Change of state and the co-event conflation pattern:
The case of unselected object constructions[∗]

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Structure of the talk

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2. Some typological remarks on 'unselected object constructions'
3. A formal analysis of conflation processes in 'unselected object constructions'
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1. A constructionist approach to 'unselected object constructions'

In constructionist approaches to argument structure (e.g., Goldberg [1995]) the study of so-called 'unselected object constructions' has been instrumental in reaching the conclusion that argument structure is not determined by the verb but rather by the construction. Goldberg argues that skeletal argument structure constructions are capable of contributing arguments.

(1)   *The caused-motion construction*
    a.   He sneezed the napkin *(off the table)
    b.   John worked his debts *(off)
    c.   John wiped {the dust/the fingerprints}*(off the table)

Goldberg (1995: 224): "By recognizing the existence of meaningful constructions, we can avoid the claim that the syntax and semantics of the clause is projected exclusively from the specifications of the main verb. In this way, we avoid the problem of positing implausible verb senses to account for examples such as the following: *He sneezed the napkin off the table* (…)."
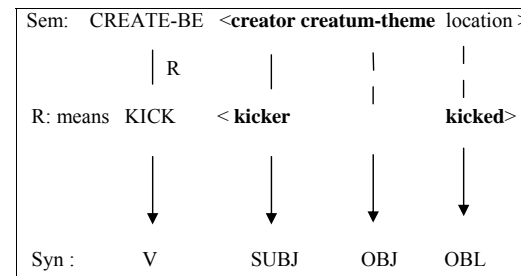
(2)   *He sneezed the napkin off the table* ex. from Goldberg (1995: 54):
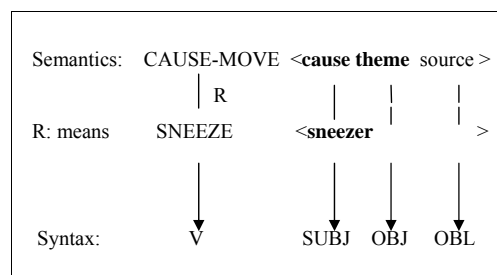
(3)   a.   John kicked a hole in the fence.
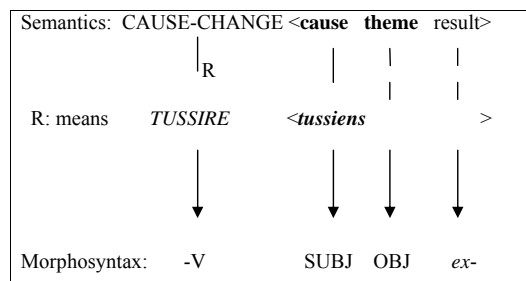   b.   Sue burned a hole in her coat with a cigarette.

(4)

Similarly, as pointed out by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013), constructions with a resultative prefix like the ones contained in the Latin examples in (5) to (10) can also be argued to involve an "unselected object", i.e., to put it in Goldberg's terms, the direct objects found in the examples in (5) to (10) can be claimed to be licensed not directly as arguments of the simple verb but by the resultative-like construction. E.g., see (11) for a CG analysis of (5).

(5)   [Serpentes]   putamina   ex-tussiunt. / *tussiunt.   (Latin)
    snake.NOM.PL shell.ACC.PL out-cough.3PL
    'Snakes cough the egg shells out.'   (Plin. *Nat*. 10, 197)

(6)   Omne   caseum   cum melle   ab-usus eris. / *usus eris.
    all.ACC.N.SG cheese(N)ACC.SG with honey.ABL off-use.FUT.2SG
    'You will have used up all the cheese with honey.' (Cat. *Agr*. 76, 4)

(7)   E-dormi / *Dormi   crapulam,   inquam.
    out-sleep.IPV.2SG intoxication.ACC.SG say.PRS.1SG
    'Sleep off that intoxication, I said.'   (Cic. *Phil*. 2, 30)

(8)   Veniebat [...] ut   sudorem   illic   ab-lueret. / [#]lueret.
    come.IPFV.3SG that sweat.ACC there off-wash.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
    'He used to go there to wash his sweat off.'   (Sen. *Epist*, 86, 11)

(9)   Haec   libertus   ut   e-bibat / [#]bibat [...] custodis?
    this.ACC.N.PL freedman.NOM that out-drink.SBJV.3SG guard.PRS.2SG
    'Are you guarding these possessions for your freedman to guzzle them all up?'
    (Hor. *Sat*. 2, 3, 122)

(10)   [Acta]   quae   ille in aes   in-cidit / [#]cecidit.
    deed(N)ACC.PL which.ACC.N.PL he in brass.ACC in-cut.PRF.3SG
    'The deeds which he engraved on brass.'   (Cic. *Phil*. 1, 16)

Exs. Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013)

Nota bene: the constructions in (5) through (7) feature verbs unable to take accusative in the absence of the prefix: *tussio* 'cough' (intransitive), *utor* 'use' (*utor* takes ablative), and *dormio* 'sleep' (intransitive); the rest of examples feature transitive verbs, although they do not seem to theta-select their objects: in (8) the sweat, *sudorem*, is not washed, but washed <u>off</u>; in (9) the verb *bibo* 'drink', in combination with the prefix *ex-*, appears with an object which does not refer to a drinkable entity; finally, in (10) *acta* 'deeds', is not selected by simple *caedo* 'cut', but it is possible with the prefixed verb *incido* 'cut into', 'engrave'.

