

# **Conflation and incorporation processes in resultative constructions\***

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## **1. Introduction**

The goal of this paper is to show that an important division is to be drawn within resultative constructions in the light of Haugen's (2009) distinction between conflation and incorporation. Those resultative constructions that involve conflation of a root with a null light verb (see McIntyre [2004]) are claimed to account for Washio's (1997) *strong resultatives*. Moreover, two subtypes of non-strong resultative patterns are shown to be distinguished within the incorporation type: those ones that involve incorporation of a result root (i.e., Washio's *weak resultatives*) and those ones that involve a light/copular use of the verb and incorporation of P(ath) into the verb (i.e., the ones that involve the simple resultative pattern).

The present paper is structured as follows: In Section 2, I claim that Haugen's (2009) syntactic analysis of denominal verbs (via incorporation or via conflation) has an interesting parallel in the domain of resultative constructions. Section 3 shows the parallelisms, on the one hand, between Japanese weak resultative constructions and Italian phrasal verbs (both involve incorporation), and, on the other, between English and Chinese strong resultative constructions (both involve conflation). I also show that Japanese and Chinese resultative V-

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\* I would like to express my gratitude to two reviewers for their detailed comments and provocative questions. I am very grateful to Violeta Demonte for her useful suggestions and for her constant encouragement and generous support. A previous version of this paper was presented at the workshop *The end of argument structure?* (Toronto 2010). Special thanks go to Mark Baker for telling me about his 2003 analysis of resultative constructions, which has inspired my syntactic account of weak resultatives in Japanese. This research has been sponsored by grants FFI2010-20634, HUM2006-13295-C02-02 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia-FEDER), and 2009SGR1079 (Generalitat de Catalunya).

V compounds must be provided with two different analyses: the former involve incorporation, while the latter involve conflation. In Section 4, I emphasize the important connection between Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern and Snyder's (2001, this volume) compounding parameter: the former always involves compounding a root with a null light verb (see also McIntyre [2004] and Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], for similar proposals). Section 5 contains some relevant conclusions.

## **2. Incorporation vs. conflation in denominal verbs and resultative constructions**

In this section, I show that Haugen's (2009) distinction between incorporation and conflation does not only apply to denominal verbs but to resultative constructions as well.

According to Haugen (2009), there are two ways of forming denominal verbs: i.e., via incorporation or via conflation. In his revisionist work of Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) syntactic approach to denominal verb formation, Haugen (2009: 260) argues that incorporation is conceived of as head-movement (as in Baker [1988]; Hale and Keyser [1993]), and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of copy, whereas conflation is instantiated directly through merge (compounding).

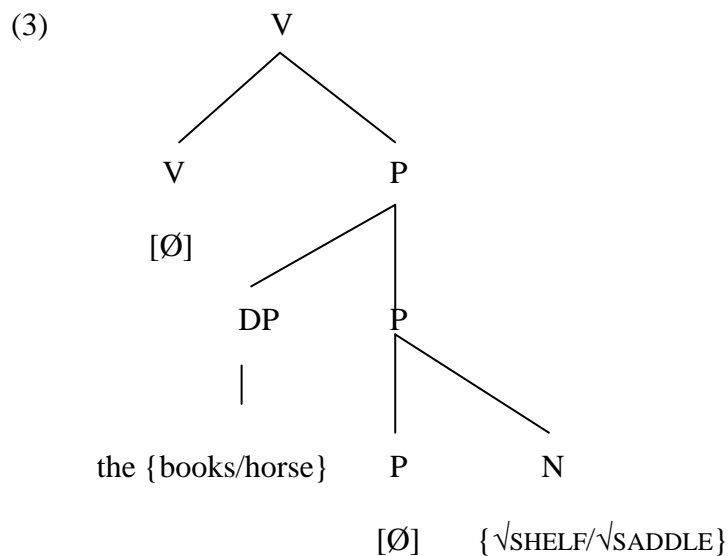
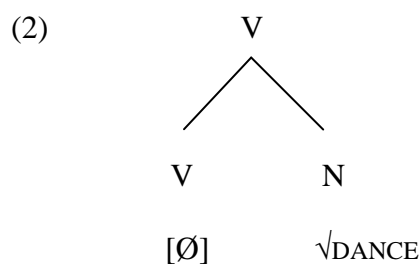
The incorporation operation has been claimed to account for the formation of denominal verbs like *dance* (see 1a): in (2) is depicted Hale & Keyser's (1993) l(exical)-syntactic analysis of unergative verbs.<sup>1</sup> Applying the incorporation operation to (2) involves copying the full phonological matrix of the nominal root *dance* into the empty one corresponding to the verb. The same operation has been claimed to be involved in transitive location verbs like *shelve* (see [1b]) or transitive locatum verbs like *saddle* (see [1c]): applying the incorporation

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<sup>1</sup> Hale & Keyser (1993) argue that the external argument is truly external to argument structure configurations, whereby it can be claimed to occupy the specifier position of a functional projection in what they call s(entential)-syntax (see also Kratzer [1996] and Pylkkänen [2008], among others).

operation to (3) involves copying the full phonological matrix of the nominal root *shelve/saddle* into the empty one corresponding to P en route to the null one of V.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. John danced.  
 b. John shelved the books.  
 c. John saddled the horse.




