

Strong and weak P-verb constructions

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1. Introduction

- To claim that Washio's (1997) semantic division between *strong* and *weak* resultatives (cf. [1] and [3]), which has a correlate in the P-verb domain (cf. [2] and [4]), can be explained in formal terms: via *conflation* and *incorporation*, respectively.
- To put forward some parallelisms between Japanese *weak* resultatives and Italian verb-particle constructions (cf. [3] and [4]), which, despite appearances, nicely square with Talmy's (2000) classification of both Japanese and Italian/Romance as "verb-framed languages" (i.e., languages where Path/Result is incorporated into the verb).
- To claim that the typological variation found in the argument structure realm has a *morphophonological* basis: e.g., see Acedo-Matellán (2010). Accordingly, I will be arguing against parametrizing the syntax of argument structure (see also Boeckx 2011; but cf. Zubizarreta & Oh 2007, for a different view).

(1) Strong resultative constructions

- a. The speaker talked the audience into a stupor.
- b. The boy danced his feet sore.
- c. The boy danced himself tired.
- d. They hammered the metal flat.

(2) Strong P-verb constructions

- a. John worked his debts *off*.
- b. They voted Rajoy *in*.
- c. Rebënok *dokričalsja* do xriputy. (Russian)
baby DO-cried-SJA(itself) to hoarseness
'The baby cried itself hoarse.' (ex. Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998)
- d. Er *vergärtner* sein gesamtes Vermögen. (German)
he VER(away)-gardener-ed his whole fortune
'In gardening, he used up all his fortune.' (ex. Stiebels 1998; Mateu 2008)

- e. Serpentes putamina *extussunt*. (Latin)
snakes shells out-cough
'Snakes cough the egg shells out.' (ex. Acedo-Matellán 2010)

(3) Weak resultative constructions

- a. Taro-ga kabe-o pinkuiro-ni nutta. (Japanese)
Taro-nom wall-acc pink-NI paint-past
'Taro painted the wall pink.'
- b. Boku-wa aisū kuriimu-o katikati-ni koorase-ta.
I-top ice cream-acc solid-NI freeze-past
'I froze the ice cream hard'. (ex. Washio 1997)

(4) Weak P-verb constructions

- a. Luca ha lavato *via* la macchia. (Italian)
Luca has washed away the stain
'Luca washed the stain away.'
- b. Gianni è corso *via*.
Gianni is run away
'Gianni ran away.'
- c. El se ga magnà *fora* i schei. (Venetan; Benincà and Poletto 2006: 13)
he REFL has eaten out the money
'He spent/squandered his money.'

In this talk, I deal with the parallelisms between {strong/weak} resultatives and {strong/weak} P-verb constructions. On the one hand, the *strong* pattern involves *conflation* of a root with a null light verb (McIntyre 2004; Mateu 2012). On the other, two *weak* patterns can be shown to be distinguished within the *incorporation* type: those ones that involve incorporation of a "result root" and those ones that involve a light/copular use of the verb and incorporation of P(ath) into the verb.

Structure of the talk:

Section 2. Incorporation and conflation processes

Section 3. Strong vs. weak P-verb constructions and the conflation/incorporation distinction

Section 4. On the absence of the co-event conflation pattern from Romance

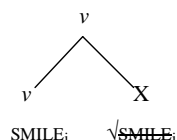
Section 5. Concluding remarks

2. Incorporation and conflation processes

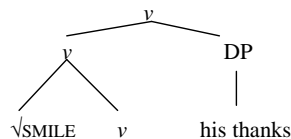
- (5) Haugen (2009: 260): “Incorporation is conceived of as head-movement (...), and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of Copy, whereas Conflation is instantiated directly through Merge (compounding)”.

Nota optime: Haugen’s (2009) definition of Conflation does *not* coincide with the one found in Hale & Keyser (1998, 2002).

- (6) a. John smiled.
b. John smiled his thanks.
- (7) a. Incorporation (cf. *Conflation* in H&K 2002)



- b. Conflation (cf. “*Manner Incorporation*” in Harley 2005)



Nota bene: The external argument is not represented in the syntactic argument structures in (7): see Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Kratzer (1996) or Pytkäinen (2008), among others.

Nota bene: For so-called “Manner conflation/incorporation”, see McIntyre (2004), Embick (2004), Harley (2005), Tomioka (2006), Zubizarreta & Oh (2007), Den Dikken (2010), Acedo-Matellán (2010), Mateu (2002, 2008, 2012), i.a.

The formation of unergative verbs like *smile* in (7a) does *not* involve a syntactic compound like [_v [_v SMILE_i DO] t_i]: i.e., the formation of the verb *smile* in (7a) does not involve a syntactic process of adjoining a nominal complement onto the null light verb. For good reasons, H&K decided to abandon their initial Bakerian analysis, which indeed involved the syntactic formation of a compound. In contrast, in their more recent analysis the phonological matrix of the nominal complement is copied into the null verbal head. A terminological caveat is in order: what I refer to as *incorporation* in (7a) is not Bakerian incorporation, assumed by H&K (1993), but “conflation” in H&K’s (2002) sense. NB: I use the latter term (*conflation*) in McIntyre’s (2004) or Haugen’s (2009) sense: see (7b).

- (8) a. John shelved the books.
b. John saddled the horse.
c. The strong winds cleared the sky // The sky cleared.

Mateu (2012): Washio’s (1997) semantic distinction between *strong* vs. *weak* resultatives can also be accounted for by using the formal distinction between *conflation* vs. *incorporation*, respectively. A coarse bipartite typology of resultative constructions, exemplified by (9a) and (9b), can be posited depending on how the null verbal head can acquire phonological content: via conflation or via incorporation.

