

**CONSTRUCTIONS AND RESULT: ENGLISH PHRASAL VERBS AS ANALYSED
IN CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR**

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the difference between separable and non-separable transitive English phrasal verbs, focusing on finding a reason for the non-separable verbs' lack of compatibility with the word order alternation which is present with the separable phrasal verbs. The analysis is formed from a synthesis of ideas based on the work of Bolinger (1971) and Gollach (2004). A simplified version of Cognitive Construction Grammar is used to analyse and categorize the phrasal verb constructions. The results indicate that separable and non-separable transitive English phrasal verbs are similar but different constructions with specific syntactic reasons for the incompatibility of the word order alternation with the non-separable verbs.

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1. Introduction

Research is often begun to answer a question, and in this case, the question was, “Why?” Why do ostensibly transitive English phrasal verbs occur either as separable or non-separable phrasal verbs? Why are certain transitive phrasal verbs not compatible with the separated construction, but only with the unseparated construction? It was unclear to me, from the descriptions I had read, just why it was that separable phrasal verbs could be separated, but unseparable phrasal verbs, being in essential appearance no different from separable phrasal verbs, could not. Construction Grammar, the theory which forms the backbone of my analysis in this thesis, assumes that a change in form, a change of the construction, is typically accompanied by a change in meaning, however slight (Goldberg, 1995, pp. 8-9). This assumption requires the researcher to search for changes in meaning if there are changes in the syntax, and thus, there is some difference between the ‘separated’ construction and the ‘non-separable’ construction. The reasons for the latter are not so clear, because their basic syntax does not differ from that of the separable verbs; it is only in the attempt to use the separable construction that the difference between the two types of phrasal verbs becomes apparent. It is this problem that I have chosen to examine, with the aim of discovering what that difference in meaning between separable and non-separable phrasal verbs might be.

The first question to be addressed was what made the ‘separated’ verb different from the ‘unseparated’ one. Certain authors who have dealt with the subject hypothesize that result is one of the factors involved in the word order differentiation (Bolinger, 1971; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004; Gorfach, 2004; Hampe, 1997), and after further research, I chose to concur with their conclusions. Once the question of what the alternative word order contributed to the sentence

was addressed, the question of the ‘non-separable’ verbs’ difference from the ‘separable’ verbs could more easily be accounted for. My Construction Grammar analysis argues that though result is a meaningful part of the separated construction, the non-separated construction which occurs with those verbs that do not co-occur with the separated construction represents verbs which have a different basic syntactic structure than the separable phrasal verbs. I propose that the particles found with separable phrasal verbs and the ones which occur with non-separable phrasal verbs are not the same kind of particle: the particles which occur with non-separable phrasal verbs function simultaneously as adverbial particles and prepositions, and are called ‘adpreps’. This concept, and the name I use for these constructions is based on the work of Bolinger (1971). Since these particles have two roles in the clause, they are not compatible with the separated construction, which requires the particle to be only an adverbial particle.

This thesis examines the English constructions typically known as ‘phrasal verbs’ and analyses them within the theory of Cognitive Construction Grammar. I will argue that the construction in which the particle occurs separated from its parent verb is more clearly resultative than that in which the verb and the particle are not separated due to the emphasis this places on the resultant condition of the objective noun phrase. This is in keeping with established literature on the topic, and is discussed in chapter 2. My own analysis consists of a synthesis of the work of Bolinger (1971) and Gorlach (2004), both of whom take somewhat different views of phrasal verbs. I believe that what each author has to say regarding these constructions is valid and holds merit; however, each manages to overlook some aspect of the verbs because of the nuances in their analyses. I use Construction Grammar to bring their ideas together because comparatively little has been written about phrasal verbs within that theoretical framework, and most of it is concerned with the resultative family of constructions as a whole, rather than phrasal

verbs in particular. However, because these verbs are considered typologically unusual, many linguists working within other theoretical frameworks have written analyses of them. As this thesis shows, Construction Grammar does have insights to offer regarding English phrasal verbs.

This thesis is divided into two sections. Chapters 2 and 3 are the background chapters. These chapters provide the basic linguistic descriptions of the phrasal verbs and discussions of the literature on the topic. This necessary description highlights the salient qualities of the phrasal verbs, and the literature discussion explicates a number of insights from other linguists which are brought together in the second section. Chapters 4 and 5, the second section, form the analysis of the English phrasal verb and represent the more theoretically significant part of the thesis.

Chapter 2 of this work contains a description of English phrasal verbs. I cover their syntax and morphology, as well as discussing some of the effects they have on the prosody of the English sentence. This chapter also briefly describes their historical development, and examines some of the literature on the verbs. The literature review is not exhaustive, nor was it intended to be so; it instead provides the reader with the knowledge that there are many different accounts of the English phrasal verb, and that there is, in some instances, surprisingly little agreement on the reasons behind the phenomenon.

Chapter 3 provides a more in-depth description of the literature, focusing on two specific sources. In this chapter, I summarize the work of Bolinger (1971) and Gorfach (2004), the sources which were highly influential on my Construction Grammar synthesis and analysis. Each author has a different approach to language, and specifically to phrasal verbs, but each interpretation provides ideas which are crucial to the further development of my own analysis.

Chapter 4 outlines the concepts behind the theory of Construction Grammar and its basic assumptions regarding language, and briefly addresses the work on phrasal verbs which has been done in Construction Grammar, as well as offering a look at a Construction Grammar analysis of resultatives.

Chapter 5 contains my initial analysis of the constructions. This is followed by my discussion of the problems with this first analysis, and the need for synthesis with others' ideas, and it then concludes with my final analysis. The figures used in this section are explained as they are introduced, for the sake of readers who may be less familiar with Construction Grammar. This is done particularly because the theory has many variations, each with a slightly different style of notation.

Chapter 6, my conclusion, leaves the reader with a brief summary of what has gone before, as well as re-addressing the main questions that have been described in this introduction. It re-affirms my choice of Construction Grammar as the theory through which to explain English phrasal verbs, despite the concerns about the theory raised in chapter 5.

Part 1: Background

Part 1 of this thesis supplies the necessary background for understanding the core questions which this thesis addresses. This section includes chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 provides the reader with a basic linguistic description of English phrasal verbs, and includes a literature review which spans approximately eighty years of linguistic discussion on English phrasal verbs. Chapter 3 is a more in-depth review of the two primary works which have been most influential on this work, and thus segues into the analysis section.

2. Description of Phrasal verbs

English phrasal verbs consist of a verb paired with a particle that is homophonous with an English preposition (Jackendoff, 2010, p. 228). The verb and its particle are written as separate words in the orthography, and the phrasal verb shares similarities, such as transitivity and irregularity, with the single-word verb which the ‘verb’ part of the phrasal verb resembles and from which it presumably originates (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). The particle used in the phrasal verb is not a preposition, although it resembles one in appearance. Instead, it is semantically fused to the verb, and the meaning of the verb with its particle may be significantly different from the verb when it does not have a particle attached to it. The particle may be considered adverbial by some authors (Huddleston, 1984). Prosodically, the phrasal verb construction results in stress being placed on both the verb and the particle, rather than solely on the verb, specifically in its non-separated state (Master, 1996).

However, the English phrasal verb is not merely the fusing of the root verb and the particle into a single word. While the phrasal verb can be used in the same manner as a single-word English verb, an additional syntactic option exists for this construction. The particle may be placed after the verb’s object, separate from the verb to which it is semantically connected. This alternation naturally only occurs in transitive sentences. There are also some phrasal verbs which do not occur with this construction, and for which this construction is considered ungrammatical. For the verbs which allow this construction, the alternative word order is obligatory when the object of the sentence is a pronoun (Curzan & Adams, 2006, p. 148). This is demonstrated in the examples below, where we see that, in examples (1), (2), (5), (6), (9), and (10), the object consists of a noun phrase with either a noun or a proper noun. In these examples, the alternative word order, with the particle following the noun phrase, is possible, but it is not the only

available grammatical option. In examples (3) and (7), the noun phrase consists of a pronoun, and the particle occurs after the pronoun. Examples (4) and (8) show that the ‘standard’ word order, where the particle occurs after the verb and prior to the noun phrase, is ungrammatical when the noun phrase is a pronoun.

- (1) Mark **asked out** Jane.
- (2) Mark **asked** Jane **out**.
- (3) Mark **asked** her **out**.
- (4) *Mark **asked out** her.
- (5) Jeremy **put** the lightbulbs **in**.
- (6) I **put** the kettle **on**.
- (7) **Bring** it **on**!
- (8) ***Bring on** it!
- (9) **Bring on** the turkey!
- (10) **Bring** the turkey **on**!

This chapter provides a basic description of English phrasal verbs and a discussion of the literature available on the topic. The chapter will also include short sections on both the morphology and the prosody of English phrasal verbs, as well as offering a short look at their historical background, in order to provide the reader with a more complete understanding of the verbs. The literature review examines some of the earlier work on phrasal verbs, as well as progressing through to some of the current works. Section 2.5 offers a definition of the resultative aspect and its relevance to the English phrasal verb.

2.1.1 History of the Phrasal Verb

Phrasal verbs have been present for much of the history of the English language; they are easily traceable back to early Middle English (McArthur, 1992, p. 773). There are similar constructions in other Germanic languages, such as Dutch (Neeleman & Weerman, 1993), but such constructions are less common in other language families and can therefore be considered typologically unusual. Like the phenomenon of preposition-stranding, phrasal verbs appear to occur only in the Germanic languages (Newmeyer, 2005, p. 113).

Van Dongen (1919) traces the elements of the English phrasal verb back as far as Old English, in which adverbs (i.e., the particles) occurred by default as post-positions, but could also occur in other positions in the sentence (p. 325). He then follows the verbs to Middle English, where “the adverb is more and more attracted by the verb and takes its place before the noun-object” (p. 325), establishing the existence of phrasal verbs in works such as Malory’s *Le Morte d’Arthur* and in the Wycliffe Bible. Another author, Elenbass (2003), argues that, in Old English, the particles which would later become part of the phrasal verbs functioned as resultative predicates, and did so to an extent in Middle English as well.

English phrasal verbs have varied in productivity over the centuries, but the number and usage of phrasal verbs has been increasing since the nineteenth century and especially during the last fifty years. This development has been most notable in American English (McArthur, 1992, p. 775). McArthur (1992) notes that Samuel Johnson was the first to describe phrasal verbs in 1755, calling them a “composition,” but Walker (1655), a century earlier, considered some particles as words which could be included as “part of the signification of the foregoing verb” (p. 1), illustrating that the verb-particle combination was at times semantically unified. Currently,

phrasal verbs are used primarily in speech and in informal writing, but they do occur, with growing frequency, in more formal writing as well (Chen, 2007).

Many phrasal verbs occur within semantic frames which are typically considered idiomatic. While often, certainly initially, analysed as additional variations in the meaning of the root verb, the combination of the verb and the particle can result in a meaning drastically different from that of the root verb. Machonis (2009) calls these more idiomatic phrasal verbs “frozen verbs,” relegating them to the realm of the lexicon (p. 253). “Compositional” verbs, on the other hand, are seen as a verb plus a particle which adds aspect to the verb, while retaining the core meaning of the original verb (Machonis, 2009, p. 253). For example, Machonis (2009) identifies the aspect added by the particle *up* as completion, intensity, direction, or a combination of those three (p. 264). Machonis argues that because certain phrasal verbs are “frozen” they are different from “compositional” verbs; however, once a phrasal verb is in usage, its compositionality changes and the meaning moves, sometimes quite swiftly, towards the metaphoric, rather than the literal. A compositional verb can eventually become a ‘frozen’ verb, or it can remain productive. Jackendoff (2010) comments on this: “Some combinations of verb + particle are productive, some are semiproductive, and some are purely idiosyncratic” (p. 228). However, Jackendoff does not elaborate on whether or not productivity in a phrasal verb depends on its being what Machonis (2009) calls “compositional.” While the historical development of phrasal verbs is important to understanding the phenomenon, the end result is, of course, how the phrasal verbs are used at this point in time. Their current usage is better explained if we address their semantics.

2.1.2 The Semantics of the Verbs and Particles

Turning to the semantics of the phrasal verbs, this section contains some description and discussion of the semantics involved in both the verbs and the particles. Many of the root verbs for phrasal verbs are monosyllabic, and are frequently verbs of motion, affect, giving, being, or doing (Dixon, 1992; McArthur, 1992). One root verb can be used with more than one particle, forming many phrasal verbs (e.g., *get up*, *get out*, *get off*, *get on*). While the type of verb root which phrasal verbs are drawn from is typically limited to a few semantic classes, the phrasal verbs themselves are not nearly so limited. Dixon (1992) writes that “[t]he resulting phrasal verbs are distributed over a wider range of types; some of them have quite abstract and specialised meanings, for which there is no monomorphemic synonym, e.g. *let X in for Y*, *see X through Y*, *take up with X*” (p. 275).

A few examples listed below show that there are a number of common phrasal verbs whose parent verbs are Germanic in origin. Examples (16), (17), and (18), however, show that parent verbs for phrasal verbs are not limited to Germanic roots. The etymologies shown come from Pearsall (2002).

(11) bring about, bring along, bring back (Germanic root, Old English *bringan*)

(12) draw back, draw out (Germanic root, Old English *dragan*)

(13) break off (Germanic root, Old English *brecan*)

(14) go out, go up (Germanic root, Old English *gan*)

(15) take on, take out, take in (Germanic root, Old English *tacan*, from Old Norse *taka*)

(16) point out, point to (non-Germanic root, Old French *pointer*)

(17) carry on (non-Germanic root, Anglo-Norman French and Old North French *carier*, from Latin *carrus*)

(18) attend to (non-Germanic root, Old French *atendre* from Latin *attendere*)

The particles which form phrasal verbs are homophonous with the English class of prepositions (although not all English prepositions double as particles). Usually the particles are based on prepositions of location and direction (McArthur 1992). According to the Corpus of Contemporary American English [COCA], as of September 2012, the ten most frequently used particles were *up, out, back, down, on, in, off, over, around, and about*, with *up* having 838372 occurrences in the corpus, and *about* having 64392 occurrences (Davies, 2008). The corpus lists a total of 97 English particles, while Machonis (2009), citing Fraser (1976), states that there are a total of fifteen particles in English. These drastically different numbers, fifteen versus ninety-seven, occur partly because Davies (2008) does not limit his definition of ‘particle’ to those which only occur with phrasal verbs, and partly because Fraser (1976) was working with a smaller set of data than Davies (2008). In addition to this, phrasal verbs are currently very productive constructions, particularly in American English, as stated earlier, and there were simply more phrasal verbs in use in 2008 than there would have been in 1976.

Examples of the use of the ten particles listed above would include *hold up, back out, draw back, put down, carry on, turn in, take off, carry over, go around, and bring about*. Some of these include both so-called idiomatic meanings (*they held up the bank*) and meanings in keeping with the root verb (*she held up the card*).

2.2 Morphology

Phrasal verbs are treated morphologically in much the same way as single-word verbs in English, with suffixes inflecting the verb for third person singular, past tense, or for progressive or perfective participles. The ‘verb’ part of the phrasal verb—the first word, which was

originally a separate verb—is the part which receives any inflection. If the original verb was irregular, it follows the same pattern of inflection as that irregular verb. For other instances of tense or aspect, the verbs are used in the same way as other English verbs, with tense and aspect indicated through auxiliary words. In examples (19) to (28), the verbs, phrasal and non-phrasal, are marked in bold, so as to highlight the changes in morphology for the reader.

(19) You **try on** the shoes.

(20) He **tries on** the shoes.

(21) I **am trying on** the shoes.

(22) He **tried on** the shoes.

(23) He **tries** the whiskey.

(24) I **will try** the whiskey.

(25) I **crossed** the street.

(26) I **crossed out** the misspelled word.

(27) While chewing gum, I **blew** a bubble.

(28) The construction worker **blew up** the condemned building.

As can be seen in (19), the phrasal verb is zero-marked, which is typical of the second-person singular simple present in English, but in (20), *try on* is inflected to ‘tries on’ in keeping with the norm for the third-person singular simple present of *to try*. In the above examples, the parent verb for the phrasal verb is the same as the single-word verb; in each set, the verbs share the same inflection. The “verb” portion of phrasal verbs follows the same morphological patterns as other English verbs; it is homophonous with the parent verb, but due to the presence of its particle, it no longer has the same meaning.