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<sup>2</sup> The same operation of incorporation can also be claimed to account for the formation of causative deadjectival verbs like the one exemplified in (i) and represented in (ii). Applying the incorporation operation to (ii) involves copying the full phonological matrix of the adjectival root *clear* into the empty one corresponding to the inner (change) V en route to the external (causative) V. According to Hale & Keyser (2002), the unaccusative/anticausative variant corresponds to the inner verbal configuration.

- (i) The strong winds cleared the sky. (cf. *The sky cleared*)  
 (ii) [<sub>v</sub> V [<sub>v</sub> DP [<sub>v</sub> V √CLEAR]]] (cf. [<sub>v</sub> DP [<sub>v</sub> V √CLEAR]])

Interestingly, the denominal verbs analyzed in Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) can be claimed to involve incorporation, which is conceived of as head-movement: i.e., the full phonological matrix of the nominal root, which occupies a complement position, is copied into the empty one that corresponds to its selecting head (i.e., V or P).<sup>3</sup>

However, as emphasized by Haugen (2009), there are other cases of denominal verbs that cannot be claimed to be formed via incorporation but rather via conflation.<sup>4</sup> For instance, denominal verbs like those ones exemplified in (4) and others that can have no source in the argument structure for nominal roots to originate before incorporating to the verbal position involve conflation: i.e., those examples in (4) involve compounding of a nominal root with a null verb, as depicted in (5). Crucially, in conflation cases, the root does not come from a complement position but is directly adjoined to the verbal head (cf. the cases in (2) and (3)): no process of copy is then involved in (5).<sup>5</sup>

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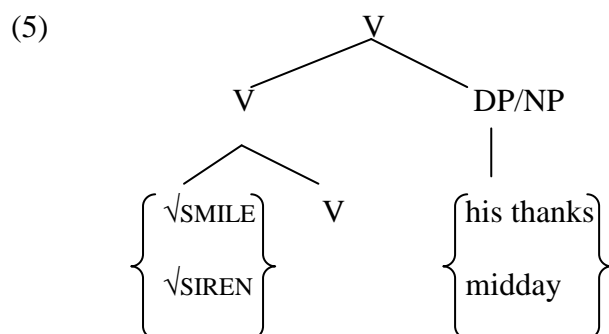
<sup>3</sup> When dealing with hyponymous object constructions like *John danced a polka* (cf. 1a), Haugen (2009) has argued for an insertion of non-cognate roots into the upper and lower copies after a movement (i.e. copy) operation has applied. In particular, Haugen (2009: 248-251) claims that, once a late insertion account is accepted, it is possible to spell-out two different roots (e.g.,  $\sqrt{DANCE}$  and  $\sqrt{POLKA}$ ) for the purpose of expressing identical abstract syntactic features. According to this author, the Projection Principle is not violated because the lower copy remains coindexed with the upper copy, and no features are ever deleted. In his account there is a “trace” of movement, i.e., a bundle of abstract syntactic features in the lower copy.

<sup>4</sup> One important caveat is in order here: Haugen (2009) uses the distinction between conflation and incorporation quite differently from Hale & Keyser (2002). As pointed out above, under Haugen’s view, “incorporation involves head-movement, just as like Hale & Keyser (1993) (but where move is understood to mean copy), and conflation is simply the equivalent of compounding (< merge)” (p. 248). Crucially, in this paper, I follow Haugen’s (2009) (re)definitions of incorporation and conflation rather than Hale & Keyser’s (2002).

<sup>5</sup> Harley (2005) claims that the means/manner root of so-called instrumental verbs (i.e., *hammer*-verbs) is also directly inserted into the verbal position. The same analysis is proposed by Harley & Haugen (2007: 10), where it is stated that “English instrumental denominal verbs always involve roots conflating directly with *v*, indicating manner [...]”. Haugen (2009: 254) also claims, for the same verbs, that “the nominals are directly merged (or conflated) as adverbials directly into *v*”.