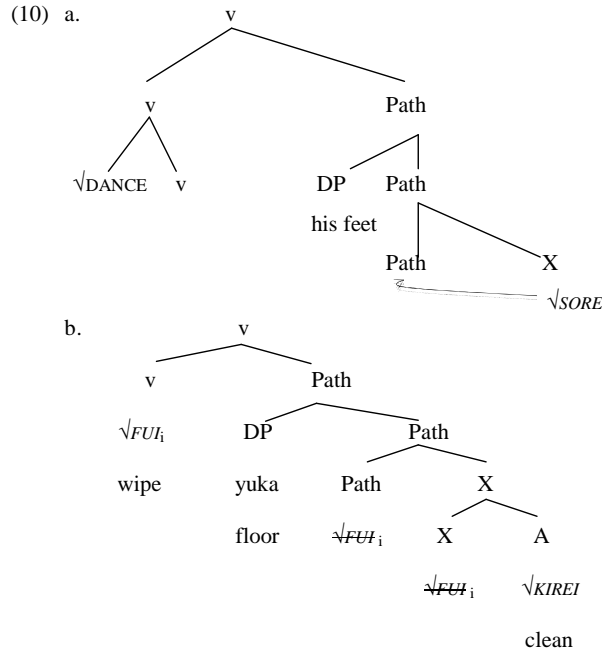
- (9) a. The boy danced his feet sore.
b. Taro-ga yuka-o kirei-ni fuita. (Japanese)
Taro-nom floor-acc clean-NI wipe-past
‘Taro wiped the floor clean’.

According to Washio (1997: 7), strong resultatives are those ones “in which the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other”: e.g., English examples like (9a) *The boy danced his feet sore* or *The boy hammered the metal flat* can be included in this class. In resultatives of this type, it cannot be predicted from the mere semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb. In contrast, Washio (1997: 7) gives a negative definition of weak resultatives like (9b): “let us call resultatives that are not strong in the above sense *weak* resultatives.” See also Takamine (2007), for further discussion.

Washio’s (1997: 8) claim is that “natural languages are divided into two broad types, i.e., those (like English) which permit strong resultatives and those (like Japanese) which do not, though weak resultatives are potentially possible in both types of language”.

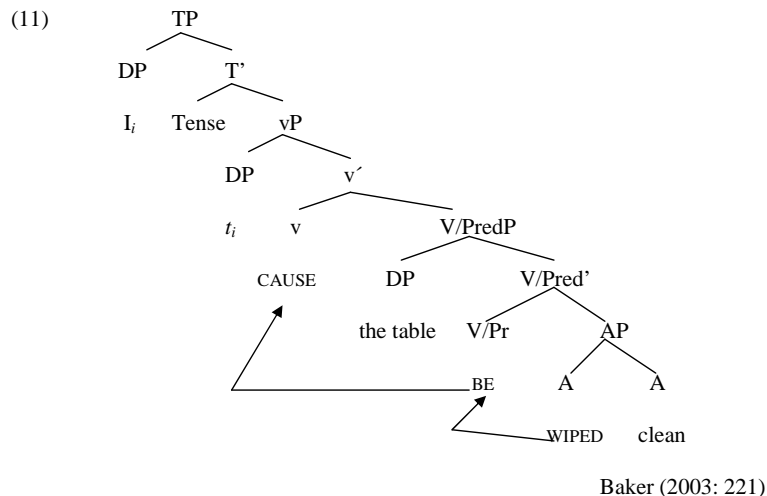
Strong resultatives are formed via conflation (i.e., the root is claimed to be directly adjoined to the null verbal head), as depicted in (10a) (cf. Mateu & Rigau [2002, 2010], McIntyre [2004], Embick [2004], Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], and Acedo-Matellán [2010], i.a.)

Weak resultatives are formed via incorporation (i.e., the root is claimed to come from an inner complement position), as represented in the Japanese resultative in (10b).



Nota bene I: Following the so-called “localist hypothesis” (see Gruber [1965], Jackendoff [1983], and Talmy [1991], i.a.), whereby Result can be claimed to involve Path, Mateu (2005, 2012) claims that an abstract P(ath) must be represented in the syntactic argument structure of adjectival resultative constructions.

Nota bene II: Word order details are omitted in the analysis of the Japanese resultative in (10b).



Some remarks are in order: On the one hand, Baker (2003) is silent on which analysis should be posited for unergative resultatives like (9a) *The boy danced his feet sore*. Of course, these resultatives cannot be analyzed as (11), i.e., as involving incorporation: cf. # [John [CAUSE [his feet [DANCED sore]]]]. To solve this problem, Mateu (2012) adopts Haugen’s (2009) distinction between conflation and incorporation: cf. (10a,b). On the other hand, Baker claims that *WIPED* in (11) has an adjectival nature. However, in the present framework, nothing forces us to assume his claim, whereby I represent the root \sqrt{FUI} ‘wipe’ as X in (10b): i.e., it lacks categorial nature; semantically, X is interpreted as a terminal Ground since it occupies the complement position of a telic P(ath) (cf. Hale & Keyser’s [1993, 2002] *terminal coincidence relation*). See Mateu (2012), for more discussion: e.g., I argue that Baker’s (2003: 221) incorporation analysis depicted in (11) is appropriate for the Japanese example in (9b) (cf. 10b) but it is not for its English/Germanic counterpart, which involves conflation.

3. Strong vs. weak P-verb constructions and the conflation/incorporation distinction

Washio concluded his (1997) paper by pointing out that Japanese and French (and, more generally, Romance) behave alike with respect to those phenomena which fall under Levin and Rapoport’s (1988) “lexical subordination” (cf. Section 4 below). He added “it would not be particularly surprising, therefore, if further research tells us that French <and, more generally, Romance: JM> does in fact share significantly more such abstract properties with Japanese than it does with English” (p. 43).

Following Washio’s (1997) trend, I show that there *are* some interesting structural and semantic parallelisms between Japanese weak resultative constructions and Romance P-verb constructions.