I include the discussion of the particles of phrasal verbs in 2.3, within the discussion of the syntax, because while the particles are connected to the verbs, it is unclear from a brief examination whether the particles and verbs are connected morphologically or not. The particles can, in many cases, occur separate from their verbs, and this autonomy, combined with the fact that stress can be assigned to the particles, suggests that the particles are, at least to an extent, separate words from the verb. Because of these factors, I am choosing to interpret phrasal verbs and their particles primarily as a syntactic and semantic phenomenon, rather than a morphological one. This statement will be further expanded and examined in chapter 5.

2.3 Syntax

As syntax is a broad category, there will be several sub-topics discussed in this section. The first one is the question of transitivity, followed by the number of particles used in the phrasal verb, and concluding with word order. The first two, transitivity and the number of particles, are included to help delineate which types of phrasal verbs are the focus of this work, and the third topic, word order, highlights several of the primary questions being addressed here.

2.3.1 Transitivity

Because this thesis is concerned primarily with transitive phrasal verbs, a note on transitivity will be important to clarify the pervasiveness of these constructions. While the case for phrasal verb status may at times be murkier with intransitive verbs, this problem of phrasal verb status is also a question which affects the assignment of transitivity to some phrasal verbs. Because the particles within the constructions are largely homophonous with the class of English prepositions, a following noun phrase can potentially be assigned the role of the object of a prepositional phrase, or the role of the object of the verb. This ambiguity means that some

phrasal verbs are of indeterminate status regarding transitivity. To help distinguish true phrasal verbs where their status is unclear, I will include the importance of prosody in determining phrasal verb status, which will be discussed in 2.4. The ambiguity of the transitivity of some phrasal verbs is further addressed in the analysis in chapter 5.

Intransitive phrasal verbs, despite their orthographic treatment as two separate words, essentially function as single-word verbs, as shown below, and are therefore of less interest in this study. In examples (29) to (33), intransitive phrasal verbs are marked in bold to show that the verb can occur followed by either a prepositional phrase or no complement at all.

(29) I **went over** to the other side of the street.

(30) She **lay down** on the couch.

(31) The noise **let up**.

(32) Don't **wait up**!

(33) It'll **work out**.

The above examples follow the pattern established in the discussion of the morphology of phrasal verbs: the verb of the Verb-Particle construction is, like non-phrasal verbs, inflected for tense, number, person, or aspect. Auxiliary verbs are also used to convey tense and aspect. If the parent verb was irregular, the phrasal verb is also irregular. However, these phrasal verbs exhibit the same syntactic behaviour as single-word verbs:

(34) Don't **wait up**!

(35) Don't **steal**!

(36) I **went over** to Joe's place.

(37) I **walked** to Joe's place.

(38) The noise **let up**.

(39) The noise **abated**.

The only syntactic difference shown here is the orthographic multi-word status of the phrasal verbs. Interestingly, intransitive phrasal verbs are quite similar to those phrasal verbs with multiple particles; there is no ‘movement’ of the particle, and the words are used as a unit, semantically and syntactically, despite being depicted as separate entities in the orthography. However, the particle is not so integrated into the verbal unit that it can receive morphological inflections: those markers appear only on the verb.

Those phrasal verbs which are considered transitive non-separable verbs are significant because they are referred to as transitive (Master, 1996), despite the evidence for questioning whether or not they are actually transitive. In appearance, transitive non-separable phrasal verbs could simply be intransitive verbs followed by a prepositional phrase. However, they are often interpreted as phrasal verbs because the verb and particle are more semantically connected than the particle and the following noun phrase. For example, in (40), ‘in’ does not refer solely to the location of ‘in the car’ but also to the action of ‘getting in.’ In (41), the particle ‘across’ adds an additional semantic nuance to the verb ‘run.’ In both cases, the verb means something quite different when it does not occur with the particle.

(40) He **got in** the car.

(41) I **ran across** an old friend at the store.

This problem of whether or not a verb is intransitive or a non-separable phrasal verb can be resolved to some extent by a discussion of prosody, which will be discussed in section 2.4. The choice of limiting the constructions under discussion in this section to clearly transitive phrasal verbs is to simplify the questions about transitivity in order to allow for a more in-depth discussion of other questions which are more relevant to the theories and analyses in question.

The question of transitivity will also be more clearly addressed in the analysis portion of the thesis. The next section, 2.3.2, also deals with this question to an extent, because it discusses those phrasal verbs which have multiple particles.

2.3.2 Number of Particles

While the English phrasal verb prototypically consists of a Verb-Particle, there are some in which an additional particle has been appended to the construction: Verb-Particle-Particle, sometimes called a “phrasal-prepositional verb” (Armstrong, 2004, p. 214). These verbs with multiple particles are described here briefly, in order to provide a more complete understanding of the phrasal verb phenomenon, but because their syntax is slightly different than that of the transitive Verb-Particle, they are not discussed at great length. In examples (42) through (50), the Verb-Particle-Particle constructions each have two particles. The second particle could be interpreted as more connected to the following noun phrase, which would make that noun phrase into a prepositional phrase, but there is some connection in meaning to the verb and the first particle. The second particle adds additional nuances to the phrasal verb; if the second particle is omitted from the verb (though not from these particular sentences), the result is a phrasal verb with a different meaning.

(42) It all **adds up to** nothing.

(43) Mark **broke out in** spots.

(44) I **came down with** measles.

(45) She’s **cutting back on** carbs.

(46) He **did away with** the old man.

(47) He **got away with** murder.

(48) I'm **getting back into** studying Latin.

(49) Children always **look forward to** Christmas.

(50) I can't **put up with** you any longer!

The Verb-Particle-Particle constructions are typically non-separable, and since they are not subject to the word order variation which is of particular interest in the Verb-Particle constructions, they can be treated in a similar fashion to the intransitive Verb-Particle constructions, which also show no word order variation. Additionally, the Verb-Particle-Particle construction can be interpreted on occasion as “Verb-Particle Preposition,” which would re-interpret the verb's status as an intransitive phrasal verb. Because the Verb-Particle (Intransitive) and the Verb-Particle-Particle are quite similar, they are less important in this work for similar reasons: the syntactic variation is not present, and therefore, the question of semantic differences due to word order is not relevant.

2.3.3 Word Order

The most interesting facet of phrasal verbs for many authors tends to be the so-called ‘mobility’ of the particle. The alternate word order is one of the more unusual qualities of these verbs, because if the construction is Verb-Particle, with the two as a semantic unit, it would not be unusual for the two to become a compound word in the syntax, given enough time (Campbell, 2004, pp. 275, 277). However, this has not been the case with all phrasal verbs. While the non-separable verbs do appear to have fused together in some senses, many phrasal verbs instead have both optional and obligatory word order changes in which a noun phrase occurs between the verb and the particle, depending upon context.

When the object of the verb is a pronoun, and the phrasal verb is one which can occur with the Verb-NP-Particle construction, this construction is obligatory, as we see by comparing (51) and (54).

(51) We're going to **break it down**.

(52) We're going to **break** the set **down**.

(53) We're going to **break down** the set.

(54) *We're going to **break down** it.

There are several possible explanations for the obligatory word order of the construction Verb-Pronoun-Particle, and part of the explanation may involve prosody and prominence. The construction Verb-Pronoun-Particle may occur because pronouns are typically less stressed, and the sentence-final position is often considered to be a prominent place, because it is the last part of the utterance heard. That sentence-final word can be characterized by greater amplitude or longer duration. The Verb-Pronoun-Particle construction shifts the particle to the phrase-final position, which then heightens the particle's prominence, as in (51). If the construction occurs as *Verb-Particle-Pronoun, as in (54), the stress pattern feels "awkward" because the pronoun, a word which is typically unstressed, is in a prominent position which usually has some stress. This specific interpretation is upheld by Erades (1975), whose arguments regarding word order and prominence as they relate to phrasal verbs are discussed in section 2.5. Prosody and phrasal verbs, particularly the question of stress placement within an utterance containing a phrasal verb, are further discussed in section 2.4.

The word order variation, while obligatory in cases of pronominal objects, is optional in cases of nominal objects. The use of Verb-Particle NP versus Verb NP Particle is thus left to the

speaker, and it is here that the question of the difference in meaning becomes relevant. What is the difference between the two?

(55) I **took** the garbage **out**.

(56) I **took out** the garbage.

Why would a speaker choose to use, for example, (55) over (56), or vice versa? From where does the relative advantage of one over the other stem? According to Beate (2012), this option to use an alternate word order “allows speakers to manipulate the information structure so as to focus on (aspects of) the meaning of the verbal predicate itself” (p. 2). However, which aspects of meaning do speakers focus on when they choose one word order over another?

2.4 Prosody

Prosody can clearly show whether a non-separable phrasal verb is in fact, a phrasal verb, or simply an intransitive verb followed by a prepositional phrase. Typically, if the construction is a phrasal verb, some sentence-level stress occurs distributed on both the verb and its particle, while if the construction is a verb and a prepositional phrase, the verb and the noun phrase after the preposition receive some emphasis, while the preposition itself lacks prominence (Master, 1996). In the examples in this section, the primary sentential stress shifts in the V NP Particle predicates. In the examples below, the word with the most prominence is marked in bold print, while second most prominent word is italicised. Example (57) shows the primary stress on the verb, indicated in bold, and the secondary stress on the object of the preposition, indicated in italics. Contrast this with (58), in which a phrasal verb receives sentence-level stress, but the following noun phrase does not. The noun phrase could receive stress, as discussed below, but if the particle was functioning as a preposition, rather than a particle, it would not receive stress.

(57) Joseph **ran** to the *store*.

(58) Millie **sorted out** the jar of buttons.

Because English stress and intonation are also dependent on the speaker's intentions, there are other options for stress assignment within these sentences; it is not uncommon for some stress to be associated with the sentence-final position, and thus in (59) and (61) the noun phrases could potentially be more stressed than the verb.

(59) I **put down** the *gun*.

(60) I *put* the gun **down**.

(61) Jen **tried on** the *dress*.

(62) Jen *tried* the dress **on**.

In the examples shown above, when the phrasal verb occurs as Verb-Particle, the primary stress is on the verb and the particle, and the secondary stress is on the final noun phrase. When the construction Verb NP Particle occurs, the primary stress occurs on the particle in the sentence-final position and the secondary stress on the verb, in the sentence-medial position. Because stress can occur on the particle when the speaker is not using a special emphasis, the particles are very clearly not clitics. Clitics are typically attached to a phonological word as a single unstressed syllable (Dixon, 2010, p. 20). The particles are a part of the phrasal verb in some fashion, even if it is, thus far, unclear how they are syntactically connected to the verb.

2.5 Definitions of the phrasal verb in the literature

Phrasal verbs have a number of varying descriptions, in part because the constructions are themselves varied. For example, as discussed in 2.1-2.4, they can be distinguished on the basis of separability, stress, or the relationship of the particle with the verb and the following noun

phrase. Authors describe phrasal verbs using different criteria due to the variety of what they feel is necessary in description or analysis, which can make analysis difficult. The examples that follow, both from authors who focus on description and those who choose to attempt theory-based explanations, will serve to illustrate the confusion. The nature of the particle is also up for debate; the particles are called adverbs, particles, or something else entirely, and may or may not be considered part of the verb. The lack of consensus shows that there is certainly something unusual about these constructions, despite their common-place occurrence in English speech and writing. This section includes summaries of descriptive and theoretical analyses of English phrasal verbs but does not include the Construction Grammar literature on phrasal constructions. That topic is addressed in 4.3 in the chapter on Construction Grammar.

The earliest known academic publication on English phrasal verbs in English¹ was written by van Dongen in 1919 and published in *Neophilologus*. He interprets the particle of the phrasal verb as an adverb: “in order to express a complete action, verbs often require an adverb, e.g. *to hold up, to cut down*” (p. 322). He argues that the word-order variation is due, not to the user’s inclinations, as had been previously supposed (p. 324), but to stress and syllable weight (p. 330). A monosyllabic adverb is more likely, he states, to not appear in the phrase-final position, while a multisyllabic adverb is more inclined to be drawn to the phrase-final position because of

¹ While van Dongen (1919) may not be the first publication on phrasal verbs, his work is the first one cited by authors such as Gorfach (2004) and Bolinger (1971) in their discussions of the literature on phrasal verbs, and no earlier authors of linguistic publications on the topic are mentioned. Van Dongen himself mentions some German and Dutch publications (characterized as “a few notes” [p. 322]) on the topic which were not available to this author, and which would not have been usable without a translation. His article implies that these earlier publications were primarily basic descriptions of the phenomenon.

its weight (pp. 336-338). However, the user's need to stress a monosyllabic adverb could draw it to the sentence-final position (p. 338). Additionally, van Dongen argues that if the adverb is "loosely" connected to the verb, or has a greater semantic contribution to the following noun phrase, it may also occur in the phrase-final position (pp. 346-347). A final observation from his work, that "the adverb may denote the result of the action and is, in this case, very often put after the noun" (p. 348), begins the discussion of phrasal verbs and their connection to result, which will be continued further in chapter 3.

The next important work on phrasal verbs which is usually referenced is Erades' (1975) explanation of the placement of nominal objects and phrasal verbs, first published in 1961. He too denotes the particle as an adverb, and does not argue that the verb and particle might function as a unit. However, he refutes the earlier idea that the word order alternation is simply due to stress or the length of the noun phrase (pp. 188-191). Unusually, he appeals to the discourse function of the verb and particle, rather than syntax or prosody, for a description of the phenomenon. The following quote illustrates his argument:

The principle governing the place of the objects . . . is neither stress nor length nor rhythm, but something quite different: the news value which the idea denoted by the object has in the sentence. Objects denoting ideas that have news value, no matter whether they are nouns or pronouns, long or short, have end-position; those that have no such value come between verb and adverb. (Erades, 1975, p. 189)

Erades' notion of "news value" dictates that the construction Verb-Particle NP will occur when the NP is introducing a new idea into the discourse, whereas Verb NP Particle will occur when the NP is not a new topic, either to the discourse or to the speaker and hearer.

Sroka (1972) takes a more theoretical approach to phrasal verbs, but also provides a more in-depth description of the particles. Instead of agreeing with previous descriptions which simply characterize particles as adverbs, he distinguishes three classes of particles which occur to form phrasal verbs: “Adverbs, Prepositions, and Adverb-Preposition words, [which] are set up on the basis of distributional relations ascertainable among the particles; these distributional relations are determined by the range of occurrence of particular particles with reference to a definite set of positions” (p. 37). He uses both word position and semantics to delineate these classes, and specifies three positions in which the particles occur. His “A” position occurs when the particle is placed in the clause-final position, in which what he calls adverbs and adverb-prepositions can occur; the “B” position is limited to prepositions and adverb-prepositions, and is defined as when a pronoun occurs after the particle of a phrasal verb (in those instances of special emphasis or for non-separable phrasal verbs); and the “C” position is where the particle occurs immediately after the verb, followed by a noun phrase that is not a pronoun. All three of Sroka’s classes of particle can occur in the “C” position. While Sroka’s description calls these combinations of verb with different particles ‘phrasal verbs,’ like Erades and van Dongen, he retains an impression of the verb and the particle as quite separate entities that simply occur together. Examples of his particle classes are shown in Table 2.1.

Position	Particle Class	Example
A (particle occurs as clause-final)	Adverb; Adverb-Preposition	“I thought it wouldn’t come off”; “He doesn’t throw the money away.”
B (pronoun occurs after particle)	Preposition; Adverb-Preposition	“Two young officers paused as they looked at her”; “Inspector Birch comes past her to the centre of the room.”
C (particle occurs after verb)	Adverb; Preposition; Adverb Preposition	“When the Roman Legions gave up the Great Wall, sir—our people broke down the gates and came through.”

Table 2.1. Sroka’s (1972) Particle Classes and Examples (pp. 44-47)

Using a transformational generative analysis, Huddleston (1984) describes most of the particles as idiomatic, and classes them as complements of the predicate. Because of their idiomaticity, particles are dealt with by the lexicon instead of the grammar, and thus their behaviour is, according to his work, not entirely predictable. However, Huddleston does admit to some systematic aspects of phrasal verb particles:

But the occurrence of particles as complements is not restricted to idioms: compare *They brought the clothes in*, and the like. Where it is part of an idiom, we will regard it as a ‘neutral complement’; in *They brought the clothes in*, the particle *in* is what we shall be calling a ‘goal’, and is in paradigmatic contrast with other forms of goal complement, as in *They brought the clothes into the kitchen* (and the fact that the latter clearly exhibits the kernel order of elements is a reason for regarding *They brought the clothes in* as more basic than *They brought in the clothes*). (p. 205)

However, Huddleston does not elaborate much on what transformation causes the movement of the particle, other than to say that it exists, and that because this transformation exists, the particle cannot be moved into the following noun phrase (that is, it cannot be considered part of the noun phrase due to the movement), but is still connected somehow with the verb phrase (p. 204). Again, though phrasal verbs have a name distinguishing them as verbs, the parts are still seen as disconnected from each other.