(11) CG analysis of Lat. *Serpentes putamina extussiunt* à la Goldberg (1995):

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Semantics:  CAUSE-CHANGE <cause  theme  result>
                   |R           |     |     |
                   |            |     |     |
   R: means    TUSSIRE     <tussiens          >
                   |            |     |     |
                   ↓            ↓     ↓     ↓
   Morphosyntax:  -V          SUBJ  OBJ   ex-
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(12) a. Serpentes   putamina   *(**ex**)tussiunt.   (Latin)
            snake.NOM.PL   shell.ACC.PL   out-cough.3PL
      b. The snakes cough the egg shells *(**out**).

As pointed out by Acedo-Matellán (2010: 220), the Ancient Greek examples in (13) and (14) "are cases of unselected object constructions, since the occurrences of the unprefixed verbs *orkhéomai* 'dance' and *kubeúo* 'play dice' are intransitive".

(13) *(Ap-)orkhé:saó […]   tòn   gámon   (Ancient Greek)
         away-dance.AOR.MID.2SG the.ACC.M.SG wedding.ACC.SG
      'You have danced your wedding away (i.e., 'You have ruined your wedding by dancing') (*Hdt*. 6, 129)

(14) *(Kata-)kubeúsas   tà   ónta
         down-gamble.PTCP.AOR.NOM.M.SG the.ACC.N.PL possession.ACC.N.PL
      'Having gambled away his possessions…' (*Lis*. 14, 27)
                                              Exs. from Acedo-Matellán (2010)

Similarly, as pointed out by Mateu (2008), the Russian examples in (15) and the German ones in (16) also involve 'unselected object constructions'. That is, to put it in Goldberg's (1995) terms, the direct objects found in the examples in (15) and (16) are licensed not directly as arguments of the simple verb but by the particular resultative-like construction. E.g., see Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998) for the claim that the Russian examples in (15) can be analyzed as complex resultative constructions (e.g., cf. Engl. *They drank the pub dry* / *He talked himself hoarse*).

(15) a. Ona is-pisala   svoju ručku   (Russian)
            she *iz*(out)-write her   pen.ACC
            'Her pen ran out of ink' (lit. She wrote her pen out (of ink)).
      b. On pro-pil   vsju svoju zarplatu
            he *pro*-drank all   his   wages
            'He drank his way through all his wages.'
      c. Rebënok do-kričal-sja   do xripoty
            baby   *do*-cried-sja(itself) to hoarseness
            'The baby cried itself hoarse.'
                                              Exs. from Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998)

(16) a. Er ver-gärtner-te sein gesamtes Vermögen.   (German)
            he *ver*(away)-gardener-ed his whole fortune
            'In gardening, he used up all his fortune.'
      b. Sie er-schreiner-te sich den Ehrenpreis der Handwerkskammer.
            she *er*-carpenter-ed herself.DAT the prize of the trade corporation
            'She got the prize of the trade corporation by doing carpentry.'
                                    Ex. from Stiebels (1998), *apud* Mateu (2008)

Conclusion: The existence of so-called 'unselected object constructions' provides a good argument for (neo)*constructionist* approaches to argument structure (for cognitively oriented ones, see Goldberg [1995, 2006] and Croft [2001, 2012], i.a.; for some generative ones, see Borer [1994, 2005], Marantz [1997, 2005, 2013], and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu [2013], i.a.).

2. Some typological remarks on 'unselected object constructions'
As shown by Talmy (1991, 2000), 'unselected object constructions' like those ones in (12) through (16) are quite typical of *satellite-framed languages* (e.g., Latin, Germanic, Slavic, …; in fact, most of Indoeuropean languages minus Romance). To put in his terms, in these constructions the *co-event* is encoded in the main verb/verbal root, whereas the *framing event* is encoded in the *satellite* (i.e., the resultative prefix/particle): the semantic paraphrases in (17) and (18) are inspired by those ones in Talmy (1991, 2000). In contrast, these unselected object constructions are not typical of *verb-framed languages* (e.g., Romance, Japanese, etc.).

(17) The analysis of Lat. *Serpentes putamina extussiunt* / Engl. *The snakes cough the egg shells out* à la Talmy (1991, 2000):
      [The snakes $_A$MOVED the egg shells TO OUTSIDE] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [the snakes cough]

(18) The analysis of Germ. *Sie erschreinerte sich den Ehrenpreis der Handwerkskammer* à la Talmy (1991, 2000):
      [She $_A$MOVED the prize of the trade corporation INTO HER POSSESSION] WITH-THE-CAUSE-OF [she did carpentry]

Nota bene: for two recent reviews of Talmy's typology, see Beavers et al. (2010) and Croft et al. (2010) and references therein. These critics argue that Talmy's typology does not offer a good analysis of "symmetrical patterns" like the ones involved in some serial verb constructions, i.a. But see Ibarretxe-Antuñano's (2005) interview of Talmy for his reply to those proponents of "equipollent systems" (e.g., cf. Slobin [2004]; Zlatev and Yangklang [2004]).

The Talmian analysis of 'unselected object constructions' like Lat. *Serpentes putamina extussiunt* / *The snakes cough the egg shells out* (see [17]) is quite compatible with Washio's (1997) semantic account of so-called 'strong resultatives', which can also involve 'unselected objects'. According to Washio (1997: 7), strong resultatives like those ones in (19) are those ones "in which the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other": e.g., in English examples like (19), which involve 'unselected objects', it cannot be predicted from the mere semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb.