3.1. Romance verb-particle constructions as weak resultative constructions

As shown below, Talmy’s (1991, 2000) bipartite typology of motion events predicts an interesting parallelism between Romance verb-particle constructions and Japanese weak resultatives. To the best of my knowledge, such a parallelism, which confirms Washio’s (1997) abovementioned claim that Romance is more similar to Japanese rather than to English in this respect, has not been pointed out before in the literature.

Mateu & Rigau (2010) show that Italian *verbi sintagmatici* ('phrasal verbs') resemble English phrasal verbs but only superficially. In particular, we claim that verb-particle constructions are possible in Italian if the verb already encodes or involves Path/Result, which is further specified by the particle. Similarly, weak resultatives are possible in Japanese if the verb already encodes or involves result: e.g., cf. the examples in (3).

Despite claims to the contrary, verb-particle constructions are *not* a quirk of Italian but can also be found in other Romance languages (e.g., see Iacobini [2009]). E.g., Mateu and Rigau (2010) show that many verb-particle constructions from Dante's dialect (see Masini [2006: 87-99]) can also be found in Contemporary Catalan and Spanish: see (12) for a sample.¹

(12)

Dante's dialect	Catalan	Spanish
<i>andare avanti</i> 'go ahead'	<i>anar endavant</i>	<i>ir/salir adelante</i>
<i>andare fore</i> 'go out'	<i>anar fora</i>	<i>ir fuera</i>
<i>andare suso/su</i> 'go up'	<i>anar amunt</i>	<i>ir arriba</i>
<i>buttare fuori</i> 'throw out'	<i>tirar fora</i>	<i>echar fuera</i>
<i>discendere giù/giuso</i> 'descend down'	<i>baixar avall</i>	<i>bajar abajo</i>
<i>gittare giù</i> 'throw down'	<i>tirar avall</i>	<i>echar abajo</i>
<i>mettere avanti</i> 'put ahead'	<i>tirar endavant</i>	<i>sacar adelante</i>
<i>tirare su</i> 'throw up'	<i>tirar amunt</i>	<i>echar arriba</i>
<i>uscire fuori</i> 'exit out'	<i>sortir fora</i>	<i>salir fuera</i>

This said, it is true that Italian and other languages such as Venetan and Friulan can be considered exceptional among other Romance languages since they have developed a pattern where the verb is not a motion verb (e.g., see the examples in [13], which are not found in Dante's dialect; see Masini [2006]). This notwithstanding, Mateu & Rigau (2010) argue that

¹ Phrasal verbs are also present in other Romance languages, as exemplified in the sample in (i):
 (i) a. Friulan (Vicario 1995): *là fur* 'to go out', *là su* 'to go up', *là vie* 'to go away', *montà su* 'to go up', etc.
 b. Piedmont (Iacobini 2009): *allà via* 'to go away', *bütà giù* 'to throw down', *tirìa avanti* 'to throw ahead', i.e., 'to manage', etc.
 c. Sardinian (Iacobini 2009): *besari a foras* 'to exit out', *andarei abbasciu* 'to go down/to fall', *fuliare foras* 'to throw away', etc.
 d. Sicilian (Iacobini 2009, from Amenta 2008): *iri avanti* 'to go ahead', *ittari fuori* 'to throw away', *mèttiri iusu* 'to put down', etc.
 e. Venetan (Benincà and Poletto 2006): *ndar fora* 'go out', *buttar fora* 'throw out', *tirar su* 'bring up', *saltar fora* 'jump up', i.e., 'crop up', *vegner fora* 'come out', etc.

this innovative pattern is allowed in Italian (and other languages such as Venetan and Friulan) as long as the verbal basis involves an abstract directionality/result component. Interestingly, Masini (2005: 167) claims that the existence of Italian phrasal verbs like *lavare via* ('wash away') or *raschiare via* ('scrape away') in (13) depends on the *removal* sense of the verb, which Mateu & Rigau (2010) argue is related to the incorporating status of *Path/Result*. In contrast, such a restriction does not hold in Germanic. Accordingly, examples like those ones in (14) are impossible in Italian because the verb does not involve Path/Result [*nota optime*: similarly, strong resultatives are impossible in Japanese since in these constructions [cf. some examples in [1]] the verb does not encode nor involve Result].

(13) a. Gianni ha lavato via la macchia. (Italian)

Gianni has washed away the stain
'Gianni washed the stain away.'

b. Gianni ha raschiato via la vernice.

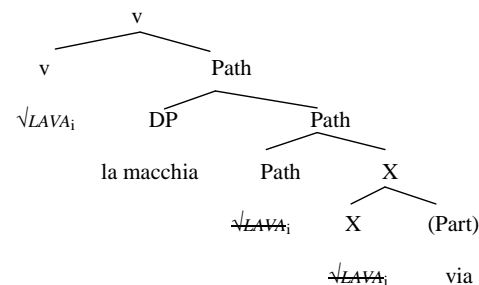
Gianni has scraped away the paint
'Gianni scraped the paint away.'

(14) a. He worked his debts off.

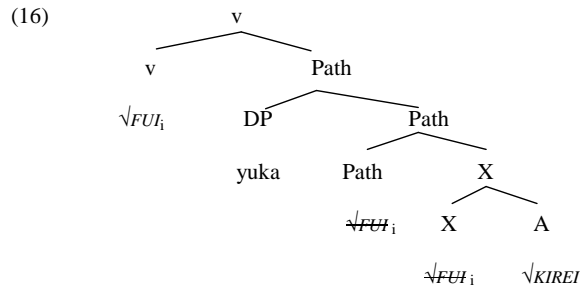
b. He danced the night away/He danced away.

Italian phrasal verbs like (13) can be analyzed as a particular instantiation of the *weak* resultative pattern, i.e., the one where the particle specifies the abstract Result that has been incorporated (i.e., *copied*) into the verb. The incorporation of P(ath) into the verb is intended to capture Masini's (2005) observation that the verbal basis of It. *lavare* 'wash' in (13a) involves a directional meaning. Cf. (15) and (16).

