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**SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC ISSUES ON ASPECTUAL
POST-VERBAL PARTICLES**

Porto Alegre

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Dissertação apresentada como requisito parcial
para a obtenção do grau de Mestre pelo
Programa de Pós-Graduação da Faculdade de
Letras da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do
Rio Grande do Sul.

Orientadora: Dr. Ana Maria Tramunt Ibaños

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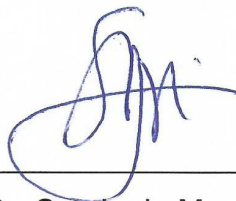
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RESUMO

Este trabalho pretende esclarecer algumas questões semânticas e sintáticas sobre partículas pós-verbais aspectuais. Além de apresentar significados direcionais ou idiomáticos, as partículas associadas a verbos nas estruturas chamadas *particle verbs*, *phrasal verbs* ou *verb-particle constructions* também podem ter sentidos aspectuais; são eles continuidade, uma subdivisão do imperfectivo proposta por Brinton (2009), e telicidade, uma noção dos *accomplishments*, uma das categorias de Vendler (1957). O aspecto continuativo demonstra a situação continuando no tempo em vez de terminar; as partículas que podem adicionar continuidade às situações são *on*, *along* e *away*. Telicidade é uma característica das situações que possuem um ponto final intrínseco; as partículas que podem dar um telos às situações são *up*, *down*, *out*, *off*, *through*, *over* e *away*. Estas noções podem vir acompanhadas de algum outro significado relacionado na combinação entre verbo e partícula. No grupo télico, *up* é a partícula que possui o significado mais puro de telicidade; sua correspondente no grupo continuativo é *on*. Além disso, se aplicarmos a noção de produtividade de Jackendoff (2002), concluiremos que *up*, e também as continuativas *on* e *away*, são produtivas, pois as combinações entre elas e os verbos podem ser construídas no momento da fala, sem necessidade de serem listadas no léxico. O restante das partículas nos dois grupos são, por sua vez, semiprodutivas; isso significa que, embora haja certa regularidade nas combinações com os verbos, estas não podem ser construídas no momento da fala e precisam ser listadas individualmente no léxico. Estas estruturas ainda representam um desafio para a sintaxe; não apenas os *particle verbs* aspectuais, mas todos eles, possuem características, como o *particle shift*, que são difíceis de explicar na teoria sintática. As duas tentativas mais adotadas são as chamadas *complex head* e *small clause analyses*, porém, nenhuma das duas é suficiente para explicar todas as peculiaridades do comportamento sintático das *verb-particle constructions*. Jackendoff (2002) propõe que, se a ramificação binária fosse descartada, seria possível propor uma teoria em que as relações da partícula com o verbo e com o complemento DP não tivessem precedência uma sobre a outra, o que parece ser a principal razão por trás da dificuldade em descrever a estrutura sintática dos *particle verbs*. Ademais, algumas particularidades na influência sintática de algumas partículas aspectuais nos verbos levantam ainda mais perguntas a respeito da sintaxe de *verb-particle constructions*.

Palavras-chave: *particle verbs*. aspecto. continuidade. telicidade. sintaxe gerativa.

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to shed some light on a few semantic and syntactic issues concerning aspectual post-verbal particles. Besides having directional meanings or forming idiomatic combinations, the particles associated with verbs in the structures known as particle verbs, phrasal verbs, or verb-particle constructions, can also convey aspectual meanings, namely, continuative aspect, a new subcategory of imperfective aspect proposed by Brinton (2009), and telicity, a notion pertaining to accomplishments, one of the kinds of situations proposed by Vendler (1957). Continuative aspect portrays a situation as continuing in time instead of ending; the post-verbal particles which can add continuativity to the situation they are inserted in are *on*, *along*, and *away*. Telicity is a feature that situations have if they have a definite, intrinsic endpoint; the particles which can add a telos to situations are *up*, *down*, *out*, *off*, *through*, *over*, and *away*. These aspectual notions might be accompanied by some other related meaning, which arises upon the combination of verb and particle. On the telic group, *up* is the particle which has the purest telic meaning; its correspondent in the continuative group is *on*. In addition, if we apply the notion of productivity in the sense of Jackendoff (2002) to them, we can conclude that telic *up* and continuative *on* and *away* are productive, in that their combination with verbs can be built online, and the outputs need not be listed in the lexicon. The remaining particles in both groups are, in turn, semiproductive; this means that, even though there is some regularity in their combination with verbs, those cannot be built online and need to be individually listed in the lexicon. These structures also pose a challenge to syntax; not only aspectual, but all particle verbs have syntactic characteristics, such as particle shift, which are difficult to explain in syntactic theory. The two most commonly adopted attempts are the complex head and the small clause analyses, but neither of them is sufficient to explain all the peculiarities in the syntactic behavior of verb-particle constructions. Jackendoff (2002) proposes that, if binary branching were dropped, it would be possible to propose a theory in which the relations that the particle has with the verb and with the DP complement did not have precedence over one another, which seems to be the main reason behind the difficulty in describing the syntactic structure of particle verbs. Furthermore, a few particularities in the syntactic influence of some aspectual particles on the verbs raise even more questions on the syntax of verb-particle constructions.

Keywords: particle verbs. aspect. aktionsart. continuative aspect. telicity. generative syntax.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Time is one of the most important concepts in human life. It is fair to say that almost, if not everything, in our lives depends on it. Time shapes our existence in many ways. As such, it is, as expected, a matter of great interest in science, from all possible perspectives. In linguistic theory, we also attempt to approach the notion of time; more specifically, the way we express ourselves in and about time.

The area of linguistics which is concerned with the notions of time is usually referred to as TMA – time, mood, and aspect. That part of semantics is concerned with describing how we represent and communicate the meanings connected with time in natural language. In this thesis, we will focus on the last element of that acronym. Aspect is the area of linguistic studies dedicated to the description of how time notions that go beyond simply past, present, and future, are represented in language. It can be further subdivided into grammatical aspect (or simply aspect), which is a sort of temporal filter through which situations are shown by the speaker at the moment of speech; and lexical aspect (or aktionsart), which concerns the temporal qualities inherent to situations.

Grammatical aspect can be expressed by means of inflection. We use the available tenses in our language to convey the proper temporal point of view upon the situation we are talking about. Through such differentiation as whether we chose simple or continuous tenses, we are able to represent situations in different ways; for instance, we can use simple tenses to convey situations as perfective, that is, as concluded, or as indivisible wholes; simple tenses are also used to express habitual aspect, that is, to talk about situations which were repeated from time to time in the past or are repeated as a habit in the present. On the other hand, a choice for a continuous tense will convey imperfective aspect, probably placing us inside some stage of a situation, which may or may not be finished.

Inflection is not, however, the only resource available for conveying aspectual meanings. For many kinds of aspect, other verbs, functioning as aspectualizers (aspectual auxiliaries), are responsible for the aspectual meaning of the situation, with little or no influence coming from inflection. Other elements can also change or emphasize aspectual meanings. All of those resources are used to place situations with relation to time as we talk to other people about them.

As for lexical aspect, or aktionsart, it refers to the intrinsic temporal qualities of situations, as opposed to a point of view upon them. For instance, characteristics of a situation

having to do with their durativity, or having to do with whether they have a definite endpoint, or occur homogeneously in time. As the term lexical aspect suggests, these are intrinsic, lexical features of situations. That means that they cannot be altered by inflection, for instance, as aspect can. A situation will always have the same set of aktionsart features.

It should not follow from that definition, however, that aktionsart belongs exclusively to verbs, as it has been believed. In that sense, it is similar to aspect, because it is also compositional, that is, the description of a situation can be made up from the meanings of not only the verb, but also the other elements, such as NPs or APs, which are added to it in order to characterize the situation which is being currently mentioned. Those assumptions mean that, even though the intrinsic aktionsart features of situations do not change, a same situation can be described, sometimes, by only a verb, or by a whole construction.

In the conception of aspect and aktionsart that we are going to adopt and explain in detail in chapter 2, our discussions will be based mainly in the comparison of the aspectual models offered by five authors: Comrie (1976); Dahl (1985), Smith (1997), Brinton (2009) and, for aktionsart, specifically, Vendler (1957). These authors were chosen because their analyses, even though they were made at different points in time, are all extremely current. Comrie (1976) and Dahl (1985) are considered classic accounts in the aspect literature, as is Vendler (1957) for aktionsart. Smith (1997) is a newer work, but which has gained notoriety for its quality and accuracy, becoming itself a new classic. Finally, we lean greatly on Brinton (2009), mainly because of the analysis presented of these concepts applied specifically to the structures we aim to discuss: aspectual post-verbal particles, in a study which is solidly based on extensive literature.

Stemming from insights proposed by these authors, as well as other important observations made by other authors, to appear alongside the main five, we will be able to adopt the models for aspect and aktionsart that we judge most appropriate. With that part of our work accomplished, we will choose two notions, among these extensive models, to focus our attention on for the remainder of the paper: namely, continuative aspect, and telicity, one of the aktionsart features. Those two meanings will receive special attention, because they are the aspectual meanings that can be conveyed by aspectual post-verbal particles.

Phrasal verbs, particle verbs, and verb-particle constructions are some of the names used in the literature to refer to a very common construction in Germanic languages, English included, in which a verb combines with a particle. In general, these combinations are said to basically fit into two kinds of semantic configurations: they are either literal (or compositional, or directional), or idiomatic (or opaque). That classification has to do with

how particles sometimes keep their original, directional meanings, while combining with a verb which also maintains its meaning, while, in other combinations, neither participant in the structure contribute with their original meanings, and the result is a completely new meaning.

However, there is a third possible kind of semantic combination of verb and particle, which is the one we have just mentioned: particles can combine with verbs to add aspectual notions to them; those meanings are, as mentioned above, telicity and continuativity. The set of telic particles is composed by *up*, *down*, *off*, *out*, *through*, *over*, and *away*, while the group of continuative particles is quite smaller, with only *on*, *along*, and *away*. The whole chapter 3 is dedicated to analyzing these two groups of aspectual particles, concerning their aspectual meanings as well as other, more specific meanings, which can arise in addition, while also attempting to determine these particles' status concerning productivity in the sense of Jackendoff (2002).

In chapter 4, the last one of this thesis, we approach the whole matter from a different angle; in that part of our study, we discuss syntactic issues concerning particle verbs in general. These structures present a challenge to syntactic theories, because of many reasons. First of all, an account of the syntax of particle verbs must be able to account for particle shift, that is, the ability of the particle to appear adjacent to the verb or after its DP complement. Also, the theories seem to have a hard time trying to explain what the particle forms a constituent with; in some examples, it seems intuitively obvious that the particle should form a constituent with the verb, while, in others, it seems quite clear that it cannot do so, forming instead a constituent with the DP. In our discussion, we do not attempt to offer answers to those questions. All we do is discuss theories and acknowledge the fact that none of them has yet been able to gain the status of the definitive explanation for the syntax of particle verbs.

Our discussion starts, however, with the two best known theories which attempt to describe the syntactic structure behind verb-particle construction: complex head analysis and small clause analysis. The main difference between them is that, while the first considers that verb and particle should be inserted under the same lexical head node in D-structure, the latter refutes that idea, considering that the particle is more suitable to form a constituent with the DP, more specifically, participating in a small clause structure with it, which complements the verb. The authors we lean on for our brief descriptions of these theories are, respectively, Johnson (1991), and den Dikken (1995).

Next, we present Jackendoff's (2002) considerations about how the verb-particle construction might be explained syntactically. The author's considerations about productivity, which appear in chapter 3, will be useful then. Even though the author does not offer a model,

such as those offered by Johnson or den Dikken, he does provide us with important insights. The author also challenges a few concepts which have been taken for granted in generative syntactic theory in general, to come up with ideas that might, maybe one day, come to answer the questions we have about the syntax of particle verbs.

In the last part of that chapter, we briefly discuss the effect that the aspectual post-verbal particles, which are our focus on chapter 3, may have on the syntax of the verbs they are combined with. Not all aspectual particles have a syntactic effect on the simple verb they are attached to, but the ones that do bring about peculiar results, posing us with even more questions about the syntax of particle verbs.

2 TIME IN LANGUAGE: ASPECTUAL STUDIES IN LINGUISTIC THEORY

Even before linguistics was a fruitful field of study, there was already great discussion about how to describe the temporal qualities of events linguistically being started by philosophers, and many of their conclusions are still adopted in the studies of aspect and aktionsart today. There is still, however, great controversy in aspectual studies. As will become evident throughout this chapter, there are many paths to choose when entering this field of study, and it is important to have a very clear theoretical position defined before any analysis of actual language data can be made. In order to be able to tackle the discussions ahead of us throughout this thesis, it becomes necessary to outline in detail the theoretical framework to be adopted from here on.

The term *aspect* has been used in the literature as a broad term that may actually refer to either one of two possible kinds of aspect: grammatical aspect, or simply aspect, and lexical aspect, also known as aktionsart. Even the theories that do appoint a differentiation between the two sometimes present an analysis that ends up mixing both concepts. It is a tricky yet, in my point of view, essential distinction to be made upon starting studies in this area, and therefore the first one I will address. Throughout the paper, the terms aspect and aktionsart will be used to refer, respectively, to grammatical and lexical aspect, while aspectual will be used to refer to both.

Aspect is the one we will most commonly find in the traditional grammars that do mention aspect. It is expressed by means of inflection and expressions that work as aspectual auxiliaries, also known in the literature as aspectualizers. Aspect expresses the temporal point of view of the speaker, and for that reason some authors such as Smith (1997) call grammatical aspect viewpoint. The same situation, thus, could be seen under different temporal points of view – for example, as being finished or unfinished.

As for aktionsart (from German “type of action”), unlike aspect, it has to do with the intrinsic temporal characteristics of situations, and, therefore, is expressed by the lexical meaning of the words used to describe a given situation, not varying under the influence of inflection. Such temporal qualities have to do, for example, with how long a given situation usually lasts or whether it has a definite endpoint or not. Smith (1997) calls it situation aspect. Hopefully, as aspect and aktionsart are discussed throughout this chapter, the difference between them will become clearer. Before that can be done, however, a few points must be discussed.

2.1 SITUATIONS AND COMPOSITIONALITY

An important remark to make at this point is that, in this paper, the term situation is adopted, reflecting a theoretical choice to see aspect and aktionsart as phenomena belonging to situations, instead of verbs. Situation was also the term used by Comrie (1976), and defended by both Smith (1997) and Brinton (2009), mainly based on the idea that aspectual meaning is compositional. Verbs are not the only relevant piece of information in the aspect or aktionsart of a situation, seeing as other elements can contribute to those meanings just as much. Also, verbs can have more than just one meaning, and these different meanings can and often do have different aktionsart values.

Another notion that has to be discussed here is the one of compositionality. Such a notion has been present in aspectual studies since the 1920's, according to Verkuyl (1989, p. 40), who points out that at that time there already was an idea that an NP might influence in the temporal meaning of a verb. When Vendler (1957) first presented his aktionsart typology, it was intended to be ontological, according to Verkuyl (1989, p. 39), "because it concerns situational categories that are part of the world as we perceive and cognize it." However, it was interpreted and adapted by many other authors as a classification of verbs. In this paper, Vendler's typology, as we discuss below, is to be adopted, but in the ontological sense that Verkuyl points out.

Compositionality, then, becomes a necessary concept to be adopted by the aspectologist, to use Dahl's (1985) term, because verbs and verb inflection alone are not sufficient in all languages to convey all aspectual meanings that languages need to and do convey. English, as Comrie (1976, p. 7) states, is a language whose only grammaticalized opposition in grammatical aspect is that between progressive and nonprogressive, and that does not even mean that these meanings are clear-cut and opposed to each other.

In order to describe situations in the world, language users need not only verbs but also NPs and APs, all contributing meaning to the formation of the aspectual notions connected to that situation. In 1 we have clear examples of that.

1

- a) *She ran yesterday.*
- b) *She ran when she was young.*
- c) *I ran this morning.*

d) *I ran a mile* this morning.

In 1-a and 1-b, we have two different kinds of aspect, even though the verb is the same and has the same inflection in both sentences. In 1-a, we have perfective aspect, because we are talking about a complete event, and the NP [*yesterday*] functions here as an adverbial to tell us when the action happened. As for 1-b, the aspect is habitual, because the embedded sentence [*when she was young*] lets us know that this was a habit; we are not talking about a single instantiation of that complete event, but referring to many regular instantiations of it.

Similarly, examples 1-c and 1-d do not refer to the exact same situation, and, consequently, they do not have the same temporal characteristics; in this case, what varies is the aktionsart meaning. While in 1-c we have the action of running, as we did in 1-a and 1b, in 1-d the NP [*a mile*] changes the VP [*run*] into a quite different situation; unless someone has ran the exact distance of one mile, it will not have been an instantiation of the action of running a mile.

These are example of how aspect and aktionsart are compositional, and we have countless other examples of that as we proceed. In fact, this whole thesis hinges on the notion of compositionality, in that it is about aspectual particles being added to verbs to change their aspect or aktionsart. Therefore, the adoption of such a concept of compositionality in this paper is implied, and so is the idea that we are talking about situations instead of verbs.

2.2 ASPECT

We can now move on to the discussion of several points of view concerning aspect and aktionsart, in order to choose the ones to be adopted further on, starting with grammatical aspect. It could be said that the basic aspectual division when we talk about grammatical aspect is the one which opposes perfective and imperfective meanings, so it is a good place to start the discussion.