Huddleston’s analysis (1984) is similar to the earlier work of Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), whose transformational generative analysis also states that the word order alternation occurs as a result of the application of the particle movement transformation. In their work,

however, they more clearly state the view that the two different word orders are not semantically significant. They provide the two examples listed below.

(63) The chemist **shook up** the mixture.

(64) The chemist **shook** the mixture **up**. (Jacobs & Rosenbaum, 1968, p. 105, emphasis mine)

In (61) and (62), the word order is different, but Jacobs and Rosenbaum state that “[b]oth sentences are synonymous” (p. 105); the connection between the two is provided by the particle movement transformation. This particular concept, articulated by both Huddleston (1984) and Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968), is unusual compared to the opinions of the other authors mentioned in this chapter, who assert that the word order alternation has some relevance to a change in meaning.

In *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, McArthur (1992) takes a more descriptive approach, not attempting to explain the word order alternation, but merely chronicling it. However, McArthur does state that when the noun phrase consists of a pronoun, the pronoun can only occur in the Verb-Particle NP construction if it is stressed; otherwise the pronoun must occur between the verb and the particle. This account does discuss meaning to some extent, classing phrasal verbs as having compositional meaning as well as “idiomatic” meaning: “A verb-particle combination may have: [sic] any of the meanings of the verb plus any of the meanings of the particle, and any meanings that emerge jointly in particular contexts, including a distinct figurative and often holistic meaning” (p. 773).

Dixon (1992) also distinguishes between “phrasal verbs” and “preposition verbs,” but his interpretation examines the difference between the verbs which are never used without the particle and those which can occur with or without the particle (resulting in a difference in

meaning). Dixon's "inherent preposition verbs" (p. 270) are ones such as *refer to*, which never occur without the particle *and*, in his opinion, should be classed as a single lexeme. Phrasal verbs, on the other hand, according to Dixon, consist of verb roots plus a preposition, which create a meaning different from that of the verb root. These, he states, should also be classed as separate lexemes from the root verb (pp. 270-271). Unlike most of the authors previously mentioned, Dixon classes particles as prepositions, not as a separate class of adverbial particles largely homophonous with the English class of prepositions.

Dixon (1992) further classifies six types of phrasal verbs:

1. verb-plus-p, e.g. set in, come to, pass out.
2. verb-plus-pN, e.g. set about X, come by X, pick on X.
3. verb-plus-Np, e.g. put X off, take X on, bring X down.
4. verb-plus-NpN, e.g. see X through Y, hold X against Y.
5. verb-plus-ppN, e.g. take up with X, go in for X, scrape by on X.
6. verb-plus-NppN, e.g. put X down to Y, let X in for Y, take X up on Y. (p.

274)

Dixon's verb types four, five and six are not dealt with here, but types one, two, and three are addressed in this work. Type one may be considered either intransitive or non-separable, while type two may be separable or non-separable, and type three is by necessity separable. While Dixon's examples listed above for type two may not be separable, Dixon does clearly state that type two, where the verb is followed by the preposition and then by a noun phrase, can be either separable or non-separable. While I have thus far drawn a distinction between separable and non-separable phrasal verbs, Dixon (1992) distinguishes between both separated and unseparated phrasal verbs, regardless of whether the unseparated verbs can or cannot be separated. While

there is an obvious difference between the separated and unseparated phrasal verb, the manner in which Dixon categorizes non-separable phrasal verbs together with separable ones in his type two verb implies that there is no difference between these two kinds of verbs.

Master (1996) delineates between two primary types of verb-particle constructions. The first construction is the one which is known as a ‘phrasal verb.’ He calls the second type a ‘prepositional verb.’ His criteria for the phrasal verb is that the particle is the element of the prosodic word which receives primary stress (p. 308). In a prepositional verb, the verb receives primary stress, and the particle, considered a preposition, does not (p. 310). Phrasal verbs are divided into the two categories of separable and non-separable verbs, and prepositional verbs are never separable. Master’s aim is to describe the basic syntax and prosody of phrasal verbs, without analysing much further; he does not explore reasons why some phrasal verbs are separable and others are not, and he does not elaborate on the prosody of the separated versus unseparated phrasal verb.

Author	Particle Classification	Significance of Word Order
van Dongen (1919)	Adverb	Result; stress and syllable weight
Erades (1975)	Adverb	“News value”
Sroka (1972)	Adverb, Preposition, Adverb-Preposition	Uses word order to delineate particle type
Huddleston (1984)	Complement of the predicate, “goal complement”	Results from a particle movement transformation, but no other significance mentioned
Jacobs & Rosenbaum (1968)	Particle	No semantic significance
McArthur (1992)	Particle	Does not mention possible significance
Dixon (1992)	Prepositions	Classifies different verb types based on word order
Master (1996)	Particle, preposition	Stress

Table 2.2 Summary of Authors’ Opinions

As can be seen from the summary chart above, English phrasal verbs can be interpreted and analysed in multiple ways. As shown in this section, the lack of agreement on the roles of the particles as either part of the verb, or as either adverbs or prepositions provides more confusion than clarification regarding the syntactic arrangement of a phrase that includes a phrasal verb.

2.6 The Phrasal Verb and Result

The overview of the English phrasal verb would not be complete without a section on resultative aspect. The use of a verb in conjunction with a particle, according to many authors, adds a resultative aspect to the verb. For example, Hampe (1997) states, “[A]n aspect of completeness, resultativeness or perfectivity is implied in the use of the adverbial particle that is absent in the use of the preposition” (p. 211). This attitude is reflected in the works of Bolinger (1971) and Gorfach (2004), which are discussed extensively in chapter 3. The assumption of the phrasal verb as resultative is also echoed by Broccias (2000), Elenbass (2003), Goldberg (1991), Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), Gries (1999), and Hampe (2012). Neeleman and Weerman (1993) compare English phrasal verbs with Dutch resultative phrasal constructions in their work on the Dutch constructions. They state that the Dutch resultative phrasal constructions are related to the English phrasal verb constructions, and assume that English phrasal verbs are also resultative (p. 466).

These studies are based on a loose definition of result as the state of an object after some event has occurred. A more precise definition comes from Levin (1993), who defines a resultative construction as “an XP which describes the state achieved by the referent of the noun phrase it is predicated of as a result of the action named by the verb” (p. 101). Broccias (2000), in revising Levin’s (1993) definition, defines a resultative construction as “referring to either a

state or position achieved by an entity *a* involved in some event E” (Broccias, 2000, p. 44).

English phrasal verbs, with the use of the particle, typically do refer to the state of the object of the verb. In examples (65) and (66), both sentences leave the reader with the impression that the car’s windshield was shattered by a bullet.

(65) Eleanor **shot out** the car’s windshield.

(66) Eleanor **shot** the car’s windshield **out**.

The difference between the two sentences is that they are more or less resultative, depending on the placement of the particle. If (65), based on the use of the phrasal verb with the standard word order, is resultative, then (66), with the alternate word order, is also resultative. Both sentences refer to the state of the windshield after it has been shot out. However, the placement of the particle at the end of the sentence draws the reader’s attention to the particle, and therefore, to the final state of the windshield, thereby making the statement more resultative. According to Gries (1999), the option to place the particle in one of two locations will affect the reader’s perception of the event:

[B]oth of the constructions have a different meaning in that they highlight different aspects of the same objective situation, i.e., both sentences impose a different construal on the same objective scene. Construction₁ highlights the adverbial value of the particle (since the particle stands closer to and modifies the verb) so that the action is focussed upon; analogously, construction₂ highlights the adjectival value (since the particle is further away from the verb and stands closer to and modifies the direct object) so that the resultant state of the direct object is concentrated upon. (Gries, 1999, p. 111)

If the assumption that phrasal verbs are resultative stands, then the highlighting of the “resultant state” with the alternate word order referred to by Gries suggests that the resultative aspect is more marked when the alternate word order is used. This concept is discussed further in chapter 3.2, in the section on Gorlach’s (2004) work.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided necessary background on the topic of English phrasal verbs, including a linguistic description of phrasal verbs and some details regarding their history in the English language, followed by a literature review and overview of the phrasal verb and the resultative aspect. These examples from the widely varied literature on phrasal verbs were chosen to illustrate the differing opinions on the connection between the verb and its particle and the role of the particle. I will now offer a closer examination of two particular authors. In chapter 3, I provide a close look at the arguments of these two authors who have strongly influenced my own analysis, which is outlined in chapter 5. Bolinger (1971) provides a great amount of detail on the usage of phrasal verbs, although his account is ultimately descriptive, and Gorlach (2004) provides both some description and an overarching theoretical analysis. While their arguments differ, they both bring certain ideas to the table which I will synthesize in my own analysis.

3. Bolinger, Gorlach, and Result

In this chapter I will be summarizing two different analyses of phrasal verbs. The first analysis I will examine is Dwight Bolinger's 1971 seminal work on phrasal verbs, which is descriptive in nature. The second analysis is a more recent work by Marina Gorlach (2004), who examines the semantics of phrasal verbs in Sign Grammar, with the assumption that the word order alternation is semantically significant. Bolinger (1971) examines a number of the possible nuances of phrasal verb meaning, while Gorlach (2004) focuses on a single aspect of meaning present in phrasal verbs, that of result. My analysis in chapter 5 will synthesize these two interpretations of phrasal verbs: I will argue for the category of result being more explicitly present in phrasal verb meaning, while preserving Bolinger's insights into the variations in use and meaning of the verbs.

3. 1 Bolinger

Bolinger's (1971) work on phrasal verbs gathers together much of the earlier discussions on these constructions from other authors, and unites it in a description of the characteristics of the verbs. His inclusion of many examples is helpful for illustrating the points he is attempting to make, and he does provide an understanding of the multiple aspects of English phrasal verbs. Bolinger emphasizes the more unusual features of phrasal verbs in his description. He states in his foreword that he is primarily interested in the syntax of the verbs, and this, as well as elements of the semantics of phrasal verbs, is the primary concern of his work. While he does not discuss it at length, he does mention the role of metaphor in the constructions, and the contribution this makes to their semantics: "The phrasal verb is a floodgate of metaphor. . . [W]ith the phrasal verb this contact with original metaphor is maintained and gives rise to

extensions that are as colorful as they are numerous” (p. xii). Bolinger’s brief discourse on metaphor refers to what other authors, such as Machonis (2009), have called the “idiomatic” nature of phrasal verbs. While the description of the phrasal verb as “idiomatic” sweeps it out of the realm of some syntactic analyses, Bolinger strides forward, undismayed by the metaphoric nature of the verbs he describes. Gorlach (2004) too dismisses the idiomatic classification, but her work focuses on finding an orderly reason for the phrasal verb’s use. Bolinger (1971), in contrast, is less concerned with finding a more reasoned explanation, since his primary goal is description.

Bolinger delineates between the verbs which are paired with a particle whose role in the predicate is entirely prepositional, and phrasal verbs. The former type he calls “nonphrasal prepositional verbs” (p. 5). These include verbs such as *rely on*, which he states behave like single-word verbs. Bolinger assumes *rely on* to be an intransitive verb where the particle acts as a preposition. In the sentence below, example (67), Bolinger would assume that ‘on tea’ is a prepositional phrase, regardless of the fact that *rely* requires the use of *on* in order to be considered grammatical, and he would also assume that the verb is intransitive despite the ungrammaticality of deleting the following noun phrase. His point with the ‘nonphrasal prepositional verbs’ is that the noun phrase that comes after the particle can easily be interpreted as being within a prepositional phrase, and that because of this, the particle functions primarily as a preposition, not as an adverbial particle.

(67) I always **rely on** tea to get me through a busy day.

While some of the words he includes fall into what I have established as the category of intransitive phrasal verbs, some could also be classed as non-separable phrasal verbs, based on what I stated in 2.3.1 (p. 19) about transitivity and phrasal verbs. As a result of Bolinger’s

classifications, he puts intransitive phrasal verbs and non-separable phrasal verbs into the same category. Bolinger further notes that “nonphrasal prepositional verbs” are “highly idiomatic” (p. 5).

While defining the phrasal verb, Bolinger also removes from his discussion the verbs which are paired with complements that are not adverbial particles, such as “to sit tight” (p. 5); while he does discuss some of these in his work, due to their similarity to phrasal verbs, he does not consider these constructions to be phrasal verbs. In this thesis, verbs with such complements are also not considered among the realm of phrasal verbs, as the phrasal verb was defined in chapter 2 as a verb paired with a particle that was homophonous with a preposition.

After Bolinger eliminates all the options which he feels stand out as not being phrasal verbs, the task of identifying phrasal verbs still remains. One of Bolinger’s contributions to the study of English phrasal verbs is his listing of nine different tests that had been used to identify the verbs, to separate them from other, similar, constructions. While he did not devise these tests, he does provide a summary and examples of each one, with critiques of where each test fails to account for some verbs which are typically considered phrasal. The tests, and Bolinger’s critiques of them, are shown below in Table 3.1.

Test	Bolinger’s Critique
1. Replaceability by a simple verb.	Can include non-phrasal verbs with this criteria and excludes phrasal verbs that have no single-word counterpart.
2. Passivization of transitive verbs	Proves transitivity, not phrasal verb status.
3. Creating an “action nominal” from a transitive phrasal verb	Works with particles, but not with all adpreps.
4. Does the particle precede or follow the object?	Fails to contrast prepositions and adpreps, and can be affected by the nature of the object (length, noun vs. pronoun).
5. If passive, the pronoun should precede the particle.	Like #4, does not always contrast prepositions and adpreps.
6. Adverbs cannot intervene between verb and	Shows a connection but does not provide

particle unless particle is used in its most literal sense	conclusive evidence.
7. An adverb can be accented.	Shows a difference between adverbs or adverb-particles and prepositions and also between adverbs and adverb-particles.
8. "If the combination is transitive, the particle can precede a simple definite noun phrase (a proper noun or <i>the</i> plus a common noun) without taking it as its object" (p. 15).	Similar to #4.
9. Phrasal verbs are defined by listing them.	Inadequate because there is no selectional criteria other than compiler's opinion.

Table 3.1 Bolinger's List of Phrasal Verb Tests and His Critiques (pp. 8-17)

While most of these tests can be useful in sorting through phrasal verbs and delineating them from verbs that are followed by prepositional phrases rather than particles, the final test which Bolinger lists, that of listing known phrasal verbs, is unsatisfactory unless a list of the more common phrasal verbs is desired.

One of the more important points made by Bolinger in this study of phrasal verbs is that, despite the number of tests for determining what is and is not a phrasal verb, the constructions themselves are difficult to categorize as one type of word or another. He infers from his data that the distinction is gradient, rather than binary. For the verbs where the particle and the verb have fused together semantically to form a predicate distinct in meaning from the original verb, the title of phrasal verb suggests a word distinctly different from the original form. For other verbs, however, the particles and the verb may be less fused together in meaning, and the resultant predicate's meaning is a composition of the verb and the particle. The fusion with the subsequent shift in meaning and the compositional meaning can occur both with separable and with non-separable verbs, so the problem of distinguishing the syntactic types of phrasal verbs from each other still remains.

A crucial part of Bolinger's argument about the qualifications for phrasal verbs is prosody. As he notes, "[w]here the value of phrasal verbs to the prosody of English stands out most clearly is in the coupling of accent and position. It retains something for English that the grammaticizing of word order might otherwise have destroyed: the freedom to put the transitive verb, or at least some significant part of it, at some other point than before its complement" (p. 49). This is an observation that is frequently lacking in more theoretical accounts of these constructions, as phonology and suprasegmentals are often overlooked in syntactic theories. The following section, a summary of Bolinger's interpretation of the particles, further elaborates his views on the necessity of incorporating prosody in a syntactic analysis.