However, I do not see any compelling reason to claim that instrumental verbs like (i) or impact verbs like (ii) must be provided with a conflation analysis. Accordingly, following Hale & Keyser’s (2002: 43-44)

- (4) a. John smiled his thanks. (ex. Levin & Rapoport [1988])  
 b. The factory horns sired midday. (ex. Clark & Clark [1979], *apud* Borer [2005])



In Sections 3 and 4, I will put forward the proposal that conflation (i.e., compounding of a root with a null light verb) is only to be found in those constructions that involve Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern, i.e., the one that involves conflation of {causation/motion} with a subordinate supporting event. For example, the conflation operation accounts for the way the so-called manner component is introduced in English/Germanic examples like those ones in (6), which are impossible in Romance (see

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argumentation, I claim that an incorporation analysis is the relevant one for these cases: see (iii). See Mateu (2002), for the claim that the P in (iii) expresses central coincidence (e.g., *WITH*; cf. 'give it a kick/a hammer'), hence their lexical atelicity.

- (i) John hammered the metal.
- (ii) John kicked the metal.
- (iii) [<sub>v</sub> V [<sub>p</sub> DP [<sub>p</sub> P {√HAMMER/√KICK}]]]

In contrast, the cases I have selected in (4) can less controversially be assumed to require a conflation analysis: as shown below, it is not by chance that those languages that typically lack examples like those ones in (4) are expected to lack the ones in (6). While the examples in (i) and (ii) do not involve Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern or Levin & Rapoport's (1988) lexical subordination (see Sections 3 and 4 below), the ones in (4) and (6) can be claimed to do so.

Mateu [2002, 2010], Mateu & Rigau [2002, 2010], McIntyre [2004], Mateu & Espinal [2007], Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], Acedo-Matellán [2010], and Real-Puigdollers [2010]).<sup>6</sup>

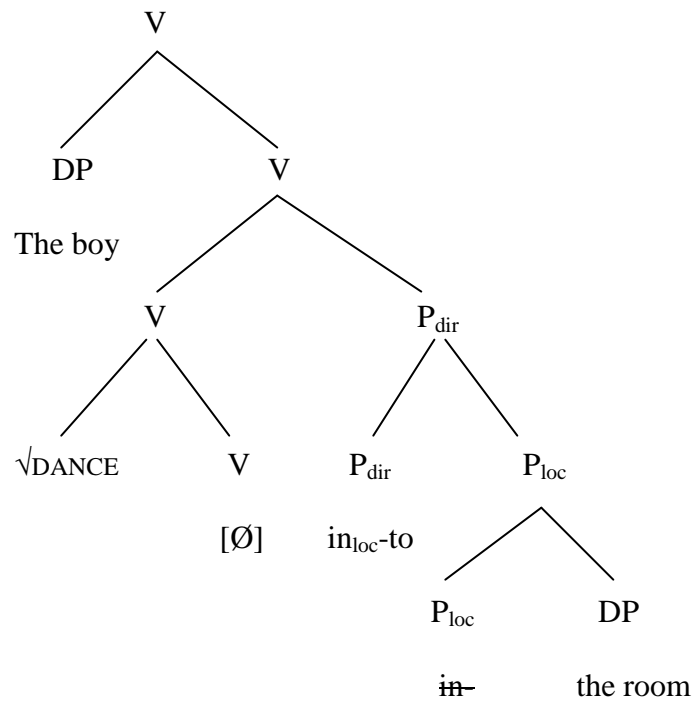
- (6) a. The boy danced into the room.  
b. The boy danced away.  
c. The boy danced the puppet across the stage.  
d. The boy danced the night away.  
e. The boy danced his butt off.

Assuming that conflation à la Haugen (2009) is typically found in those resultative-like constructions that involve Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern (see Sections 3 and 4 below), the verb in (6) can be claimed to be formed via compounding a root ( $\sqrt{\text{DANCE}}$ ) with a null light verb (see McIntyre [2004]). For example, (7) represents the I-syntactic analysis of (6a):

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<sup>6</sup> See Mateu & Rigau (2010), for the generalization that [pure/non-directional Manner verb + argumental Small Clause Result] constructions are typically absent from Romance. The alleged exceptions typically involve PP adjuncts (e.g., It. *Gianni {ha/\*è} danzato fino alla cucina* 'Gianni danced up to the kitchen') or directional manner verbs (e.g., It. *correre* 'run': *Gianni {è/\*ha} corso a casa* 'Gianni ran home') but never pure/non-directional manner verbs (e.g., It. *danzare* 'dance': \**Gianni è danzato alla cucina* 'Gianni danced to the kitchen' [cf. 6a]). See Folli & Ramchand (2005), for the claim that It. *correre*-verbs (but not It. *danzare*-verbs) can lexically involve a [R]esult feature in their unaccusative use. I will come back to these apparent exceptions to Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology in Section 4.