Perfective aspect's classic definition is the one which Dahl (1985, p. 74) refers to as the "totality view of perfectivity", giving Comrie's (1976) definition as an example:

perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation, while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. (COMRIE, 1976, p. 16)

That definition touches the one for imperfectivity, which, still in Comrie's words, can be characterized in terms of an "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within" (COMRIE, 1976, p. 24). Dahl (1985) criticizes the totality view, arguing that defining the imperfective as "paying attention to the internal structure of the situation" is an ambiguous definition, which can lead to many different interpretations, and which is not even necessarily true, seeing as there are, according to the author, uses of the imperfective which do not seem to focus on any internal stages of the situation. Dahl's (1985) definition of perfective aspect, however, is not that different from Comrie's :

A PFV verb will typically denote a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded. (DAHL, 1985, p. 78)

The similarities lie in the mentioning of a single event, seen as a whole. However, there are other elements in Dahl's definition which our theoretical framework rejects. I insist that, even though aspect and aktionsart work together, overlapping and intertwining, their notions must not be confused with one another, and that happens in Dahl's definition when the author mentions that the perfective aspect denotes a situation with "a well-defined result or end-state". As we discuss below, the presence of a telos (from Greek, meaning "end", "purpose" or "goal") is clearly an aktionsart notion instead of an aspectual one. Perfective aspect, especially showing a situation in the past tense, only denotes the attainment of an endpoint, and only if it is present in the situation in the first place.

As for the statement that perfective presents a situation in the past, Dahl (1985, p. 79) explains that this would be a feature of the prototypical uses of perfective, arguing that referring to the past "characterizes prototypical uses of PFV – single, completed events will in the 'typical cases' be located in the past." However, I tend to side with Comrie's assertion that the right word to be used here would be complete, instead of completed, arguing that the use of the latter carries the idea of emphasis on the end of the situation, when, according to the author, there's no such emphasis; he argues that "the use of the perfective puts no more emphasis, necessarily, on the end of a situation than on any other part of the situation, rather all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole" (COMRIE, 1976, p. 18)

Smith (1997, p. 66), who calls grammatical aspect viewpoint, states that “sentences with a perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole”, which is in a way the same definition as Comrie’s. Brinton (2009) also defines the perfective in a similar way, namely, as seeing a situation as complete or as an indivisible whole. Maybe a good way to defend such a definition in spite of Dahl’s criticism of it is that imperfective does not have to be seen as a complete opposite of the perfective, and, thus, does not have to be defined as focusing on an internal stage of the situation. The definitions above seem to be a good way of explaining perfective meaning, as we can see through the examples in 2.

2

- a) Patrick *built* a sandcastle.
- b) Zoey *ordered* a pizza.
- c) The ball *smashed* the window.

Perfective aspect, thus, does not focus on any internal stages of a situation, including its beginning or ending. It is mostly conveyed by simple forms and it is, even though not necessarily, but usually, linked to past tense due to the fact that simple forms in the present tense very commonly mean habitual aspect.

Smith (1997) explains that perfective aspect provides a “closed” reading in that it leaves no room for an interpretation in which the end of the situation was not reached. The author means it in pragmatic terms, mentioning Grice’s (1975) implicatures. Basically, they differ from implications in that they can be cancelled. In sentences with perfective aspect, no implicatures about whether the situation began or ended are allowed. The same would not apply to imperfective aspect in Smith’s view; the author states that sentences with imperfective aspect have an “open” interpretation, exactly because they allow implicatures about whether a situation continued or ended. See the examples in 3:

3

- a) Karen *was singing*.
- b) Karen *was singing* when the phone rang.
- c) Karen *was singing* and she continued to do so for the rest of the afternoon.

If we look at a sentence like 3-a, it is possible to interpret that the situation either ended or did not, at whatever point in time which is not contained in the scope through which we see the situation; that interpretation would be an implicature, and thus it could be cancelled if more information were to be provided, favoring either the end, as in 3-b, or continuation of the situation, as in 3-c.

So Dahl (1985) is right when he states that defining the imperfective as focusing on internal stages of the situation might be misleading, even though we can see, after analyzing examples, what the authors who gave such a definition meant. Maybe a way to disambiguate would be to remove the word “focus”; a sentence with imperfective aspect could be seen, in general, as locating the speaker and the interlocutor inside a certain stage of the situation, either because they do not know about the other stages, or because that one part of the situation is the important one and therefore the one that is being talked about, while the conclusion or not of the action is irrelevant.

Aside from that, there is more than just one kind of aspectual meaning that could be seen as compatible with the definition of imperfective, which gives rise to many subdivisions by many authors; our discussion of imperfective aspect, then, becomes even more complicated when we start discussing these subdivisions, the main ones being probably progressive and habitual.

Comrie (1976), for example, subdivides imperfective into habitual and continuous, and the latter is once again subdivided into progressive and nonprogressive. That last distinction is made much on Comrie’s statement that English differentiates progressive and nonprogressive forms, like some languages do not; that is, when a nonprogressive form is used in English, it cannot be interpreted as progressive, that is, as an action taking place, while in other languages that might be possible, as in Spanish and Portuguese (cf. Comrie 1976).

The author states, then, that the definition of progressiveness could be “the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning” (COMRIE, 1976, p. 35), because stative verbs usually cannot be used in the progressive form. Examples would be *love*, *see* and *hear*. We do know, however, that nowadays some of these verbs have developed progressive uses, in examples such as *I’m loving that band’s new record* or *I’m seeing a whole different side of you*. Even though it is arguable whether such uses are stative, there are other examples of states being portrayed by progressive aspect, which result in a reading of a temporary situation, as in *he was living with his mother*. This seems to suggest that the compatibility of states with the progressive is not a matter of a different category of aspect,

but a matter of the possible meanings that can be generated from the interaction of aspect and aktionsart.

Examples with stative situations, though, are not the only ones which contradict Comrie's claim. It is possible to think of examples where the nonprogressive form could picture a situation as in progress. Smith (1997) states that sometimes perfective and imperfective meaning can be found in the same sentence, and the difference between them is that something happens to interrupt something else that was already happening, as in the example in 4-a.

4

- a) Michael *was sleeping* when the lightning stroke.
- b) Michael *slept* when the lightning stroke.

In Smith's explanation, then, the action depicted by the progressive form, the one which is interrupted, is seen from an imperfective point of view, while the action that interrupts it is seen as punctual, shown by perfective aspect. If we think of an example like the one in 4-b, using the same logic, it is possible to interpret the action of sleeping, even if seen by a nonprogressive form, as being in imperfective aspect, not perfective. The action does not even have to be interrupted; we could have a version of 4-b saying *Michael slept when the lightning stroke, and he didn't wake up*, and we could still see the action of sleeping as in progress.

It is not very clear, however, in Comrie's account, what would constitute a nonprogressive kind of aspect. Assuming that progressive aspect is the one conveyed by progressive forms, we could conclude that a nonprogressive aspect would be conveyed by simple forms. However, those are already the markers of either perfective or habitual aspect, so what Comrie does not specify is what kind of aspectual meaning would be associated to a nonprogressive category of aspect, or which would be its markers.

The author only mentions a few differences in meaning between progressive and nonprogressive forms, such as the aforementioned notion of a temporary situation associated with the progressive, while a nonprogressive form would convey a more permanent state, as in *I'm living in Canada* as opposed to *I live in Canada*. Besides Comrie's, there is no mention of a nonprogressive type of aspect on either Dahl's, Brinton's or Smith's accounts, and it is not considered as a separate category in this paper either.

We keep the notion of progressiveness, however, and, following Brinton (2009) and Smith (1997), include it into our account as a kind of imperfective aspect, since it portrays a situation not in its entirety, but placing the speaker in some point during its instantiation, frequently in comparison with a situation seen under perfective aspect, in which the imperfective situation is either in progress while the perfective one happens or is interrupted by it. We can see that by taking a look at the examples:

5

- a) Michael *was sleeping* when I started working.
- b) I *was looking* for Andy when she appeared out of nowhere.

That association of imperfective and perfective aspect is quite frequent, in a sort of comparison in which the imperfective can be seen as a reference point, as lasting longer in time than the other action, or by serving as a background to it. That is probably why whether such a situation was finished or unfinished and when is not relevant and in most cases not mentioned.

As for habitual aspect, Comrie defines it as describing “a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time” (COMRIE, 1976, p. 28). This kind of aspect is often theme of discussion when compared to iterative meaning. The difference (and similarities) could be seen in the examples in 6:

6

- a) John *played guitar* in the 90’s.
- b) John *knocked* on the door many times.

The fact that there is repetition of an action in both sentences is what actually gives room to doubt. However, it is easy to see that, on the first example, in 6-a, we see different instantiations throughout a period of time of the same action while, on the second, we have a single instantiation of the repetition of an action which has the property of being instantaneous. Habituality can be seen as a type of aspect, while iterativity is a combination of aspect and aktionsart. Therefore, when we refer to habitual aspect in our analysis, we will be referring to situations depicted as in the first example, that is, as different instantiations of an action throughout a period of time.

We could say that habitual aspect focuses more on the period of time throughout which these repeated actions occur than on the actions themselves, and whether this period of time is finished or not is uncertain or not specified. That is probably why habitual is so often included as a type of imperfective aspect, as in Comrie's account.

Brinton (2009) argues that habitual aspect does not belong in a classification as a subdivision of imperfective aspect, though. The author's arguments are basically two: first, habitual aspect does not show situations as unfinished or incomplete; rather, even though the focus is on the repetition of those actions through an uncertain and maybe even unfinished period of time, the actions themselves are not seen as incomplete. The second reason that the author presents is about the fact that, in addition to the aspectualizers (*to be used to* and (*to be accustomed to*), habitual aspect can be and is most commonly conveyed by the simple forms of verbs, the same ones used to convey perfective meaning, as we can see in the examples in 7.

7

- a) Peter *used to* make his own toys.
- b) Peter *made* his own toys.
- c) Peter *made* a toy yesterday.
- d) Peter *makes* his own toys.

In 7-a and 7-b, we have basically no difference in meaning between the use of *used to* and the use of the simple form of the verb to convey aspectual aspect. In 7-c, we show an example of how the same form (namely, the simple past) can convey either habitual aspect, as in 7-b, or perfective, as is the case of 7-c, with a clear difference in meaning, since 7-c is a single instantiation of the action as opposed to the other examples. In 7-d, the example with the verb in the present tense also conveys habitual aspect; the difference is it refers to a habit that occurs in the present instead of in the past.

Thus, we can see that habitual has similarities not only with imperfective, but also with perfective, which could serve as an argument in favor of including habitual as a type of perfective, as well as it is included as a type of imperfective. The fact that it shares characteristics with both perfective and imperfective, which are the greatest opposites in studies on aspect, is reason enough, in my opinion, to not include it under either of them; I follow Dahl (1985) and Brinton (2009), therefore, and treat it as a separate type of aspect.

Nevertheless, there are still examples of situations that fit in an imperfective aspect framework, but which are different from progressive situations. Brinton (2009) suggests a subcategory of imperfective named continuative, a type of aspect that “views a situation as continuing rather than ending” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 53). In 8 we have examples:

8

- a) *Ally continued working.*
- b) *Glenn went on living* after the accident.

As Brinton (2009) points out, continuative aspect is most commonly expressed by such aspectualizers as *to continue* and *to keep on*, and I would add *to go on*, as in the examples above. Continuative aspect, thus, views situations as continuing after a literal or implied interruption, or, as I will point out and exemplify in chapter 3, especially in cases in which a continuative particle is employed, this kind of aspect could also have a meaning in which the “continuation” is used simply to emphasize that the situation took a long time, possibly longer than originally expected.

The perfect aspect is, as Comrie (1976) points out, very commonly confused with perfective, and these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, even though the kinds of aspect they represent are actually quite different from each other. Perfect aspect is a kind of aspect which refers to a situation that is located in the past, usually finished but not necessarily (BRINTON, 2009), but which has some kind of relevance to the present, as in the examples:

9

- a) *I haven't brought my umbrella* (and that is why I am drenched.)
- b) *Robin has been running* (which is why she is in such good shape.)

In 9-a, the fact that someone forgot to bring an umbrella could be relevant in the present as the reason, for instance, why this person is drenched. Similarly, the fact that Robin has been running could have as an effect in the present that she is in good shape physically. The perfect, in English, is expressed by perfect forms, such as present perfect (9-a) and present perfect continuous (9-b).

According to Brinton (2009), the accounts which present phase (or punctual) aspects, divided into ingressive and egressive, usually describe such a kind of aspect as a subdivision

of perfective. However, since the idea of such a category is that ingressive aspect would focus on the beginning of a situation, while egressive would focus on the end of a situation, it seems contrived to have them be a kind of perfective, which does not focus on any parts of situations (BRINTON, 2009, p. 52).

Thus, the author treats phase aspect as a separate kind of aspect. Ingressive aspect is usually expressed by the aspectualizers *to start* and *to begin*, as in examples 10-a and 10-b, while egressive is conveyed by the aspectualizers *to stop*, *to cease* and *to finish*, as in 10-c and 10-d.

10

- a) Lily *started writing* her paper this morning.
- b) Marshall *began studying* French.
- c) Lily *stopped writing* her paper.
- d) Lily *finished writing* her paper.

In 10-a and 10-b, we see two sentences with actions shown by ingressive aspect, focusing, thus, on the beginning of situations, namely, the writing of a paper and the studying of the French language. As for 10-c and 10-d, they both show actions seen under egressive aspect, that is, with focus on the ending of the situation. However, there is a difference in meaning between 10-c and 10-d: while 10-c implies that Lily gave up writing, or interrupted the writing for a while, in 10-d we understand that the paper is ready, so that Lily does not have to write on it anymore. The focus of both is still in the ending of the situation, though. *To cease* has a similar meaning as *to stop*, and therefore also implies that the endpoint was not reached.

Thus, so far, we end up with an aspectual scheme very much like Brinton's (2009), containing such categories as perfective, imperfective (divided further into progressive and continuative), phase (subdivided into ingressive and egressive), and perfect. With our aspectual scheme defined, we may now move on to the discussion about aktionsart meaning.

2.3 AKTIONSPORT

Discussions about aktionsart generate as much controversy as those about aspect, but one of the few things most scholars agree on is that a discussion on the matter must mention

Vendler's (1957) typology, whether it is adopted or not. Vendler's account consists of a classification into the following categories: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. According to Verkuyl (1989), Vendler's typology, as well as others such as Kenny's (1963), go back to Aristotle¹; the categories of states and activities were first mentioned by him.

However, before we start introducing Vendler's categories, it is important to define a few semantic features which will help us in our descriptions and argumentations throughout this part of the chapter, namely, dynamicity, telicity and durativity. According to Brinton (2009), these binary distinctions have been addressed by most studies on aktionsart; even though some authors present additional oppositions, these are the only three features which are agreed upon in all accounts researched for this study (Brinton 2009, Smith 1997, Comrie 1976). They can be represented as equipollent features, as in static/dynamic, telic/atelic and durative/instantaneous, or as privative oppositions, such as [+static] or [-static], [+telic] or [-telic] and [+durative] or [-durative]. Even though there is some debate about which is the best representation (for instance Olsen, 1994), in this paper either one may appear with no difference in treatment resulting from that.

Dynamicity defines whether a situation is static or dynamic, and differentiates states (as Vendler's category) from events (Vendler's activities, accomplishments and achievements). States tend to stay the same, unless something happens to change them, whereas events, or dynamic situations, need new inputs of energy in order to continue taking place (COMRIE, 1976, p. 49). *Know* and *believe* could be seen as prototypical static situations, which are not likely to change if something else does not happen to cause that change, while *run* and *talk* are good examples of dynamic ones, and will only continue if there are regular inputs of energy. Vendler (1957) does not talk explicitly about dynamicity or any of the other features, but he does talk about the difference between *running* and *knowing geography*, for example, saying that the former is a process, with stages succeeding each other in time, such as the legs moving and the feet touching the ground one after the other, while the latter is not a process; *knowing geography*, which is static, does not include any stages succeeding one another in time (VENDLER, 1957, p. 144-145).

Telicity is a feature that indicates whether a situation has or does not have a telos, that is, a definite endpoint, or a climax; a point which has to be reached in order for the situation to have been completed. That way, *run* could be said to be atelic, while *run a mile* is a typically

¹ Aristotle. *Metaphysics*, in: **The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation II**. 1552-1728. Princeton, 1984.

telic situation. Comrie (1976) exemplifies with the actions of *singing* and *making a chair*, saying that the first does not have a terminal point; that is, it can simply stop and it will still be true that someone has sung, or it can continue indefinitely in time. Differently, *making a chair* does have a terminal point, which has to be reached for it to be true that someone has built a chair; also, once that endpoint is reached, the action cannot continue beyond it; the chair is made. Maybe this person can proceed to building another chair, but that action of *making a chair* is obligatorily terminated (COMRIE, 1976, p. 44).

This feature puts Vendler's states and activities on one side, as atelic situations, and accomplishments and achievements on the other side, as telic situations. It is important to stress that aktionsart only indicates the presence of such a feature. The endpoint's attainment or not will be given by the aspect chosen (imperfective aspect would show that the endpoint was not reached, for example, while perfective would indicate it was).

As for durativity, it separates events that take time from those that occur in a single, instantaneous moment. An example of a durative situation could be *climb a mountain* while *reach the top* would happen in a single instant. That is the feature that will differentiate Vendler's accomplishments from achievements.

Now that we are better equipped to describe Vendler's categories, we can start by talking about states. This is the only static category, and thus the only one marked [+static], while all the other three categories are marked [-static]. States also take time, that is, are marked [+durative], and will therefore answer the question *for how long?*. Since they do not have a natural endpoint, states are also [-telic]. Typical examples include *know*, *believe* and *love*, as shown in examples 11-a and 11-b. As mentioned above, states can also be used to describe places and situations, as in 11-c, where the verb *decorate* is not used in a dynamic sense, seeing as the NP [*beautiful paintings*] could not be its subject, since they are not agentive; therefore, we interpret that as a description of the decoration in a certain place, and thus a state.

11

- a) Barney *knows* Japanese.
- b) Dana *believed* in God.
- c) Beautiful paintings *decorated* the walls.

Activities also take time and are, thus, [+durative], but, being marked [-static], they are events instead of states. They also do not have an endpoint, and are consequently marked [-

telic], so that they can happen during a period of time and then simply stop. Activities “go on in time in a homogenous way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole” (VENDLER, 1957, p. 146), in that any instantiation of *running*, whatever distance is run or whatever period of time is spent doing it, constitutes an action of *running*. Activities will also answer the question *for how long?*, and examples could be, besides *run*, *push a cart*, *walk and talk*, as shown in the examples that follow.