3.1.1 Delineating the Particles

One of Bolinger's primary tasks in his monograph is to explain the types and uses of the particles that form the second part of the phrasal verb. This specific topic is particularly salient to the discussion to come in chapter 5. He argues that the particles which occur most frequently can function as either adverbs or prepositions. For these particles which can be either/or, he uses the term 'prepositional adverb.' The prepositional adverb, as described by Bolinger, may function either as a preposition, or as an adverb, but it cannot be both at once. In (68), Bolinger's example of *knock down* has a prepositional adverb which functions as an adverb in this context, but in my example (70), *down* could possibly function as preposition, rather than an adverb, if it refers to the motion of knocking multiple times while moving the hand in a downwards direction (although this is a far less common interpretation of *knock down*).

(68) She **knocked down** the argument. (Bolinger, p. 25)

(69) She **knocked down** the wall.

(70) She **knocked down** the door.

Functionally, the difference between the two is difficult to argue, and this is one issue from which Bolinger's analysis suffers. It is not clear whether or not *down* is a preposition or an adverb in this context, but it seems to function more in concert with the verb in each example, as it describes the action of *knock* more fully. While Bolinger feels that his distinction is clear, I do not. He also seems to overlook the fact that *knock down* is a separable phrasal verb, which then makes the idea of the particle functioning as a preposition even more unlikely in this context.

However, one of Bolinger's other particle delineations is more helpful, though his choice of examples may cause more confusion than clarity. He uses the term 'adprep' to describe those particles which function as both prepositions and adverbs at the same time, as in his examples of *run down*, *sweep off*, and *back up* (see examples (71) to (75) below). He states that he has borrowed the term from Hill (1971), but has further modified it to suit his own purposes. Hill's adprep, as he states in his review of Bolinger's book, is either a preposition or an adverb, not both at once. Which role the adprep occupies within the sentence is deduced by context (Hill, 1971, p. 211). Bolinger's (1971) interpretation of the adprep occurs in sentences such as examples (71) to (75).

(71) He **ran down** it.

(72) He **ran** it **down**.

(73) He **ran down** the road.

(74) She **swept off** it majestically.

(75) We **backed up** it. (Bolinger, 1971, pp. 26-27, emphasis mine)

All of these are grammatically acceptable, though (74) and, in particular, (75), are little more questionable in their grammaticality in the English of 2013 than they were to Bolinger.

Additionally, sentences (71) and (72) could refer to the physical act of running down or to the act of tracking down something (e.g., a piece of information), while (73) can only refer to the physical act of running down. When a phrasal verb that can be separable occurs in a sentence where the object of the verb is a pronoun, the particle, as stated in chapter 2, usually occurs separated from the verb, except in cases of special emphasis. Because Bolinger has defined the particles in the above sentences as adpreps, the separated word order would be less common because the adprep functions as either a preposition or a particle. However, both (74) and (75) can be rephrased as separated constructions, as shown below in (76) and (77). *Sweep off* has a slightly different meaning in this interpretation: In (74), the sentence indicates that ‘she’ is walking off in a sweeping and majestic fashion, while in (76), ‘she’ is majestically sweeping an object off of something else. (75) and (77), on the other hand, imply the same action, perhaps backing a vehicle up or the act of saving multiple copies of information. *Back up* is usually used as a separable phrasal verb, so the wording in (77) may be more typical; in this instance, *up* may be more of a particle than an adprep, despite Bolinger’s opinion.

(76) She **swept it off** majestically.

(77) We **backed it up**.

An adprep, under Bolinger’s definition, is either more closely associated with the verb phrase or the following noun phrase, but a more strongly prepositional particle, i.e., a preposition, must be in proximity with the following nominal phrase (p. 23). Examples (78) to (81) show adpreps connected more with either the verb phrase or the noun phrase, and a preposition connected to the noun phrase.

(78) He **ran up**, pell-mell, the first hill he saw. (Adprep associated with VP)

(79) He **ran**, pell-mell, **up** the first hill he saw. (Adprep associated with NP)

(80) *He **ran toward**, pell-mell, the first hill he saw.

(81) He **ran**, pell-mell, **toward** the first hill he saw. (Preposition) (Bolinger 1971, pp. 28-29, emphasis mine)

It is, perhaps, a little unusual to argue that a word may function in two grammatical categories at once, but the concept has a certain sense of economy to it; because the particles which form Bolinger's category of adprep resemble English prepositions, it would be possible for them to be analysed as such under various circumstances, given both their appearance and their position within the sentence. A later work by Bolinger (1977) on semantics emphasizes his idea that a word can function as more than one part of speech within the same utterance. He writes:

An adverb is an adverb and has adverbial functions, an adjective is an adjective and has adjectival functions. But functions and categories are not always so happily wedded to each other. In *She threw away the key*, *away* is purely adverbial; but in *She threw the key away* it becomes somewhat adjectival, modifying *key* as to location. There is a partial change in the constituents of the sentence. . . [T]hese are subtle differences, but who says that semantic distinctions have to be gross? (p. 17)

This elaboration on what the word order alternation that occurs with phrasal verbs might mean provides a clearer statement of Bolinger's idea that a word can occupy more than one category at the same time. This particular concept is crucial when it comes to his second category of particles, the adpreps, but it is also helpful when parsing his third category of particles.

Bolinger's third distinction among particles is what he calls adverbial particles. This final category is, for him, almost exclusively represented by those particles which occur with

separable phrasal verbs where the particle can occur at the end of the noun phrase. Unlike the adpreps described above and illustrated in (78) and (79), adverbial particles only function in semantic association with the verb phrase. Adpreps may be separated from the verb by another adverb, but cannot typically occur at the end of the sentence, as adverbial particles can.

Adverbial particles are, as Bolinger states in the below quote, not remotely prepositional:

But a better analysis, it seems to me, is in terms of there being no prepositional object at all in a sentence like *She brushed off the clothes* (if there were, we would expect *She brushed off them*, not *She brushed them off*), but rather an initial adverbialization that creates the phrasal verb *to brush off*, and then an extension of meaning (or a shift in the case relationships) that parallels exactly what happens with simple verbs like *provide*, *present*, *sterilize*, etc. (p. 24)

Other examples of adverbial particles, under Bolinger's definition, would include such examples as (82) to (84). With the verb *to take out*, the particle can occur beside the verb or after the verb's object. A notable difference between the adprep and the adverbial particle is that another adverb cannot be placed immediately after the verb, separating the verb from its particle; only the noun phrase is permitted to intercede between the two, as shown in (85) and (86). Permissible placements of an additional adverb which modifies the action of the verb are shown in (87) to (90).

(82) I'm **taking out** the garbage.

(83) I'm **taking** the garbage **out**.

(84) I'm **taking** it **out**.

(85) *I'm **taking** slowly **out** the garbage.

(86) *I'm **taking** slowly the garbage **out**.

(87) I'm slowly **taking out** the garbage.

(88) I'm slowly **taking** the garbage **out**.

(89) I'm **taking** the garbage **out** slowly.

(90) I'm **taking out** the garbage slowly.

Adverbial particles and adpreps, according to Bolinger (1971), typically have syntactic differences in the so-called mobility of the particle. He does not equate this with the variations in word order when the object of the verb is a pronoun; in those cases, an adverbial particle occurs after the pronoun, while an adprep must occur before the pronoun. Examples (91) through (93) illustrate the contrast between the two: (91), contrasted with (92), shows that the adverbial particle occurs after a pronominalized object, while (93) and (93) show that an adprep occurs prior to a pronominalized object.

(91) I'm **dropping** it **off**. (Adverbial particle)

(92) *I'm **dropping off** it. (Adverbial particle)

(93) *I'm **looking** it **after**. (Adprep)

(94) I'm **looking after** it. (Adprep)

When the object of the verb is a noun, the difference between the two lies in the restriction of the adprep to occurring only before the noun, rather than after, except in a few cases, typically of fossilization. Essentially, the difference between the two categories is one of separability: adpreps are typically found with non-separable phrasal verbs, and adverbial particles are typically separable. However, Bolinger does offer enough examples of the alternative, more unusual word order to suggest that constraints on word order with adpreps are perhaps less strict than he first states.

The argument that pronouns cannot come at the end puts the cart before the horse. What needs to be asked is what it is that end position confers, and what it is about personal pronouns that makes them substantially less likely than nouns to have that something conferred upon them. (Bolinger, 1971, p. 41)

He will later propose that semantic focus is at work here, and that the end position is the “focused” one, which, not unlike Erades (1975), attributes the word order alternation once again to discourse and the user’s discretion. I elaborate on his discussion regarding semantic focus in 3.1.2.

One of Bolinger’s (1971) clearer statements about the difference between the two word orders is reflected later in Goralach’s (2004) work. Bolinger gives three example sentences, shown below, and states that “the first refers only to the action, while the second and third both refer to the effect on the shoes, with the latter making the effect more explicit” (p. 83).

(95) Don’t **scuff** your shoes.

(96) Don’t **scuff up** your shoes.

(97) Don’t **scuff** your shoes **up**. (Bolinger, 1971, p. 83, emphasis mine)

The assumption that the phrasal verb refers more to the effect on the object, with the alternate word order highlighting that effect, is reflected in later works on result (such as Gries 1999, mentioned in 2.6).

3.1.2 Bolinger and Result

Bolinger (1971) argues that “phrasal verbs...denote an action and at the same time a result” (p. 81). He also states that the location of the particle will make either the action or the result more important: his argument is that if the particle is postposed, then it modifies the noun

more than the verb, and if it is beside the verb, then it behaves as a verbal affix (p. 82), presumably because it is semantically connected with the verb and may share some stress with the verb. He considers other possibilities for describing phrasal verbs as well, suggesting that phrasal verbs, unlike their non-phrasal counterparts, are more completive (pp. 97-98). For example, he regards (99) as more perfective than (98). He uses the terms ‘completive’ and ‘perfective’ interchangeably, although he does use ‘perfective’ more frequently than ‘completive’.

(98) He **filled** the balloon.

(99) He **filled up** the balloon. (Bolinger, 1971, p. 97, emphasis mine)

Bolinger does not consider the following example, (100), in regards to aspect, although based on his idea that a postposed particle modifies the noun more than the verb and the concept that phrasal verbs are perfective, the sentence could be regarded both as more perfective than (98) and also as resultative, similar to (99). Because of his interpretation of the postposed particle as a nominal modifier, the difference between (99) and (100), according to Bolinger, is one of the particle being more semantically associated with the noun phrase in (100) (although it still lends meaning to the verb phrase), as well as *up* being more focused because it occupies the sentence-final position.

(100) He **filled** the balloon **up**.

Like many authors, Bolinger mentions the resultative aspect of phrasal verbs, but unusually, he downplays it, suggesting that this aspect occurs solely because of the presence of the particle; he ignores the possibility of semantic fusion and reinterpretation of the verb and particle as a unit:

After something is bleached white it is white, and after a person gets away, he is away. The notion of resultant condition is essential to phrasal verbs. Yet after

something is fixed up it is not up, and after it has been brought about it is not about. Not all phrasal verbs embody something quite so explicit as outright resultant condition. (p. 96)

Unfortunately, only one of his examples in the above quote fulfills his definition for a phrasal verb; the first example he gives, by his own definition, is not a phrasal verb. His argument here does not necessarily follow, because *fix up* and *bring about* both convey a sense of resultant condition: both phrasal verbs have endpoints. While the resulting conditions for *fix up* and *bring about* are not as concrete as *up* or *about*, the meaning of each phrasal verb, taken as a whole (verb and particle together, not separately), does lead to an end result. While Bolinger does argue that some phrasal verbs do contain a resultative aspect, his limited definition of result leads him to the formulation of a perfective component to the phrasal verbs. Result might be a part of some phrasal verbs for Bolinger, but in the end, he feels that they are more perfective, or completive, than resultative. This, he argues, creates a more comprehensive explanation of the semantics of phrasal verbs, especially for those where the meaning of the phrasal verb is not verb plus particle, but rather a metaphorical extension or reinterpretation of both.

This analysis, is, however, not entirely sufficient for him, as he states: “Although the notion of perfectivity can be extended to cover the bulk of phrasal verbs whose meanings have deviated from the more or less literal sum of the parts, a more explicit treatment is needed for individual particles” (p. 97). For Bolinger, result is a subset of perfectivity, rather than what we will see in Gorfach’s analysis in 3.2, where perfectivity is, instead, a subset of result.

As stated earlier, he also argues that result, as a feature of some phrasal verbs, should be attributed to the particles alone: “The importance of resultant condition suggests a hypothesis about the nature of the adverbial particles that may form part of a phrasal verb. I offer this: In its

core meaning . . . the particle must contain two features, one of motion-through-location, the other of terminus or result. This excludes manner and time adverbials, which contain neither” (p. 85). To an extent, this is fair enough; it would not do to define *to do well* as a phrasal verb, necessarily. It is perhaps a type of phrasal construction, but it cannot fall into the same category as phrasal verbs, because the following adverb does not fit within the same categories or have the same effect on the sentence as the particles in phrasal verbs do. After all, we have to limit the definition, or we just have a catch-all category for something that we do not fully understand. Bolinger maintains that a phrasal verb is both an action and a result, but the variation in word order with the particle emphasizes one over the other: “With transitive verbs, when the particle is postposed it tends to modify the noun; when it stands next to the verb it behaves more like a verbal affix. Much of the time there is no practical difference” (Bolinger, p. 82). The problem with his conclusion, that there is no “practical difference” in the word order, is found in his earlier assertion: “The phrasal verb is not a case of optional or obligatory or stylistic hop and skip of the particle but is part of our means of achieving semantic focus” (p. 54). If the placement of the particle achieves semantic focus, then there is a practical difference. This contradiction muddles the argument a little and narrows Bolinger’s view of result by at once acknowledging and dismissing semantic focus. Bolinger writes:

[O]ne could say that *turn out*, *grind out*, and *spin out* tend to be iterative, while *write out*, *print out*, *work out*, and *put out* are perfective. I believe it is possible to be a little bolder and claim that there is no real borderline between nonaspectual and aspectual uses of the particles, but rather a gradient. If a noun is described as in a condition resulting from an action, the nature of the condition will impute some kind of aspect to the action. (Bolinger, 1971, p. 98)

His claim of gradiency would certainly operate well with a cognitive framework, because gradiency is possible in that interpretation of language.

Despite his analysis, Bolinger still appears to regard the particle and the verb as separate entities, and this is potentially a problem, as the meaning of the phrasal verb is not always compositional from the particle and the verb. In contrast with Bolinger's view, that the particle and verb are entirely separate, I contest that while phrasal verbs began as a union of a verb and a particle which were separate entities (and this is why they retained some independence with regards to word order), the prototypical phrasal verb is not a Verb+Particle, both separate words, each contributing to the meaning, but Verb-Particle, in some sense a single word, as frequently the meaning of the phrasal verb is not compositional from the meaning of the verb and the particle. The concept of the phrasal verb as being in essence a single word is used in my analysis in chapter 5.

Bolinger does pick up on the process of lexicalization as it works in the case of phrasal verbs; he sees the non-separable phrasal verb as more lexicalized than the separable phrasal verb (p. 111). His interpretation of the lexicalization process as gradient (due to this happening diachronically) is perhaps wise given the transitional, temporal nature of language, but I think we may need to cease to view phrasal verbs as compounds, since many do not function semantically as compounds. While the meaning of some phrasal verbs is compositional, based on the prototypical meanings of the verb and the particle, most phrasal verbs have undergone some re-analysis and now form a semantic words whose meanings are no longer solely compositional.

While phrasal verbs may have begun as compounds, they no longer function in such a manner, particularly on the semantic level; Bolinger's interpretation would lead us to believe that the particles are mere affixes which modify the head (the verb), and that there is some sort of

further “compositional layer” which constitutes “differentiation *within* the phrasal verb” (p. 112) Is this compositional layer something that is fused to the point of no return, as in non-separable phrasal verbs, or is it more complex than this? An argument could be made for the particle’s status as an affix when the verb is non-separable, but, of course, the question remains, “what is the particle when the verb is separable?” The two may have fused in some way, but they can still be pulled apart. Bolinger would attribute this to the particle’s independence from the verb; my own analysis in chapter 5.1 views the verb and its particle as not semantically independent, though, for the separable phrasal verbs, there is some degree of syntactic independence.

3.1.3 Summary of Bolinger

Bolinger’s work offers a detailed description and discussion of phrasal verb constructions. He freely acknowledges the variability of the constructions, and considers other, less syntactic possibilities, such as the influence of prosody.