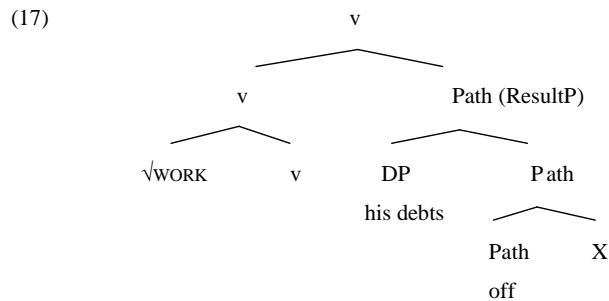
(15)



Cf. the analysis of the Japanese weak resultative in (10b) *Taroga yukao kireini fuita* ‘Taro wiped the floor clean’ (based on Baker’s [2003] analysis in [11]):

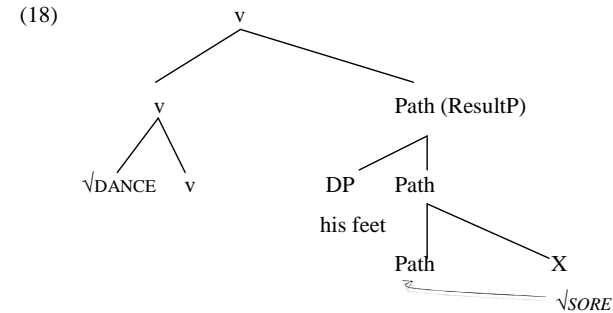


In contrast, the English examples of verb-particle constructions in (14) (e.g., [14a] *He worked his debts off*) exemplify the strong pattern, i.e., they involve the conflation analysis: e.g., in (17) is depicted the syntactic argument structure of (14a). P in (17) = Hoekstra’s (1988) *Small Clause Result* (SCR); cf. Ramchand & Svenonius’s (2002) *Result Phrase* (RP). The analysis of (17) is intended to capture Svenonius’s (1996) proposal, assumed by Hale and Keyser (2002: 229-230), that bare particles like *off* in (17) can be analyzed as prepositions that incorporate a complement (i.e., the Ground): notice that such a proposal is coherent with maintaining the birelational nature of P. But see Den Dikken (1995), for a different proposal.



Nota bene: The external argument is not represented in the syntactic argument structures in (7): see Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Kratzer (1996) or Pytkäinen (2008), among others.
Nota bene: For so-called “Manner conflation/incorporation”, see McIntyre (2004), Embick (2004), Harley (2005), Tomioka (2006), Zubizarreta & Oh (2007), Den Dikken (2010), Acedo-Matellán (2010), Mateu (2002, 2008, 2012), i.a.

Cf. the analysis of the English strong resultative in (9a) *John danced his feet sore*:



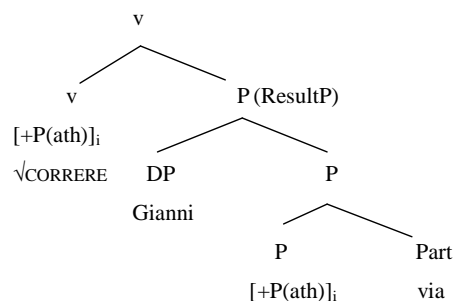
There are some cases in Italian where the particle is obligatory: see (19). However, these examples are not to be regarded as counterexamples to the generalization that Italian lacks the Germanic co-event conflation pattern. Rather, following Den Dikken’s (2010: 47-48) insight that manner verbs can also directly instantiate or lexicalize the event operator, these examples do not involve manner conflation but rather incorporation of P(ath) into the light motion verb: see (20).² In other words, the examples in (19) can be claimed to involve a copular use of manner verbs (see Hoekstra & Mulder [1990]). As expected, *pure* (i.e., non-directional) manner verbs like It. *ballare* ‘dance’ do not enter into the verb-particle construction in Italian: e.g., see the relevant contrast in (21).

- (19) a. Gianni è corso *(via) (Italian)
Gianni is run away
‘Gianni ran away.’
b. Gianni è volato *(via)
Gianni is flown away
‘Gianni flew away.’

² The examples in (19) involve an unaccusative structure like the one represented in (20), where *Gianni* is not an external argument. Although both verbs *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ select *avere* ‘have’ in the unergative structure, they select *essere* ‘be’ in the unaccusative one, e.g., in the one containing the particle *via* ‘away’. Hence the contrasts between (19) and (i). See also Hoekstra (1988, 1992), i.a., for the claim that unaccusative constructions like those ones exemplified in (19) involve a Small Clause Result (SCR), whereas unergative constructions like the ones in (i) do not.

- (i) a. Gianni ha corso *(via). b. Gianni ha volato (*via)
Gianni has ran away Gianni has flown away

(20)



(21) a. Gianni è corso via. (Italian)

Gianni is run away
'Gianni ran away.'

b. *Gianni è danzato via.

Gianni is danced away
'Gianni danced away.'

As pointed out by Mateu & Rigau (2010), Talmy's (1991, 2000) descriptive term *satellite* can be said to be misleading when dealing with the differences between Germanic and Romance P-verb constructions. Since the particle is a prepositional-like satellite in both linguistic families, both patterns of phrasal verbs could in principle be descriptively classified as "satellite-framed". Given this, we prefer to use Talmy's expression *Co-event conflation pattern* rather than the more usual "satellite-framed pattern" when referring to the (strong) Germanic P-verb pattern. Accordingly, we claim that the relevant typological difference is not the one exemplified by light verbs plus a satellite (both linguistic families have examples of this type: e.g., *go away* / It. *andare via*), but the one exemplified by pure (i.e., non-directional) manner verbs plus a satellite, the latter being present in Germanic but not in Romance (e.g., *float/dance/... away* vs. It. **galleggiare/ballare/... via*). Following this trend, consider the Italian examples in (22), which, as argued by Folli and Ramchand (2005), can be accounted for by positing that *correre* 'to run' (unlike *danzare* 'to dance') optionally encodes a Result feature: according to their dual lexical classification of Italian manner of motion verbs in (23), the verbs in (23a) optionally encode a *R(esult)* feature, while the ones in (23b) do not.