12

- a) Ted and Barney are *talking* on the phone.
- b) My father *went fishing*.
- c) Grace *dances*.

Accomplishments take a certain time, that is, they have a natural endpoint, and therefore have “the notion of unique and definite time periods” (VENDLER, 1957, p. 149). They are, therefore, [+durative] and [+telic], besides of course being [-static]. Accomplishments will answer the question *how long did it take?*, and the presence of an inherent endpoint will differentiate them from activities in that not every instantiation of *driving* will constitute the action of *driving to Boston*; only an action of *driving* that arrives at Boston and takes the amount of time necessary to do so will be an instantiation of *driving to Boston*, so that if the action stops at any point before that endpoint, it will not have been completed, whereas a simple action of *driving*, whenever interrupted, will still have constituted an instantiation of *driving*. Besides *driving to Boston*, other examples of accomplishments could be *draw a circle* and *run a mile*, as well as the ones in 13.

13

- a) Olivia *is going to New York*.
- b) Lily started *writing her paper*.
- c) Patrick *built a sandcastle*.

As for achievements, they can be described as taking place in a single moment, and are, therefore, [-durative], answering the question *at what moment?*. They are also [-static] and [+telic]. Examples include *reach the top*, *win the race* and *spot something*, as well as the ones in 14.

14

- a) The ball *shattered the window*.
- b) Peter *arrived*.
- c) Ella *fell asleep*.

All three examples in 14 are situations which take place in a single moment; in 14-a, the amount of time that it might have taken the ball to come in contact with the window is irrelevant and not even mentioned; the moment when they actually do come in contact and the glass breaks is a single one, whose duration can never vary. Similarly, the time that Peter took, in 14-b, to go from wherever he was before to wherever it is he arrived at does not appear when *arrive* is used; the instant in which he does arrive is a single one. As for 14-c, the time when Ella falls asleep is a unique moment, whose duration does not vary or cannot be measured, independently of how long she lay in bed before she was finally asleep.

As widely adopted as Vendler's typology is, however, it has been issue of debate among other authors. Mourelatos (1978), for example, questions a differentiation between accomplishments and achievements, based much on the fact that Kenny (1963), who also based his typology in Aristotle, came up with only one category, "performances", as opposed to those two of Vendler's classes. Mourelatos (1978) argues that both accomplishments and achievements have definite duration in time and endpoints, and an accomplishment's endpoint could be seen, in the author's view, as an achievement. I find the following excerpt in Vendler's argumentation to be very clarifying on this matter, as already pointed out in Endres (2010).

When I say that it took me an hour to write a letter (which is an accomplishment), I imply that the writing of the letter went on during that hour. This is not the case with achievements. Even if one says that it took him three hours to reach the summit, one does not mean that the *reaching* of the summit went on during those hours. Obviously it took three hours of climbing to reach the top. Put in another way: if I write a letter in an hour, then I can say, "I am writing a letter" at any time during that hour; but if it takes three hours to reach the top, I cannot say, "I am reaching the top" at any moment of that period. (VENDLER, 1957, p. 148)

It is a fair statement that the endpoint of an accomplishment, at least in some cases, could be an achievement, but the differentiation between the two makes it possible to refer either to the process and its result (the accomplishment), as in *climb the mountain* (which will only be finished when the top is reached), and the single moment when the climbing finishes, *reach the top* (achievement). Therefore, while an accomplishment includes the process and its

result in the same situation, an achievement does not, being “a single-stage event, detached from any associated process” (SMITH, 1997, p. 30-31).

Similarly, Comrie (1976) does not think that a situation which fits into Vendler’s category of achievements could be telic, as becomes clear in the excerpt:

In expressions referring to telic situations it is important that there should be both a process leading up to the terminal point as well as the terminal point. Thus the example quoted above, *John reached the summit*, is not telic, since one cannot speak of the process leading up to John’s reaching of the summit by saying *John is reaching the summit*. (COMRIE, 1976, p. 47)

What Comrie states is that a telic event should include the process, but that does not seem to be the case. Smith (1997) argues that achievements are telic, because they promote a change of state. It does make sense that it seems odd to imagine a definite endpoint to a situation which has no duration and is thus very difficult to divide into stages such as beginning or ending. Therefore, achievements can only be considered telic if we assume that change of state is part of the meaning of telicity, as Smith (1997) claims. Let us take a look at the examples in 15.

15

- a) Mary *found* her bracelet.
- b) Ella *fell asleep*.
- c) Mary *coughed*.
- d) Ella *knocked* on the door.

In the first two sentences, we can observe a change of state, while in the last two, the same thing does not occur. In 15-a, there is a change from a state in which Mary does not know where her bracelet is to one in which she does know where it is; similarly, in 15-b, there is a change of state from one in which Ella is awake to one in which she is asleep. In 15-c, Mary’s coughing does not promote a change of state, neither does Ella’s knocking on the door. It does not make sense to say that, in 15-c, there is a change from a state in which Mary had not coughed to one in which she had, or that, in 15-d, there is a change from a state in which the door was not knocked on to one in which it is or has been knocked on.

Therefore, in Smith’s (1997) conception, the examples in 15-a and 15-b are telic and belong to the category of achievements, while the ones in 15-c and 15-d are not telic and thus do not belong to the same category, belonging then to a group known as semelfactives. In this

paper, achievements and whether they are telic or not are not included in our main focus. However, I tend to side with Smith (1997) and consider achievements to be telic, admitting thus the meaning of change of state as a possible implication of telicity. I do not, however, consider every change of state to be telicity; change of state can accompany it, but the essential characteristic of a telic event is the presence of a telos, a definite endpoint.

Another criticism to Vendler's typology concerns the fact that the categories seemed to be an attempt to classify *verbs*. Mourelatos (1978, p. 419) points out that verbs can have aspectual "multivalence" and therefore fit more than just one category, arguing that a classification should be offered in terms of verb predication instead of verbs only. Smith (1997, p. 2) observes that situation type, her term for aktionsart, is expressed by the verb and its complements, the "verb constellation", in her terms. Brinton (2009, p. 31) states that "we must recognize that aktionsart is a feature of the entire sentence and that it is difficult to specify the 'basic' aktionsart of any verb".

Agreeing with these authors, the notion of compositionality is adopted, as it has already been stated, not only to talk about aktionsart, but also to talk about aspect, as demonstrated with examples above of how aspectualizers and other elements can influence the grammatical aspect as much as or even more than inflection. We therefore do not talk about *verbs*, but about situations, as also discussed in the previous section, which can be described by verbs, or by verbs and other elements surrounding it, such as, for example, aspectual particles, which is our main subject.

I argue that all languages, as different from each other as they may be, tend to represent the same or very similar phenomena and situations, and, if we have situations in mind when we think of aktionsart, and that aktionsart is inherent to situations, and not verbs, the need for a language-specific classification seems inexistent, since the same situations will be classified, independently of how they can be represented in language. What will be language-specific, then, is the way in which these situations will be represented. That is a notion that is defended by Verkuyl (1989), who claims that, as mentioned above, that Vendler did not intend his typology to be one of verbs, but an ontological typology; it does seem unlikely that Vendler intended to classify verbs when one of his categories is mainly made up of examples whose aktionsart is determined by an NP added to the verb.

Authors have offered other categories to be added to Vendler's original schema. Smith (1997), for example, offers the category named semelfactives, mentioned briefly above, a term which appears in Comrie (1976), being defined as referring "to a situation that takes place once and once only (e.g. one single cough)" (COMRIE, 1976, P. 42). For the author,

semelfactivity contrasts with iterativity, which would be the repetition of an instantaneous situation (for example, many coughs).

In Smith (1997), semelfactives become a category of situations which are [-static], [-durative], and [-telic], being atelicity the only difference between them and achievements. Thus, the examples in 15-c and 15-d above would fit into this new category. Other examples might include *blink*, *sneeze*, or *kick*. We do not mention semelfactives again throughout the rest of the paper, but such a category could be included in the scheme for aktionsart adopted in this thesis.

Brinton (2009) also offers a category, which the author calls series. In order to be able to describe this category, we need to mention that the author includes, in her aktionsart scheme, an additional semantic feature: multiplicity. The author defines this feature as serving “to differentiate series from activities” (p. 56), so that series would be the only category marked for multiplicity.

Series would be, thus, a category which actually joins habitual aspect and a situation which is an activity, an accomplishment or an achievement (BRINTON, 2009, p. 55). The author does not offer examples, but we could imagine that something like *Mike runs in the park three times a week* could fit into that category. However, that does not seem like a category which should belong in a scheme for aktionsart, since it refers simply to the interaction of a kind of aspect with events. If that category should be implemented, then there should also be categories treating, for instance, the interaction of perfective or imperfective with telicity, and the effect on the attainment or not of the endpoint. Multiplicity, then, does not seem like a legitimate feature to be part of our aktionsart scheme, as well as the category of series.

To sum up, in our aktionsart scheme we have adopted Vendler’s categories, namely, states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. We also agree with Smith’s (1997) category of semelfactives. Such a classification refers to situations instead of only verbs, which are compositional and are thus made up of various elements in the sentence. In the next section, we briefly discuss post-verbal particles, with emphasis on the ones which have aspectual meanings.

2.4 POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

Post-verbal particles are common in Germanic languages, as well as Slavic languages. To the first group belongs English, with a wide variety of such structures, commonly known as phrasal verbs. When discussed in the literature, especially by traditional grammars, they are usually divided into two groups: the one which comprises literal phrasal verbs, and the one with idiomatic phrasal verbs.

Literal phrasal verbs, or compositional verb-particle constructions, as Jackendoff (2002) calls them, receive those names due to the fact that the meanings of the simple verb and the directional particle remain practically intact in the combination of the two, as in *run away* and *throw out*. They are not, however, to be mistaken for combinations of verb plus preposition.

As for idiomatic phrasal verbs, they are thus called because their meaning cannot be understood as a combination of verb and particle; rather, their meaning is arbitrary; the verb and the particle hardly ever serve as a means for anyone to even try to guess the meaning of such a combination. Examples could be *put up* and *do away*. Here the term idiomatic makes no reference to any claims concerning what it could mean or represent in any other contexts and fields of study; it is merely the current name given by most grammars and studies to these specific structures. We will again talk about literal (or compositional) and idiomatic phrasal verbs on chapter 3, when we discuss the syntactic properties of aspectual post-verbal particles.

Those are not, however, the only verb-particle combinations in the English language. The objects of study in this paper are the combinations of a verb with its original meaning, plus a particle which does not either add a directional meaning to it, nor makes with it an idiomatic combination with opaque meaning; rather, it contributes some kind of aspectual meaning to it, which could be compared to that given by some kind of expression, an NP, or an AP, for example. That addition changes the lexical or grammatical aspect, as discussed above, that the verb originally had, as we can see in the examples:

16

- a) The place was *filling up*.
- b) The place was *filling completely*.
- c) Mike stood up and *walked on* after he fell.
- d) Mike stood up and *continued to walk* after he fell.

In 16-a and 16-b, the meaning is practically equivalent between the sentence with the aspectual particle and the one which has the AP *completely*; both are adding a natural endpoint to *filling*; not only the place was filling with a great quantity of people, but it was completely filled, to the limit. The particle thus adds the meaning of telicity to the verb. Similarly, the examples in 16-c and 16-d are also mostly correspondent to each other in that they both present the idea of continuing to walk after an interruption. In this case, the particle adds a continuative aspect meaning to the simple verb.

The aspectual meanings that can be contributed by aspectual particles are, basically, telicity and continuative aspect. Telic particles include *up*, shown in the example above, as well as *down*, *off*, *out*, *through*, *over* and *away*. As for continuative particles, they are *on*, also seen above, *along* and *away*. On the next chapter, the meanings, both aspectual and any other associated meanings belonging to aspectual particles will be analyzed in detail.

This chapter's aim was to present the matters which are the object of our analyses in the remainder of the paper, as well as to explain the theoretical background behind them and choose certain views so we can trace the perspective adopted here as the rest of the text goes. On the next chapter, we proceed to discussing the aspectual as well as associated meanings which aspectual post-verbal particles add to verbs when both are combined together.

3 TO END OR TO CONTINUE: THE SEMANTICS OF ASPECTUAL PARTICLES IN ENGLISH

In the previous chapter the aim was to discuss the literature on aspect and aktionsart, so that we could come up with what is to be our point of view throughout the rest of the paper. In this chapter, we focus on the aspectual meanings that post-verbal particles can add to the simple verbs they are associated with, as well as other meanings they provide in addition. In order to do that, we start by discussing common attempts at semantic descriptions towards particles, and explaining why they are not going to be adopted here. Then, we discuss the notion of productivity in Jackendoff (2002), which will be useful to us later on in this chapter and in the next one. Finally, the two following sections in the chapter are dedicated to describing the two kinds of aspectual meanings we assume aspectual particles to have, namely telicity and continuativity. In doing so, we discuss each particle as to the meanings it may add, from pure aspectual meanings to associated meanings, while examining examples in order to verify the descriptions given. Our descriptions then lead us to conclusions about the semantic descriptions of these particles.

3.1 ASPECTUAL PARTICLES IN THE LITERATURE

In traditional English grammar books, as mentioned in chapter 2, the meanings of particles are usually classified as either literal or idiomatic, depending on the opacity of the particle's (and the verb's) meaning. Only a few grammars do mention the possibility of particles having aspectual meanings, such as Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), but most, including this one, do not really offer the most accurate aspectual descriptions.

The main problem with the analysis of aspectual particles in Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), for example, is that it seems to confuse notions. For instance, the authors classify *take off*, in an example like *John took off*, as aspectual, in a semantic class they call "inceptive", when that is clearly an example of an idiomatic particle verb. They also have a category of "completive" aspectual phrasal verbs, which includes particles which we call completive (or, rather, telic) here, but some of the examples do not seem to represent that kind of meaning, such as *find out*, in which *out* does not add an endpoint; instead, verb and particle

form an idiomatic combination – which is, in turn, telic, but not as a consequence of the addition of the verb.

The authors also seem to mingle the concepts of telicity and continuativity, as well as others, in the aspectual category for phrasal verbs which they call “continuative”; they show *on* and *along* with such a use, in a way much like that which we defend on this chapter, but also include examples of *along* with another kind of meaning, that of doing something *together*, as in *come along*. In addition, *through*, which is a telic particle, is described as having continuative meaning, even though the authors mention that its meaning is usually that of “from beginning to end”. Yet another problem with the continuative class of phrasal verbs described by the authors is the presence of *around* in its meaning of an activity done without purpose, a quite productive combination, but whose meaning does not seem to be aspectual, as it is not, really, related to either intrinsic or circumstantial time features.

It is not only traditional grammars, however, that give aspectual post-verbal particles semantic descriptions which are considered inadequate according to the views adopted in this paper. Brinton (2009) mentions a number of authors who seem to follow what she calls the resultative or causative analysis; such a view postulates that particles, in general, convey a result. According to that, in an example such as *throw out*, the interpretation would be that something was caused to be *out* by *throwing* (BOLINGER, 1971² apud Brinton 2009).

Such an analysis, especially when applied to aspectual particles, seems to stem from the fact that telicity is sometimes confused with resultativity (as well as with goal); some verbs have a goal (usually verbs of movement), and some verbs have a result, and that usually comes along with a telos; when the goal is reached, the end has also been reached, and when the result is obtained, that also means that the telos has been attained. A telos, however, does not entail a result or a goal. A telic event such as *sleep the whole night* has a telos, but does not have a goal (in the sense of a place where someone or something is moving towards) or a result – only, maybe, that the person who slept the whole night is rested; but that might even turn out not to be the case. There is no result which is an intrinsic part of the meaning of such an event as *sleeping the whole night*.

There could be cases of verb-particle constructions which end up presenting a resultative meaning, but those are most commonly directional particles, like the example just mentioned, *throw out*, which, in a sentence such as *throw the garbage out*, has the reading that, as a result of *throwing*, the garbage now happens to be *out*, instead of *in*. Another

² BOLINGER, Dwight. **The phrasal verb in English**. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

example could be *push the window up*, and, in this case, the window is caused to be *up* by *pushing (upwards)*. These examples could be compared to other resultative constructions such as *shoot (somebody) dead*, *close (the door) shut*, *cut (something) open*.

A resultative reading is hardly applicable, however, to idiomatic phrasal verbs; it is inconceivable that a plane was caused to be *off* by *taking*, or that a word was *up* as a result of *looking*. A resultative or causative reading is also odd with aspectual particles, if we consider a reading such as the milk was caused to be *up* by *drinking*, or that someone (something?) was caused to be *on* by *driving*. We may thus conclude that such an interpretation could only work for directional meanings, and not for all particles (BRINTON, 2009).

Another common (especially towards telic particles) yet, in my opinion, not appropriate way to describe aspectual particles, is as though they were perfective markers. Not only in terms of the meanings of aspectual particles, but in general, it seems to be a quite common misconception that telicity is the same thing as perfectivity, which it is not. What gives room to doubt is that they can be connected; an intrinsic endpoint, which is the telicity that a situation may or may not have as an inherent feature, may be understood to have been attained if we have this situation being portrayed by perfective aspect.

However, to assume that the two things are one in the same shows a flawed notion of both aspect and aktionsart, as separate things and as phenomena which interact with each other. As claimed in chapter 2 and just above, telicity is a feature present in situations which have a definite endpoint; that is inherent and does not change depending on the kind of aspect through which the situation is seen; however, the telos will be shown to have been attained or not depending on the kind of aspect.

Usually, as mentioned above, a telic situation seen under perfective aspect will provide the reading in which, in that certain instantiation of that situation, the telos was achieved. Similarly, if seen through imperfective aspect, the specific instantiation of such telic situation will be understood as not having had its telos attained. Based on those assertions, Brinton (2009) concludes and I defend that telic particles (and certainly not continuative particles) should not be seen as perfectivity markers.