(19) *Strong resultative constructions*
      a. The boy danced his feet sore.
      b. The speaker talked himself hoarse.
      c. The dog barked the chickens awake. (ex. from Goldberg [1995: ex. [39], p. 185)

In contrast, Washio (1997: 7) gives a negative definition of weak resultatives: "let us call resultatives that are not strong in the above sense *weak* resultatives." (e.g., see [20]). Indeed, in (20) the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are *not* independent of each other. For example, the adjective can specify the result encoded in the verb. Cf. also Takamine (2007), for further discussion.

(20)   *Weak resultative constructions*
   a.   Taro-ga   kabe-o pinkuiro-ni nutta.   (Japanese)
        Taro-nom   wall-acc pink-NI   paint-past
        'Taro painted the wall pink.'
   b.   Boku-wa aisu kuriimu-o   katikati-ni koorase-ta.
        I-top   ice cream-acc   solid-NI   freeze-past
        'I froze the ice cream hard'.

Mateu (2012) claims that Washio's (1997) *strong/weak* distinction is not only valid for adjectival resultatives but also for prepositional-like resultatives (verb-particle constructions included): cf. (21) and (22). In particular, Mateu (2012) argues that Japanese resultatives like (20) and Italian verb-particle constructions like (22) share some formal and semantic properties that separate them from strong resultatives like (19) and strong P-verb constructions in (21).[1] [NB: similarly, Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998) show that English strong resultatives like (19) and Russian constructions like (21c,21d) share some semantic properties].

(21)   *Strong P-verb constructions*
   a.   John worked his debts off.
   b.   Serpentes   putamina   extussiunt.   (Latin)
        snakes   shells   out-cough
        'Snakes cough the egg shells out.'
   c.   Ona is-pisala   svoju ručku   (Russian)
        she *iz*(out)-write her   pen.ACC
        'Her pen ran out of ink' (lit. She wrote her pen out (of ink)).
   d.   Rebënok do-kričal-sja   do xripoty
        baby   *do*-cried-sja(itself) to hoarseness
        'The baby cried itself hoarse.'

(22)   *Weak P-verb constructions*
   a.   Luca ha lavato via la   macchia.   (Italian)
        Luca has washed away the stain
        'Luca washed the stain away.'
   b.   Gianni ha   raschiato via la   vernice.
        Gianni has   scraped   away the paint
        'Gianni scraped the paint away.'

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

Nota bene: Masini (2005: 167) claims that the existence of Italian phrasal verbs like *lavare via* ('wash away') or *raschiare via* ('scrape away') depends on the removal sense of the verb, which Mateu & Rigau (2010) argue is related to the incorporating status of <u>Path/Result</u> in this otherwise verb-framed language. In contrast, such a restriction does not hold in Germanic. As expected, examples like the one in (21a) are impossible in Italian because the verb does not involve Path/Result.

Talmy (1991, 2000) classifies Japanese and Romance as verb-framed languages. But see Croft et al. (2010), who claim that Japanese resultative constructions like the ones in (20) are satellite-framed (the resultative phrase is considered the satellite). Similarly, see Iacobini and Masini (2007), who claim that Italian verb-particle constructions like the ones in (22) are also problematic for Talmy's classification since they are also satellite-framed. However, Mateu (2012) shows that these criticisms of Talmy's typological classification are not well-grounded. Despite appearances, Japanese resultatives and Italian verb-particle constructions can be argued to be verb-framed constructions in the sense that the verb encodes Result/Path. Accordingly, the framing event in these Japanese and Italian constructions is not encoded in the satellite but rather in the Result/Path verb. The alleged satellite can then be claimed to *specify* the Result/Path that is encoded in the verb. Crucially, Japanese weak resultatives and Italian verb-particle constructions do **not** involve the co-event/manner conflation pattern, which is typical of Talmy's (1991, 2000) satellite-framed languages.

For example, see Mateu & Rigau (2010) for the important remark that critics of Talmy's typology like Iacobini & Masini (2007) do not explain relevant contrasts like the one in (23). The alleged satellite *via* 'away' can be claimed to specify the Result/Path encoded in the directional manner of motion verb in (23a) but not in the *pure* manner verb in (23b).

(23)   a.   Gianni è corso via.[2]   (Italian)
             Gianni is run   away
             'Gianni ran away.'
      b.   *Gianni è ballato via. (cf. Engl. [ok]*John danced away*).
             Gianni is danced away
             'Gianni danced away.'

As acknowledged by Mateu & Rigau (2010), Talmy's (1991, 2000) descriptive term *satellite* can be said to be misleading when dealing with the differences between Germanic and Romance P-verb constructions. Since the particle is a prepositional-like satellite in both linguistic families, both patterns of phrasal verbs could in principle be descriptively classified as "satellite-framed". Given this, we prefer to use Talmy's expression *Co-event conflation pattern* rather than the more usual "satellite-framed pattern" when referring to the (strong) Germanic P-verb pattern. Accordingly, we claim that the relevant typological difference is not the one exemplified by light and directional verbs plus a satellite (both linguistic families have examples of this type: e.g., *go away* / It. *andare via*), but the one exemplified by <u>pure</u> (i.e., non-directional) manner verbs plus a satellite, the latter being present in Germanic but not in Romance (e.g., *float/dance/... away* vs. It. **galleggiare/ballare/... via*).

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[2] This example involves an unaccusative structure, where *Gianni* is not an external argument. Although verbs like *correre* 'run' or *volare* 'fly' select *avere* 'have' in the unergative structure, they select *essere* 'be' in the unaccusative one, e.g., in the one containing the particle *via* 'away'. Hence the contrasts between (23a) and (ia).
(i)   a.   Gianni ha corso (*via).   b.   Gianni ha volato (*via)
           Gianni has ran away   Gianni has flown away

Mateu's (2012) descriptive generalization: strong {adjectival and prepositional-like} resultatives necessarily involve the Co-event (e.g., Manner) **conflation** pattern. In contrast, weak {adjectival and prepositional-like} constructions only involve the Path/Result **incorporation** pattern. Verb-framed languages like Romance or Japanese are expected to lack 'unselected object constructions', which are typical of satellite-framed languages like Latin, Germanic or Slavic languages (as shown above, these constructions belong to the first type).