(22) a. Gianni è corso in farmacia. (Italian)

Gianni is run in pharmacy
'Gianni ran to the pharmacy.'

b. *Gianni è danzato in farmacia.

Gianni is danced in pharmacy
'Gianni danced to the pharmacy.'

(23) a. [+V, (+R<esult>)] verbs

correre ('run')

rotolare ('roll')

rimbalzare ('bounce')

scivolare ('glide, slide')

gattonare ('crawl')

saltare ('jump')

volare ('fly')

saltellare ('hop')

b. [+v, +V] verbs

galleggiare ('float')

camminare ('walk')

galoppare ('gallop')

danzare ('dance')

nuotare ('swim')

sciare ('ski')

passeggiare ('walk around')

vagabondare ('wander')

ex. Folli and Ramchand (2005)

(24) a. Gianni è corso via. (Italian)

Gianni is run away
'Gianni ran away.'

b. (??)Gianni è nuotato via.

Gianni is swum away
'Gianni swam away.'

c. *Gianni è danzato via.

Gianni is danced away
'Gianni danced away.'

(Antonella Sorace, p.c.).

Folli and Ramchand's (2005) [+R(esult)] feature can be related to our Talmian *P(ath)*.³ As predicted by Talmy's typology, Italian pure manner verbs (e.g., verbs like It. *danzare* 'to dance' or *camminare* 'to walk') are excluded from complex telic path of motion

³ Following the so-called "localist hypothesis", which is also assumed by Talmy (1991, 2000), "Result" can be understood as an abstract variant of "Path" (for an l-syntactic reinterpretation of this hypothesis, see Mateu [2008]).

constructions: cf. It. **danzare via* vs. ^{ok}*dance away*; It. **camminare via* vs. ^{ok}*walk away*, etc. Moreover, the existence of P-verbs like It. *correre via* ‘run away’ must not be taken as a true counterexample to Talmy’s typology (at least as I understand it) since the verb *correre* in the unaccusative structure can also be claimed to involve P(ath) (or R(esult), in Folli and Ramchand’s terms). In other words, Germanic *dance away* falls under the Co-event conflation pattern, while It. *correre via* ‘run away’ can be claimed to fall under the Path/Result incorporation pattern in (20).

The conclusion is then that, unlike English, Italian lacks those verb-particle constructions that involve conflation of a root with a null light verb: i.e., only the ones that involve incorporation of Path/Result are possible in Romance. Accordingly, two subtypes have been distinguished within the incorporation type: the ones that involve incorporation of a “result root” into P en route to the verb (e.g., see [13]) and the ones that involve a light (or copular use of the) verb plus incorporation of P(ath) into v: e.g., see (19).

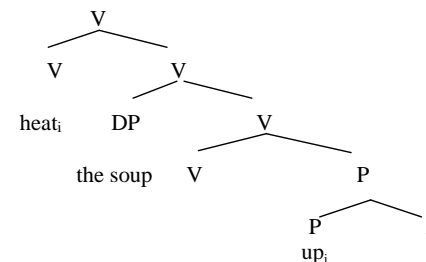
Finally, following Hale & Keyser’s (2000) “P-cognition” analysis of complex verbs like *cool down* or *heat up*, Mateu & Rigau (2009) also pointed out another case of Romance phrasal verbs, the ones that involve “cognate” P(articles): It. *uscire fuori* lit. ‘exit out’, *entrare dentro* ‘enter in’, etc.

According to Hale and Keyser (2000: 45-47), the directional particles *up*, *down* or *out* in complex verbs like *heat up*, *cool down* or *widen out* (e.g., cf. [25]) can be claimed to be analyzed as “cognate” (*sic*) complements of an abstract P incorporated in the verb. According to these authors, it is not the case that the root *heat* in (26) incorporates into the particle *up*; rather their claim is that this prepositional-like element is inserted into the P head after the “simple” verb has been formed.⁴ Furthermore, Hale and Keyser (2000: 45-46) point out that in (26) “P does not head a separate, autonomous predicate. Instead, it is as if A and P jointly head one and the same predicate. And this, like any adjectival predicate, finds its subject external to its own projection.”

- (25) a. We heated the soup up. (cf. *We heated the soup*)
b. The soup heated up. (cf. *The soup heated*)

⁴ The upper verbal head in (26) is only posited in the causative use in (25a).

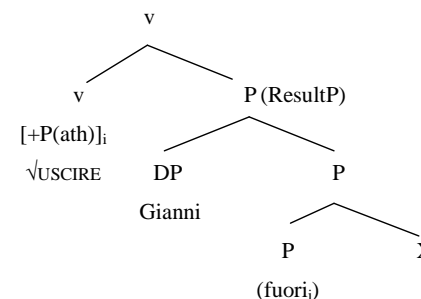
(26)



Hale and Keyser’s (2000) analysis of “P-cognition”, modulated by Haugen’s (2009) Late Insertion account to avoid cyclicity problems, can be claimed to account for the formation of truly cognate Romance phrasal verbs like It. *uscire fuori* lit. ‘exit out’, *entrare dentro* ‘enter in’, etc. Following Haugen (2009), I assume that it is possible to spell-out two different roots for the purpose of expressing the same syntactico-semantic features: i.e., the P(ath) feature in (27).

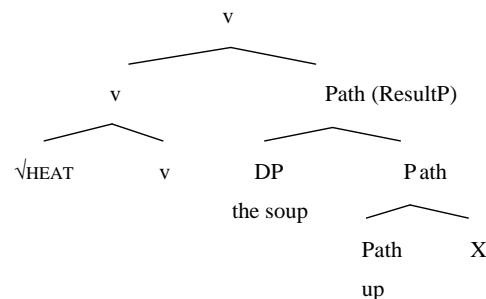
- (27) a. Gianni è uscito (fuori) (Italian)
Gianni is exited (out)

b.