Following Brinton (2009), I take the aspectual meanings conveyed by post-verbal particles to be basically of two kinds: telic aktionsart and continuative (or iterative, depending on the durativity of the event) aspect, being the first the group with the most members, namely *up*, *down*, *off*, *out*, *through*, *over* and *away*, while the latter's rather smaller, but quite productive inventory consists of only *on*, *along* and *away*. What is meant by productivity,

here, is the point to be made in the next section, which discusses Jackendoff's (2002) definition of that notion and its applicability to post-verbal particles.

3.2 PRODUCTIVITY IN JACKENDOFF (2002)

Jackendoff (2002) addresses an important issue that we consider on this paper, which, as the author says himself, can be summed up in the question: "What parts of an utterance can be constructed online, and what parts must be stored in long-term memory?" (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 67). In order to address that, the author distinguishes between, on one hand, lexical item and grammatical word, and, on the other hand, productive and semiproductive combinations.

A lexical item is a piece of language that is stored in memory, while grammatical words are units which are bigger than affixes, but smaller than phrases. As for productive versus semiproductive combinations, this differentiation is the one between structures (for example, a word and an affix) which combine freely, as long as they meet each other's (syntactic, semantic, phonological, etc) requirements, and those whose combination is much more restricted.

Language users know what productive structures (which combine rather freely) mean as well as whether their combination is possible, giving room to well-known (for instance the addition of *-s* for plural to common nouns) and to new combinations (for example adding the plural suffix to a word that has just been invented) which are understood by other speakers of the language. Semiproductive combinations, on the other hand, of which an example could be, as the author mentions, the irregular verbs in English, are those in which the elements are not as free to combine; even though these combinations have a certain regularity, as in, for instance, *sing/sang*, *ring/rang*, that is obviously not the most common pattern and does not repeat often enough so that the affix can be considered to mean, say, the simple past, as *-ed* is taken to mean.

The outcome of semiproductive combinations, therefore, must be listed in the lexicon individually, which is not the case with productive combinations, which need not be listed and, instead, can be built online, like phrases (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 68). As the author highlights, such a conception of these ideas assumes a treatment of productive structures, like affixes, for instance, as lexical items, whether they are grammatical words or not (which is not the case for affixes).

Jackendoff (2002) claims that these concepts can be applied to verb-particle constructions, not only in lexical terms but also with syntactic consequences, as we will see in detail in chapter 4. In this chapter, however, we only comment on the productivity or not of particles, in accordance with the author's definition, and leave the syntactic matters to be commented on later. In the next section, we examine the telic particles, by far the biggest group, and, in the next section, we talk about the smaller group, namely, the continuative particles.

3.3 TELIC PARTICLES

We begin by describing the telic particles. In a general way, we can see their influence on simple verbs as the following; a telic particle is added to an otherwise atelic verb, therefore an activity, for example, altering its aktionsart by adding an intrinsic endpoint to the situation referred to, turning it into an accomplishment.

The process is much like the addition of an NP to the verb, indicating an endpoint, as in the activity *run* as opposed to the accomplishment *run a mile*, or, more specifically concerning the addition of telic particles, the result of the addition of *up*, for instance, to the activity *clean*, is quite similar to the addition of the AP *completely*, turning it into an accomplishment. A comparison can be seen in 1: the sentences in 1-a and 1-c present atelic situations, and both the addition of an NP in 1-b and a telic particle in 1-d change the aktionsart of the situations.

1

- a) Annie was drawing.
- b) Annie was drawing *a circle*.
- c) Annie was cleaning the house.
- d) Annie was cleaning *up* the house.

In order to verify whether a verb-particle combination is conveying telicity or not, tests for accomplishments can be used, such as the ones offered by Dowty (1979). For example, accomplishments are compatible with expressions like *take an hour to V* and *in...*, so combinations of verbs plus telic particles should be as well:

2

- a) It took us a week to *drink up* that bottle of wine.
- b) The house *burned down* in an hour.

Accomplishments are also compatible with egressive markers, but with different meanings; *finish* indicates the attainment of the endpoint, while *stop* and *cease* does not.

3

- a) Lucy finished writing the letter. [*the letter is written*]
- b) Lucy stopped/ceased writing the letter. [*the letter is not (entirely) written*]

When used with *almost*, accomplishments are ambiguous in that it is not clear whether the action was almost finished or if it was almost started. The example in 4 can be used to demonstrate such ambiguity.

4

- a) Robin almost cleaned up the house.

If such a sentence is uttered without any additional context given, the interlocutor will probably be in doubt as to whether Robin almost finished cleaning up the house (she was, say, interrupted by a phone call, or she had an appointment and had to stop cleaning in order to make it in time), or if she almost started (and something stopped her from doing it altogether), and, therefore, the event never even took place at all. In the first situation, some cleaning was done, while, in the second, none was.

If we submit the examples we are about to show for each of the telic particles to the tests briefly mentioned above, the situations presented will behave as accomplishments, which they are once they receive the particle. The ones which are most commonly used with telic meanings are *up*, *down*, *off* and *out*, while the rest of the particles which can have such a meaning, even though they are used very often, cannot be found in as many examples, namely *through*, *over* and *away*.

Due to being the most widely used telic particle, *up* has received the title of “the aktionsart particle par excellence” (DENISON, 1985, p. 37). Denison names it “completive up”, because its telic contribution is similar, as mentioned above, to the addition of an AP such as “completely”. I believe it is safe to say that *up* has the most “pure” telic meaning, as

we can observe in the examples in 5 and as will become clear when we describe the different shades of meaning presented by the other particles in the group.

5

- a) The store has *closed up*.
- b) We *used up* the paper.
- c) The clothes are outside *drying up*.
- d) It's going to take a lot of water to *fill up* the tank.

In 5-a, the meaning is completely different if we compare it to the meaning of the simple verb; by saying a store is *closed*, we simply mean it is not open anymore today, probably because it is late at night, or because it is a holiday, but when we say it is *closed up*, that means the store will never open its doors again. As for 5-b, saying that someone *used the paper* might generate a reading in which all the paper available is now gone, but such reading is no longer possible if we add more information. For example, in a sentence such as *we used the paper (to write), and the blackboard to draw*, we no longer have any indication (in fact it becomes very unlikely a reading) that the paper is over, whereas *we used up the paper* does imply that there is no more paper left.

In example 5-c, we could have the same meaning in a sentence saying *the clothes are outside drying*, as in meaning that the clothes are hanging outside with the objective of becoming dry, but the use of the particle emphasizes that they will be hanging outside until they are completely dry, while the use of the simple verb could mean that they will be hung somewhere else – for instance, inside – later, or that they will stay outside even after they are dry. In addition, not all uses of the verb *dry* will imply being or becoming completely dry, whereas the use of the verb plus the particle always implies that.

As for example 5-d, not necessarily does every instantiation of *fill* imply that the whole container – in this case, a tank – was filled, while the use of the particle makes it clear that the meaning is to fill it completely. Thus, in an example such as *Ted filled the glass with the remaining water*, even though there is a telos, it is connected to the point where the remaining water will end, not to the point where the glass fills up, as in the sentence we have in 5-d. It is not clear whether the remaining water was enough to fill the glass completely, even because it would be an uncanny coincidence if the remaining quantity of water was exactly the amount of water necessary to completely fill a glass. However, if the particle is

used, as in our example, there is no interpretation possible other than one in which the whole glass is filled with water.

As we can see through the examples, the addition of *up* is indeed almost equivalent to the addition of an AP such as *completely*. That is not the case of all other telic particles, as will become clear in our analysis; while we can say that *up* has the “purest” telic meaning, other particles bring other meanings along with the telos they add to the situations they take part in. *Down* is an example of that.

When verbs are added the particle *down*, their meaning receive, besides the telos, a meaning of “down to the ground”, “down to destruction”, or “down to the feet”, as pointed out by Brinton (2009). Let us take a look at the comparison between the addition of both *up* and *down* as telic particles to the verb *burn*, an example originally given in Endres (2010):

6

- a) The house *burned up*.
- b) The house *burned down*.

Even though both examples tell us that the house in question was (completely) destroyed by fire, on the first example we do not have the meaning of “down to the ground” that is implied by the second example; we can thus notice that there is an emphasis on the destruction in 6-b, with the choice of *down* as a telic particle. Not only there was a fire in the house, and not only such house was destroyed (which is implied in 6-a), but there were also no walls left standing; the whole house was *down on the ground* at the end of the fire.

On 7 we have more examples of *down* being used as a telic particle, in which such an additional meaning is also present:

7

- a) The cops found that the door had been *broken down* by the thieves.
- b) The ecosystem is threatened with all forests being *cut down* like this.
- c) You have to *cut down* the sugar from your diet.
- d) Ted was *knocked down* by Barney.
- e) I feel really *beat down* after a semester of such hard work.

In 7-a, there is a clear difference between saying that a door is *broken* and saying it is *broken down*; when it is *broken down*, it is literally on the floor, completely unhinged and

unattached from its original place, whereas a *broken* door might be simply one that does not work properly, or which has a broken piece, but it has not necessarily and maybe even not likely been brought to the ground.

In 7-b, *cut down* brings to our minds the clear image of trees which were cut and now lie on the ground; plus, a forest that has been *cut down* is one that is probably not even a forest anymore, due to such an extensive damage. Here, though, the use of the simple verb would not imply that a whole forest, if a specific one is being talked about, is destroyed (*to the ground*); it would imply only that it is threatened because it has been subjected to cuts. In 7-c, we have the same verb, namely, *cut*, but with a slightly different meaning. In this example, *cut* means to decrease, and, if *down* is added, the literal meaning of “down to the ground” is somewhat figurative in that the quantity of sugar in someone’s diet has not only to be decreased, but to be reduced to zero (“to the ground”).

As for the example in 7-d, the verb *knock* does not seem to be very commonly used on its own; it is very commonly added of either *down* or *out*. In this example, *knock down* does not only mean that Ted was defeated, as in the fight is over (the telos added by the particle), but it also has the quite literal meaning that, after being punched, Ted was on the ground, unable to stand up. Finally, in 7-e, we have again a meaning that still has the idea of “down to the ground”, but not as literally, as in examples like 7-d; actually, the meaning in example 7-e can be said to be the most figurative among the ones given using the telic particle *down*; it means that the person is (figurative) “down to the ground” with so much tiredness after a semester of hard work.

Along with the telos, the particle *down* adds a meaning which is quite similar to the directional meaning it originally has; we can observe, then, that, differently from *up*, the aspectual meaning of *down* is not that of “pure” telicity. Such a specific meaning makes *down* (mostly, if not only) likely to combine with verbs which refer to situations in which a meaning of “down to the ground” is compatible, either literally or figuratively, and this particle might even be preferred over the more general *up* in these specific contexts.

Another among the most commonly used telic particles is *off*; like *down*, it offers its own specificity along with the telos. *Off*, as a telic particle, seems to have a meaning of “finished completely”; besides making sure that the situation has a telos, the particle seems to promote an emphasis to it, a focus on the point where a quantity, for instance, is to be over, as in some of the following examples:

8

- a) The movie ended because they had *killed off* the characters.
- b) Have the survivors of that disaster in the 20's *died off* yet?
- c) Alison is relieved because she has *paid off* her credit card bill.
- d) The party only ended when the beer was *finished off*.
- e) Helping you carry that book case was what *finished me off*.

In 8-1, we understand that all characters, or at least all the main characters, were killed during the movie, so that it could not continue and had to end; therefore, we have a limited group which was finished, as in there were no more characters left to die in the movie. A very similar idea is present in 8-b, with *die off*; the only difference here is the usual difference between *kill* and *die*, because, in aspectual terms, *off* adds a telos to both sentences by adding the idea that the endpoint of the situation of *killing* or *dying* is reached when all the people contained in either groups (characters, survivors) are dead.

In 8-c, the addition of *off* to the verb *pay* lets us know that the whole amount of money was paid, so that Alison does not owe anymore, whereas the use of the simple verb might not imply the same thing and we could interpret that, even though some amount was paid, not all of it was, so that there is some debt left. We should make an observation here that this use of *pay off* is not to be confused to the more idiomatic one which refers to a situation in which something done before the moment of speaking has brought about good consequences, as in an example such as *all that hard work I've had has paid off*.

Finally, in 8-d and 8-e, since *finished* is the additional meaning of *off* as a telic particle, it is to be expected that the verb and the particle combine frequently; in 8-d, we have a literal meaning – all the beer was over, there was none of it left – and, in 8-e, a figurative one – after helping carry a book case, the subject of the sentence was really tired, or hurt, and therefore it was impossible for him or her to make any more physical effort of that sort, at least for a while. It is arguable that, without the particle, the same meaning could still be understood from the usage of the simple verb in both sentences. However, if there are attested examples of such a combination, then at least emphatic meaning must be added by the telic particle.

The last particle in the subgroup of most common telic particles is *out*. Concerning its telic meaning, it differs from *up*, *down* and *off* in that it can be found both in examples presenting both a meaning of somewhat pure telicity and in others with the specific meaning of “disappearing completely”.

The examples with *out* in its “purely telic” meaning, that is, simply adding a telos with not much of any additional meanings, do not seem to be very common, though. In 9-a, we have a sentence in which a person is simply asking another to listen to what he or she has to say, until the end, with no interruptions. Here, *out* adds, in terms of meaning, nothing more than a telos to the verb *hear*.

It is important to point out that, for a sense of paying attention to what somebody is saying, *listen* is much more common than *hear*, which seems usually more connected to the ability to hear, independently of any attention being paid. In combination with the particle, however, there is a sense of paying attention implied. It could be argued that this specific combination has a certain degree of idiomaticity, in this sense, considering that the intrinsic meaning of *hear* seems to be changed indeed after the addition of the particle. However, the telicity added by the particle is undeniable and should be noticed.

Other examples with *out* in a purely telic meaning are hard to find. Another of such examples could be *fill out*, which is used specifically in situations of writing data, answers or required information on a form, as in *filling out a form*. In theory, *fill the form* is a grammatical possibility, but it is by far much less common than *fill out the form*, which seems to suggest that, similarly to what happens with *hear out*, it is the particle that in a way licentiate the use of this verb in this situation, even though *fill* is compatible with the context and the only meaning that seems to be provided by the particle is that of filling *completely*.

Curiously, these two examples do not seem compatible with *up*, our “purely telic” particle. *Hear (someone or something) up* and *fill up (the form)* do not seem possible. That seems to suggest that there is an idiomatic relationship between the verbs *hear* and *fill* and the particle *out*, and that it is the idiomaticity of these combinations itself which explains that *up*, and any other telic particles, for that matter, are not compatible here, since these are not verbs which are open to this combination, and are therefore only possible with *out*, sanctioning idiomatic combinations even if the meanings of verb and aspectual particle are almost intact.

9

- a) Please, I’m begging you to just *hear me out*.
- b) Is it true that panda bears are in danger of *dying out*?
- c) When Teresa got home, sunshine was already *fading out*.
- d) Unfortunately, I have to throw away my favorite jeans because it’s *worn out*.

However, in the other examples in 9, the meaning of *out* is much more connected to a specific meaning, namely that of “disappearing completely”. Thus, in 9-b, not only the telos provided by the particle adds the meaning of the death of all members in the group of existing panda bears, but it also adds a meaning that, once all in the group are dead, panda bears will have completely disappeared from the planet.

Similarly, the idea of sunlight or any other kind of light *fading out*, as in 9-c, gives us an idea of that light fading little by little, until it is completely gone and it is completely dark, whereas the use of the single verb would not imply that fading completely would be the telos; it can be said that a light is fading if it is becoming weaker, but the addition of *out* adds the idea of not only becoming weaker but also becoming weaker and weaker, to the point of having disappeared entirely.

As for the example in 9-d, the fact that some piece of clothing or whatever object is *worn out* does not imply that it will disappear; it does imply, though, that its original color, or the sayings that used to be written on it, or anything like that, are disappearing due to much use. The telos here could be either the point where the color or letters have completely disappeared or the moment when someone has judged the piece of clothing was worn out to the point that it should not be used anymore.

We can observe, thus, that *out* seems to be used as a marker of pure telicity, but only in very specific examples, suggesting that those combinations have a degree of idiomaticity. The most common use of *out* as a telic particle is that in which this particle brings along with the telos a meaning connected to “disappearing completely”. In fact, in a matter to be discussed still in this section and later again, concerning the productivity of aspectual particles, the very fact that different particles seem to offer different meanings associated with the telos also suggests degrees of idiomaticity, affecting (or being a consequence of) productivity.

Also connected to productivity is the observation that there is another subgroup inside the group of telic particles, one whose members are much less common, consisting of *through*, *over* and *away*. The particle *through*, when used as a marker of telicity, has, as mentioned briefly above, a meaning of “from beginning to end”, which obviously includes a necessary endpoint, as we can see by looking at a few examples.

10

- a) Sydney *read through* the long list, but didn't find her name on it.
- b) The plan had really been *thought through*.

- c) I *skimmed through* the text and didn't find any major errors.
- d) We have to *follow through* the instructions, otherwise it won't work.

In 10-a, therefore, *reading through* means that the list was read from beginning to end; not a single name was not read, while the use of the single verb may or may not imply the same thing. We might even understand that Sydney did not find her name because she did not really read the whole list, seeing as it was long, or, if it was organized alphabetically, that she only read the part of the list which might contain her name, whereas the use of the particle ensures that she did read it from the beginning to the end. In 10-b, *thinking through* implies a meaning of thinking “from beginning to end” in the sense that all aspects and details about said plan were thought about and accounted for during the planning, so that nothing was left out.

In 10-c, even though not all the attention given, for example, in 10-a, was given to the text referred to, that is an implication brought about by the difference in meaning between the verbs *read* and *skim*; the particle is still doing its job of adding a telos and is still adding a meaning of “from beginning to end”. Finally, in 10-d, *follow through* gives an emphasis that would not have been reached by the use of the verb alone; following instructions still constitutes the action of following instructions even if one of the steps is ignored, for whatever reasons. However, following *through* the instructions is only an instantiation of this action when all steps and recommendations are executed to the letter, with no changes at all.