(7)



The I-syntactic analysis in (7) involves an unaccusative structure, where the inner small clause-like predicate is the PP (*into the room*), which takes an inner subject (*the boy*) thanks to the intervention of a host Verb; see Hale & Keyser (2002) and Zubizarreta & Oh (2007), for the claim that this verb can be assigned the constructional or configurational meaning of CHANGE/GO. The co-event conflation pattern of Germanic languages is to be related to the fact that this null unaccusative verb is allowed to be conflated/compounded with the root  $\sqrt{\text{DANCE}}$ , which expresses Talmy’s co-event (see also Mateu & Rigau [2002], McIntyre [2004], and Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], and Acedo-Matellán (2010), for similar analyses). As a result, the null unaccusative V(erb) in (7) turns out to be associated with an additional embedded meaning, that of *dancing* (i.e., Talmy’s “supportive event”). Such a conflation is possible since the complex P element *into* in (7) is not incorporated into the verb: cf. *?The boy entered the room dancing*, where the verb *enter* does involve incorporation of P into V.<sup>7</sup> Concerning

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<sup>7</sup> For an alternative explanation, see Den Dikken (2010: 31), who claims that “the MANNER component and the incorporating P<sub>dir</sub> compete for the single adjunction position to GO (...) <(ia)> and <(ib)>, below, both violate the ban on multiple adjunction to a single host; see Kayne (1994)”.

the double P involved in (7),  $P_{dir}$  (spelled out by *to*) corresponds to Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) so-called "terminal coincidence relation", whereas  $P_{loc}$  (spelled out by *in*) corresponds to their "central coincidence relation".<sup>8</sup> According to these authors, a terminal coincidence relation involves a coincidence between one edge of the theme's path and the place, while a central coincidence relation involves a coincidence between the center of the theme and the center of the place (see Hale & Keyser [2002: chap. 7]).

It is then important to emphasize that Haugen's (2009) distinction between incorporation and conflation does not only account for denominal verb formation (cf. the examples in (1) and (4)) but also for Talmy's (2000) paradigmatic examples in (8): i.e., the root is incorporated into V in the Romance pattern in (9a) (cf. Talmy's path incorporation pattern) or is conflated/compounded with V in the Germanic pattern in (9b) (cf. his co-event conflation pattern).

(8) a. The bottle entered the cave (?floating).

b. The bottle floated into the cave.

(9) a. [<sub>V</sub> The bottle [<sub>V</sub> enter<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PP</sub>  $\sqrt{\text{INTO}}$ <sub>i</sub> the cave]]] (floating)

b. [<sub>V</sub> The bottle [<sub>V</sub>  $\sqrt{\text{FLOAT-GO}}$ ] [<sub>PP</sub> into the cave]]

Since resultative-like constructions like those ones exemplified in (6) involve conflation, it also seems natural to assume that complex AP resultative constructions like the one exemplified in (10) also involve the very same operation: see (11). Following the so-called

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(i) a. \*<sub>[GO P<sub>dir</sub> [<sub>GO</sub> MANNER [<sub>GO</sub> GO]]]</sub>

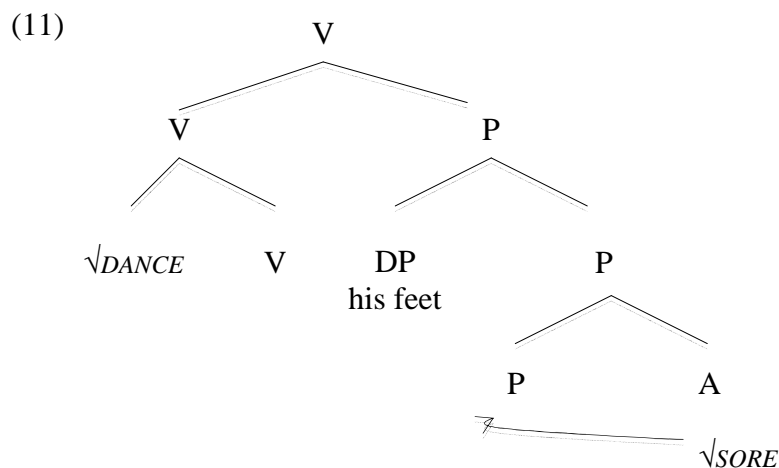
b. \*<sub>[GO MANNER [<sub>GO</sub> P<sub>dir</sub> [<sub>GO</sub> GO]]]</sub> Den Dikken (2010; ex. [17a-b]; p. 31)

<sup>8</sup> For the syntactic distinction between *directional* vs. *locative* prepositions, see also Koopman (2000), Zubizarreta & Oh (2007), Svenonius (2008), Mateu (2008), Acedo-Matellán (2010), Den Dikken (2010), Real-Puigdollers (2010), among others.



localist hypothesis (see Gruber [1965], Jackendoff [1983], and Talmy [1991], i.a.), whereby Result can be claimed to involve Path, Mateu (2005, 2008) claims that an abstract P(ath) must be represented in the I-syntactic structure of resultative constructions:

(10) The boy danced his feet sore.