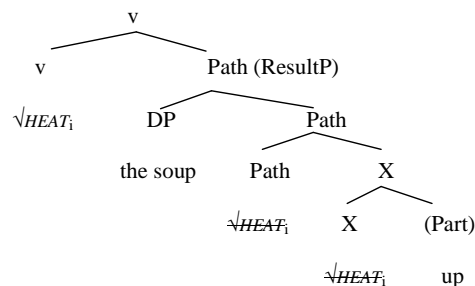


However, H&K’s (2000) P-cognition analysis does not seem to be appropriate for Germanic complex verbs like *heat up*, *cool down* or *widen out*. Rather, given our present assumptions, there are two possible alternative analyses for these verbs: cf. the conflation analysis in (28) (i.e., the strong pattern; cf. [17]) with the incorporation one in (29) (i.e., the weak pattern; cf. [15]).

(28)



(29)



To sum up: the relevant descriptive generalization to be drawn from the Japanese and Italian facts is that these two languages lack the *strong* {resultative/P-verb} pattern that is found in English and, more generally, in Germanic. Such a generalization is indeed important and nicely squares with Talmy’s (1991, 2000) typological observation that both Italian (and, more generally, Romance) and Japanese lack the *co-event conflation pattern* that can be found in languages like English or Chinese: i.e., both Romance and Japanese lack cases involving conflation of a root with a null light verb (cf. McIntyre [2004] and Mateu [2012]).

4. On the absence of the co-event conflation pattern from Romance

The results presented here are compatible with McIntyre’s (2004) descriptive proposal in (30). It should be pointed out that the relevant “parametric” difference does not depend on compounding a root with a light verb but, crucially, with a *null* light verb. If the light verb is phonologically full (e.g., via direct insertion or via incorporation: see below), no problem should in principle arise in the languages that lack “conflation phenomena” with respect to compounding with light verbs. For example, as shown by Mateu (2012), this difference can

be made clear when comparing Chinese resultative V-V compounds, which involve “Manner conflation”, with Japanese ones, which don’t (*contra* Tomioka 2006).

(30) “In the present theory, languages lacking conflation phenomena (e.g., Romance languages) simply lack the type of compounding in (<31>)” .

(31) M(orphological) CONFLATION: Compound a root R with INIT or CHANGE if R names an event which is identified to the initiation or change expressed by those heads.

McIntyre (2004: 551/554; ex. (57))

The relevant “parametric” difference does not depend on the syntactic operation of compounding/merging X with Y (e.g., as argued by Zubizarreta & Oh 2007)⁵ but rather has to do with *how null light verbs are licensed crosslinguistically*. E.g., light verbs in Talmy’s (2000) verb-framed languages are licensed via direct insertion of a non-null light verb or via incorporation, but not via conflation. Assuming the plausible proposal that conflation (in McIntyre’s [2004] or Haugen’s [2009] sense) can be reduced to External Merge, the descriptive generalization in (32) should *not* be understood as involving a syntactic parameter.⁶

(32) The grammar {disallows*, allows} conflation of a root with a null light verb during the syntactic derivation. [*unmarked value]

Rather the relevant crosslinguistic differences have to do with the *morphophonological* licensing of light verbs (cf. Mateu & Rigau 2002; Acedo-Matellán 2010). For example, light verbs in English can be licensed (i) via direct insertion of a non-null light verb (e.g., [33a]), (ii) via incorporation (e.g., [33b]), or (iii) via conflation (e.g., [33c,d]). In contrast, in Romance the light verb in (33c,d) or (34b) cannot remain null,⁷ which has nothing to do with syntax: from a minimalist perspective it would make no sense to parametrize the syntactic

⁵ Cf. Zubizarreta and Oh (2007), for an account based on Snyder’s (2001) work on the *Compounding Parameter*. According to them, Romance cannot use the relevant compound rule (i.e., “Merge two lexical categories of the same categorial type”) to compose manner and directed motion in the way Germanic does.

⁶ Cf. Snyder’s (2001: 328) formulation of the well-known ‘Compounding-Parameter’: “The grammar {disallows*, allows} formation of endocentric root compounds during the syntactic derivation”. [*unmarked value]

⁷ As pointed out by Mateu & Rigau (2002, 2010), the obligatorily incorporating status of (argumental) Path in Romance languages prevents them from having complex path of motion constructions like (33c,d); see also Acedo-Matellán (2010) and Real-Puigdollers (2010), for further elaboration of this Talmian idea.

operation involved in the formation of a compound. Rather the relevant linguistic variation has to do with a morphophonological issue: in Romance and, more generally, in Talmy's (1991, 2000) verb-framed languages (e.g., in Japanese), the light verb cannot remain null as in (33c,d) or (34b).

- (33) a. He went into the room. [_v *went* [_{SC/PP} he into the room]]
 b. He entered the room. [_v *enter*_i [_{SC/PP} he ~~into~~_i the room]]
 c. He danced into the room. [_v [_v √DANCE GO] [_{SC/PP} he into the room]]
 d. He danced the night away. [He ... [_v [_v √DANCE CAUSE] [_{SC/PP} the night away]]
- (34) a. She made a hole in her coat with a cigarette. [She... [_v *made* a hole]]
 b. He burned a hole in her coat with a cigarette. [She... [_v [_v √BURN DO] a hole]]

Crucially, in order for the explanation of the abovementioned crosslinguistic facts to be plausible it is important to assume that, unlike conflation, the incorporation process exemplified in (33b) does not involve the syntactic adjunction of a root to a null light verb: i.e., (33b) does not involve the formation of a syntactic compound *[_v {_vIN_i/√ENTER_i} GO]... t_i]. So in this respect I depart from Hale & Keyser's (1993) Bakerian notion of incorporation.⁸ Similarly, I claim that the incorporation process involved in (35b) does not involve the formation of a syntactic compound [_v √FLAT CAUSE]. In contrast, in conflation structures like (35c) a syntactic compound like [_v √HAMMER CAUSE] is created (cf. McIntyre [2004], Embick [2004], Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], Mateu [2008, 2012], and Acedo-Matellán [2010], i.a.). In (35b) the phonological matrix of the root is just copied into the null causative verb, but, crucially, this phonological process is not associated to the syntactic creation of a compound.⁹