**3. A formal analysis of conflation processes: the case of 'unselected object constructions'**

(24) Haugen (2009: 260): "Incorporation is conceived of as head-movement (…), and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of Copy, whereas Conflation is instantiated directly through Merge (compounding)".
      Nota optime: Haugen's (2009) definition of Conflation does not fully coincide with the one found in Hale & Keyser (1998, 2002).

(25) On the non-primitive status of Incorporation and Conflation operations:
      Incorporation → Chomsky's Internal Merge   (cf. Copy/Move in (24))
      Conflation   → Chomsky's External Merge   (cf. Compounding in (24))

(26) a.   John smiled.   (cf. [27])
      b.   John smiled his thanks.   (cf. [30])

(27) Incorporation
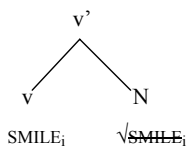
Nota bene I: The external argument is not represented in syntactic argument structures (cf. Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Kratzer (1996) or Pylkkännen (2008), among others).
*Nota bene II*: Incorporation is also involved in all those typical cases analyzed by Hale & Keyser (2002): unergative denominal verbs like *smile*, transitive denominal verbs of the locatum (e.g., *saddle*) and location (e.g., *shelve*) types, and (anti)causative deadjectival verbs (e.g., *clear*). In all these cases the root comes from an inner complement position.

As is well-known, Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) claim that English unergative verbs like *smile, work, cry, speak, play, sleep, snore,* etc. are hidden transitives. According to them, evidence for this proposal can be found in languages like Basque (see [28]) and Jemez (see [29]). Typically, English unergatives involve incorporated variants, whereas Basque involve non-incorporated (i.e., analytical) variants. Similarly, Hale & Keyser's bimorphemic analysis of unergatives in (27) is supported by Jemez, where the nominal root incorporates into a visible light verb 'do'.

(28) *barre egin* 'smile do'; *lan egin* 'work do'; *negar egin* 'cry do'; *hitz egin* 'word do'; *iolas egin* 'play do'; *lo egin* 'sleep do'; *zurrunga egin* 'snore do'; etc.   (Basque)

(29) *hiil-'a* 'laugh-do'; *sae-'a* 'work-do'; *shil-'a* 'cry-do'; *se-'a* 'speech-do', etc. (Jemez)

(30) Conflation
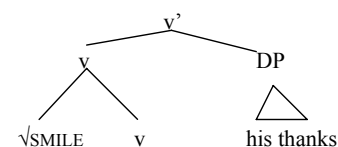
The formal distinction between *conflation* vs. *incorporation*, when applied to resultatives, runs parallel to Washio's (1997) semantic distinction between *strong* vs. *weak* resultatives, respectively. From a Hale&Keyserian perspective, the formation of resultative constructions like (31a) and (31b) can be shown to be different depending on how the null light verb can acquire phonological content: via conflation or via incorporation, respectively.

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

Strong resultatives like the unselected object construction in (31a) are formed via conflation (i.e., the root is directly adjoined to the null verbal head), as depicted in (32a) (cf. Mateu & Rigau [2002, 2010], McIntyre [2004], Embick [2004], Mateu & Espinal [2007], Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], and Acedo-Matellán [2010], i.a.). In contrast, weak resultatives like (31b) are formed via incorporation (i.e., the root comes from an inner complement position), as represented in the Japanese resultative in (32b).

(32) a.

      b.

Nota bene I: Following the so-called "localist hypothesis" (cf. Gruber [1965] and Jackendoff [1983], i.a.), whereby Result can be claimed to involve Path, an abstract P(ath) can be claimed to be represented in the syntactic argument structure of adjectival resultative constructions.
Nota bene II: Word order details are omitted in the analysis of the Japanese resultative in (32b).

The syntactic argument structure in (32b) can be compared with Baker's (2003: 221) full syntactic structure in (33) (cf. Hale & Keyser (2002) for the controversial distinction between l(exical)-syntax and s(entential)-syntax: according to them, the term *s-syntax* is used to refer to the syntactic structure assigned to a phrase or sentence involving both the lexical item and its arguments and also its "extended projection" (Grimshaw 1991/2005) and including, therefore, the full range of functional categories and projections implicated in the formation of a sentence interpretable at PF and LF).

(33)   I wiped the table clean.
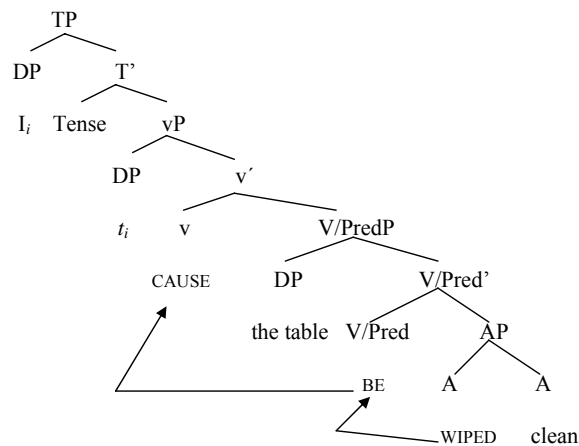
Baker (2003: 221)