Since complex resultative constructions like (10) involve conflation of a root with a light verb (i.e., the same process involved in (9b)), they can be expected to be impossible in Romance: e.g., see the Spanish example in (12a), which is ungrammatical on the resultative reading.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It is often noted in the literature that Italian seems to be a bit exceptional in the sense that apparent resultative constructions like (ia) are well-formed (see Napoli [1989] and Folli & Ramchand [2005], i.a.). However, the AP in (ia) does not seem to occupy the inner argumental SC predicate position but rather is an adjunct: the fact that the apparent resultative AP must be reduplicated gives an quantificational flavor that is fully absent from *Maria hammered the metal flat*, whereby it seems that we are dealing with two different constructions. I will then assume that (ia) is not a true kind of resultative construction (i.e., the AP is an adjunct). As expected, the reduplication of the AP *sore* in the Italian translation of (10) *The boy danced his feet sore* (see [ib]) does not make it more acceptable at all:

- (i) a. Maria ha martellato il metallo piatto \*(piatto).  
 Maria has hammered the metal flat flat
- b. \*Il bambino ha danzato gli piedi doloranti \*(doloranti). (cf. [10])

(12) a. \*María martilleó el metal plano. (Spanish)

María flattened the metal flat

b. María aplanó el metal ({con un martillo/martilleándolo})

María flattened the metal ({with a hammer/hammering.it})

As pointed out by Demonte & Masullo (1999) and Mateu (2002), among others, Spanish lacks complex resultatives like (10) but does have simple resultatives like (13), which lack the conflated manner component. According to Mateu (2002), examples like those ones in (13) can be claimed to involve incorporation of P(ath) into a null verb: e.g., see (14), which represents the I-syntactic structure of (13a).<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, the descriptive generalization is that simple resultative constructions like the ones exemplified in (13) can be expected to be possible in Romance since they involve incorporation (see also [9a]), while those complex ones involving conflation are excluded (see also [9b]).

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the boy has danced the feet sore sore

<sup>10</sup> An anonymous reviewer asks why an abstract P(ath) head has to be posited in constructions like the one depicted in (14). Basically, following the localist hypothesis (see Gruber [1965], Jackendoff [1983], Talmy [1991, 2000], and Mateu [2008], among others), my answer is that positing a P(ath) head in (14) accounts for what simple resultative constructions have in common with their corresponding directional constructions: e.g., cf. Sp. *Juan puso a María en la cama* ‘Juan put Mary on the bed’. As shown below, the locative/non-directional nature of the PP (e.g., *en la cama* ‘on the bed’) makes it clear that the path/directionality is not encoded in this PP. Assuming Den Dikken’s (2010: 47-48) claim that P<sub>dir</sub> is incorporated into the verb in those directional constructions that have a non-directional locative PP (crucially, Den Dikken argues that manner conflation is impossible in these cases), it seems natural to claim that the P(ath) in simple AP resultative constructions like those ones in (13) is also incorporated into the verb, the adjective merely encoding a “locative” state. It is then not coincidental that verbs like *put* or *fall*, which are found in directional constructions with a locative PP, can also enter into simple AP resultative constructions, i.e., the ones that lack manner conflation.

See also Den Dikken (2010: 31), for an explanation of the complementary distribution between P<sub>dir</sub> incorporation and manner conflation. In Section 4, I will come back to how directional constructions with locative PPs are analyzed (see [36] and [46] below).

(13) a. Juan puso a María nerviosa. (Spanish)

Juan put María nervous

‘Juan got María nervous.’

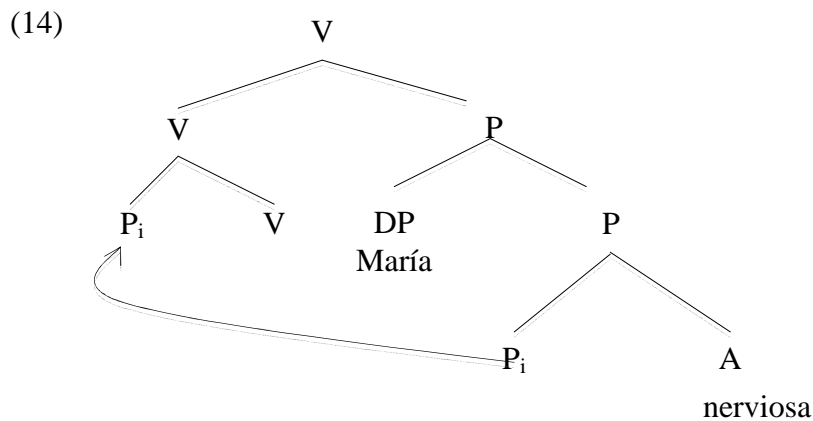
b. Juan cayó enfermo.

Juan fell sick

c. Juan volvió loca a María. (Spanish)

Juan turned crazy María

‘Juan drove María crazy.’