The disadvantage of Bolinger’s analysis lies in his lack of explanatory coherence: he so emphasizes the variability of phrasal verbs that the reader is left to conclude that these constructions are so varied that there is little similarity or order among them. An overarching understanding of the verbs would provide additional insight into their meaning and use, and this is what Gorlach (2004) does in her analysis.

3.2 Gorlach, Phrasal Verbs, and Result

Unlike Bolinger (1971), Gorlach (2004) utilizes an over-arching syntactic/semantic theory in her analysis of phrasal verb constructions in English, and it is this mindset that drives

her explanations. She uses sign grammar², which is a theory of grammar based on Saussurean semiology. There are similarities between this theory and Construction Grammar in that it is assumed there is no strict division between the lexicon and syntax. The sign is the unit to be analysed, which Gorfach asserts allows us to remove the division between lexicon, morphology, and syntax (p. 13). Gorfach's work in her (2004) book is primarily concerned with the semantic significance of word order in phrasal constructions (p. 5). Because of her focus on this question, which was one of my own questions within this thesis, her analysis was crucial in informing the direction of my own analysis.

Rather than positing many multiple nuances for phrasal verbs, Gorfach instead emphasizes the resultative aspect as an invariant part of the meaning of the phrasal verb, while still arguing that in context, the meanings of signs can and will vary: "It can be logically concluded that a change of signal (form) should bring about some change in concept (meaning), and *vice versa*, there should be some internal reason (motivated by the message conveyed) for any change of external signal" (p. 40). While Gorfach is speaking of this in reference to sign grammar, this assumption is key to Construction Grammar as well, which makes her approach compatible in many ways with a Construction Grammar analysis of phrasal verbs. The change of sign, she says, does not have to equal a drastic change in meaning, but this by no means indicates that the different forms and their different meanings should be overlooked, simply because the difference in meaning may be subtle (p. 41). This argument leads Gorfach to conclude that there is some difference between "he set up the table" (Gorfach calls this word order the "C

² Gorfach does not capitalize 'sign grammar' in her own work, so I have chosen to follow her convention for the term here.

construction,” for “continuous construction” (p. 3)) and “he set the table up” (which Gorfach calls the “D construction,” for “discontinuous construction” (p. 3)), and that the nature of this difference should be explored.

Gorfach discusses other authors’ interpretations of the nature of phrasal verbs, stating that the particles are “regarded by some modern scholars as sharing many common features with resultatives” (p. 30). Phrasal verbs and the notion of result have been paired together for decades, but Gorfach notes that most accounts, such as in Bolinger’s (1971) analysis, attribute resultative meaning “only to the semantic properties of the particle” (p. 29), rather than examining the “movement” of the particle in reference to its semantic weight, or analysing the phrasal verb as a whole.

[T]he combined meaning of process and result is an invariant meaning of the phrasal verb as a whole rather than of the particle alone. It can be explained by the synergesis: when the verb and the particle merge, the lexical meaning of the formation acquires in all cases an additional semantic feature of Result. (Gorfach, 2004, p. 30)

Unlike Bolinger (1971), Gorfach (2004) does not view the particle component of phrasal verbs as merely an affix which modifies the verb and which might modify the verb’s object; her use of the word “synergesis” in the above quote suggests that Gorfach thinks the verb and particle are far more connected than that.

The other argument that Gorfach addresses very strongly is the practice of relegating the behaviour of phrasal verbs to idiosyncrasies in the lexicon: “[W]ord order in phrasal constructions does not show any regular dependence on their idiomaticity, the verb and the particle appearing adjacently or separately in both idiomatic and non-idiomatic constructions.

The examples I will cite . . . show that the word order reflects different views on the action/event as either marked for result or not” (p. 33). No matter how regular a phrasal verb appears, idiomaticity is usually still cited as a feature of the verb (as shown in chapter 2). Gorlach’s argument, that idiomaticity is less at work in phrasal verbs than previously thought, is unusual. Yet Gorlach challenges this assumption and argues not for idiomaticity, but for predictable regularity in the phrasal verb construction.

She does attribute some of the “movement” of the particles to the same cause that Bolinger uses: focus. This is particularly relevant, she claims, when the object of the verb is a pronoun, and the alternation in word order (with the particle at the end) is obligatory:

[P]ronominal objects show a tendency to follow the verb immediately, but this tendency can be explained semantically, on the one hand, and is not universal, on the other. Pronouns usually have immediate antecedents in the discourse and refer to some previously known information. Therefore, their position between the verb and the particle reflects the main communication principles of the placement of new information, the end-focus, and the weight and balance principle, placing the emphasis on the particle. (p. 38)

The examples shown below, taken from Gorlach’s work, illustrate her idea that result is not simply a plus or minus feature, but one that can occur to a greater or a lesser degree, depending on the construction. Like Bolinger (1971), discussed in 3.1.2, Gorlach (2004) sees a gradient with the category of result, and argues that the phenomenon of phrasal verbs lends itself, not to binary categorization, but at the very least, to a tertiary categorization of result, as shown in (101) through (103).

(101) *to eat the apple* neutral for result

- (102) *to eat up the apple* greater possibility for result
 (103) *to eat the apple up* compulsory claim for result (p. 40)

Gorlach's analysis posits a gradient set of meanings for verbal constructions, one where result is either absent, possible, or compulsory. A verb such as the one in example (101) refers primarily to the action of eating, while the ones in (102) and (103) both refer more to the result of the apple being eaten up. As Gries (1999) states, the placement of the particle after the noun phrase renders a greater emphasis on the resulting state of the object, so (103) would be more highly marked for result than (102). Gorlach's (2004) terminology would be perhaps more precise if she used the term 'marked' rather than 'greater possibility' or 'compulsory claim,' but her intentions are to render a three-way distinction among the three examples.

This tertiary distinction for result simplifies the discussion by allowing for a more precise description of the phrasal verb and the differences between the separated and unseparated constructions. While it is more common to see binary distinctions between constructions, often illustrated by +/-, there is some precedent using gradients instead (cf. Hopper & Thompson, 1980, who use a scale with ten different criteria to determine the degree of transitivity in a clause).

Rather than attribute the aspect of result solely to the word order alternation, Gorlach attributes resultativity to the phrasal verb itself: "[T]he meaning of a phrasal verb always includes resultativity, where the variable is the relative weight of the resultative element's contribution to the general message" (p. 72). As mentioned above, Gorlach states that the word order alternation does indicate result, but it is not the only factor which provides that meaning to the verb. The phrasal verb itself, according to Gorlach, is inherently +Result; the word order

alternation further cements the use of result in the sentence, but the resultative aspect is always present when a phrasal verb is used.

3.2.1 A Further Look at Result

Gorlach connects result to perfectivity, describing it as a type of perfectivity, a completion of an action (p. 48), although my impression is that, when she expands her definition, she describes perfectivity as either a subset of resultative aspect, or as equivalent to resultative aspect. Her basic definition of result is “*perception of actions and events integrally with their actual or potential result*” (emphasis is Gorlach’s) (p. 54). This provides a clearer view of the concept than Bolinger’s (1971) explanation in 3.1.2, although obviously the two have much in common; in particular, the connection of perfectivity with result is mentioned by both authors.

When Gorlach (2004) refines her interpretation of resultative aspect, she leans heavily upon Tobin (1993) for her final definition. Tobin’s definition of result is based on its contrast with another aspect, which he calls “process.” The quote below from his (1993) book explains his basic understanding of result:

[L]anguage may reflect two fundamental ways of viewing actions, states, or events; either as focusing on the (ongoing) *process* involved in the action, state, or event, or, alternatively, from the point of view of the *result* (outcome, endpoint, consequence, completion, destination, or telic or teleological goal). (p. 15)

Tobin’s argument is that these two aspects, process or result, are crucial to understanding verbs (in particular) and that further types of aspect are, in essence, derived from process or result.

These arguments are the focus of his (1993) work, in which he uses pairs of verbs, such as do/make and look/see (pp. 15-16), to reflect the process/result dichotomy; the verbs he mentions

may have similarities to each other in overall meaning, but there are differences which he claims stem from one verb being marked for process and the other for result. He does not utilize phrasal verbs in his analysis, but his ideas can easily be extended to the phrasal verb construction.

Gorlach's (2004) elaboration of Tobin's argument is that marking for result can occur in different forms within the same language (p. 63). Her examples of this are that the word alternation with phrasal verbs represents one way of marking result, and that the semantic components of the phrasal verb itself represent another. This perception, that result can be found throughout language, marked in different ways, will be carried into my analysis in chapter 5.

3.2.2 Problems in Gorlach's Analysis

While Gorlach's analysis of the resultative qualities of phrasal verbs is thorough, one method she utilizes to prove her theory is not the best choice for verifying the phrasal verb as resultative in English. She uses many examples of English phrasal verbs in works of literature which had been translated into Russian. Russian marks verbs as perfective and non-perfective, and Gorlach, interpreting perfectivity as a subset of result, states that the perfective verbs are +Result and the non-perfective verbs are -Result (pp. 3-4). Gorlach explains that in each case, the phrasal verbs were translated into Russian as perfective verbs, and therefore were marked for result by the translators. While this is an interesting way of proving her arguments, the problem is that English and Russian are two drastically different languages, and translation, being more an art than a science, is never quite exact. An English phrasal verb might not have an equivalent among Russian verbs, and therefore, the translation and subsequent marking for result might be due to other factors. Additionally, the distinction between +Result and -Result may not accurately reflect Russian's distinction of perfective and non-perfective aspects. Readers of

Gorlach's work who are unfamiliar with the Russian language have to take for granted her assertions about the suitability of the translations and the consistency of the verbs being marked for result. In the end, Gorlach's work appears sound, but it could have benefited from a deeper descriptive background of the method she used and additional methods for proving the status of result in the English phrasal verbs.

3.3 Conclusion

While Bolinger and Gorlach are drastically different in the way they choose to approach phrasal verbs, they both come to conclusions which are easily synthesized together for a more cohesive understanding of phrasal verbs. While Bolinger's account fails to deal adequately with the similarities between the constructions, his assignation of different syntactic statuses for the particles is helpful in delineating the roles which the particles have in different situations. Gorlach (2004) identifies the semantic similarities among these constructions, by assigning the semantic quality of result in more than one area; resultative marking is found both in the inherent meaning of the phrasal verb, and in the word order alternations. The strength of Gorlach's work is that it provides a more unified explanation of English phrasal verbs—Gorlach's analysis argues for a consistent reading of resultative aspect within phrasal verbs which is enhanced when the particle occurs in the clause-final position; Bolinger's lack of coherency regarding the verbs promotes confusion, rather than understanding. However, because he did not attempt a cohesive analysis, his work has a more flexible view of phrasal verbs than Gorlach's. Her work does not include further explanation of non-separable phrasal verbs and the reasons behind their inseparability, since it focuses so heavily on the word order alternation; Bolinger's work proposes at least one solution for further understanding that issue. A combination of these two

ideas, Bolinger's contrast of the adprep and the adverbial particle, together with Gorlach's marking for result, offers interesting possibilities for my own analysis, presented in chapter 5.

Part 2: Analysis

Following from Part 1, which included the description of phrasal verbs, a literature review, and the more in-depth review of Bolinger (1971) and Gorlach (2004) the primary influences on this work, I will now be introducing my own analysis of phrasal verbs within the framework of Construction Grammar (CG). In chapter 4, I provide an introduction to the background information on Construction Grammar theories, highlighting the assumptions common to the members of this theoretical family, and sketching out the basic structures used to analyse syntax and semantics in Cognitive Construction Grammar, which is the theory variation that has most influenced this work. This will be followed by chapter 5, containing my own CG analysis of the transitive and resultative English phrasal verb constructions. This section will show the development of my analysis and its conclusion. In chapter 6, I will highlight some of the issues inherent to Construction Grammar which are revealed by my analysis, and sketch out some questions for further research that my work suggests.

4. Construction Grammar

In this chapter, I will provide a short description of the Construction Grammar theories, with an emphasis on Goldberg's Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995; Goldberg, 2006). This will include an explanation of Frame Semantics, the semantic theory associated with Construction Grammar, as well as a section on the research in Construction Grammar which concerns phrasal verbs.

4.1 Construction Grammar: A brief overview

Construction Grammar has its origin in the work of Charles J. Fillmore, as well as Paul Kay, and has been heavily influenced by the work of Lakoff (Östman & Fried, 2005). According to Östman and Fried (2005), some of the requirements for a theory to be a "construction grammar" include the need for it to be generative, and therefore, formal; the integration of different components (leading to no strict division between grammar and lexicon, unlike what is typically found in traditional generative grammars); that it should have "universal impact"; and that it should be based on what is known about social interaction and cognition (p. 1). These requirements have created a family of linguistic theories which have multiple applications and influences, and, while still being formalist in nature, are based on language as it is used, not as it is theorized. It should be noted that not all variations of Construction Grammar are entirely formalist; Croft's Radical Construction Grammar (2001) posits a typology-based system for understanding language that does away with most, if not all, of the formalist terminology because he considers it too generalized for the task of analysing languages.

The family of Construction Grammars includes numerous permutations of the basic theory. These theories bridge the gap between the formalist and functionalist schools of thought

in linguistics, being interested both in language-in-use, and in how language is represented neurologically. Due to their emphasis on how the brain organizes linguistic information, the Construction Grammars are closely related to the Cognitive Grammars, and can be classed as cognitive theories. While Cognitive Grammars typically stress the semantic representations of language, Construction Grammars are focused on the structure of language, that is, syntax, although this focus is not exclusive. Many Construction Grammars strongly emphasize meaning as well as structure.

I will primarily be using a simplified version of Adele Goldberg's model of Cognitive Construction Grammar as set out in her 1995 and 2006 works. This permutation of the theory borrows from Cognitive Grammar by emphasizing the reasoning behind constructions and their meanings. Although Cognitive Construction Grammar is my primary model, I also plan to allow for insight from other Construction Grammars, since there is much that Construction Grammar theories hold in common with each other. For example, the core assumption inherent to all Construction Grammars, from which the theories take their name, is that language consists of what are called 'constructions.' The following description will include the assumptions that are key to the theory.

All variations of Construction Grammar (CG) make the assertion that an understanding of language based on a separate grammar and lexicon is inadequate for explaining phenomena which appear to be neither entirely part of the grammar nor part of the lexicon. The relegation of such things to the lexicon, due to the inability to explain their structure, is considered an inadequate analysis. This perception of language is extremely useful for such constructions as English phrasal verbs, which are too regular to relegate to the lexicon, but too dissimilar to their non-phrasal counterparts to attribute solely to the grammar.

In CG, language is assumed to be structured around ‘constructions’, which are independent “form-meaning correspondences” (Goldberg, 1995, p. 1). There is no strict dividing line between the grammar and lexicon. In this approach, language is organized in the mind as knowledge: constructions are ordered in hierarchical networks. This understanding builds on insights from the cognitive sciences (Östman & Fried, 2005; Goldberg, 2006).

Constructions, as form-meaning correspondences, can consist of phrasal patterns, individual morphemes, or even phrases. A construction is posited when the meaning of a phrase is not predictable from its component constructions. Additionally, even if its meaning is predictable, if the phrase occurs with enough frequency it can be counted as a construction in its own right. Goldberg (1995) explains that while lexical constructions and syntactic constructions “differ in internal complexity” (p. 7), they are still represented by the same type of data structure: form plus meaning.

It is not the case, however, that in rejecting a strict division [between the lexicon and the grammar], Construction Grammar denies the existence of any distinctly morphological or syntactic constraints (or constructions). Rather, it is claimed that there are basic commonalities between the two types of constructions, and moreover, that *there are cases, such as verb-particle combinations, that blur the boundary.*” (Goldberg, 1995, p. 7, emphasis mine)

An additional aspect of Goldberg’s CG is provided both in her 2006 book, *Constructions at Work*, as well as in her 2005 article on argument realization. In order to propose a construction, the linguist must have a *motivation* for it, an explanation which proffers reasons for the construction’s existence. In requiring a motivation for a proposed construction, the theory thus attempts to avoid violating Occam’s Razor, that is, to prevent complexity without due reason.

The motivation stipulation may be as simple as the need to refer to time, therefore motivating the existence of time and tense markers, or it may be more complex, requiring reference to cultural knowledge as well as basic world knowledge. This particular idea, a definition of linguistic meaning which contains cultural and world knowledge, arises out of the use of Frame Semantics for the semantic component of Construction Grammar, which is further explained in the following section, 4.2.