Some remarks are in order: On the one hand, Baker (2003) is silent on which syntactic analysis should be posited for unergative resultatives, i.e., unselected object constructions like (31a) *The boy danced his feet sore*. Of course, these resultatives cannot be analyzed as (33), i.e., as involving incorporation: cf. # [John [CAUSE [his feet [DANCED sore]]]]. To solve this problem, we can adopt Haugen's (2009) distinction between conflation and incorporation in (24): cf. the conflation process in (32a) and the incorporation one in (32b). On the other hand, Baker claims that *WIPED* in (33) has an adjectival nature. However, as far as I can see, nothing forces us to assume his claim, whereby I represent the root √*FUI* 'wipe' as X in (32b): i.e., it lacks categorial nature; semantically, *X* is interpreted as a terminal Ground since it occupies the complement position of a telic P(ath) (cf. Hale & Keyser's [1993, 2002] *terminal coincidence relation*).

See Mateu (2012), for more discussion: e.g., on the basis of relevant contrasts like (34a) and (34b), I argue that Baker's (2003: 221) *incorporation* analysis depicted in (33) can be appropriate for the Japanese example in (31b) but it is not for its English/Germanic counterpart, which involves *conflation*. This amendment correctly predicts that, unlike in Japanese, both examples in (34) are well-formed in English.

(34)   a.   Taro-ga   yuka-o   kirei-ni   fui-ta.   (Japanese)
              Taro-nom   floor-acc   clean-NI   wipe-past
              'Taro wiped the floor clean'.
         b.   *Taro-ga   kinzoku-o   petyanko-ni   tatai-ta.
              Taro-nom   metal-acc   flat-NI   pound-past
              'Taro pounded the metal flat'.

                                                        Examples from Washio (1997)

Mutatis mutandis, the same contrast we've seen when dealing with adjectival resultatives can also be claimed for verb-particle constructions. For example, unselected object constructions like the one exemplified in (35a) are formed via conflation (i.e., the root is claimed to be directly adjoined to the null verbal head), as depicted in (36a) (cf. McIntyre [2004], Mateu & Espinal [2007], Mateu & Rigau [2010], and Acedo-Matellán [2010], i.a.). In contrast, Italian verb-particle constructions like the one exemplified in (35b) can be claimed to be formed via incorporation (i.e., the root is claimed to come from an inner complement position), as depicted in (36b).

(35)   a.   John worked his debts off.
         b.   Gianni ha   lavato via   la   macchia.   (Italian)
              Gianni has washed away the stain

(36)   a.
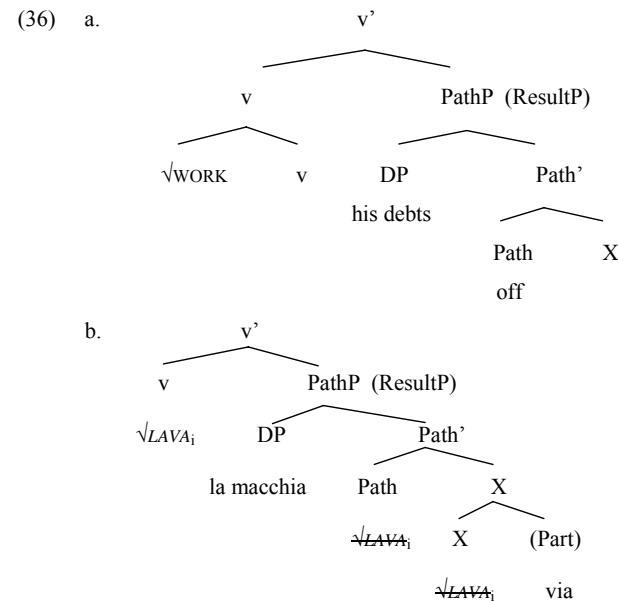
Notice the parallelism between unselected object constructions like (35a) *John worked his debts off* and Washio's (1997: 7) strong resultatives like (31a) *The boy danced his feet sore* "in which the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other": indeed, in these constructions, it cannot be predicted from the mere semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb. In contrast, Italian verb-particle constructions like (35b) are similar to Washio's (1997: 7) weak resultatives: in these cases the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the particle are **not** independent of each other. For example, in *weak* verb-particle constructions the particle can be claimed to *specify* the result incorporated into the verb.

Nota optime: conflation and incorporation are not incompatible processes (cf. strong P-verb constructions reviewed in section 1). For example, consider the Latin unselected object construction in (10), repeated in (37). As depicted in (38), the formation of this construction involves both conflation of the root √CAED- (Lat. *caedere* 'cut') with a transitive light verb and incorporation (i.e., copy) of the Path element *in* 'in' into this verb.

(37) [Acta]   quae   ille in aes   in-cidit / #cecidit.   (Latin)
      deed(N)ACC.PL which.ACC.N.PL he in brass.ACC in-cut.PRF.3SG
      'The deeds which he engraved on brass.'   (Cic. *Phil*. 1, 16)
                                                Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2013)