⁸ The Hungarian example in (i) does not involve incorporation (in the sense intended here) of P(ath) but affixation of P(ath) onto the verb formed by conflation of √DANCE with the light verb GO. In Talmy's words, (i) is an example of satellite-framedness. By contrast, (33b) does involve the Path incorporation pattern: i.e., the incorporation of P(ath) into the null verb gives a morphophonological atom: *enter*, whereby it is an example of verb-framedness. See also Acedo-Matellán (2010), for more discussion.

(i) Mari be-táncolt a szobá-ba. (Hungarian)

Mary into-danced the room-into

'Mary danced into the room.' (Gehrke 2008; [ex 17a], p. 202)

⁹ See also van Riemsdijk (2002) for the existence of null light verbs in the syntax. He argues that a complement such as the directional PP in (ic) must be dependent of a phonetically unexpressed verb of motion GO, whereby one can preserve the plausible hypothesis according to which modals are always true auxiliaries (NB: as pointed out by this author, the hypothesis according to which the modals in (i) are analyzed as main (lexical) verbs does not seem to be plausible). Romance, and more generally other verb-framed languages, are predicted to lack these constructions, which seems to be the case.

- (35) a. The metal got flat. [_v *got* [_{SC} the metal flat]]
 b. They flattened the metal with a hammer. [They... [_v *flat-en* [_{SC} the metal ~~flat~~]]]
 c. They hammered the metal flat. [They... [_v [_v √HAMMER CAUSE] [_{SC} the metal flat]]]

4. Concluding remarks

- Despite appearances, Italian phrasal verbs (and Japanese weak resultatives) can be claimed to fall under Talmy's (2000) *Path/Result incorporation pattern*, while strong {resultative/P-verb} constructions in Germanic fall under his *co-event conflation pattern* (i.e., the one that involves conflation of a root with a null light verb; cf. so-called *Manner conflation*).

- The relevant "parametric" difference involved in presence or absence of the co-event conflation pattern does not depend on the syntactic operation of compounding/merging X with Y but rather has to do with *how null light verbs are licensed crosslinguistically*. The phonological matrix of verbs in Talmy's (2000) verb-framed languages can be licensed via direct insertion of a non-null light verb (e.g., It. *andare via* 'go away') or via incorporation (e.g., It. *correre via* 'run away'; *lavare via* 'wash away'), but not via conflation (e.g., It. **ballare via* 'dance away').

- Unfortunately, cases of misinterpretation of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology (as I understand it) are quite frequent, this being partly due to its lack of formalization (but see Acedo-Matellán [2010], for a very detailed formal account). Despite many qualifications (see Son [2007], Folli [2008], Beavers et al. [2010], i.a.), the following descriptive generalization seems to be correct: [*pure* (i.e., non-directional) manner verb + argumental Small Clause Result] constructions are absent from Romance languages and, more generally, from Talmy's (1991, 2000) verb-framed languages.

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- (i) a. Stoute kinderen mogen geen snoepje. (Dutch)
 naughty children may no candy
 'Naughty children can't have candies'.
 b. Jan wil dood.
 John wants dead
 'John wants to die'.
 c. Die doos kan naar de zolder.
 that box can to the attic
 'That box can be put in the attic'.

van Riemsdijk (2002: 144; ex. (1))

E.g., Italian data with complex PPs like those in (36) have been argued to be counterexamples to the Talmian generalization according to which Romance languages cannot form goal of motion structures without relying on a verb-framed strategy (e.g., see Folli 2008).¹⁰ However, notice that examples like (36) are *not* true counterexamples since they involve adjunct PPs, i.e., they do not involve argumental SCRs (see also Gehrke [2008] and Real-Puigdollers [2010], for relevant discussion).

- (36) a. La barca ha galleggiato dentro alla grotta. (Italian)
the boat has floated inside to.the cave
'The boat floated into the cave.'
- b. Gianni ha camminato fino alla spiaggia.
Gianni has walked until to.the beach
'Gianni walked up to the beach.'
- (37) Gehrke (2008: 213) on (36a): "we are not dealing with an unaccusative structure here but with an unergative one. The fact that the structure is not unaccusative means that the DP *la barca* is a proper external argument and has not raised from the subject-position of the PP. Therefore, I assume that the PP is an adjunct modifying the event rather than a secondary predicate, and no accomplishment structure is created."
- (38) a. Gianni camminò fino a casa in poco più di dieci minuti.
Gianni walked until to home in little more than ten minutes
- b. La barca galleggiò dentro alla grotta in un attimo.
the boat floated inside to.the cave in a moment Folli (2008: ex. (23); p. 21)

NB: Folli (2008: 213; fn. 15) "a reviewer points to the existence of speaker variation with respect to this data". In fact, the data in (38a) and (38b) are ungrammatical in Catalan and Spanish. E.g., see Aske (1989): Sp. *Juan caminó hasta la cima (*en dos horas)* 'lit. John walked until.to the summit in two hours'.

- Beavers *et al.* (2010: 20): "since nearly all languages have path verbs, then nearly all languages have at least one verb-framed encoding option".

- (39) a. The bottle entered the cave. b. pingzi jin-le dongxue. (Chinese)
bottle entered-perf. cave

¹⁰ See Folli (2008: 197): "the occurrence of complex PPs with a certain class of motion verbs in Italian confirms that the contention according to which Italian, and in general Romance languages, cannot form goal of motion structures without relying on verb-framed strategies is far too strong (Mateu 2002)".