If a syntactic-semantic structure is the result of multiple layered constructions, rather than being a single form-meaning unit, then it cannot be considered a construction in its own right. The exception for this constraint is when those layered constructions occur together with high frequency. Then, due to the frequency of usage, they may be considered a single construction, because the frequent usage contributes to the speaker viewing them as a single construction. The layers are usually shown in boxes and the one that is under discussion is the one “on top.” There are constructions which are required in order for another construction to occur. For example, the plural noun construction in English requires a noun construction so that the plural may also occur. Hierarchically, the noun construction is in an earlier layer than the plural construction, because the plural construction cannot occur without the noun construction, but the noun construction may occur without the plural construction.

4.2 The Semantic Component of Construction Grammar

The semantic theory which underlies Construction Grammar is called “Frame Semantics.” It was first proposed by Fillmore (1982), and argues that semantic information is mentally constructed of frames of reference. This theory grounds the conception of language as being language in use. Each construction has a semantic frame, consisting of the real-world

information required for a speaker to use it correctly. This information can consist of basic world-knowledge, more specific cultural knowledge, collocations, and related words and concepts. The interpretation of meaning is essentially binary in nature, like most traditional representations of semantics, but Frame Semantics does attempt to include the speaker/hearer perspective, and emphasizes the complexity of meaning.

The form-meaning pairing in Construction Grammar is based on Saussure's formation of the sign using the *signifié* and *signifiant* as each side of the sign. This view of semantics has dominated modern linguistics, and thus it is no surprise that the definition of meaning within Frame Semantics owes its basic formulation to the Saussurean sign. The difference within Frame Semantics is that the 'meaning' side of the sign can be quite extensive and specific, as Boas (2003) states: "Lexical entries of individual words differ from phrases and sentences in that their information may contain more specific information. For example, a verb will contain information about its semantic frames and its syntactic valence whereas a verb phrase construction will contain more general information about what kinds of constituents contribute to its formation" (pp. 86-87). This contrasts CG's supposedly generative theory with traditional generative approaches, which usually focus on syntax, rather than attempting to balance meaning and form. Meaning in CG is expected to be complex. Goldberg (1995) writes that "[c]onstructions are typically associated with a family of closely related senses rather than a single, fixed abstract sense. Given the fact that no strict division between syntax and the lexicon is assumed, this polysemy is expected" (p. 31). A construction will often have a central sense, but that will not be the only possible meaning for that construction.

When a frame is used to represent meaning in an analysis, it can be simplified for ease of explanation (for example, not including those parts of the frame that are not relevant to the

current discussion), or it can attempt to sketch out the constructional meaning in as much detail as possible. There are, naturally, advantages as well as disadvantages to either method. The amount of information in a comprehensive frame may be complete to an overwhelming point, and the pertinent information may be overlooked, while a simplified frame may offer a grossly simple view that can be misinterpreted as being more complete than it actually is.

Since Frame Semantics has been developed in several different directions by various theorists working in Construction Grammar, there are a number of ways to represent both complete (insofar as it is possible to completely index a semantic frame) and incomplete frames. Goldberg's version of Frame Semantics, for example, is typically more simplified, though with a heavy emphasis on use, while Kay and Fillmore's developments (1999) are more formalized and complex, while still retaining the importance of speaker and hearer knowledge. The version used within this work is based on Goldberg's interpretation of Frame Semantics, where the frames represented are primarily syntactic ones, and the lexical frames used in examples are simplified; the intention is to retain what is necessary for this particular analysis, while acknowledging that the framework is, in this case, not comprehensive. While a deeper understanding of individual phrasal verbs could be achieved by using more extensive frames, the goal of this analysis is to establish a clearer understanding of the more basic phrasal verb construction, rather than elaborating on the semantics of the individual lexical constructions. More detailed semantic frames of individual verbs would be interesting, but if such frames were based on this analysis, they would be more useful in a further study than in this one.

It is important to note that different authors treat the semantic component of Construction Grammar in different ways. For example, doubts have been expressed as to the adequacy of Frame Semantics in explaining linguistic problems, and more than one solution has been

proposed. Leino (2005) combined the syntactic framework of Construction Grammar with the semantic framework of Cognitive Grammar in order to provide a better way of examining meaning and syntax at the same time. His results were effective: he was able to use both frameworks to explain the Finnish permissive construction, but the use of two very different theoretical frameworks was cumbersome and harder to follow than a single framework would have been. Another author, Nemoto (2001), further expanded the role of Frame Semantics within Construction Grammar, but neglected to address further questions of semantic incompatibility within the same essay; the conclusions simply stated that the constructions were semantically incompatible but did not specify the reason for said incompatibility. Most authors, such as Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), use variations of Frame Semantics in their Construction Grammar analyses. I have chosen to follow that standard and have based my analysis on Goldberg's version of Frame Semantics, specifically using the version expressed in her 1995 and 2006 books.

4.3 Phrasal Verbs and Resultatives in Construction Grammar

While relatively little has been said about English phrasal verbs in Construction Grammar analyses (especially in comparison with other theories), there are a few times when these constructions have been addressed, usually as a subset of the resultative network of constructions. Any analysis would be remiss if these were not acknowledged, and this subsection includes some summary and discussion of constructional works on phrasal verbs and resultatives. Authors who have addressed resultatives (and with them, English phrasal verbs) using Construction Grammar include Boas (2003) and Goldberg (1995).

Boas (2003) mentions phrasal verbs a number of times in his work on resultatives. His analysis emphasizes the resultative nature of the phrasal verb alone, while not accounting for the word order alternation. The impression he gives is that the particle modifies the verb that is already present, and is a part of its semantic frame, but it is not part of the syntactic frame of the verb. The particle and the verb are not treated as a syntactic unit in his analysis, but as two separate constructions which may co-occur. He overlooks the way phrasal verbs are generally treated as a unit while in use, and how they are therefore subject to re-interpretation and metaphorical extension separate from the verb itself or the particle itself. For example, the phrasal verb *put up* can have the basic sense of putting an object into a higher position than that which it formerly occupied, but it can also have the sense of giving a person a place to stay, which is not compositional from *put* and *up*. See examples (104) and (105) below, which show both instances of *put up*.

(104) I **put up** the picture/I **put** the picture **up**.

(105) I **put** Joe **up** for the night.

The verb and particle together do form a unit, particularly in those cases where the meaning of the verb is not compositional from the individual meanings of the verb and the particle, and this is glossed over in Boas' work. He does mention some of Goldberg's work on resultatives in her 1995 book, which includes the assumption that a resultative is a metaphorical extension of another construction:

One of Goldberg's motivations for positing an architecture in which resultatives are regarded as metaphorical extensions of caused-motion constructions has to do with the fact that neither construction allows the postverbal NP to be predicated of two phrases that denote two distinct locations According to Goldberg, this is

naturally explained when one assumes that resultatives are metaphorical extensions of caused-motion constructions. (Boas 2003, pp. 94-95)

Goldberg (1995) herself states that “the resultative construction crucially involves a metaphorical interpretation of the result phrase as a metaphorical type of goal. Therefore the resultative construction itself . . . can be seen to be a metaphorical extension of the caused-motion construction” (p. 81). Her examination of resultative constructions in English subsumes phrasal verbs and phrasal constructions under the same category. For example, she uses (106) and (107) as examples of the resultative construction.

(106) Pat **hammered** the metal **flat**.

(107) Pat **threw** the metal **off** the table. (Goldberg, 1995, p. 81, emphasis mine)

Goldberg states that, of the above examples, the second shows literal caused-motion, while the first illustrates metaphorical caused-motion. For her, the resultative aspect is found primarily in the particle or adjective in these examples, when the use of the particle or adjective describes the state of the object after the events of the verb have occurred. When a resultative occurs, certain constraints limit the co-occurrence of other constructions, namely directionals, a second resultative, ditransitives, and literal verbs of motion (pp. 81-82).

[W]e can account for the fact that resultatives cannot occur with directionals, that two resultatives cannot co-occur, that resultatives cannot occur with ditransitives, and that resultatives cannot occur with verbs of motion when used literally, but can occur with motion verbs when those verbs are used to imply a change of state, by postulating that the resultatives is a metaphorically interpreted goal phrase.

(Goldberg, 1995, p. 84)

These constraints do not occur with the caused-motion construction, and according to Goldberg, the resultative construction has a “lack of polysemy” (p. 84) not demonstrated by the caused-motion construction, and therefore, it can be said to be derived from another construction. Because the resultative is already a metaphorical extension, it lacks many metaphorical extensions of its own.

Boas’ (2003) critique of Goldberg’s (1995) interpretation of resultatives argues that there are problems in asserting that resultatives are derived from caused-motion constructions (which would imply that the resultative nature of phrasal verbs would be derived in this manner as well). His critique is based on the argument that caused-motion constructions are in actuality constrained by predicate structure in English where a subject can only have one predicate (except in cases of coordination, which licenses multiple predicates). However, this particular criticism does not hold up under scrutiny, since a single predicate or multiple predicates would not necessarily prevent a derivation from caused-motion constructions.

However, in chapter 5 I argue that a simpler explanation than Boas’ (2003) or Goldberg’s (1995) is available. I do not assume that result must be derived from caused motion. A caused-motion will provide a result but a result does not have to stem from a caused-motion. Broccias (2000) argues in favour of the possibility of non-causative resultatives (pp. 42-43), so the concept does have a precedent. While caused-motion is a part of the semantic frames of some phrasal verbs (such as *stand up* or *get back*), this is not the case for all phrasal verbs (such as *give up* or *call on*). The particles used do not necessarily imply directionality as prepositions frequently do, and cannot always be read as caused-motion, but rather as the result of the action. Especially in those instances, result is arguably the more basic semantic concept when compared

to caused-motion. As stated above, a caused-motion will provide a result but a result does not have to stem from a caused-motion.

4.4 Conclusion

This section has presented an overview of Construction Grammar's theoretical basis to provide needed understanding and structure for the analysis the next chapter. Chapter 5 will serve to demonstrate the application of Construction Grammar to language in general and English phrasal verbs in particular.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, I propose a Construction Grammar analysis of English phrasal verbs. To my knowledge, this work is a new interpretation of English phrasal verbs in Construction Grammar. The analysis will begin with a description of the English transitive construction, demonstrated using phrasal verbs. 5.2 will contain a Construction Grammar interpretation of the resultative phrasal verb construction. 5.3 discusses synthesizing Gorlach and Bolinger's interpretations with a CG analysis of phrasal verbs. 5.3 also includes discussion of some possible interpretations which were rejected in favour of my eventual conclusion. 5.4 discusses the remaining questions that I see emerging from this particular analysis.

I argue that a simpler explanation of resultatives than Boas' (2003) or Goldberg's (1995) is available. If one assumes Tobin's view of resultatives, where process and result are the more basic semantic units, described in 3.2.1, the interpretation would be the opposite of Goldberg's (1995), that instead result is more fundamental than caused-motion. This concept is also in keeping with Broccias' (2000) work, which proposes that result is not always causative.

The final analysis argues for a distinction between the particles found with separable phrasal verbs and those found with non-separable phrasal verbs; this leads to the proposal of a Resultative Construction, in which the separated phrasal verbs occur, and an Adprep Construction, in which the non-separable phrasal verbs occur.

5.1 The transitive construction

The basic transitive construction in English consists of several lexical constructions placed together in a syntactic framework. The placement of each construction within the transitive construction also has semantic implications. English has a basic word order of 'subject-

verb-object' (SVO), which means that the prototypical transitive construction consists of a noun phrase, a verb, and a second noun phrase, in that order. The first noun phrase is the subject, and the second is the object of the verb. The second noun phrase is considered to be syntactically part of the predicate in Construction Grammar. The basic semantic roles the subject and object take are those of agent and patient, respectively. The basic semantic role of the verb within the transitive construction is DO or ACT (Construction Grammar convention usually states semantic roles in all capital letters to prevent confusion with lexical items). Therefore, the transitive construction consists of an agent acting on the patient, or doing something which has a direct effect upon the patient. This is shown diagrammed in a CG format, based on the work of Goldberg (1995; 2005), in Figure 5.1.

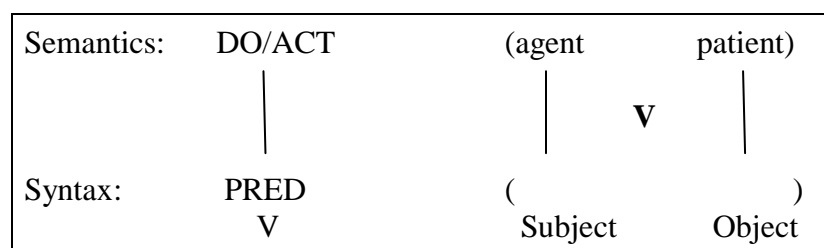


Figure 5.1 Transitive Construction (based on Goldberg's 1995 & 2005 models)

In the above figure, the semantic part of the construction is represented on the top line, and the syntactic structure of it is represented on the bottom line. The first half of the figure shows the DO/ACT meaning linked to the predicate verb, and the second half shows how the agent's and patient's roles are linked to the subject and the object, and the order in which they occur. The V is shown to occur between the agent/subject and patient/object. The empty parentheses represent the lexical constructions which are not included as examples in this figure.

The question here, regarding notation, touches on the deeper question of whether or not phrasal verbs are essentially morphological or syntactic in nature, or whether they lie on the

boundary between the two. I would argue that phrasal verbs ought to be considered morphosyntactic—they form a single construction—but they are still essentially part of the syntax. The particles which form part of the separable phrasal verbs are free morphemes, in the sense that they can be separated by an entire phrase from the verb. The particles which form part of the non-separable phrasal verbs, on the other hand, may not be free morphemes in the same sense as those in separable phrasal verbs, since they are incompatible with the separable construction.

To show the transitive construction with a phrasal verb, I have chosen a specific notation for marking the separable Verb-Particle construction. Because a dash typically represents a connection such as an affix, and the particle is not precisely an affix, since it can be moved from its place beside the verb, I have chosen to use a tilde to connect the two. This not only differentiates the particles from affixes or clitics, it also illustrates the more ephemeral connection the particle has to its verb, while still clearly linking the two together. Therefore, Verb~Particle (abbreviated as either V~Particle or V~Part) will represent the phrasal verb in this analysis.

The figure below, 5.2, shows the representation of the transitive construction when a phrasal verb, rather than a single-word verb, is used. The structure and basic meaning is exactly the same as in the previous figure, but V~Particle, rather than V, is used.

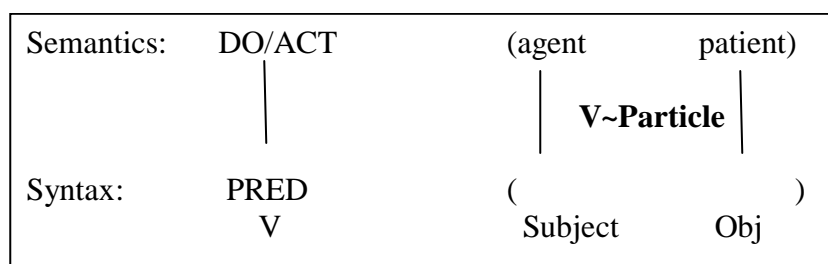


Figure 5.2 Transitive Construction with Phrasal Verb

This is not substantially different from the transitive construction; the only change is in the lexical construction used as the verb. This can be shown in a sentence, as in Figure 5.3 below. This is an alternate notation, also based on Goldberg (1995; 2005), which provides an example of the construction in use, hence the labeling of the construction as ‘transitive’ in the left-hand corner. The grammatical categories of the words are indicated above the example sentence, and the subject, object, and verb type are indicated below the example sentence. The subject and object could also be labeled as ‘agent’ and ‘patient,’ respectively.

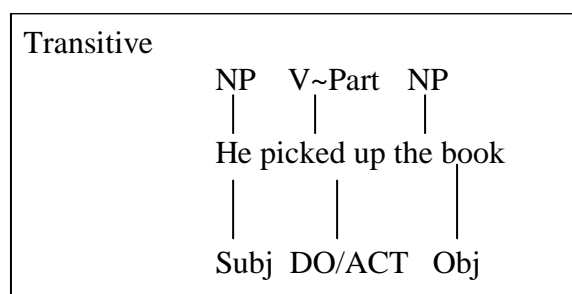


Figure 5.3 Transitive Construction with Phrasal Verb, example notation

At this stage of the analysis, there is very little that is remarkable syntactically about a phrasal verb with the transitive construction. As described in section 5.2, it is the word order alternation in conjunction with the transitive construction that makes these verbs unique. As Figure 5.3 stands, it would also be suitable for describing the non-separable phrasal verb as it occurs with the Transitive Construction.