(38)
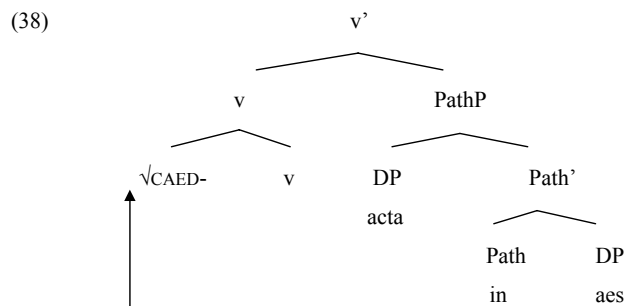
Furthermore, an important distinction is in order when dealing with incorporation processes. Consider the intransitive construction in (39a), drawn from a satellite-framed language like Hungarian, and the one in (39b), drawn from a verb-framed language like Spanish. Both examples involve incorporation of Path into the motion verb. However, in (39a) the P(ath) is affixed onto the verb, which has already been formed via conflation of √TANCOL 'dance' with a light motion verb. In Talmy's words, (39a) is an example of satellite-framedness. In contrast, in (39b) the incorporation of P(ath) into the verb gives a morphophonological atom *entrar* 'enter', whereby it is an example of verb-framedness.[3] As expected from Talmy's typology, in the satellite-framed construction in (39a) the co-event is encoded in the verb, whereas in the verb-framed one in (39b) the co-event is a gerund adjunct.

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[3] As noted above, verb-framednees is not incompatible with satellite-framedness. For example, following Hale & Keyser's (2000) "P-cognation" analysis of English complex verbs like *cool down* or *heat up*, Mateu & Rigau (2010) claim that Romance phrasal verbs like It. *uscire fuori* lit. 'exit out' or *entrare dentro* 'enter in', etc. involve "cognate" P(articles).

(39) a. Mari be-táncolt a szobá-ba.   (Hungarian)
          Mary into-danced the room-into
          'Mary danced into the room.'
      b. María entró bailando en la habitación.   (Spanish)
          María entered dancing in the room

Finally, another interesting crosslinguistic contrast that is also nicely predicted by Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology is that Japanese precisely lacks the resultative V-V compounds of the 'unselected object' type, which can be found in Chinese: e.g., see the paradigmatic contrast in (40a,b), taken from Nishiyama (1998: 209) (cf. also Sybesma [1992], Li [1990, 1993], and Huang [2006], i.a.).

(40) a. Lisi ba shoujuan   ku-shi-le.   (Chinese)
          Lisi BA handkerchief cry-wet-LE
          'Lisi cried the handkerchief wet.'
      b. *John-ga hankati-o   naki-nure-ta.   (Japanese)
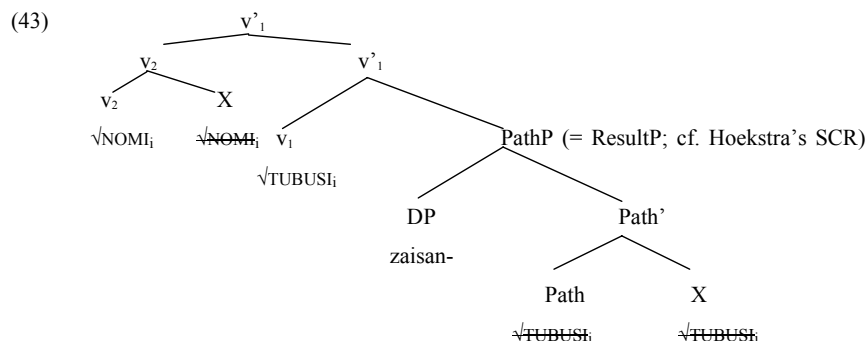   John-nom handkerchief-acc cry-wet-past

The Chinese construction exemplified in (40a) can be claimed to involve the manner conflation process that has also been argued for the English strong resultative construction in (31a) *The boy danced his feet sore* (cf. the analysis in [32a]) or *Lisi cried the handkerchief wet*, i.e., the one that exemplifies the unselected object pattern: see (41), where word order details have been omitted for the sake of clarity. Accordingly, in (41) Result/Path can be claimed to be encoded in the subordinate/complement V, while the root expressing Manner can be claimed to be conflated/compounded with the null causative v. Following Mateu's (2005) conflation analysis of English resultative constructions, Huang (2006: 17) also argues for a similar analysis of the manner conflation process involved in Chinese resultative V-V compounds.

(41)
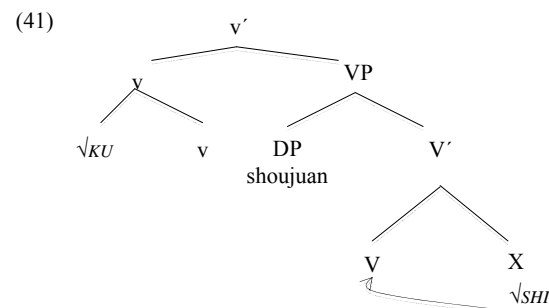
In contrast, Japanese resultative V-V compounds (e.g., see (42a), taken from Nishiyama [1998: 194]) do not exemplify the conflation pattern but rather the incorporation one: in a verb-framed and head final language like Japanese, Result/Path is typically incorporated into the main null verb (*tubusi* 'use up' in [42a]),[4] while the subordinate verb (*nomi* 'drink' in [42a]) turns out to be left-adjoined to that main verb. Crucially, in Japanese resultative V-V compounds, the subordinate/adjoined verb is not compounded with a null verb but with a full one, whereby conflation (i.e., compounding of a root with a <u>null</u> light verb) is *not* involved.

(42) a. John-wa zaisan-o   nomi-tubusi-ta.   (Japanese)
         John-top fortune-acc drink-use.up-past
      b. John drank his fortune away.
      b'. [John [[√DRINK-CAUSE] [_{SC/PP} his fortune away]]]

The English unselected object structure in (42b), which does involve conflation of a root with a null causative verb (see [42b']), is just a good translation of (42a). However, unlike (42b), the syntactic analysis of the Japanese example in (42a) does not involve conflation but rather two different instantiations of incorporation: i.e., the one involved in the formation of the main causative change of state verb (*tubusi* 'use up') and the one involved in the left-adjoined unergative structure (*nomi* 'drink').[5] See (43), where word order details have been omitted again for the sake of clarity.