In this section, I have shown that Haugen’s (2009) distinction between conflation vs. incorporation does not only account for two possible types of denominal verb formation (cf. [1] and [4]) but can also be recruited to explain the Talmian paradigmatic difference between the Germanic co-event conflation pattern in (8b)-(9b) and the Romance path incorporation pattern in (8a)-(9a). Similarly, the contrast between complex resultative constructions and simple resultative constructions can also be explained as follows: the former involve conflation (e.g., see [11]), while the latter involve incorporation (e.g., see [14]). In Section 4, I will come back to Talmy’s (1991, 2000) typology of conflation processes in the context of Snyder’s (2001) compounding parameter. In the next section, I show that Haugen’s (2009) syntactic distinction between conflation and incorporation can also be claimed to account for

(or, at least, can be shown to run parallel to) Washio's (1997) semantic division between strong vs. weak resultatives, respectively.

### 3. Strong vs. weak resultative patterns revisited

In this section, I claim that Washio's (1997) semantic distinction between strong vs. weak resultatives can be accounted for by using Haugen's (2009) syntactic distinction between conflation vs. incorporation, respectively. According to Washio (1997: 7), strong resultatives are those ones "in which the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other": e.g., the English examples *The boy danced his feet sore* and *The boy hammered the metal flat* can be included in this class. In resultatives of this type, it cannot be predicted from the mere semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as the result of the action named by the verb. Washio (1997: 7) gives a negative definition of weak resultatives: "let us call resultatives that are not strong in the above sense *weak* <his emphasis: JM> resultatives." Washio's (1997: 8) main claim is that "natural languages are divided into two broad types, i.e., those (like English) which permit strong resultatives and those (like Japanese) which do not, though weak resultatives are potentially possible in both types of language". Some examples of weak resultatives taken from Washio (1997: 5) are given in (15) through (17):<sup>11</sup>

(15) a. John painted the wall blue.

b. John-ga kabe-o buruu-ni nut-ta. (Japanese)

John-nom wall-acc blue paint-past

(16) a. I froze the ice cream hard.

b. boku-wa aisu kuriimu-o katikati-ni koorase-ta.

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<sup>11</sup> See also Kaufmann & Wunderlich (1998) and Takamine (2007), i.a., for further discussion (and eventual refinement) of Washio's (1997) typology of resultatives.

I-top ice cream-acc solid freeze-past

(17) a. He wiped the table clean.

b. kare-wa teeburu-o kirei-ni hui-ta

he-top table-acc clean wipe-past

Washio (1997) concludes his 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": e.g., examples like those in (6) above are impossible in both languages. He adds "it would not be particularly surprising, therefore, if further research tells us that French <and, more generally, Romance: JM> does in fact share significantly more such abstract properties with Japanese than it does with English" (p. 43).

Following Washio's (1997) trend, I will show below that there are some interesting structural and semantic parallelisms, on the one hand, between Japanese weak resultative constructions and some Romance phrasal verbs, and, on the other, between English and Chinese strong resultative constructions. As pointed out above, weak patterns will be claimed to involve incorporation, while strong ones will be claimed to involve conflation.

As shown above, strong resultatives can be provided with the conflation analysis exemplified in (11). I claim that this analysis accounts for Washio's observation that the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other: indeed, there is no structural relation between the position occupied by the conflated root and the one occupied by the Adjective.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, weak resultatives like those ones in (15)-

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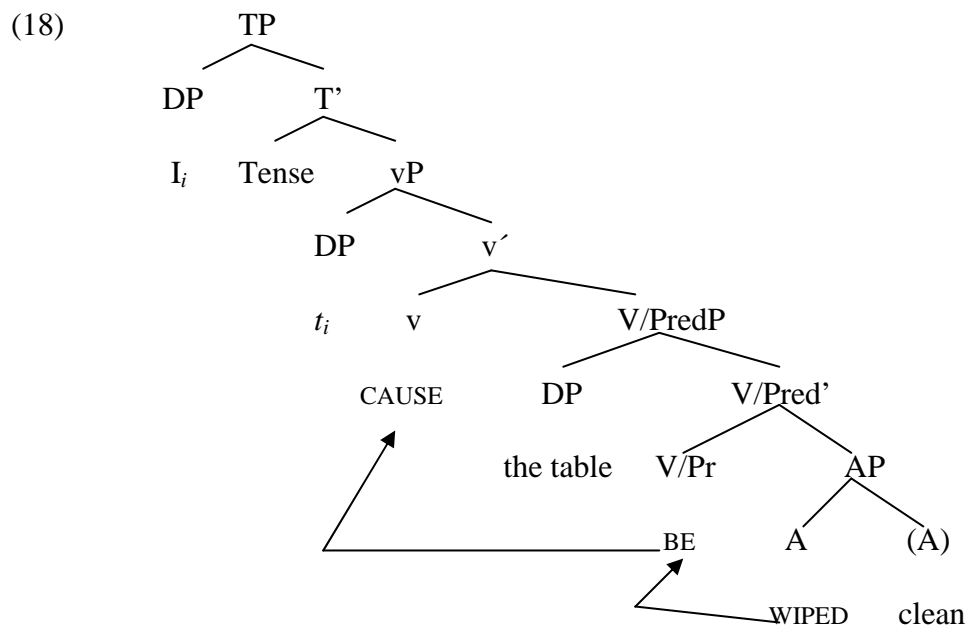
<sup>12</sup> An anonymous reviewer puts forward the following question: if there is no relation between the meaning of the conflated root and the meaning of the adjective, why are examples like those ones in (i) ill-formed?