When *over* is used with a telic meaning, we can find examples in which, along with the telos, we find a meaning of checking all details or possibilities, for instance, or generally doing something with the objective of solving a problem, or finding a solution. Actually, the telos of the situations in which *over* is used is the point where the activity denoted by the verb has taken place in time long enough for the problems to be solved or the solution to have been found. We can see that in the following examples:

11

- a) Don't leave, let's *talk this over*.
- b) We've *been over* this more than once... not a detail was overlooked.
- c) They are pretty mad at each other, do you think if we have a dinner all together it would *smooth things over*?

In 11-a, the plea for someone to stay so that, by means of a conversation, the problems between them can be solved, is given by the meaning the particle adds to the verb *talk*. If a similar example, not containing the particle, such as *don't leave, let's talk* were to be given, the meaning would be different in that the speaker is only asking the interlocutor to stay so that they can have a conversation; the idea of solving the problem is not necessarily attached to it as it is by means of the particle, neither does that instantiation of *talking* imply a definite endpoint as does the instantiation with the particle, namely that in which there will have been enough conversation for the problem to be solved.

Even though the construction in 11-b seems to be a rather idiomatic one, in that the verb *be* would not be used alone in such a situation, we can still observe that the particle here has a telic meaning, adding a telos to the situation as well as the meaning of looking for some kind of detail or solution, or even, in this case, an explanation for a problem. Whatever the idiomaticity implied here is, the meaning of the outcome has a telos which is a point in time where all details will have been analyzed with the objective of finding a problem (whether, in this specific case, the problem was found or not).

In 11-c, we have the description of a situation in which two people are mad at each other, and their friends are concerned, trying to think of something which might make these two people come to terms. One person, therefore, asks another whether they think a dinner will *smooth things over*, that is, be a nice time for everyone, including the two involved in the fight, enough so that their problems with each other will be solved. A use of the verb without the particle in this situation could mean only, for instance, to make the situation less awkward or uncomfortable, without a necessary implication of the problems being solved between the two parts, as opposed to the use with the particle.

Away, the last particle yet to be analyzed in this section, and a member of the less common subgroup, has a curious peculiarity. Besides being a telic marker in some examples, this particle can also be found being used as a marker of continuative aspect in other examples, as we are about to see in the next section. *Away* also takes part in a very interesting and telic construction, pointed out by Jackendoff (1997a), which we discuss shortly. As a marker of telicity, specifically, *away* adds, alongside the telos, a meaning connected to “disappearing”, similar in this way to *out*; in example 12-a, for instance, either of these two particles could have been used, even though that is not the case for all situations in which either particle is used with that meaning.

12

- a) When I looked again, those weird lights in the sky had *faded away*.
- b) The conversation slowly *died away*.
- c) His ex-wife has *spent his money away*.

In 12-a, *away*, in association with *fade*, intensifies its meaning of “disappearing”, adding a telos so that we understand the lights cannot be seen anymore, whereas the use of the verb alone might leave us in doubt whether they had, in fact, disappeared completely, or simply become more difficult to see. In 12-b, the verb *die* is not used in its most literal and common way, but in a way which means that, little by little, the conversation *stopped*. *Away* here adds a telos to that meaning, which emphasizes and implies that, one by one, each and every person who had been talking stops doing so until a point when complete silence is reached, so that conversation, in a way, disappeared. The same thing happened to the man’s money in 12-c, as *away* adds an inherent endpoint to a situation which could otherwise mean that only a certain amount of money was spent; with the addition of the particle, the only possible reading is that all the money was spent and has thus disappeared.

Aside from appearing in these examples, *away* is also, as just mentioned, part of a very intriguing and quite productive expression to which Jackendoff (1997a) has called attention and given the name of “time-away construction”. The author states that this structure is made up of a verb plus “a free time expression” plus the particle, as in the examples reproduced in 13.

13

- a) Bill slept the afternoon away.
 - b) We’re twistin’ the night away.
- (JACKENDOFF, 1997, p. 534)

The time-away construction is subject to many constraints, Jackendoff (1997a) points out. The “free time expression” is an NP as *the afternoon*, *the night* or *Tuesday*, and it fills the spot of the object of the verb. It becomes impossible to have any other kind of NP in that position, as we can see in the example in 14-a. Another constraint is that the subject has to be agentive, otherwise the sentence ends up ungrammatical, as we can see in the example in 14-b. A [+static] situation would result in ungrammaticality also, as in 14-c. In fact, the verb has to refer to an activity; that is, it has to be [-static], [+durative] and [-telic]. A [-durative]

situation is incompatible with the construction, because we have a time expression indicating the (long) duration of the event, which seems odd in a situation which has basically no duration, as we can see in the example in 14-d.

14

a) *Peter drank *gin* the night away.

Peter drank the night away.

b) **The sun* shone the day away.

John rested the day away.

c) *John *knew* the afternoon away.

John *studied* the afternoon away.

d) *John *fell asleep* the night away.

John *slept* the night away.

These are, thus, telic structures, because “the subject is in some sense understood as ‘using’ the time, or even better, ‘using the time up’” (JACKENDOFF, 1997, p. 535), as in something like *Bill used the afternoon up sleeping*. It is therefore the time expression which, with its determined duration, attributes a telos to the situation. Even though *away* here is not the element responsible for telicity, without it, a sentence like *Peter drank the night* would seem very odd, unless it was part of a poem or of the lyrics to a song and its meaning was supposed to be something figurative that differed completely from what these words put together suggest.

Actually, the use of *away* in the time-away construction seems to be a lot similar to its use as a marker of continuative aspect, in that it seems to suggest that the event took a long time (defined in the time expression), possibly longer than expected, while the subject lost track of time. We return to the continuative meaning of *away* in the next section.

If we apply Jackendoff’s (2002) concept of productivity to the telic particles that we have just analyzed, we can reach a few conclusions. First of all, we can easily distinguish two groups, one of which seems to be more productive than the other. We can at this point, thus, claim that the telic particles *through*, *over* and *away* are, in Jackendoff’s terms, semiproductive and their combinations with verbs must therefore be listed individually on the lexicon. Does that mean, then, that the other group, namely *up*, *down*, *off* and *out* are productive? Not necessarily.

As briefly pointed out above when we were discussing the possible meanings of *out*, the presence of specific meanings alongside the addition of the telos is an indicator of some degree of idiomaticity. *Down*, *off* and *out* all have specific meanings being added along with the telos, and that makes their combination with simple verbs restricted; that is, *down*, due to its specific meaning, is more compatible with contexts of destruction or even of a directional implication (downwards, obviously), *off* is common in examples which involve a quantity to be finished, and *out* appears in situations that involve disappearing. That suggests that they cannot be classified as productive and generate combinations online, including new ones that might even not have been heard before. However, since these particles present some regularity in the combinations they do appear in, it would be unfair to rate them as completely idiosyncratic; I believe the adequate classification in terms of productivity for *down*, *out*, and *off* would be as semiproductive combinations, which must be listed in the lexicon.

Jackendoff (2002) himself, in the same article, analyzes the productivity of particles. The author starts off by stating, as we might expect, that telic *up* is productive; the combinations between this particle and simple verbs can be built online and therefore must not be listed in the lexicon individually. The other particles which Jackendoff analyzes are *on*, *away* (in their continuative use), *through* and *over*. The last two particles are classified in the way we just did, as semiproductive combinations. The other telic particles are not mentioned, but I believe they belong in the semiproductive group, even though we might argue that *down*, *off* and *out* are more productive than *through*, *over* and (telic) *away*. However, I do not think that *down*, *off*, and *out* are productive enough to receive the same classification as *up*, which could be said to be the default telic particle.

Stemming from the logic Jackendoff (2002) uses to explain the difference between, for instance, the productivity of the regular and irregular simple past in English – namely that wherever the most restricted, semiproductive irregular forms do not apply, the most general, productive form, the regular, will – I come up with the hypothesis that *up* could be the most general and productive telic particle, the one which applies whenever there is no semiproductive particle, with a more specific meaning and its applicability more restricted.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), when describing an example (*When are you going to clean up your room?*) where telic *up* is present, make the following observation: they say that, in the example, “*up* is syntactically optional, and its contribution to the meaning of the sentence is quite modest. The verb could stand on its own with almost the same meaning” (CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 425). Similarly, Jackendoff (2002) comments on how *up* does not “satisfy an argument position of the verb: it

can be freely omitted. It is often even redundant” (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 76). We will leave the syntactic questions raised by these statements to be discussed on chapter 4. However, it is important to point out here that these allegations concerning the redundancy of *up* and telic particles in general might be true if we consider that, sometimes, they only reinforce a telos which might be understood without the addition of the particle. It is important, though, not to confuse redundancy with irrelevance.

Telic particles are far from irrelevant. The number of particles and examples is proof of that. Considering that language tends to be as economic as possible in each given set of circumstances, if these particles were irrelevant to meaning they would be easily dropped, when the data seems to suggest that these combinations are, on the contrary, becoming more and more common. Their presence in a structure is an indicator that something was needed in order to make sure that the telos was understood or properly emphasized. In many examples, the telos would be understood, if at all, merely by means of pragmatic implicature without the particle, which, if present, makes it a necessary implication.

The objective of this section was to discuss telic particles and their meanings. We also attempted to give an explanation concerning their applicability, based on Jackendoff’s (2002) definition of productivity. In the next section, we move on to the analysis of continuative particles.

3.4 CONTINUATIVE PARTICLES

As pointed out in the previous chapter, continuative aspect is a subdivision of imperfective aspect suggested by Brinton (2009), which depicts a situation as “continuing rather than ending” (p. 53). As briefly pointed out in chapter 2, this kind of aspect could convey a meaning of continuing after some kind of implied or explicit interruption, or simply be used to mean that a situation took a long time, possibly longer than expected. That last statement is my suggestion, given that Brinton only mentions the first meaning as being associated with continuative aspect. My assumption becomes clearer once we discuss examples.

Among the aspectualizers which can be used to add continuative meaning to a situation are *to continue*, *to keep on* and *to go on*. Looking at the former two, we can already notice the continuative nature of the particle *on*, which can also, if added to verbs, give them

the same meaning, as in the examples in 15. *On* is the most common continuative particle, and can convey both kinds of meanings mentioned above.

15

- a) Brandon *talked on* (and *on*) about what happened.
- b) Daniel *lived on* after his disease was cured.
- c) Mike fell, but he stood up and *walked on*.
- d) Josh is *working on* on his paper which is due tomorrow.

In 15-a, the use of the particle adds to the situation the idea of a much longer duration than we would normally understand it to have without the addition of the particle, so that Brandon not only talks about what happened, but he continues talking even when he was expected to have already stopped. The use of an additional particle, as in *talked on and on*, gives it a much greater emphasis.

As for the example in 15-b, we have the meaning of continuing after an interruption. If the verb had been used without the particle, the reading would be that Daniel survived after the cure of his disease; however, the addition of the particle changes the focus a little in that it gives us the idea that he went back to his usual routine, even though it had been interrupted by a life-altering event such as a serious disease. In 15-c we have a clear example of *on* working as an almost perfect equivalent in meaning to the aspectualizer *continue*; after an interruption in his walking, Mike *continued walking*, or *walked on*.

The example shown in 15-d contradicts our expectations, in a way; seeing as *on*, as a preposition, is very commonly associated with the verb *work*, to show clearly what is the object or task to which work is being dedicated to, we would probably not expect *on*, as a continuative particle, to be found in association with this verb, generating an otherwise unwanted repetition of both occurrences of *on*, which are not in any way the same word here, but are homophonous. Even Jackendoff (2002) questions the acceptability of a similar example. If we enter the string “working on on his (/her/my/etc)” in a search engine such as Google, though, we can find hundreds of attested examples of that use. In examples like this one, the continuative particle is used to show not only continuation after an interruption that may or may not have happened, but also and most commonly it indicates that a person is working on something *without* any (or many) interruptions.

On is by far the most productive continuative particle, and we are already able to agree with Jackendoff that it can be considered a productive structure, whose combination with

verbs can be built online; the outcomes of these combinations need not, therefore, be listed in the lexicon. That may not be the case for *along* and *away*, though, which are much less commonly found with a continuative use, if compared to *on*.

As a result of our observation of semiproductive telic particles, we might be led to conclude that, if *along* and *away* are less productive than *on*, then they must have more specific meanings than only the idea of continuativity. At a first glance, that does not seem to be the case of *along*. If we examine the examples in 16, we will see that the meanings provided by the particle are very similar to those provided by *on*, that is, both the meaning of continuing after an interruption and the one where the event takes longer than expected, and in these cases *along* could easily be replaced by its colleague.

16

- a) The sun went down as Ivy *drove along*.
- b) Mike *rode* his bike *along*, just enjoying his surroundings.

In 16-a, Ivy continued driving, or drove for a long time, and, meanwhile, the sun was going down. The same happens in 16-b, where the action of riding a bike continues. In these cases, there does not seem to be an interruption after which the action continues; rather, the continuative sense seems to be more connected to there having been a previous mention that the action was going on, and now there is an update that the action is still going on.

At a second, more thorough look, though, we realize that *along* seems to be compatible with action verbs only, or at least most commonly. Going to a search engine, again, we can only find examples of *along* added to verbs indicating mental processes, such as *think* or *dream*, in the sense of “together”, but no examples turn up with a continuative meaning. Differently, *on* does not seem to have a restriction concerning mental processes; it is comfortable and even common in combination with these verbs conveying a continuative meaning. That could be the specificity we were looking for; even though there is no overt specific meaning being added alongside the continuativity meaning when *along* combines with a simple verb, this particle’s combination seems to be restricted to action verbs.

Jackendoff (2002) does not talk about *along*, but we consider this particle, based on the author’s definition of productivity and on our observations, to be semiproductive. Its combinations with simple verbs cannot, therefore, be constructed at the moment of speaking, and will be listed individually in the lexicon.

Our last continuative particle, *away*, does not seem restricted to verbs of either action or mental processes, as we can see by looking at the examples in 17. However, this particle does present a specific meaning associated to the meaning of continuativity it conveys.

17

- a) Lily *dreams away* about her trip.
- b) Anna is *working away* on that project.
- c) John and Mary *danced away* at the party.

Away, like both *on* and *along*, can convey both the meaning of continuing after an interruption and the meaning in which the event is extended in time. However, this particle seems to have, in addition, a meaning related to losing track of time, seeming thus most compatible with the meaning of a situation taking a long time, possibly longer than expected. The situation continues, for a long period of time, and the subject does not even notice the time passing by.

In 17-a, Lily loses track of time when she dreams (away) about her trip; similarly, Anna is so focused on her project, in 17-b, that she does not notice time passing by as she works long hours. In 17-b we have an example with an action verb, in which John and Mary were so distracted and having so much fun while dancing that they also lost track of time during a party.

It is important to point out, however, that motion verbs do not seem to receive *away* as a continuative particle very commonly; that can be explained if we consider that motion verbs, such as *drive*, *walk* and *run*, imply movement, which in turn implies a direction; *away*, in combination with such verbs, seems to almost if not exclusively convey its directional meaning. *On* and *along* are, in contrast, comfortable in combination with these verbs.

Jackendoff (2002) considers *away*, with its continuative meaning, to be a productive particle, which is, therefore, able to combine freely with verbs. Even though it seems very attractive to make a similar assumption as the one made about telic particles, in claiming that *on* would be the default continuative particle, as *up* is the default telic particle, it does seem like *away* can combine freely with verbs, without the need to have the output listed in the lexicon.

3.5 FINAL REMARKS

After our extensive description of both telic and continuative particles, as well as our discussion on productivity and semi-productivity, based on Jackendoff (2002), we have concluded, so far, that telic *up* and continuative *on* are productive, while the rest of the aspectual particles are semiproductive, while some might even be completely idiosyncratic. If we broaden our discussion, we might conclude that literal combinations, those in which particles have their literal, directional meaning, are productive, while idiomatic ones, those in which particles have little or nothing from their original meaning, could be taken to be idiosyncratic.

What is important to stress here is that there is no clear-cut correspondence between being literal, idiomatic, or aspectual, and being productive, semiproductive, or idiosyncratic. As we have just discussed, the group of aspectual particles does not fall entirely into productive, semiproductive, or idiosyncratic combinations. While some particles are productive, others are semiproductive, and some might even fit into the idiosyncratic group. Similarly, even though directional verb-particle combinations seem to be productive in general, there are a few idiomatic combinations which are not idiosyncratic.

Jackendoff (2002) gives an example; since around the 1970s, a subgroup of idiomatic phrasal verbs has become semiproductive in English. In this subgroup, the particle is always *out*, while the verb may or may not be an attested word, and its meaning may or may not be relevant to the construction, which, by means of the presence of the particle, gives rise to a somewhat uniform meaning for all of these constructions, namely, to “go into an unusual mental state” (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 73). Even though there is some regularity in the meaning and a great ability to form new combinations, they all still have to be listed, hence the semiproductive status. Among the examples given by Jackendoff are: *pass out*, *black out*, *zone out*, *flip out*, *bum NP out*, *gross NP out*, *freak (NP) out* (p. 74).

Therefore, we can state that, among all existing particle verbs, there are three groups when it comes to productivity: productive, semiproductive and idiosyncratic combinations. That classification is not necessarily dependent on their semantic classification as literal, idiomatic or aspectual; what it does depend on is the way that we build and access these meanings as we use language.

This chapter’s aim was to analyze semantic aspects of post-verbal particles, with emphasis on aspectual particles; to discuss and compare the meanings that they can add to verbs when used in aspectual combinations, as well as other meanings that could arise in the

process. We also considered Jackendoff's assumptions about productivity, and attempted to classify verb-particle constructions in these terms.

In the next chapter, we turn away from semantics (never completely, though) as our focus shifts to syntactic matters concerning post-verbal particles. The syntactic structure of particle verbs is a puzzle which has yet to be solved. We do hope to get a clearer picture of it, though, as we discuss the two most commonly adopted theories and why they are not good enough explanations, as well as a controversial proposal by Jackendoff which could be considered as a direction to go in the search for answers. We also discuss whether aspectual particles have a syntactic impact on the verbs they are added to or not.

