comparisons with usage-based data.

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