(i) a. # John hammered the metal blue.

b. # Mary danced her feet long.

By claiming that the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are fully independent of each other, what I mean is that there is no *structural* relation between them. Of course, by adopting a syntactic account, I do

(17), i.e., those ones where the resultative adjective can be argued to specify the state encoded in the verb, do not involve conflation, but rather incorporation: i.e., the verbal root comes from the complement position of the P(ath) head and is incorporated into the null light verb. Following Baker's (2003: 221) syntactic analysis of resultatives like *I wiped the table clean*, which is depicted in (18), I claim that the adjectival root  $\sqrt{KIREI}$ - 'clean' in (19) forms a compound with the root  $\sqrt{HUI}$ - 'wipe': cf. the 1-syntactic structure in (19), which involves incorporation from *X* (i.e., the Ground) to P(ath) en route to the null verb.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly, the incorporation analysis in (19) accounts for Washio's (1997) observation that in weak resultatives the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are not independent of each other: as pointed out by Baker (2003: 222), the two elements *<WIPED and clean>* "work together to describe more precisely the resulting state of the event".



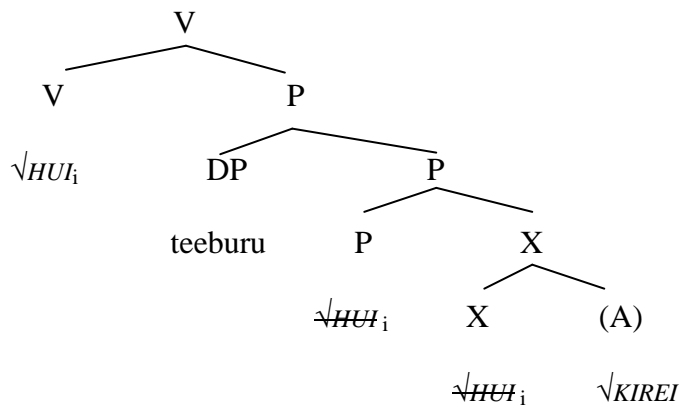
Baker (2003: 221)

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not want to deny that there must be a conceptual compatibility between them. Given this, the ill-formedness of the examples in (i) has nothing to do with syntax: the use of the # symbol indicates semantic/conceptual ill-formedness rather than ungrammaticality. But see Ramchand (2008: 123-125), for some relevant structural remarks on Wechsler's (2005) semantic analysis of APs in resultatives.

<sup>13</sup> Word order details are omitted in (19).

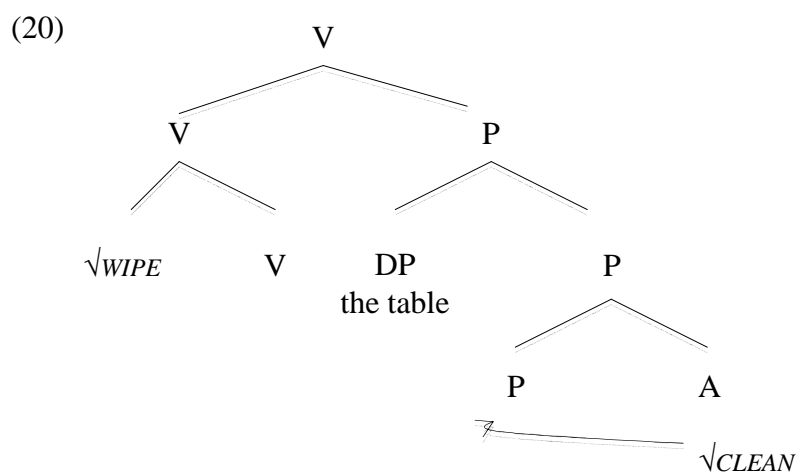
(19)



According to Baker (2003: 221), “resultative constructions arise when a second adjective is adjoined to the adjectival component of the verb (...)”. Three remarks are in order here: firstly, Baker’s analysis in (18) can only be argued to hold for so-called weak resultatives, i.e., those resultatives where the resultative adjective must be a further specification of the result already inherent in the verb (e.g., see those Japanese resultatives exemplified in [15]-[17]). Unfortunately, Baker (2003) is silent on which analysis should be posited for unergative resultatives like (10) *The boy danced his feet sore*. Of course, these resultatives cannot be analyzed as (18): cf. # [<sub>VP</sub> The boy CAUSE [<sub>VP</sub> his feet BE [DANCED sore]]]. To solve this problem, our adopting Haugen’s (2009) division between conflation and incorporation allows us to make the following distinction: weak resultatives involve incorporation of the root into P en route to V (see [19]), while strong ones involve conflation of the root with V (see [11]).