4 A STRUCTURAL PUZZLE OR A PUZZLING STRUCTURE: SYNTACTIC ISSUES ON POST-VERBAL PARTICLES

It is a fact that the syntactic structure of the items known commonly as phrasal verbs, particle verbs, verb-particle constructions, as well as other terms, has been one of the greatest puzzles posed to linguists. A solution has been sought by numerous authors and from a variety of different theoretical perspectives. In this chapter, what we intend to do is, first, to briefly review the most adopted theories which attempt to explain the syntax of particle verbs, with their pros and cons. Then, we move on to explain the syntactic point of view of Jackendoff (2002), which is linked to his lexical and semantic statements about particle verbs, introduced and adopted in the previous chapter. Finally, we return our focus to aspectual particles and their addition to simple verbs, in order to discuss a few syntactic consequences of this combination.

4.1 TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS: CP AND SC ANALYSES

There are many reasons why is it so difficult to explain the syntax of particle verbs. Maybe the first of all is the fact that, different from prepositions, particles can undergo what is sometimes called “particle shift”, that is, the ability of the particle to appear either right after the verb or after the verb’s DP complement. In 1 we have examples of, respectively, a literal, an idiomatic, and an aspectual verb-particle combination:

- 1
- a) Lisa *threw out* the trash.
Lisa *threw* the trash *out*.
 - b) Greg *turned down* the job offer.
Greg *turned* the job offer *down*.
 - c) You really need to *clean up* the house.
You really need to *clean* the house *up*.

However, the shift is not always possible, and the reasons that block it are challenges to syntactic theories in themselves. For instance, if the verb’s DP is an unstressed pronoun,

the particle has to appear after it, obligatorily, as in examples 2-a through 2-c. When an AP modifies the particle, its shift is also restricted, as in the example in 2-d. Also, when the NP or DP is too heavy, the particle does not shift and has to be adjacent to the verb, as in 2-e.

2

- a) Lisa *threw* it *out*.
*Lisa *threw out* it.
- b) Greg *turned* it *down*.
*Greg *turned down* it.
- c) You really need to *clean* it *up*.
*You really need to *clean up* it.
- d) James *brought* the groceries right *in*.
*James *brought right in* the groceries.
- e) Chase *brought up* the question as to where his father had gone to.
*Chase *brought* the question as to where his father had gone to *up*.

Apart from the questions related to the constraints on particle shift that we have just mentioned, this phenomenon raises yet another question: if there are two possible syntactic structures for particle verbs, one in which the particle is adjacent to the verb, and one in which it is separated from it by another phrase, then what is the underlying structure for particle verbs? Even more urgently, probably, where does the particle belong? Is it part of the VP or is it part of a new phrase?

If we look at the two most widely adopted theories about the syntactic structure of the verb-particle construction, namely the complex head analysis and the small clause analysis, we realize that a consensus concerning these questions has not only not been reached yet, but it might also take a while for that to happen. On the one hand, the complex head analysis basically answers the question concerning the constituency of the particle with the first option, that is, by assuming that the particle belongs with the verb, not only in the same phrase but also as part of the same lexical head – a complex head. On the other hand, the small clause analysis goes to the other end of the spectrum and assumes that the particle participates in a different phrase, or, rather, in a small clause which complements the verb. In the next two subsections, we present an overview of these two theories.

4.1.1 Complex Head Analysis

The complex head, or complex predicate (CP) analysis sees the particle verb as a complex head, that is, verb and particle are under the same V^0 node. This theory, therefore, answers the question about the constituency of the particle by saying it is one in the same with the verb. Concerning the question about the primary syntactic structure of particle verbs, in this conception, particle shift can be explained by syntactic processes, such as movement, while the default position of the particle is adjacent to the verb, since they are the same lexical unit.

Johnson's (1991) theory is to this date one if not the most important analysis under the complex head label. The author starts arguing for particle and verb forming a single lexical unit by exemplifying how they undergo morphological processes in a similar way as simple verbs do, as in the examples below:

3

- a) Their pointing out that we should leave was timely.
- b) Their relationship seemed broken up.
- c) the dusted off table
- d) His car breaks down easily.

(JOHNSON, 1991, p. 591)

However, even though the examples above show morphology treating particle verbs as though they were simple verbs, there are other morphological processes which do not. Inflection, for instance, does not affect the particle; it applies exclusively to the verb, as we can observe in the examples in 4, posing a challenge for the CP analysis subscribers.

4

- a) Greg *turns down* every job offer he gets.
*Greg *turn downs* every job offer he gets.
- b) Greg *turned down* the job offer.
*Greg *turn downed* the job offer.

The next reason Johnson (1991) gives for a treatment of particle verbs as single lexical units is the fact that any complements to the particle verb seem to be selected by it as a whole,

instead of selected either by the verb or the particle, as in the example in 4-a, given by him. The example in 4-b appears in Dehé (2002) when the author is discussing Johnson's arguments. However, the examples differ, not only in the fact that the complement in 4-a is a whole sentence while the one in 4-b is a PP, but the latter could contradict the argument.

5

a) We can't make out whether he is lying or not.

(JOHNSON, 1991, p. 591)

b) *let* someone *in* [PP on something]

(OLSEN, 1997³ apud DEHÉ, 2002, p. 48)

c) James was *in on the plan*.

d) *Amber knew *out whether he was lying or not*.

The particle present in the expression referred to in the example in 4-b, *let [someone] in [on something]* can be found in the use exemplified in 4-c, alone, without the verb. Still, its meaning is similar to the one it has in 4-b, namely, "to be aware of something", and, more specifically, to have been told by someone who had the intention of including this person (in the plan, for instance) for some reason, which is very similar to the meaning of *let in* referred to in 4-b. It could be argued that the verb to be elliptical for some reason, but that does not seem to be the case. The PP *in on the plan* is predicating the subject, and *on the plan* seems to be complementing the particle.

Coordination can also be an argument in favor of this approach. In cases where the verb is elliptical, the particle is also omitted. If the particle formed a constituent with the following NP, it would have to appear alongside it even when the verb is not present, as we can see in examples 6-a and 6-b. Coordination is natural with particle verbs alongside simple verbs, as we can see in the examples in 6-c and 6-d, which show, respectively, an example of a compositional particle verb and one of an idiomatic particle verb in coordination with simple verbs.

6

a) Betsy *looked up* the address quickly and (**up*) the phone number slowly.

³ OLSEN, S. Über den lexikalischen Status englischer Partikelverben. In: LÖBEL, E. RAUH, G. (Eds.) **Lexikalische Kategorien und Merkmale** [Linguistische Arbeiten 366] (p. 45-71). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997.

b) Gary *looked up* Sam's phone number, and Mittie, (**up*) my number.

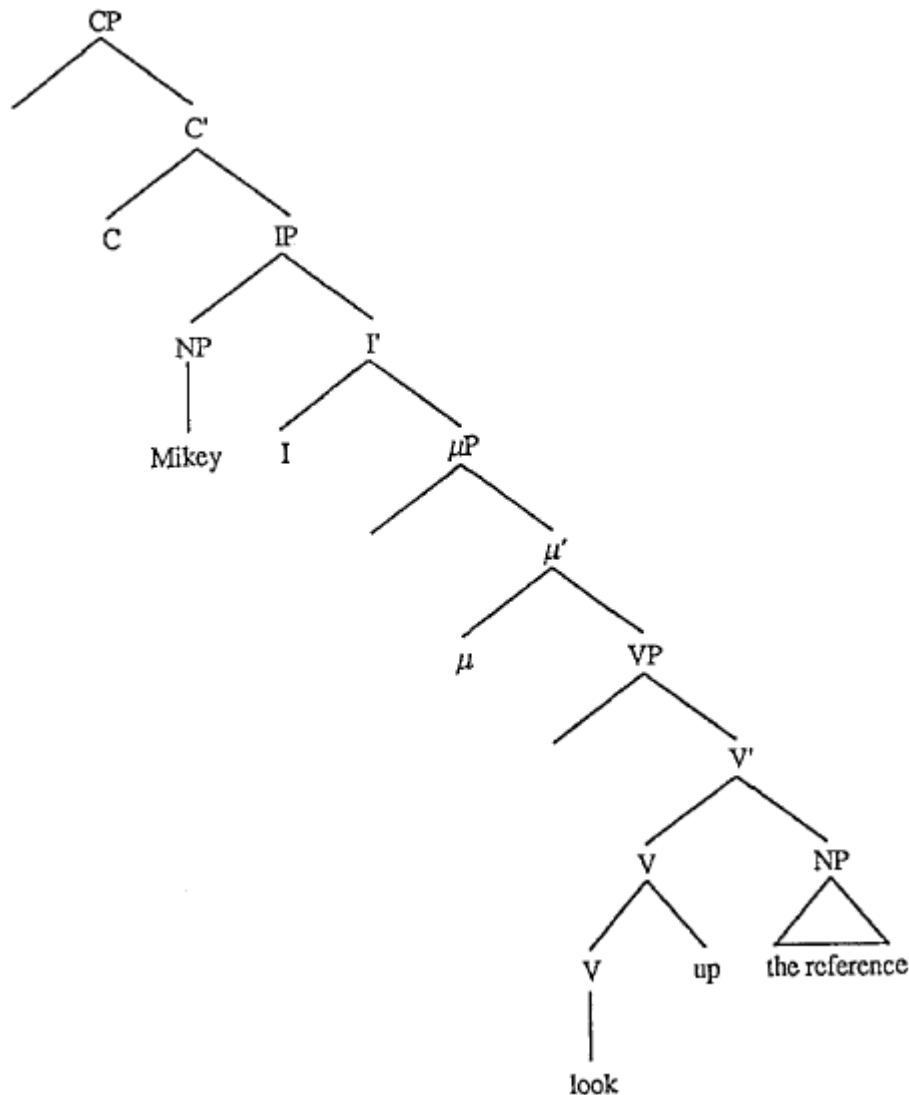
(DEHÉ, 2002, p. 49)

c) He [picked up] and [threw] the ball.

d) She [brought up] and [spoiled] her children.

(BOLINGER, 1971⁴ apud DEHÉ, 2002, p. 49)

In a complex head perspective as Johnson's (1991), verb and particle are adjacent in D-structure, being inserted under the same X^0 node. Johnson argues for an account in which lexical items and syntactic positions have a one-to-one mapping; for the author, after being inserted together in the deep structure, verb and particle may be separated through syntactic processes. Below we have Johnson's tree structure for the underlying structure of a sentence:

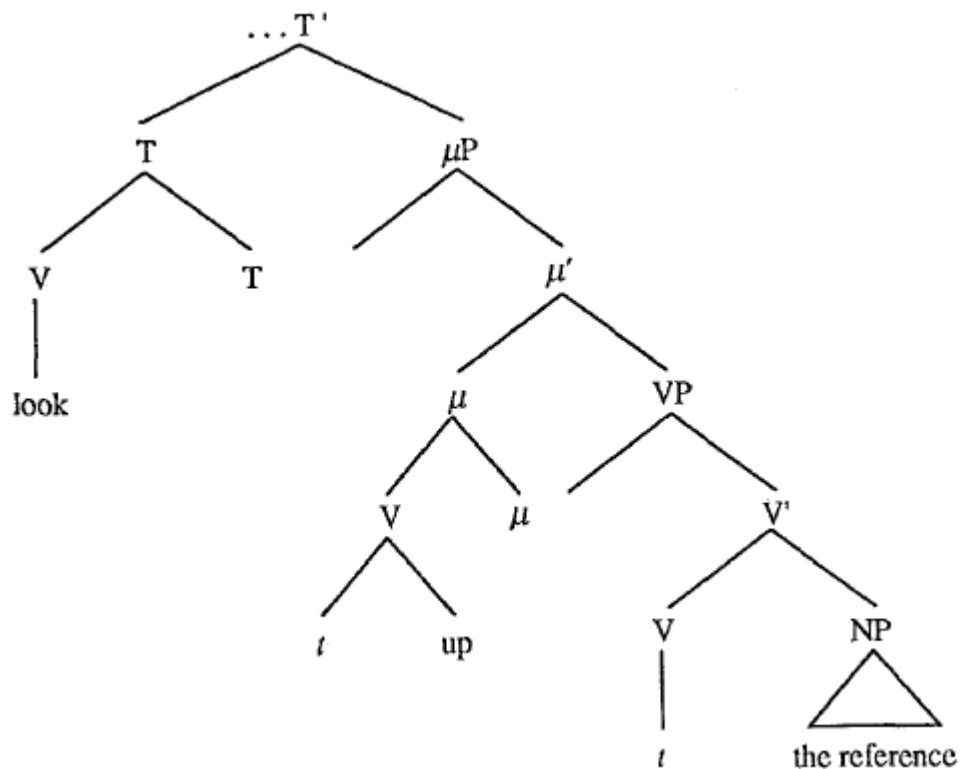


(Source: JOHNSON, 1991, p. 600)

⁴ BOLINGER, D. L. *The phrasal verb in English*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

As we can see by looking at the tree, Johnson creates a functional head, μ , and its projection, μP . Dehé (2002) exemplifies how such a functional category appears in other studies, even though there is no consensus about its existence. In Johnson's theory, μ is what ultimately explains particle shift.

Johnson (1991) states that, through head movement, the verb can move to μ and it can either take the particle with it or leave it behind. If tense has to be assigned to the verb, it obligatorily leaves the particle behind either in its base position or at μ and moves again, to T, as we can see in the tree below. That explains, in Johnson's theory, why the verb is the one that receives inflection while the particle remains intact.

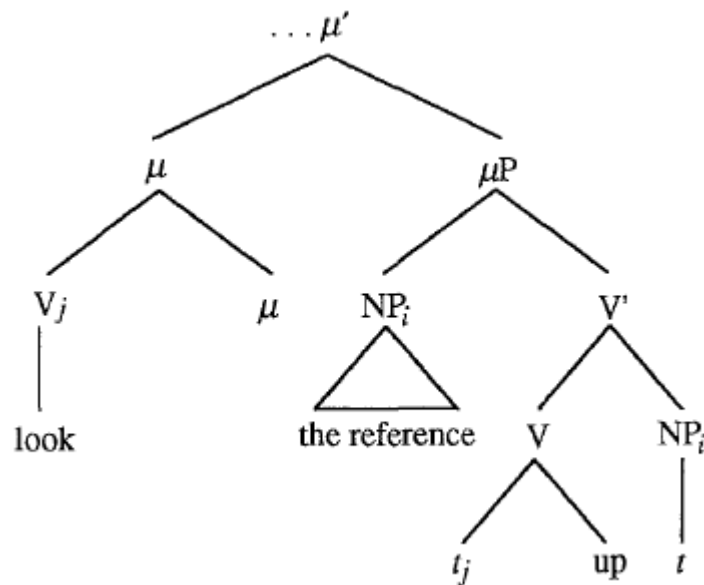


(Source: JOHNSON, 1991, p. 603)

However, if the particle is either left under its original V node or under μ , that does not change the word order; the DP object still appears after the particle. What would explain the change in order is, according to Johnson (1991), object shift. That is a syntactic process that happens in Scandinavian languages, and the author claims it happens in English as well. Object shift is triggered by the verb's movement, due to reasons connected to Case

assignment. The verb has to assign accusative Case to the DP, so, depending on when it happens, the DP follows the verb when it moves or not.

In order to claim that, Johnson assumes that Case assignment can happen at any level, from deep structure to surface structure; therefore, if Case is assigned before the verb moves, then the DP stays in its original place. If not, then it follows the verb's movement, moving to Specifier of VP, yielding the structure below:



(Source: JOHNSON, 1991, p. 608)

Johnson (1991) goes further and exemplifies, with sentences in Danish, that object shift is only available for NPs (or DPs, as we are referring to them). This process, therefore, makes a distinction between this and other kinds of phrases. The author states that the process also makes a distinction between “full NPs” and “weak” (unstressed) pronouns, so that it might not apply to the first but it obligatorily applies to the latter.

Because the verb forms a complex predicate, and by movement particle and verb may become separated, the theory presented by Johnson, as well as the other, similar accounts it gave rise to, are often referred to as excorporation (den Dikken, 1995, p. 39). Excorporation, as we have seen, seems like a very reasonable explanation at first glance. However, the question remains as to what triggers the verb's moving to μ in the first place, as well as to what causes the particle to either go along with the verb or to stay behind. In sum, we still do not have an answer to why verb and particle end up separated when they started out as a complex head.

Svenonius (1996) argues against object shift as an explanation for particle shift. The author claims that, even though there are similarities between both, they are not the same. First, Svenonius claims that particle shift is not dependent on verb movement; in Scandinavian languages, according to the author, the shift does not occur when the verb is not inflected. In fact, considering Johnson's (1991) claims, the only situation which forces verb and particle to be separated, making it possible for the DP to come between them, is when the verb has to move alone to T to receive tense, seeing as in ordinary movement to μ the particle can accompany the verb. However, as Svenonius (1996) argues, particle shift occurs freely with non-finite verbs, both in Scandinavian languages and English, as in the example in 7-a.

7

- a) You need to *clean up* the house.
You need to *clean* the house *up*.
- b) James *brought in* some groceries.
James *brought* some groceries *in*.

The author also claims that non-definite DPs cannot undergo object shift in Scandinavian languages, while particle shift occurs freely with that kind of DP, as in the example in 7-b for English. Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) point out yet another problem with Johnson's hypothesis; in his theory, in order to move to μ , the verb, as well as the particle, have to move left, thus violating the Right-hand Head Rule (RHR).

It is clear to us, at this point, that a complex head analysis does not seem to be enough to explain the structure of particle verbs. It has its advantages, but it also leaves a number of questions open. On the opposite side, the small clause analysis not only recognizes the problems with CP analysis, but it also seems to dismiss it almost if not completely, presenting a virtually contrary account. On the next section, we review SC analysis.