5.2 The resultative construction

I concur with the literature on phrasal verbs that they are generally resultative, based on the work of Bolinger (1971), Broccias (2000), Elenbass (2003), Goldberg (1991), Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004), Gorfach (2004), Gries (1999), Hampe (2012), and Neeleman and Weerman (1993), as mentioned in section 2.5, and therefore begin this section by arguing that the word

order alternation in which the particle occurs after the object of the verb is more resultative than the non-separated and non-separable phrasal verbs. In this section, I will give examples of how this construction is described in CG, and the change that derives from the addition of RESULT as a feature in the semantic frame.

With the addition of RESULT, the basic predicate of DO/ACT is replaced with the predicate CAUSE-RESULT. The interpretation of the construction is that the agent causes a result, specified by the Verb~Particle, to happen to the patient. The concept of CAUSE-RESULT as part of the semantic frame for this construction is derived from Goldberg's explanation of the caused-motion construction, although in this analysis a change in state, location, or manner could be the result, based on the semantic frame of the Verb~Particle. As shown in Figure 5.4, the particle and the verb are separated from each other by the patient/object, but are shown together under the predicate because they are still a unit of sorts, despite the intervening noun phrase.

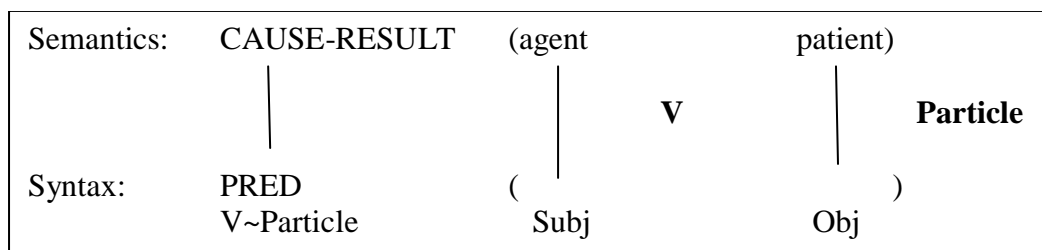
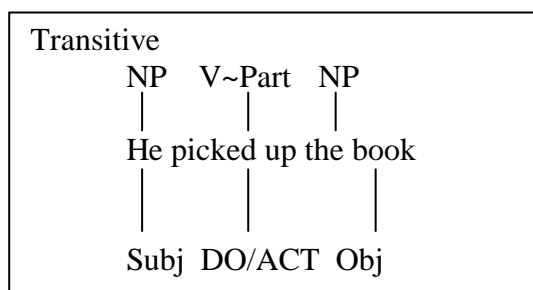


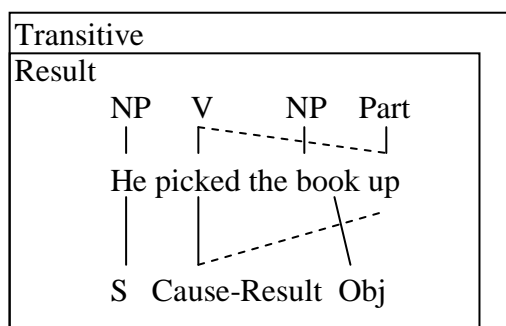
Figure 5.4 Resultative Construction

The shift in the focus of the sentence, which moves the focus to the resulting condition of the patient, changes the syntax by moving the particle part of the Verb~Particle complex to the end of the sentence, making it the last thing the listener hears when the sentence is spoken. This difference in syntax changes the focus and the stress patterns of the sentence, as noted in section 2.4.

What is not shown in Figure 5.4 is that the transitive construction and the resultative construction are layered over each other: it is the resultative construction that requires the particle to follow the object, but the basic word order is still SVO, since the principal part of the verb still occurs prior to the object.



Transitive Construction with Phrasal Verb



Transitive and Resultative Constructions with Phrasal Verb

Figure 5.5 Comparison of Transitive and Transitive+Resultative Constructions

In the representation of the transitive construction together with the resultative construction, I use a dotted line to connect the particle with the semantic component of the verb, as well as showing the link between the syntactic components. This is my own modification to the standard format of Construction Grammar. The dotted line represents the maintenance of the semantic and syntactic connections between the verb and its particle, despite the intervening noun phrase. While this is a change to the standard notation for the theory, there is a precedent for alterations

to the notation (cf. Leino, 2005). This modification could also be used with other discontinuous constructions to illustrate the continued link between one part of the construction and another. For example, the dotted line could also be used in an analysis of the phenomenon of English preposition-stranding, where the preposition occurs at the end of the sentence and the noun phrase which is part of the prepositional phrase occurs elsewhere in the sentence.

5.3 Synthesis and Discussion

The goal of this section is to discuss some possibilities for classifying phrasal verbs in order to create a more coherent explanation, and in the process, synthesize the works of other writers with my own analysis. The synthesis will include insights from the predicate classes of Role and Reference Grammar, Bolinger's 1971 work on phrasal verbs, and Gorfach's sign grammar analysis of 2004. While the question of result will be addressed, and some conclusions will be arrived at, the discussion here also includes some of the possible answers which did not work quite so well in the analysis.

While intransitive phrasal verbs are, naturally, non-separable, given that an object is required for the alternate word order, many transitive phrasal verbs are separable. There are, as stated in chapter 2, a number of phrasal verbs which are non-separable and transitive. A selection of these includes *focus on*, *get on*, *get in*, *get off (leave)*, *go through*, *hit on*, *take after*, *keep at*, *come across*. A more detailed list can be found in Appendix A. In the course of my research, as stated previously, I have chosen not to deal with the ones which have two particles, or the ones for which the "particle" clearly acts solely as a preposition (thereby making the verb non-phrasal in that context).

A brief look at separable transitive phrasal verbs reveals, even at a glance, a larger number of words: *ask out, cross off, hand in, try on, throw up, turn off, take on, fill out, figure out, find out, get off (remove), give up, leave out, make up, put out, take out, tidy up, turn on, use up, wear out*. This is just a brief, random selection, but many of the particles in the above list are used in both separable and non-separable phrasal verbs.

Of particular note here is the phrasal verb *get off*. This can be classed as either separable or non-separable. As a separable phrasal verb, *get off* can be roughly paraphrased as “remove.” As a non-separable phrasal verb, it can be paraphrased as “leave.” While the verb has other meanings, these two examples, (108) and (111), suffice to illustrate that there is a difference between the two types of phrasal verb constructions, and that a phrasal verb with the same form can actually be two different constructions, each of which has its own unique properties and its own meaning.

- (108) I **got** the stain **off**.
- (109) I **got** the stain **off** (of) the couch.
- (110) I **got off** the stain.
- (111) She **got off** the couch.
- (112) *She **got** the couch **off**.

While a separable phrasal verb is clearly transitive, it may be harder to identify the difference between intransitive phrasal verbs and transitive non-separable phrasal verbs, as noted in chapter 2.3.1. In the examples above, (108) is more easily distinguished as a phrasal verb, particularly because of the option presented in (109). However, (111) is far less clear. While the particle *off* can be interpreted as referring to the action of the person moving up and away from the couch, it could also be loosely connected to the following noun phrase. In the case of (111),

the following example, (112), clearly shows that the verb is not separable. Because *to get* without the particle has an entirely different meaning than *to get off*, the verb cannot be interpreted as intransitive because the particle cannot, in this instance, function as a preposition (or solely as a preposition). Otherwise, the sentence would fail to make sense.

To an extent, an answer for distinguishing the intransitive phrasal verbs and the transitive non-separable phrasal verbs lies in the intonation and stress patterns of the sentence. In the examples below, the stressed portions of the verbs are marked in bold. Note that while the separable transitive phrasal verb *blow up* has stress on both the verb and the particle, as does the intransitive phrasal verb *back away* (an example of this is shown in (117) for clarity), the non-separable transitive verb *settle on* does not involve stress on the particle.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (113) | She blew up the balloon. | She settled on the fish. |
| (114) | She blew the balloon up . | *She settled the fish on. |
| (115) | She blew it up . | *She settled it on. |
| (116) | ? She blew up it. | She settled on it. |
| (117) | I backed away from the lion. | *I backed from the lion away . |

The verb *blow up* is very clearly transitive and separable, while transitivity is less clear for the verb *settle on*. It is non-separable, and the stress tends to gravitate to the verb of the construction, indicating that *on* could possibly be interpreted as part of the verb phrase or part of a prepositional phrase.

An additional test to distinguish an intransitive verb followed by a prepositional phrase from the transitive non-separable phrasal verb was suggested by Emma Pavey (personal communication, 23 February 2013). This test uses pronominalization to distinguish the two. She suggested the following examples.

(118) She **hit on** an idea. *She hit there. She **hit on** it.

(119) She **sat on** the table. She sat there. She **sat on** it.

If the verb is an intransitive verb followed by a prepositional phrase, the prepositional phrase will typically have some type of locative meaning, which is indicated in (119) with the use of *there* to replace *on the table*. While both the noun phrases in (118) and (119) can be replaced with *it*, the noun phrase in (118) cannot be replaced with a locative pronoun. Through this, we can establish that, even if there might be some connection between the particle and the following noun phrase, it is not enough to identify the particle as prepositional. Non-separable phrasal verbs are phrasal verbs, though the reason for their non-separable nature is unclear from the initial Construction Grammar analysis.

While Gorlach's work designates the Verb~Particle construction as resultative, with the Verb NP Particle construction as more resultative, this still leaves those Verb~Particles which do not occur with the latter construction as a mystery with no clear answer. For example, in the partial network shown in Figure 5.6 for the separable phrasal verb verb *cast~on*, the 'Result' aspect is a feature of the verb's frame. The separability of the verb is demonstrated in examples (120) to (123) below.

(120) She **cast on** her sweater.

(121) She **cast** her sweater **on**.

(122) She **cast on** the stitches for a scarf.

(123) She **cast** the stitches for a scarf **on**.

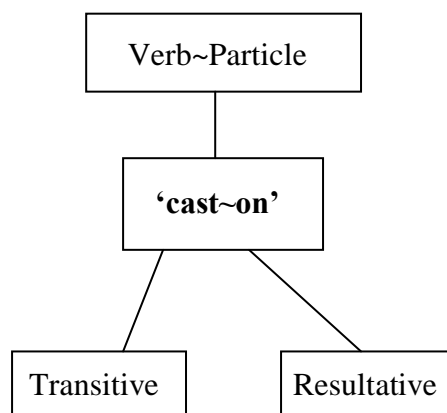


Figure 5.6 Partial syntactic network for verb 'cast-on'

However, for a verb such as *hear~of*, which is commonly designated non-separable, it is unclear as to why the verb cannot occur with the Resultative Construction.

(124) I **have heard of** him.

(125) *I **have heard** him **of**.

(126) I **have** not **heard of** that band.

(127) *I **have** not **heard** that band **of**.

My initial answer to this question was that non-separable verbs had to be somehow incompatible with the semantic quality of "Resultative." I explored several options that might explain this incompatibility. One possibility, discussed below in 5.3.1, is that the predicate classes of the respective separable phrasal verbs mandate their appearance with the result construction. In 5.3.2, I outline a more complete solution to the dilemma. This idea combines Gorlach's continuum of result with Bolinger's contrast between adverbial particles and adpreps.

5.3.1 Predicate Classes

The first explanation I examined was the influence of predicate classes on the semantic restrictions of the verbs. For this explanation, I borrowed Van Valin's (1993) version of

predicate classes as utilized in Role and Reference Grammar in order to establish that there may be some consistent semantic reasons that not all transitive phrasal verbs are permitted to occur with the Resultative Construction. The notion of predicate classes is not unique to Van Valin (cf. Carlson 1977a; 1977b), but Van Valin's (1993) predicate classes are the ones used for this section. My theory was that the predicate class of the verb must be one with an inherent endpoint in order to be semantically compatible with the notion of Result. Result as a concept suggests some kind of an end state, and therefore would logically need an endpoint.

Van Valin (1993) and Pavey (2010) describe five primary predicate classes, each with its own specific properties.

Predicate Class	Description
State	No endpoint; describes properties or internal feelings
Activity	Action with no inherent endpoint
Achievement	An instantaneous change with an inherent endpoint
Accomplishment	A change over time with an inherent endpoint
Semelfactive	An instantaneous event with no resulting change in state (no endpoint)

Table 5.1 Based on Van Valin (1993) and Pavey (2010)

Based on this idea, using predicate classes, phrasal verbs which are either achievements or accomplishments are the only ones which can occur in the posited resultative construction, that is, with the separated phrasal verb. If part of the semantic frame for each verb is its predicate class, then the resultative construction would be blocked for any verbs for which the predicate class has no endpoint, because result by nature requires a terminus.

In working with this contrast between achievements and accomplishments, Tobin (1994) could be applied, where the distinction goes deeper than predicate classes, and instead, is based on process versus result. Both of these predicate classes have a result component, but achievements are easier to identify as resultative than accomplishments, because process is not a factor in achievements. According to Van Valin (2005), accomplishments contain an element of process and achievements do not (pp. 42-43). English verbs can include both process and an endpoint (i.e., a resulting state), or they can include an endpoint with no indication of process (p. 43).

On the surface, predicate classes appear to offer a neat solution to the question of phrasal verbs. However, there is a flaw in this analysis. As stated previously, the phrasal verbs which can occur in the resultative construction are sometimes called separable phrasal verbs. These separable phrasal verbs do generally fall into the categories of achievements or accomplishments, but some non-separable phrasal verbs are also actions with endpoints, such as *get up*. To use an example from earlier, the contrast between *get off (remove)* and *get off (leave)* shows that both the separable and non-separable verb can be characterized as verbs with endpoints. *Get off (remove)* and *get off (leave)* can be classed as accomplishments. Both verbs have inherent endpoints, and either action can occur gradually or immediately.

The above discussion suggests that delineating phrasal verbs based on predicate class distinctions is an inadequate method of analysis because both separable and non-separable verbs can be classed as verbs with inherent endpoints. There is then no semantic reason as to why non-separable phrasal verbs with endpoints should not be separable. The linking of result to the particle-final construction would argue that separable phrasal verbs do have endpoints, and are unlikely to be atelic, but the existence of non-separable atelic phrasal verbs argues that predicate

classes, or predicates classes alone, are not the reason for the contrast between the separable and non-separable verbs.

5.3.2 Bolinger's Adpreps

The answer to this question of constructional incompatibility is perhaps better explained by Bolinger's (1971) descriptions of phrasal verbs. Rather than trying to fit them all into a single unified category, he distinguishes several kinds of constructions based on usage, as was stated in chapter 3. Here I borrow his concept of adpreps and combine it with my earlier analysis.

The simplest explanation is that the particles in non-separable verbs more closely resemble the prepositions with which they are homophonous; these particles contribute both resultative and locative meanings to the sentence. I argue, based on Bolinger's idea, that the boundaries between preposition and particle have become blurred, creating a construction in which the particle is both verbal particle and preposition. As such, it is linked to both the verb and the following noun phrase and cannot be moved elsewhere. As a verbal particle, it forms part of the overall meaning of the verb, and as a preposition, it is part of the stricter order of syntax. These particles are what Bolinger calls "adpreps." They exist simultaneously as both adverb and preposition, and in filling those roles, one which allows for an alternative word order, and one which does not, they are immovable.

When this concept is used in conjunction with my earlier analysis, there are three constructions: the Transitive Phrasal Verb Construction (or Transitive Construction), the Resultative Phrasal Verb Construction (or Resultative Construction), and the Adprep Construction. The first two were first shown in Figure 5.5 and are shown again in Figure 5.8 for

the purposes of comparison with the Adprep Construction. The Adprep Construction is shown immediately below in Figure 5.7.