(43)

```
                        v'₁
              _____
             v₂                      v'₁
          _____          _____
         v₂        X          v₁         PathP (= ResultP; cf. Hoekstra's SCR)
     √NOMIᵢ   √N̶O̶M̶Iᵢ  √NOMIᵢ         _____
                   √TUBUSIᵢ         DP              Path'
                                  zaisan-      _____
                                              Path        X
                                           √T̶U̶B̶U̶S̶Iᵢ   √T̶U̶B̶U̶S̶Iᵢ
```

On the other hand, Nishiyama (1998) tries to argue that Japanese V-V compounds like (44a) share a fundamental structural similarity with Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) like the one in (44b) from Yoruba. However, when dealing with this parallelism, Nishiyama (1998) omits the crucial syntactic fact that the second verb in the Yoruba example in (44b) is unaccusative. Indeed, it should be noted that the direct parallel of (44b) in Japanese is as ungrammatical as (40b) *John-ga hankatio naki-nureta* 'John cried the handkerchief wet': see (44c). The examples in (44) are taken from from Nishiyama (1998: ex. [1] and [2], p. 175; ex. [37], p. 191).

_____

[4] See Nishiyama (1998: 184), for some arguments that make it clear that the main verb in Japanese V-V compounds is the second one.
[5] See also Volpe (2004), for the proposal that consumption verbs (e.g., *drink, eat*, etc.) are unergative verbs.

(44) a. John-ga   Bill-o   osi-taosi- ta.   (Japanese)
          John-nom   Bill-acc   push-topple-past
          'John pushed Bill down.'
      b. Femi ti   Akin   subu.   (Yoruba)
          Femi push   Akin   fall
          'Femi pushed Akin down.'
      c. *John-ga   Bill-o   osi-taore- ta
          John-nom   Bill-acc   push-fall-past
          'John pushed Bill and Bill fell.'

The relevant preliminary conclusion seems to be that the Yoruba SVC in (44b) should *not* be put on a par with the Japanese V-V compound in (44a) (NB: the counterpart of [44b] in Japanese is ungrammatical: cf. [44c]) but rather with its equivalent in Chinese.[6]

4. Concluding remarks

- The existence of so-called 'unselected object constructions' provides a good argument for *(neo-)constructionist* approaches to argument structure (for cognitively oriented ones, see Goldberg [1995, 2006] and Croft [2001, 2012], i.a.; for some generative ones, see Borer [1994, 2005], Marantz [1997, 2005], and Acedo-Matellán & Mateu [2013], i.a.).

- 'Unselected object constructions' like the ones reviewed in Section 2 are strong {resultative/P-verb} constructions that are typically found in Talmy's (1991, 2000) satellite-framed languages (e.g., Latin, Germanic, Slavic, Chinese, etc). Their formation involves the *Co-event <u>conflation</u> pattern* (i.e., in formal terms, the one that involves conflation of a root with a null light verb). Despite appearances, Italian phrasal verbs and Japanese weak resultatives can be claimed to fall under the *Path/Result <u>incorporation</u> pattern*. Talmy's (1991, 2000) classification of Romance and Japanese as verb-framed languages predicts an interesting parallelism between Italian verb-particle constructions and Japanese weak resultatives: both the directional particle and the resultative adjective *specify* the Path/Result incorporated in the verb. Such a parallelism is in tune with Washio's (1997: 43) claim that Romance is more similar to Japanese rather than to English with respect to Levin & Rapoport's (1988) "lexical subordination" phenomena. Finally, another interesting fact that is also nicely predicted by Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology is that Japanese precisely lacks the resultative V-V compounds of the 'unselected object' type, which can be found in Chinese.

- Beavers et al. (2010: 20): "since nearly all languages have path verbs, then nearly all languages have at least one verb-framed encoding option". For instance, although English and Chinese are considered satellite-framed languages in Talmy (1991, 2000), examples of verb-framedness like the ones in (45) can be found in these languages.

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

_____

[6] Kratzer's (2005: 38) preliminary remarks on serialization and resultatives (see [i]) could be valid if Chinese (but not Japanese) resultative V-V compounds are understood as serialization in (44b). Furthermore, resultatives in (i) should be understood as *strong* resultatives (i.e., those ones that involve conflation with a null light verb):
(i)   "Whatever forces compounding for serial verb constructions <like [44b]: JM> can be assumed to force compounding for <*strong*: JM> adjectival resultatives as well".

In contrast, it is more difficult to find clear examples of the co-event conflation pattern in Talmy's (2000) verb-framed languages (e.g., Romance, Japanese, Greek, etc). Unfortunately, cases of misinterpretation of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology are quite frequent, this being partly due to its lack of formal precision.

For example, Italian data with complex PPs like those in (46) have been argued to be counterexamples to the Talmian generalization according to which Romance languages cannot form goal of motion structures without relying on a verb-framed strategy (e.g., see Folli 2008).[7] However, examples like (46) are *not* true counterexamples since they can be claimed to involve adjunct PPs (see Gehrke [2008], Real-Puigdollers [2010], and Mateu [2012], for relevant discussion).

(46) a.   La barca ha gallegiatto dentro alla grotta.   (Italian)
             the boat has floated   inside to.the cave
             'The boat floated into the cave.'
    b.   Gianni ha camminato fino alla spiaggia.
             Gianni has walked   until to.the beach
             'Gianni walked up to the beach.'