4.1.2 The Small Clause Analysis

The Small Clause (SC) Analysis for particle verbs originates from the notion of small clauses, first proposed in Stowell (1981), and first applied to particle verbs by Kayne (1985)⁵

⁵ KAYNE, R. S. Principles of particle constructions. In: GUERÓN, J. OBENAUER, H.-G. & POLLOCK, J.-Y. (Eds.) *Grammatical representations*. (pp. 101-140). Dordrecht: Foris, 1985.

apud Dehé 2002). Small clauses are abbreviated sentences with no independent tense, which are part of a bigger sentence, functioning as predication for a verb or a preposition, of which they are arguments, and by which they are theta-marked, that is, receive a theta-role. Such structures are exemplified in 8.

8

- a) Teresa considers [_{SC} Jane foolish].
- b) Marshall judged [_{SC} Mary irresponsible].

As we can see in both examples in 8, the SC complements the main clause's verb, and the AP contained in it (*foolish, irresponsible*) predicates both the verb and the SC's subject, in a predicate-argument-relation in which the verb theta-marks the SC, and, inside the SC, the predicate theta-marks the NP. Dehé (2002) points out that SCs only complement verbs and prepositions, and never do so with NPs from the main clause.

An SC analysis for particle verbs, as defended by authors such as den Dikken (1995) and Svenonius (1994, 1996), proposes basically that the particle has its own lexical projection, heading a small clause which serves as the verb's complement, constituting one of its arguments, as in the example in 9-a. In an SC analysis, *Fred down* is a new sentence whose subject is the NP and the particle is its predicate. As in ordinary SCs, the verb theta-marks the SC, and, inside it, the particle theta-marks the NP, predicating it and the verb in the main clause.

9

- a) [_{VP} *push* [_{SC} *Fred down*]]
- (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 90)

Den Dikken's (1995) analysis actually goes deeper into the question and proposes a rather more complex structure than that. The author's theory stems from the need to analyze structures which are even more difficult to explain than the ordinary verb-particle constructions, such as the structure of the sentence shown in 10, which the author calls a complex particle construction:

10

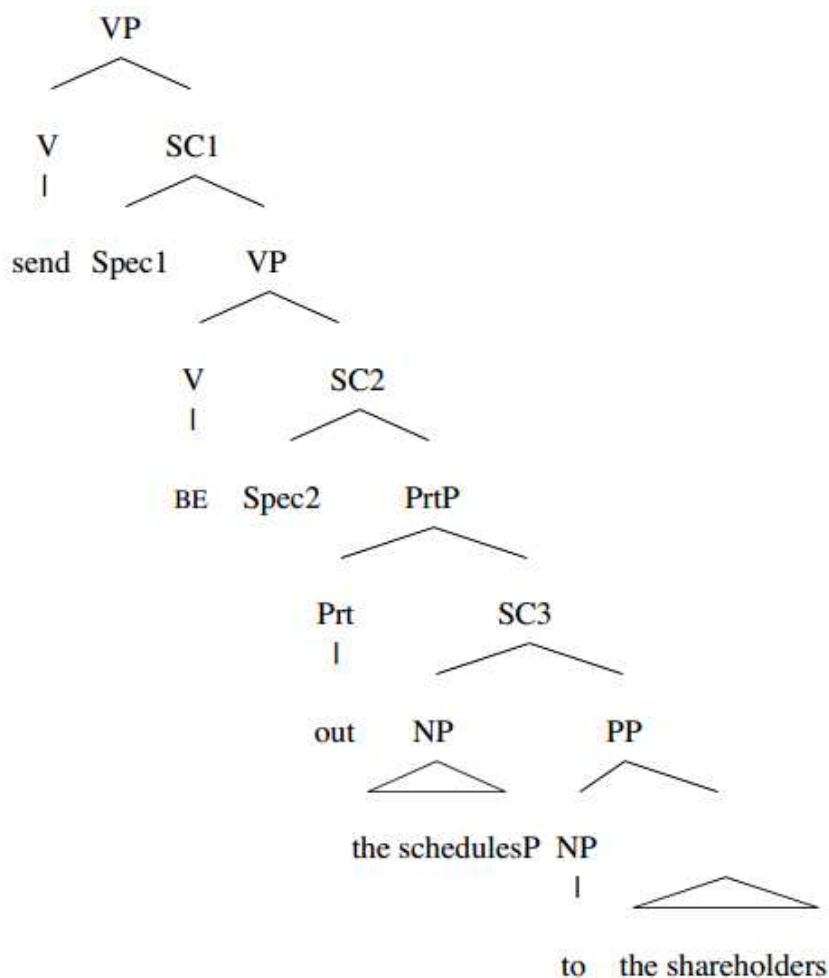
They sent a schedule *out* to the stockholders.

They sent *out* a schedule to the stockholders.

*They sent a schedule to the stockholders *out*.

(DEN DIKKEN, 1995, p. 51)

The author then comes up with a structure that could explain not only these complex particle constructions, but also others, and even simple verb-particle constructions. Basically, the proposal is that the verb takes a small clause complement, headed by an abstract copula verb (such as *be*), which takes yet another small clause complement, headed by the particle. The particle's SC, in turn, is completed by a third small clause, which is where the DP is, and where a PP, licensed by the particle (*to the stockholders*) is, in case of a complex particle construction in den Dikken's sense. Peter Svenonius drew a tree structure to illustrate den Dikken's (1995) theory in a review he wrote about the book, in 1995, for *Language*, and we reproduce it here below:



Particle shift would be explained, in den Dikken's theory, by movement of the DP in SC3 to the specifier position in SC2, yielding the discontinuous order, that is, the DP staying

between verb and particle. The reason given as to why the DP moves is similar to the one in Johnson's (1991) account in that it does so in order to receive Case from the verb because, according to den Dikken, particles are not lexical heads and therefore cannot be governors and assign Case.

That leads us to ask how, then, the author's proposal explains the continuous order, that is, when verb and particle are adjacent and the DP directly follows the particle. Does the particle govern and assign Case to it then? In order to explain that, den Dikken (1995) assumes that particles can undergo a kind of reanalysis, in which they incorporate into the verb; that results in verb and particle forming a complex head, and then the verb is able to govern the DP and assign Case to it. Roughly, this account assumes that the processes which underlie verb-particle constructions come in the opposite way as in a CP analysis such as Johnson's (1991): there, verb and particle were a complex head and they could become separated by means of excorporation. Here, they are separate elements which can undergo incorporation and result in a complex head.

In general, the first reason to adopt a small clause analysis for particle verbs, as opposed to the complex head analysis, is particle shift itself; it seems contrived to assume that, against probability and without an explainable reason, syntactic processes will so often come to separate two elements which are part of a single lexical head. Dehé (2002) argues, however, that this argument does not prove that particle verbs should be seen as a kind of small clause, but, rather, it only challenges CP analysis.

As an argument in favor of SC analysis, den Dikken (1995) mentions, for instance, the fact that the particle can only receive modifiers when it is not adjacent to the verb, suggesting that modifier and particle form a constituent, and claims this points to an analysis in which the particle has its own projection. We had already mentioned that as one of the constraints involving particle shift, and given an example in 2-d, repeated in 11 for convenience; the modifier sounds odd being the only thing between verb and particle when the latter would be otherwise adjacent to the verb, followed by the DP complement.

11

a) James *brought* the groceries right *in*.

*James *brought* right *in* the groceries.

However, as Jackendoff (2002) points out, some modifiers, like *completely*, do not seem dependent on the particle, that is, they do not seem to form a constituent with it, even

though they are subject to the same constraints. In 12-a and 12-b, we can see that the modifier is comfortable when the particle is not adjacent to the verb, and, when it is, the result is ungrammaticality, just like the examples in 11 above. In 12-c and 12-d, though, we can see that, if the modifier appears at the end of the sentence, the particle can be in either position comfortably, showing that modifiers do not always have to form constituents with the particle.

12

- a) *Please shut the gas **completely** off.*
- b) *Please shut (*completely) off the gas.*
- c) *She shut the gas off completely.*
- d) *She shut off the gas completely.*

As part of his argumentation in favor of seeing particle verbs as small clauses, den Dikken (1995) also mentions that the events they refer to can be described, or paraphrased, in a similar way as small clauses do:

12

- a) They hammered the metal flat.

There was a hammering event which resulted in the state of affairs of the metal being flat.

- b) They put the books on the shelf.

There was a putting event such that the books ended up on the shelf.

(DEN DIKKEN, 1995, p. 24)

However, Dehé (2002) comes up with many examples in which verb-particle constructions cannot be paraphrased in that way, and these examples are reproduced in 13 below:

13

- a) He looked the information up.

*There was a looking event such that the information ended up *up*.

- b) They made the story up.

*There was a making event such that the story ended up *up*.

c) They locked the dog out.

*There was a locking event such that the dog ended up *out*.

(DEHÉ, 2002, p. 20)

The example in 13-c was meant to be representative of how it is not only idiomatic particle verbs which cannot be paraphrased in the way that small clauses can. However, it is questionable, because the paraphrase in 13-c does not seem ungrammatical; in the other two examples, the particle made no sense isolated from the verb but in 13-c it does; we do understand that the dog ended up *out* (as opposed to *in*) because someone locked the door. It does seem that particles which have their directional meanings are suitable for such paraphrasing, while idiomatic ones are not.

Dehé (2002) also mentions two syntactic environments in which verb-particle constructions behave in a similar way as small clauses, which have been pointed out by several authors who subscribe to the SC analysis, such as den Dikken. The first one is that nominalization of both small clauses and particle verbs result in ungrammaticality, as we can see in 14-a and 14-b, respectively. The other environment is *wh*-extraction of a postverbal DP, which does not seem possible for small clauses as well as particle verbs, as we see in 14-c and 14-d.

14

Teresa considers Jane foolish.

*Teresa's consideration of Jane foolish

Joey and Rachel *put* the book *away*.

*Joey and Rachel's *putting* of the book *away*

Jane found the niece of Teresa smart.

*Who did Jane find the niece of smart?

Monica *brought* a story about the beach *up*.

*What did Monica *bring* a story about *up*?

However, Dehé (2002) points out that these environments only seem to be a problem in the discontinuous construction, that is, when there is still a DP between the verb and the particle. The author points out that, when the particle is adjacent to the verb, both nominalization and *wh*-extraction are not ungrammatical, as we exemplify in 15 below. Therefore, only examples of verb-particle constructions in which the verb and the particle are

not adjacent seem restricted in the way small clauses are with respect to those syntactic processes.

15

- a) Joey and Rachel's *putting away* of the book
- b) What did Monica *bring up* a story about?

Dehé (2002) points out that both continuous and discontinuous verb-particle constructions fail to behave as small clauses in at least two situations. First, small clauses are short versions of what could be longer clauses. As such, they are compatible with the overt realization of a copula verb, as in 16-a and 16-b, or, in case of an SC with an infinitive verb, its substitution for a finite verb in a full sentence, connected to the main clause by a complementizer, as in 16-c. Therefore, especially if we consider that *be* heads SC1 in den Dikken's structure, verb-particle constructions should be compatible with that as well. However, Dehé's examples, reproduced in 16-d and 16-e, show they are not.

16

- a) I consider _{SC}[John _{AP}[honest]].
I consider [John to be honest].
- b) The captain allowed _{SC}[him _{PP}[in the control room]].
The captain allowed him to be in the control room.
- c) Nobody heard _{SC}[it _{VP}[rain last night]].
Nobody heard _{CP}[that it rained last night].
- d) He looked _?[the information up].
*He looked [the information to be up] / *He looked [that the information was up].
- e) He handed _?[the paper in].
*He handed [the paper to be in]. / *He handed [that the paper was in].

Also, Dehé (2002) states that the SC is usually an argument of the verb and theta-marked by it. Thus, the SC can be replaced by *it* or, in case of an echo-question, by a *wh*-element, as in 17-a and 17-b. The same does not seem to apply to particle verbs, as the examples in 17-c and 17-d show.

17

- a) Alexandra proved_{SC}[the theory false].
Alexandra proved it. / Alexandra proved what?
- b) Nobody heard_{SC}[it rain last night].
Nobody heard it. / Nobody heard what?
- c) He looked_?[the information up].
*He looked it. / *He looked what?
- d) He handed_?[the paper in].
*He handed it. / *He handed what?

Like CP analysis, SC analysis also seems to fail to describe the syntax of verb-particle constructions. Even though it brings important insights, it does not seem like we can consider these constructions analogous to small clauses; especially idiomatic combinations seem very uncomfortable when analyzed in this way. It has also not been irrevocably proven that particles have their own lexical projections, a central claim to the SC analysis.

In the next section, we discuss the proposal offered by Jackendoff (2002). Different from both CP and SC analyses, the author does not attempt to offer a definitive explanation as to what is the structure of particle verbs. Rather, Jackendoff puts into question what has been considered so far in the theories which have attempted to explain these structures, and offers convincing arguments as to what should really count in an analysis of the verb-particle construction.

4.2 JACKENDOFF (2002): THE AUTONOMY OF THE SYNTAX

In the previous chapter, we have discussed Jackendoff's (2002) considerations about productivity; we assumed the author's statements about the difference between lexical unit and grammatical word, as well as the difference between productivity and semiproductivity, the latter being some kind of middle ground between productivity and idiosyncrasy. Still in the previous chapter, we have concluded that particle verbs can be divided, concerning productivity, into productive, semiproductive, and idiosyncratic combinations, while that division may not coincide exactly with their classification as literal, idiomatic, or aspectual.

Based on Culicover's hypothesis concerning Concrete Minimalism (2000⁶ apud Jackendoff 2002), author with whom Jackendoff later wrote *Simpler Syntax*⁷, the author comes up with very simple, yet reasonable considerations about the syntax of the verb-particle construction in this work of 2002. Some of these considerations challenge the mainstream generative beliefs, as do both works just cited in the beginning of the paragraph, but not without taking these beliefs under careful consideration before.

To begin with, there is an implied criticism of Chomsky's Minimalist Program in Culicover's proposal of a Concrete Minimalism, which claims for the "minimum syntactic structure necessary to relate sound and meaning" (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 68). Here I do not dare take sides on that, but instead consider Jackendoff's proposal for what it is: an attempt to give a simple and broad explanation to the structure of particle verbs, which is not afraid to ask questions about long accepted principles in theory if attested data challenges them.

Through syntactic tests, Jackendoff reaches the conclusion that the syntax of particle verbs is very much the same, independently of any semantic or other distinctions they might have. They all present very much the same possibility to appear adjacent or not to the verb, a possibility which is restricted by very much the same reasons, all of which we have briefly discussed in the beginning of section 4.1. There are, however, questions to be answered, the same ones that have been addressed by both CP and SC analysis, as well as probably all other attempts at describing the syntax of particle verbs. Jackendoff (2002) summarizes them in three questions, reproduced below in 18:

18

- a) Do the verb and the particle together form a lexical item?
- b) Do the verb and the particle form a constituent that excludes the direct object?
- c) Do Prt and NP form a constituent that excludes the verb?

(JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 88)

The author addresses the first question by means of the distinction we have already discussed at length between productive, semiproductive, and idiosyncratic combinations. Idiomatic, as well as other combinations which must be listed in the lexicon, do form a single lexical item, in Jackendoff's point of view. The author goes further in suggesting they should

⁶ CULICOVER, Peter w. Concrete minimalism, branching structure, and linear order. In: Proceedings of Generative Linguistics in Poland, Warsaw, 2000.

⁷ CULICOVER, Peter W. JACKENDOFF, Ray. **Simpler Syntax**. Oxford: Oxford University, 2005.

be treated the same way as multi-word idioms, such as *sell NP down the river*, *take NP for granted* or *blow somebody's mind*.

Jackendoff (2002) argues intently, though, that such a statement does not entail that they should form a constituent in the syntax. Multi-word idioms such as the ones above are not seen as constituents, if they are not in actuality, just because they have just one meaning and are listed as a whole in the lexicon. The following quote should be reproduced here, not only because it states better than any explanation the author's opinion, but also because of its convincing, definitive tone:

Lexical listing does not require the verb and particle to form a constituent or even be contiguous in underlying structure. As observed as long ago as Emonds 1972, there are many discontinuous VP idioms like *take NP to task*, *give NP the slip*, and *sell NP down the river*, where a freely chosen direct object intervenes between the two components of the idiom. There is no reason not to let idiomatic verb-particle combinations be discontinuous as well. In short, idiomaticity is evidence for lexical status, but not for grammatical wordhood or even constituency." (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 73)

The treatment that the author proposes, then, for idiomatic particle verbs, is that which is presented in Jackendoff (1997b) for 'units larger than X^0 ' in general. This treatment assumes that the matching between syntax and semantics is, obviously, not one-to-one. The author exemplifies with the expression *take NP to the cleaners*, which means "get all of NP's money or possessions". All words in this expression are clearly void of their original meanings, so a composition of their meanings is not made. Instead, the words are disposed in the syntax as they would, as what we have in 19-a, and the VP they form is linked as a whole to the meaning in 19-b.

19

a) $VP[\ v[take] \ PP[\ p[to] \ DP[the\ cleaners]]]$

b) $[_{Event} \ GET \ ([\] \ [ALL \ OF \ [MONEY \ OF \ [\]]])]$

(adapted from JACKENDOFF, 1997b, p. 162)

The blank spaces in 19-b correspond to the subject and the object positions; in the syntax, the object position remains open inside that syntactic structure represented in 19-a, that is, a direct object is licensed and intervenes freely in the middle of the idiom, as if it were any other kind of syntactic structure, which also explains how morphology applies to the verb independently of its semantic status (*took* instead of **taked*, in case of past tense, for

instance). Below we have a clarifying quote about this kind of linking that the author proposes.

The basic idea is that full linking is necessary only for productive syntactic composition, that is, syntactic composition in the usual generative sense. In productive syntactic composition, the meaning of a phrase is a rule-governed function of the meanings of its parts. However, when a syntactic phrase is lexically listed, there is no need to build it up semantically from its parts – the meaning is already listed as well, so full linking of the parts is unnecessary. (JACKENDOFF, 1997b, p. 163)

Jackendoff (1997b, p. 160) points out that some idioms are full sentences, such as *keep your shirt on* and *that's the way the cookie crumbles*, and that it would be unimaginable to analyze them as under the same V^0 node, as a complex head. It does make sense, then, to question whether we really need to see particle verbs that way.