In contrast, it has proven quite difficult to find clear examples of the co-event conflation pattern in Talmy's (2000) verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance, Japanese, Greek, etc). E.g., cf. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (2011) example in (40a), which, despite appearances, can be claimed to involve incorporation of Path/Result into the verb rather than manner conflation (cf. also It. *lavare via* 'wash away'). Otherwise, (i) there is no way to explain why *both* examples in (40) are grammatical in English but not in Greek, (ii) there is no way to explain why the very same contrast in (40) holds in Spanish (cf. [41]), and (iii) there is no way to explain the contrast between English and Spanish in (42), i.e., why the PP is necessary in (42a) but not in (42b).

- (40) a. O Jannis skoup-is-e ta pesmena fila apo to patoma (Greek)
the Jannis swept the fallen leaves from the floor
- b. ?/*O Jannis skoup-is-e ta pesmena fila ston dromo
the Jannis swept the fallen leaves up to the street
Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2011)
- (41) a. Jannis barrió las hojas del suelo. (Spanish)
b. *Jannis barrió las hojas a la calle.
- (42) a. Jannis swept the leaves ??(off the sidewalk). Cf. *Jannis swept the sidewalk*.
b. Jannis barrió las hojas (de la acera). Cf. *Jannis barrió la acera*.

Furthermore, if the present analysis of the Germanic vs. Romance differences is on the right track, the relevant contrasts in (43) through (46), which once again are predicted by Talmy's typology, can also be explained on the basis that the Romance verbal bases in these examples do involve a Path/Result component, while the English corresponding ones do not: indeed, this difference would account for why the directional phrase cannot be omitted in the English examples.

- (43) a. John washed the stain ??(away).
b. Gianni ha lavato (via) la macchia. (Italian)
Gianni has washed away the stain
'Gianni washed the stain away.'

- (44) a. John wiped the fingerprints *(from the table/away...).
- b. Juan fregó las huellas (de la mesa). (Spanish)
Juan wiped the fingerprints (of the table)
'Juan wiped the fingerprints from the table.'
- (45) a. John wiped the dust *(from the table).
- b. Jean a essuyé la poussière (de la table). (French)
Jean has wiped the dust (of the table)
'Jean wiped the dust from the table.'
- (46) a. John wiped the stains *(from the door).
- b. En Joan fregà les taques (de la porta). (Catalan)
the Joan wiped the stains (of the door)
'Joan wiped the stains from the door.'

The ungrammaticality of the English examples in (43a) to (46a) would then run parallel to that of the examples in (47). As shown by Hoekstra (1988), the resultative PP/AP is compulsory in (47) since it is the Small Clause Result predicate (and not the verb) that licenses the direct object as its argument. *Mutatis mutandis*, one can argue that the English PP's in (43a) to (46a) have the same function the resultative PP/AP has in (47): the presence of PP/PartP is compulsory in (43a) through (46a) in order to license the direct object, which expresses the stuff that is removed.¹¹

- (47) a. *John danced the night *(away).*
- b. *He talked us *(into a stupor).*
- c. *The dog barked the chickens *(awake).*

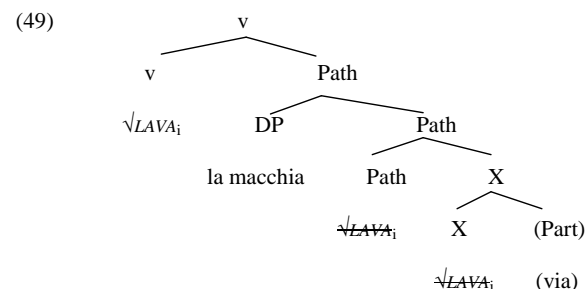
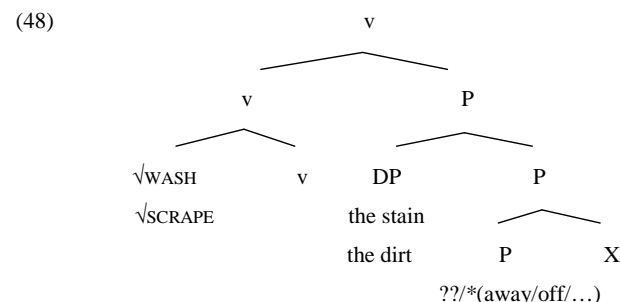
¹¹ See also Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998: 118-122), for an alternative semantic explanation of the ill-formedness of examples like the one in (ia):

- (i) a. *John swept the crumbs *(off the table).* (Cf. *John wiped the fingerprints *(away/from the table)*)
b. *John swept the floor.* (Cf. *John wiped the table*)

Notice that *John swept the crumbs* is grammatical in Romance: e.g., Sp. *John barrió las migas*, 'John swept the crumbs'. Since *sweep* in (ia) lacks a directional component, the Path PP is obligatory in English. In contrast, Sp. *barrer* 'to sweep' is a directional manner verb in the removal use of *barrer las migas*, whereby the Path PP is not necessary in Spanish. As predicted by Talmy's typology, Sp. *barrer*, but not Engl. *sweep*, is allowed to acquire a Path/Result component in the directional context of *barrer las migas* (cf. Sp. *quitar las migas* 'get-out the crumbs') but not in the activity context of *barrer el suelo* 'sweep the floor' (see ib).

In contrast, the Romance verb in (43b) through (46b) can be argued to incorporate the abstract predicative head of the SC-like resultative structure which encodes Path/Result. Given this, the Romance counterpart of *wipe* in (43b) through (46b) means 'remove/get.out': cf. *John* [*V+P_i* [*SCPP* {*the stain/the fingerprints/the dust*} *P_i*]]. No further PP is then necessary in (43b) through (46b) to license the inner SC-like predicate, since such a licensing is carried out via the incorporation of the Path head of the SC-like PP into the verb.

The Germanic P-verb pattern in (48) should then be distinguished from the Romance one in (15), repeated in (49), which does not involve conflation but incorporation of the "result root" √LAVA.



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