The following example is more relevant for the present topic (i.e., 'unselected object constructions'). Despite appearances, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (2011) example in (47a), can be claimed to involve incorporation of Path/Result into the verb rather than Manner conflation (cf. also It. *lavare via* 'wash away'). Otherwise, (i) there is no way to explain why *both* examples in (47) are grammatical in English but not in Greek, (ii) there is no way to explain why the very same contrast in (47) holds in Spanish (cf. [48]), and (iii) there is no way to explain the contrast between English and Spanish in (49), i.e., why the PP is obligatory in (49a) but not in (49b).

(47) a.   O Jannis skoup-is-e ta pesmena fila   apo to patoma   (Greek)
             the Jannis swept   the fallen   leaves   from the floor
    b.   ?/*O Jannis   skoup-is-e   ta pesmena fila   ston dromo
              the Jannis   swept   the fallen   leaves   up to the street
                               Alexiadou & Anagnostopolou (2011)

(48) a.   Jannis barrió las hojas del   suelo.   (Spanish)
             Jannis swept the leaves from.the floor
    b.   *Jannis barrió las hojas a la calle.
              Jannis swept the leaves to the street

(49) a.   Jannis swept the leaves ??(off the sidewalk). Cf. *Jannis swept the sidewalk.*
    b.   Jannis barrió las hojas (de la acera).   Cf. *Jannis barrió la acera*.
             Jannis swept the leaves (from the sidewalk). Cf. Jannis swept the sidewalk

Furthermore, if the present analysis of the Germanic vs. Romance differences is on the right track, the relevant contrasts in (50) through (53), which once again are predicted by Talmy's typology, can also be explained on the basis that the Romance verbal bases in these examples do encode a Path/Result component, while the English corresponding ones do not: indeed,

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

this difference would account for why the directional phrase cannot be omitted in the English examples. NB: the examples in (50a) through (53a) are ill-formed on the relevant reading where the direct object is the removed stuff (not the surface).

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

(51) a.   John wiped the fingerprints *(from the table/away…).
    b.   Juan fregó las huellas   (de la mesa).   (Spanish)
             Juan wiped the fingerprints   (of the table)
             'Juan wiped the fingerprints from the table.'

(52) a.   John wiped the dust *(from the table).
    b.   Jean a essuyé la poussière   (de la table).   (French)
             Jean has wiped the dust   (of the table)
             'Jean wiped the dust from the table.'

(53) a.   John wiped the stains *(from the door).
    b.   En Joan fregà les taques (de la porta).   (Catalan)
             the Joan wiped the stains (of the door)
             'Joan wiped the stains from the door.'

The ungrammaticality of the English examples in (50a) to (53a) would then run parallel to that of the examples in (54). As shown by Hoekstra (1988, 1992,), the resultative PP/AP is compulsory in (54) since it is the Small Clause Result predicate (and not the verb) that licenses the direct object as its argument.[8]

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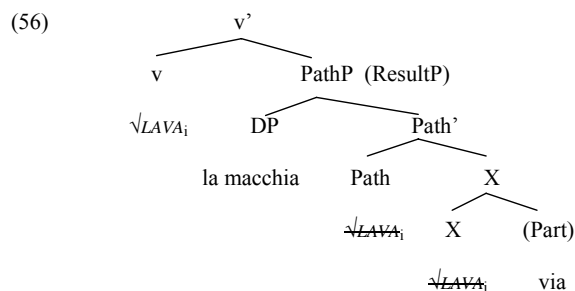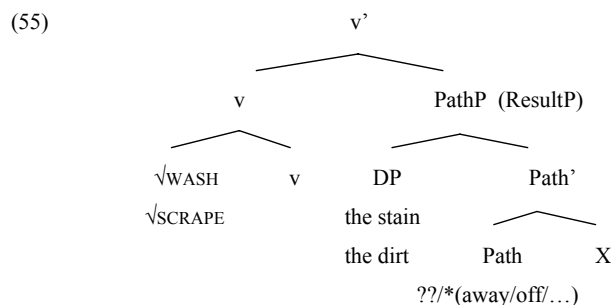   c.   The dog barked the chickens *(awake).

In contrast, the Romance verb in (50b) through (53b) can be argued to incorporate the abstract predicative head of the SC-like resultative structure which encodes Path/Result. Given this, the Romance counterpart of *wipe* in (51b) through (53b) means 'remove/get out': cf. *John [V+P_i [$_{SC/PP}$ {the stain/the fingerprints/the dust} P_i]]*. No further PP is then necessary in the examples in (50b) through (53b) to license the inner SC-like predicate, since such a licensing is carried out via the incorporation of the Path head of the SC-like PP into the verb.

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

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

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

In conclusion, the English *strong* P-verb construction in (55), whose formation involves conflation, should be distinguished from the Italian *weak* P-verb construction in (36b), repeated in (56), whose formation involves incorporation.

(55)

```
                        v'
            ┌───────────┴───────────┐
            v                    PathP (ResultP)
       ┌────┴────┐         ┌────────┴────────┐
    √WASH        v        DP              Path'
    √SCRAPE           the stain      ┌──────┴──────┐
                      the dirt      Path           X
                                              ??/*(away/off/…)
```

(56)

```
                v'
        ┌───────┴───────┐
        v            PathP (ResultP)
    √LAVAᵢ      ┌───────┴───────┐
              DP              Path'
          la macchia    ┌──────┴──────┐
                       Path           X
                      √LAVAᵢ    ┌──────┴──────┐
                               X          (Part)
                             √LAVAᵢ        via
```

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