If we apply this treatment to such an idiomatic particle verb as *look up*, we might come up with a unified syntactic structure for all kinds of particle verbs, which therefore applies to *look up* as well; a syntactic structure in which the particle is able to appear either adjacent to the verb or following its DP complement, a possibility that is limited by factors such as heaviness of the DP complement or the presence of a certain kind of modifier, when possible. However, whatever that syntactic structure is, what happens in the case of idiomatic constructions is that their meaning is already listed, and therefore not made up from its parts. Roughly, then, according to Jackendoff (1997b, 2002), the difference between listed and productive verb-particle combinations is in the linking between structure and meaning, rather than in their syntactic structure per se.

Even though the first question seems to have been answered satisfactorily, two questions remain, and we repeat them in 20 below for convenience:

20

- d) Do the verb and the particle together form a lexical item?
- e) Do the verb and the particle form a constituent that excludes the direct object?
- f) Do Prt and NP form a constituent that excludes the verb?

(JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 88)

While addressing the two remaining questions, the author analyzes briefly the possibilities of the particle (PrT) forming a constituent with the verb or with the NP, brushing lightly on CP and SC analyses. In the author's perspective, it might be possible to conceive

that, at some level, the particle in left-hand position, that is, adjacent to the verb, could become incorporated into the verb and form a complex head, but, if that really happens, it should not, in the author's opinion, lead to any semantic consequences; if verb and particle were to end up under the same V^0 node, that would not commit them to be a single lexical unit, or have a single meaning. Apart from adjacent position, there is nothing else, according to the author, to suggest that verb and particle may ever form a complex head.

As for the particle forming a constituent with the NP, for Jackendoff (2002), that seems even more improbable. If the particle verb in question is a literal one, then forming a constituent with the NP would basically be the same thing as being a PP, even though the particle presents different syntactic behavior. About forming an SC, Jackendoff admits that some particles can be predicative, and that might make them suitable for becoming predicative of the subject, becoming similar or even participating in a small clause. However, that is not enough to assume that the structure of small clauses underlies the structure of all particle verbs.

Even though Jackendoff (2002) discusses, quite realistically, the possibilities raised by the most traditional accounts on the structure of verb-particle constructions, and does recognize the situations in which they might make sense as explanations of these structures' behavior, what the author really wants to suggest, much more in that sense, really, than presenting a theory and irrefutable evidence, is that what motivates the endless search in syntactic theory for the constituency of the particle is binary branching, and that, if that did not exist, the question would disappear.

Jackendoff states that Culicover's work on Concrete Minimalism proves that binary branching does not make syntactic theory any simpler, which would be the reason to assume it in the first place. Without binary branching, the author states, nothing would stop scholars from stating a structure for particle verbs as $[_{VP} V NP \text{Prt}]$, in which neither the relation that the particle has with the verb or the one it has with the NP takes precedence over the other, a factor that might be behind the failure of many theories. However, I do not intend to go deeper into the reasons for either adopting or dropping binary branching here.

Again, I do not dare take sides on whether binary branching should be dropped from syntactic theory or not. However, I do believe Jackendoff brings great insight into the structure of the verb-particle construction, and I do agree with the author that assuming a treatment for idiomatic particle verbs similar to that given to multi-word idioms simplifies our questions. It is true that, even though they have three very different kinds of semantic uses, and that might sometimes lead us to think they have completely different behavior, in fact,

they do not. If we analyze their syntactic behavior, they are in general very similar, and subject to the same constraints.

A theory which succeeds in describing particle verbs correctly must, therefore, in my opinion, not be biased with respect to semantic behavior. It must be able to account for the different positions the particle can appear in, as well as the relations it might form with the elements around it, while the question of whether its meaning is listed or can be built online does not have to be resolved in the syntax. It might be proven, in the future, that the only way to describe the syntax of particle verbs successfully is to drop binary branching, or it might be proven that it is not necessary to do that. Either way, verb-particle constructions continue, to this date, to represent a challenge for all theories which attempt to describe them.

In this section, Jackendoff's (2002) insights into the verb-particle construction's syntactic structure were presented. I do not dare side with him unconditionally, seeing as his proposal about how dropping binary branching might be the way to finally find the explanation that we are all looking for challenges maxims long accepted in syntactic theory, which would have to be carefully analyzed in much more detail than I would be able to do here. For now, I am content to simply comment on these ideas, which might someday lead to a bigger development in the theory, or simply be proven wrong. Either way, I am certain the questions raised in this section by means of the observations made by Jackendoff help refine our questions on the matter, and that is an important step in seeking answers.

4.3 ASPECTUAL PARTICLES AND THEIR SYNTACTIC INTERFERENCE

In chapter 3, we mentioned two quotes concerning aspectual particles, most specifically telic *up*, which raised interesting questions to be discussed both in a semantic and in a syntactic perspective. I repeat them both here for convenience: "*up* is syntactically optional, and its contribution to the meaning of the sentence is quite modest. The verb could stand on its own with almost the same meaning" (CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 425). "[*Up* does not] satisfy an argument position of the verb: it can be freely omitted. It is often even redundant" (JACKENDOFF, 2002, p. 76). Seeing as we have already addressed the semantic part of that question, we now proceed to discussing the syntactic part.

Jackendoff's statement, that *up* does not satisfy an argument position of the verb, is very much the same thing as saying that it is "syntactically optional". Even though it is not

required by the verb, telic *up*, as well as the other aspectual particles in general, function as though they were aspectual auxiliaries. In that sense, they are like adjuncts. However, as we will see, some particles present a few singularities.

Up seems to be really optional, in the sense that Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman meant, because it does not seem to have a huge impact on the syntax of the verbs it is combined with. As we can see in the examples, when *up* is added to an intransitive verb, as in 21-a, the verb's characteristics do not change, as they do not in 21-b, which shows an example of a transitive verb receiving the particle. If it were removed, nothing would be missing in the structure, not only in the whole sentence but also in its shorter version with *it* replacing the object.

21

- a) Kids *grow up* so fast.
- b) Charlie *drank* his milk *up* like a good boy.
Charlie *drank* it *up*.
- c) The house *burned down*.
- d) The cops *broke* the door *down*.
The cops *broke* it *down*.

That seems to be the same case of *down*; in 21-c, we have an example of an intransitive verb receiving it. Then, in 21-d, a transitive one; if *down* were removed, nothing would be missing both in the whole sentence and in the shorter version. That also seems to be the case of *off* and *out*. In addition, all of these particles present the textbook behavior of verb-particle constructions that we described earlier; as we can see in the examples with *hear out*, the particle can appear adjacent to the verb or after the DP complement (22-a); however, that is not optional in case of unstressed pronouns, which force the particle to follow them (22-b), as well as in case there is a heavy NP, which forces the particle to precede it (22-c).

22

- a) He wanted her to *hear out* his story.
He wanted her to *hear* his story *out*.
- b) He wanted her to *hear* it *out*.
*He wanted her to *hear out* it.
- c) He wanted her to *hear out* the story about how he had got lost.

*He wanted her to *hear* the story about how he had got lost *out*.

However, among telic particles, we have a few examples which do not seem to follow the same rules. *Over* is a semiproductive aspectual particle; its telic combinations are not very common. One which we mentioned in the previous chapter is *talk NP over*, which means roughly “talk until some existing problem is solved”. Particle shift is not possible for this verb-particle combination, not only when the DP is an unstressed pronoun (23-a), and not even when it is a full DP (23-b).

23

- a) Let’s *talk* this *over*.
*Let’s *talk over* this.
- b) They wanted to *talk* the situation *over*.
* They wanted to *talk over* the situation.

Telic combinations with *through* are also semiproductive, and the particle adds a meaning of “from beginning to end”. In general, particle shift happens normally in particle verbs containing this particle, as in the example in 24-a. However, the example in 24-b, *sit through*, which means roughly “to watch the whole of something”, does not seem to accept particle shift. It is also a curious combination in that it makes the otherwise intransitive verb *sit* become transitive.

24

- a) I *read through* the list.
I *read* the list *through*.
- b) I *sat through* that stupid movie because I had paid for it.
*I *sat* that stupid movie *through* because I had paid for it.

That might lead us to conclude that those peculiarities belong only to isolated combinations, probably the most idiomatic ones, which might be obligatorily listed in the lexicon with a fixed syntax, like multi-word idioms. However, that does not seem to be the case of telic *away*, which seems to act like the other telic particles, being compatible with intransitive verbs, as in 25-a, as well as with transitive ones, as in 25-b, also allowing (or disallowing) particle shift to apply in the same contexts as it does for most verb-particle

combinations, as we can see in examples 25-a through 25-d. I do not know of any examples with telic *away* which present syntactic anomalies like those just mentioned.

25

- a) The conversation slowly *died away*.
- b) His ex-wife has *spent* his money *away*.
His ex-wife has *spent away* his money.
- c) His ex-wife has *spent* it *away*.
*His ex-wife has *spent away* it.
- d) His ex-wife has *spent away* the money he won in the lottery two years ago.
*His ex-wife has *spent* the money he won in the lottery two years ago *away*.

We could be tempted to assume that the other productive particles have a neutral syntactic behavior, like *up* does. However, that is not the case of the productive continuative particles. Both *on* and *away* seem to promote significant changes in the syntax of the verbs they combine with. As pointed out by Jackendoff (2002), when added to transitive verbs, both particles block the presence of a complement, as we can see in the examples in 25. If we look at the fact that they mean roughly, in 25-a, “continued drinking”, and, in 25-b, “continued dancing”, we can observe that the structures with the aspectual auxiliary plus the verb with the *-ing* affix do not require a complement. That may or may not be a relevant observation, but the fact that these structures do not *block* complements, as the ones with the particles do, does not make it a strong candidate as the explanation of why it happens.

25

- a) James *drank on*.
*James *drank* vodka *on*.
- b) Annie *danced away*.
*Annie *danced* jazz *away*.

The same does not happen with *along*, the third continuative particle; it can appear in combination with intransitive verbs, as in 26-a, as well as in combination with transitive ones, as in 26-b, allowing their complements without a problem.

26

There's nothing to see, *move along*.

Mike *rode* his bike *along*.

In this section, we briefly analyzed the influence that aspectual particles may have in the original syntax of the verb they are attached to. In general, these particles do not influence these structures. There are, however, a few challenging examples, most of which we could attempt to explain through idiomaticity, claiming that maybe these specific verb-particle combinations are getting closer to multi-word idioms than particle verbs, as they do not present the characteristic syntactic features of other particle verbs. The biggest challenge presented here, however, is the impact of continuative *on* and *away* on the verbs they combine with.

The aim of this chapter was to discuss issues concerning the syntax of particle verbs. We can probably conclude right about now that we have raised much more questions than we have offered answers. The truth is that one thing that might be stopping scholars from finding definitive answers concerning this subject is asking the wrong questions, or taking the wrong factors into consideration. Much on the literature about the syntax of phrasal verbs has to do with defining what questions should be addressed.

Probably the closest we got to achieving an answer as to what the structure of particle verbs might be was with Jackendoff's (2002) proposal; even though it does not have a definitive claim as to what the structure is, it eliminates, rather convincingly, the doubt about whether we should consider the semantic distinctions among particle verbs relevant for building a theory of their syntax, which were the base of many theories that failed to describe these structures.

We have also discussed briefly the aspectual particles which can promote some kind of change in the original syntax of the verb they attach to, and found ourselves facing a new challenge: why do continuative *on* and *away* block the complements of the verbs they combine with? The aim of this chapter was not to offer answer to the questions raised, but to discuss the current theories, as well as the main syntactic challenges that particle verbs pose to theorists.

5 CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we have attempted to shed some light on the semantics and syntax of aspectual post-verbal particles. In order to do that, we have first of all established, in chapter 2, our view of aspect, both grammatical and lexical. After discussion on the proposals by several authors, we adopted a scheme for aspect very much like Brinton's (2009), including the author's suggestion of a new subcategory of imperfective aspect, namely, continuative aspect. For aktionsart, we stuck with Vendler's (1957) model of categories, believing that, even after so much time and many objections and attempts at refinements, the author's model is still the most complete and better suited to describe aktionsart in language.

In chapter two, we focused closely on our main object of study, aspectual post-verbal particles. We started by describing the two kinds of aspectual meanings that they can convey; continuative aspect and telicity. The first is a notion suggested by Brinton (2009), which can represent a situation as continuing, after an interruption or not, but, basically, extending itself in time instead of ending. The post-verbal particles which can convey that meaning are *on*, *away*, and *along*. Telicity is a notion from aktionsart; it is the intrinsic property of a situation of having a definite endpoint. The post-verbal particles which can add or emphasize a telos in verbs are *up*, *down*, *out*, *off*, *through*, *over*, and *away*.

After the thorough discussion of the meanings that these particles can add to simple verbs, in association with Jackendoff's (2002) definition of productivity, we have concluded that, among the telic particles, only *up* is productive. That means that it can be added to verbs online, in combinations which are understood by the speaker and the interlocutor without needing to be listed in the lexicon. The same happens, in the continuative particles group, with *on* and *away*. When these particles combine with verbs, the outputs need not be listed in the lexicon either, and are understood even if the speakers have never heard the combination before. The other particles in both groups are semiproductive; semiproductive combinations between verbs and aspectual particles must be listed in the lexicon, and have a more specific, less "pure" aspectual meaning than the productive ones.

The syntax of the particle-verb construction is a matter of extensive debate. Ramchand and Svenonius (2002) wrote a very interesting and true statement: "whether despite the amount of ink spilled over the verb-particle construction or because of it, there is still a dramatic lack of consensus regarding its syntactic structure" (RAMCHAND and

SVENONIUS, 2002, p. 1). The question has been addressed from numerous points of view, yielding a wide literature on the matter, with no definitive answer as a result.

In chapter 4, we reviewed briefly the two theories most often adopted by authors when attempting to describe the syntactic behavior of particle verbs: complex head analysis and small clause analysis. For each theory, we focused on one author, very representative of the respective point of view.

For CP analysis, we reviewed Johnson (1991), who comes up with what is later referred to as excorporation; basically, verb and particle are inserted under the same lexical head node, and might end up separated later on by movement of the verb and the DP complement. For SC analysis, the reviewed proposal was den Dikken's (1995); in the author's account, a structure consisting of three small clauses, one of which is headed by the particle, complements the verb in the main clause. Particle shift is explained in terms of movement or not of the DP to an upper position in the structure of the small clauses, which would end up with the DP between verb and particle on the surface.

Besides explaining both author's proposals, we have also looked at the good and bad sides about them; that is, the reasons why this could be a good explanation to the syntactic structure of particle verbs, as well as the reasons why that explanation does not seem to be enough to account for these structures' behavior.

As an alternative, we also reviewed the proposal given by Jackendoff (2002), whose insights had been first applied in chapter 3, while we analyzed whether aspectual post-verbal particles, and later on, literal and idiomatic particles as well, were productive, semiproductive, or idiosyncratic in the author's analysis. In chapter 4, we discussed how these considerations might reflect on a syntactic approach about verb-particle constructions, as well as where the author's proposal was headed to.

The notion of productivity was then useful for the author to propose that the combinations which must be listed in the lexicon, contrary to what intuition might say – and that has motivated many theoretical approaches –, do not have to be inserted under the same lexical head node, neither do they even have to be contiguous in deep structure. That ensures that there is probably no need to provide a different syntactic explanation for idiomatic combinations as opposed to literal or aspectual ones. The fact that all kinds of particle verbs are subject to the same kind of syntactic constraints is further evidence of that.

Jackendoff (2002) does not propose a whole theory to explain the syntactic structure of particle verbs. What the author does is to question the need of earlier theories for determining what the particle forms a constituent with, if with the verb, or if with the DP.

Jackendoff states that this need is a result of building structures with binary branching. If binary branching was not implemented, nothing would stand in the way of a theory which dared to propose a structure such as [V DP Part], in which verb, particle, and DP, when one is present, are inside the VP, with no hierarchical order and no need to determine which is the most important relation that the particle establishes syntactically, if with the verb, or with the DP.

Even though that perspective challenges concepts which have been long established in generative syntactic theory, it does seem to make more sense that both the relation between verb and particle and the one between the particle and the DP are important, and neither should be determined as the most important in a general explanation for the syntax of all verb-particle constructions. Jackendoff's (2002) suggestion could be the one to follow, and develop further, in order to come up with an accurate syntactic description of particle verbs.

Still in chapter 4, we have also taken a closer look at the syntactic relations formed or changed upon the addition of aspectual post-verbal particles. We have concluded that most particles do not cause a change in the original syntax of the verb besides, of course, their presence. However, a few among the aspectual particles present syntactic peculiarities or have an important impact on the syntax of the verbs they are added to.

While *up*, *down*, *off*, *out* and *away*, among the telic particles, seem to behave in a rather neutral way in relation to the verbs they are associated with, *through* and *over* have examples which are subject to different constraints than the remainder of post-verbal particles – blocking particle shift and making the verb transitive are examples.

Among the group of continuative particles, though, the examples are not so much isolated cases like those; even though *along* seems to have a quite neutral syntactic behavior as well, both *on* and *away*, the productive aspectual particles, block their associated verbs from having complements when they are present, as pointed out by Jackendoff (2002). That behavior is not restricted to just a few examples; that seems to happen in all combinations of *on* and *away* with simple verbs to convey continuative aspect. These observations add a few more questions for us to pursue on our search for answers concerning the syntax of aspectual post-verbal particles, and the syntax of particle verbs in general.

While the semantic issues addressed throughout this paper seem quite clear to us at this point, the syntactic issues have not received definitive answers. It might even be fair to say that we have raised more questions than those we already had in the beginning, but that is not necessarily a bad thing. It is a fact, in science, that asking the wrong questions will lead to wrong answers; following that logic, I believe that, even though we did not come up with any

definitive answers to the syntactic questions about verb-particle constructions, we did get at least one step closer to asking the right questions.

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