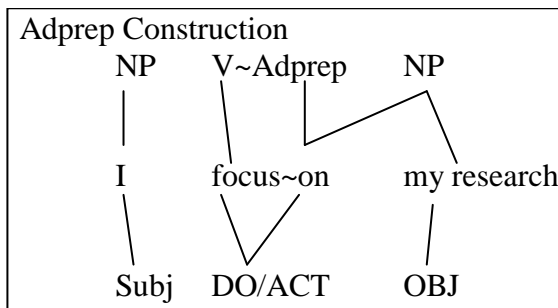
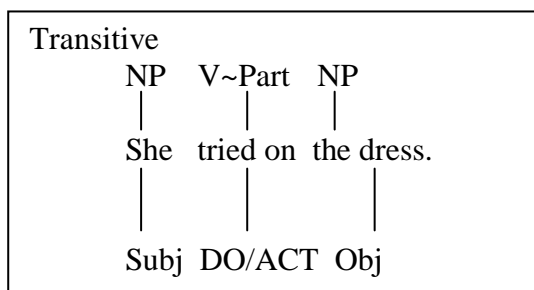
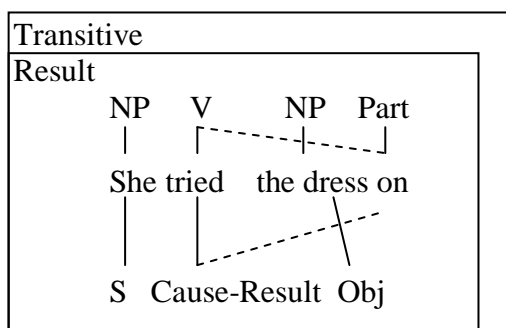


Figure 5.7 Adprep Construction



Transitive Construction with Phrasal Verb



Transitive and Resultative Constructions with Phrasal Verb

Figure 5.8 Transitive Phrasal Verb Construction and Resultative Construction

In figure 5.7 above, I posit that the adprep is semantically part of the verb, like the particle is in a phrasal verb, but it is also syntactically connected to the following noun phrase. The semantic representation shows the adprep linked to the verb semantics.

Figure 5.7 is a more complex solution than the solution using predicate classes, but it fits better with the available data. Construction Grammar assumes that when there is a difference in syntax, there is a (possibly subtle) difference in meaning, which indicates the use of different constructions. There is no essential difference in syntax between the Transitive Phrasal Verb (which can occur with the Resultative Construction's word order) and the Adprep Construction (which superficially looks the same as the Transitive Phrasal Verb, but cannot co-occur with the Resultative Construction).

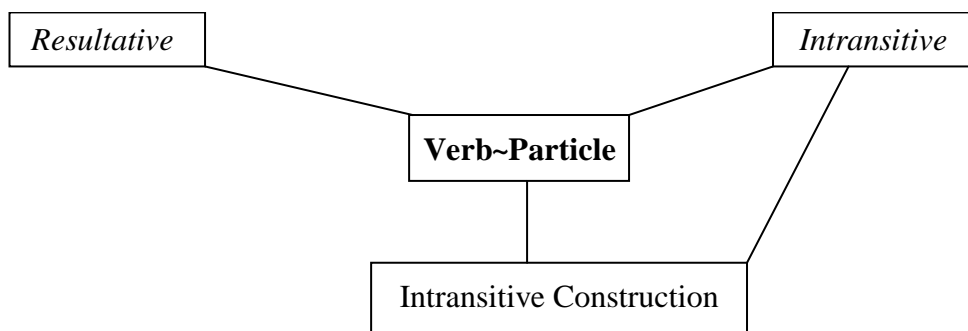
Construction Grammar illustrates links between constructions with the same kind of syntactic network as the one shown in Figure 5.6. In Figure 5.9, the intransitive phrasal verb, the separable phrasal verb, and the non-separable phrasal verb are shown in connection with the relevant constructions. For clarity's sake, the central construction (the phrasal verb) is marked in bold, the features of Result and Transitivity are shown above the construction and marked with italics, and the constructions with which the phrasal verb can co-occur are shown below the central construction and marked in plain type. If the Transitive or Resultative feature is relevant to the constructions with which the phrasal verb occurs, then a line is drawn between the two to show that connection.

Each Verb~Particle and Verb~Adprep construction has the semantic quality of Result, which is shown in a box linked to that central construction to indicate that Result is a semantic quality of the frame of the construction. The syntactic network shows that, in the case of the Intransitive Construction, the Verb~Particle and its quality of Intransitive are subsumed under

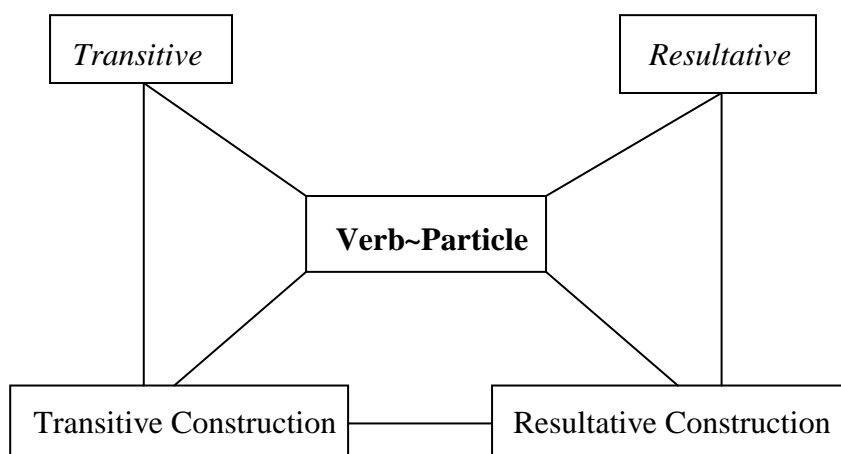
the Intransitive Construction, but the Resultative Quality of the Verb~Particle is only subsumed under the verb.

The separable phrasal verb is shown as a Verb~Particle with both Resultative and Transitive qualities. The Transitive Construction and the Resultative Construction are both linked to the Verb~Particle to show that the Verb~Particle occurs with these constructions. A line is drawn to connect the two constructions to each other as well, since the Resultative Construction exists in conjunction with the Transitive Construction.

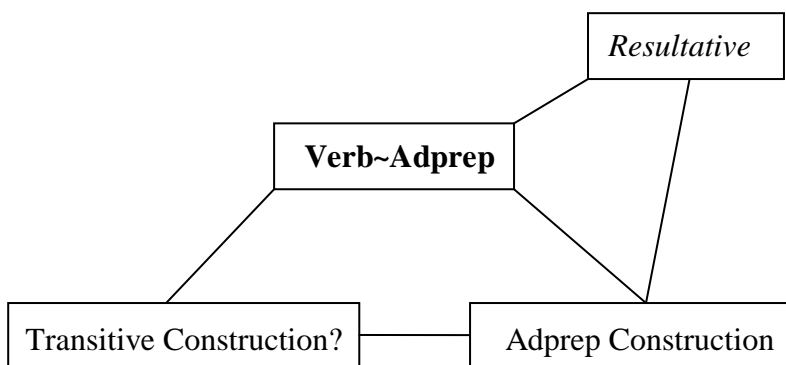
The final network shows the Verb~Adprep and its connection to the Adprep Construction. The Verb~Adprep also has the semantic quality of Result, which is also a feature of the Adprep Construction. The Transitive Construction is shown connected to the Adprep Construction, but with a question mark. Because the Adprep Construction consists of verb and an adprep which is in turn also part of the following noun phrase, it remains unclear whether or not the Adprep Construction is occurring in conjunction with the Transitive Construction or the Intransitive Construction. This uncertainty is more fully discussed in section 5.4.



Intransitive Verb~Particle and its connection to the Intransitive Construction



Transitive Verb~Particle and its connection to the Transitive and Resultative Constructions



Phrasal Verb with Adprep and its connection to the Adprep Construction

Figure 5.9 Syntactic Networks showing Phrasal Verbs and Related Constructions

The incompatibility between the non-separable phrasal verbs and the Resultative Construction stems from the difference between the adverbial particles found in separable phrasal verbs and the adpreps found in non-separable phrasal verbs.. The particle functions only as a particle and is only connected to the verb. Because the particle has a single syntactic role in the sentence, it can occur with either the Transitive Construction or with both the Transitive Construction and the Resultative Construction. The adprep functions as a particle, but also functions to an extent as a preposition. Its status as both particle and preposition effectively fixes the adprep between the verb and the following noun phrase, preventing its occurrence with the Resultative Construction. The semantic frames of non-separable phrasal verbs and separable phrasal verbs are both marked for Result, while the Resultative Construction is also marked for Result. When a separable phrasal verb is paired with the Resultative Construction, the construction is more highly marked for Result than it is when it is only paired with the Transitive Construction.

5.4 Conclusion

One of Construction Grammar's strengths lies in the theory's ability to take language on its own terms, its attempt to fit the theory to language as it is, rather than trying to make the language fit the theory. The analysis here took the difference between the Transitive Phrasal Verb Construction and the Adprep Construction, demonstrable in the Adprep Construction's lack of compatibility with the Resultative Construction, and used Construction Grammar to posit a syntactic difference between the Transitive Phrasal Verb Construction and the Adprep Construction based on the roles of the particle.

This analysis was based on a synthesis of the work of two linguists who each offer different views on the English phrasal verbs. Gorlach (2004) argues for a consistent resultative interpretation, no matter what form the phrasal verb construction takes, while Bolinger (1971) argues for more variation in the meanings of the phrasal verb constructions based on the possible word order alternations with the particles. Incorporating insights from both of these authors, I have shown that result is a part of the phrasal verb construction, but also revealed that there is a distinct syntactic difference between two constructions which have the same form. Further analysis has illustrated a syntactic difference between the separable phrasal verb as it occurs with the Transitive Construction and the non-separable phrasal verb.

One concept that emerged from this analysis was quite unexpected, but intriguing, and it has to do with the verbs found in the Adprep Construction. One of the core linguistic assumptions made about verbs is that they will have some reference to transitivity, a requirement for either an object, objects, or lack of an object. This concept is crucial for proving a word to be a verb. In Construction Grammar, a verb's frame will include its transitivity; that is, whether it is intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive.

Yet my conclusions in this chapter would imply that there are some English phrasal verbs which are not precisely either transitive or intransitive. As stated in the discussion on Figure 5.9, the Adprep Construction skirts the boundary between transitivity and intransitivity. What does this mean for our understanding of transitivity? If non-separable phrasal verbs contain elements which are both particle and preposition, making the following noun phrase a prepositional object, in spite of the sentence retaining its transitive prosody, is it transitive or intransitive? I would argue that it is not exactly one or the other, but in a separate category, which I propose to call 'semitransitive.' A semitransitive verb is exemplified by the Adprep Construction, where the

following noun phrase is not precisely an object of the verb, but it is necessary for the sentence to retain grammaticality. If one uses Hopper and Thompson's (1980) scale for transitivity to gauge the semitransitive of the Adprep Construction, the semitransitive would meet the high transitivity requirement for two participants, but would be lower in transitivity regarding the affectedness of the O (the object). Hopper and Thompson state that transitivity is a continuum, ranging from high transitivity to low transitivity (p. 253). Based on their statement, the term 'semitransitive' could be applied to those clauses in English which are neither high nor low in transitivity and which could therefore be interpreted as neither fully intransitive nor fully transitive.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has offered an answer to the question posed in chapter 1. The word order variant which occurs with English phrasal verbs is not random, not merely a matter of the speaker's inclination: the word order alternations, as well as the lack of the alternation, occur due to specific semantic and syntactic circumstances. The word order alternation serves to mark the verb as more explicitly resultative than it is in the standard order, and the lack of word order alternation which occurs with the non-separable phrasal verbs happens because the particle of those verbs acts as both an adverbial particle and as a preposition. Both semantics and syntax had to be considered, in concert with each other, if this analysis was to work. Without one or the other, and without the ability to include both in the analysis, what I have argued in this work would not exist. The choice of Construction Grammar as the theory used in analysis here was crucial in creating this work. In spite of my critiques of the theory in chapter 5, Construction Grammar does attempt to unite syntax and semantics within the same framework, and it is the richer for that. Whatever it lacks, especially regarding semantics, it does offer enough of a framework that semantics cannot be ignored if one is to actually work within this theory.

The thesis was arranged in two parts: background and description, followed by the analysis. The purpose in dividing the thesis into two parts was to create a clear delineation between necessary background information and the analysis itself. Chapter 2 introduced English phrasal verbs and contained a literature review on the topic. The overview of English phrasal verbs provided a description of the verbs from a linguistic perspective, involving the morphology and syntax of the verbs as well as a brief historical and semantic description. Chapter 3 was a more in-depth description of the two major works on English phrasal verbs that heavily influenced this thesis, those of Bolinger (1971) and Gorfach (2003).

Part 2 of the thesis began with Chapter 4. Chapter 4 is still a background chapter, but it begins the analysis by introducing the theory which I have used to analyse English phrasal verbs. Chapter 4 explains the assumptions inherent to Construction Grammar, and provides the reader with a working understanding of the theory sufficient to aid in the comprehension of chapter 5.

Chapter 5 was the analysis of English phrasal verbs using Construction Grammar, followed by a summary of some of the remaining questions. An initial Construction Grammar analysis provides no real answer for the question of why some phrasal verbs are separable and others are not. Superficially, the constructions are the same. However, when analysed with the possibility that the particles might have different roles, and that result might be embedded in different ways, both in the verbs and the syntax, the reason for the distinction between separable and non-separable phrasal verbs became more clear.

My work here has provided some answers to the question posed in the introduction, that of *why* phrasal verbs are used in certain ways and not in others, but it leaves behind other questions. While I chose to use Construction Grammar for my primary analysis, my work was heavily influenced by that of linguists working in other theories, sign grammar and descriptivist linguistics in particular, and without their insights, I would likely have come to a different conclusion regarding the difference between separable and non-separable phrasal verbs. Though Construction Grammar strives to provide a balance between syntax and semantics, allowing for insights from other theories was extremely helpful in elucidating some of the semantics at work in English phrasal verbs. From my start on this thesis, I have tried to keep semantics in mind as I tried to understand phrasal verbs, influenced by Wierzbicka's statement: "Nothing is as easily overlooked, or as easily forgotten, as the most obvious truths. The tenet that language is a tool for expressing meaning is a case in point" (1988, p. 1). I read this near the beginning of my

research, and although Wierzbicka's theory of semantics did not come into use during my analysis, the sentiment she expresses regarding meaning was crucial. Ultimately, language is intended to express meaning. My work is intended to shed light on some of the more difficult-to-parse nuances of meaning; in the beginning of this thesis, I intended to provide a better understanding of how English phrasal verbs contain depths of meaning that are easily overlooked, while at the same time providing a more thorough analysis of phrasal verbs in Construction Grammar than that which had been previously attempted. In both cases, I have concluded that my work here has provided both. This new perspective on English phrasal verbs, synthesized from earlier work and improved by the insights of a newer theory, provides a clearer understanding of the phenomenon and contributes a new analysis to the Construction Grammar literature.

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Appendix A: Phrasal Verbs with Examples

Intransitive Phrasal Verb Examples

back out	You can't back out now!
blow over	The scandal will blow over eventually.
break down	My brother's car broke down yesterday.
come to	She finally came to.
carry on	I can't carry on without a cup of tea.
drop in	My parents always drop in on me without warning.
grow up	Joey is growing up.
turn up	He always turns up here.
walk back	She was walking back to her home.
watch out	You should watch out for traffic.

Non-Separable Transitive Phrasal Verb Examples

come across	We came across an interesting bookstore.
come by	Where did you come by that necklace?
focus on	I can't focus on my book.
get in	He got in the swimming pool.
get on	She got on the horse.
go through	The burglar went through the jewellery.
hit on	That drunk guy hit on me.
look after	I can look after myself.
pick on	He picks on the smaller kids at school.
take after	They say that I take after my mother.

touch on We only touched on that subject.

Separable Transitive Phrasal Verb Examples

ask out	Marcus asked out Jenny.	Marcus asked Jenny out.
cross off	I crossed off the item on the list.	I crossed the item on the list off.
figure out	She can't figure out the answer.	She can't figure the answer out.
fill out	I filled out the form.	I filled the form out.
give up	He gave up the plans.	He gave the plans up.
leave out	Can you leave out the mustard?	Can you leave the mustard out?
make up	You made up that story.	You made that story up.
put out	He put out his cigarette.	He put his cigarette out.
take on	I can't take on this job.	I can't take this job on.
take out	I took out the garbage.	I took the garbage out.
throw up	She threw up dinner.	She threw her dinner up.
tidy up	I should tidy up the room.	I should tidy the room up.
try on	Maizy tried on the shoes.	Maizy tried the shoes on.
turn off	He turned off the lights.	He turned the lights off.
turn on	I turned on the oven.	I turned the oven on.
use up	I used up the horseradish.	I used the horseradish up.
wear out	She wore out her shoes.	She wore her shoes out.