Secondly, Baker claims that *WIPED* in (18) has an adjectival nature. However, in the present framework, nothing forces us to assume his claim, whereby I represent the root  $\sqrt{HUI}$  ‘wipe’ as *X* in (19): i.e., it lacks categorial nature (similarly, *break* is not a deadjectival verb: cf. *He broke the bag open*); 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).

Finally, a third important remark is in order. Since English has been shown to allow conflated structures, one could wonder why (17a) *John wiped the table clean* must also be analyzed as its counterpart in Japanese, i.e., as in (19)? Indeed, given the present syntactic approach to Talmy’s (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern, which is typical of English, nothing prevents us from forming (17a) as involving conflation of the root  $\sqrt{WIPE}$  with a null light verb: see (20).



The analysis depicted in (20) would be compatible with what Hoekstra (1998, 1992), a distinguished proponent of the Small Clause approach to resultatives, claimed: i.e., no basic syntactic difference is to be drawn between the two types exemplified in (21).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Hoekstra (1992: 141-143), for a rebuttal of Carrier & Randall’s (1992) syntactic distinctions between (21a) and (21b), based on middle formation, adjectival passive formation, and nominalization. Hoekstra (1992: 41) claimed that “the apparent object relationship in <21b> can be taken to be a consequence of real world knowledge, not of theta-marking by the verb, by arguing that there are no known syntactic properties that set <21b> apart from the case in <21a>”. See also McIntyre (2004: 542-547), for some arguments against the inheritance of verbal arguments in conflation constructions.

Similarly, Kaufmann & Wunderlich (1998: 19), who adopt a semantic approach to resultatives, claim that “formally, the direct object of the construction is the argument introduced by resultative formation, which is *pragmatically* <my emphasis: JM> identified with the argument of the verb”. Accordingly, they also consider (21b) as an example of strong resultative: see their semantic analysis in (i), which involves “that ‘y’ is non-structural in <i> and cannot be realized syntactically” (cf. their fn. 22; p. 30).



- (21) a. The boy danced [<sub>SC/PP</sub> his feet sore]  
 b. I wiped [<sub>SC/PP</sub> the table clean]

Following Hoekstra (1988, 1992) and McIntyre (2004), I will assume, for the time being, that there is no clear evidence in English for providing the two examples in (21) with a different syntactic structure, whereby I will adopt their proposal that a unified analysis can be argued for both types in (21). This notwithstanding, if the uniform analysis proposal can at the end be shown to be incorrect, the present perspective would then lead me to adopt the incorporation analysis in (19) for the weak pattern in (21b), relegating the conflation analysis in (11) to the strong pattern in (21a).

However, as pointed out above, there are some typological reasons to adopt a uniform analysis for the two examples in (21), since the conflation analysis for both English examples is precisely the one expected if one assumes Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology. Assuming Talmy's typological distinction between the path incorporation pattern, which is typical of Japanese, and the co-event conflation pattern, which is typical of Germanic, it is expected that the incorporation pattern is the typological one preferred in Japanese, while the conflation pattern is the typological one preferred in Germanic.<sup>15</sup>

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(i) Anna wiped the table clean

*wipe clean*:  $\lambda z \lambda x \lambda s \{ \text{WIPE } (x,y) \ \& \ \text{BECOME CLEAN } (z) \} (s)$

ex. Kaufmann & Wunderlich (1998; ex. [109a]; p. 30)

<sup>15</sup> From this typological perspective, it is also not surprising that German freely allows the conflation pattern but shows some restrictions concerning weak AP resultatives like *The butter melted soft*, which can be claimed to involve incorporation of the P(ath) into the verb (cf. [19]); in contrast, PP resultative constructions like *The butter melted into a pool* can be expected to be well-formed in German since the P(ath) remains as satellite (i.e., it is not incorporated into the verb). See Kaufmann & Wunderlich (1998: 20-22) and McIntyre (2004: 554), for further discussion on some important differences between German and English resultatives.

Furthermore, as predicted by Talmy's (1991, 2000) bipartite typology, an interesting parallelism can be argued to be posited between some Romance verb-particle constructions and Japanese weak resultatives. To the best of my knowledge, such a parallelism, which confirms Washio's claim above that Romance is more similar to Japanese rather than to English, has not been pointed out before in the literature.

Mateu & Rigau (2010) show that Italian *verbi sintagmatici* ('phrasal verbs') resemble English phrasal verbs but only superficially.<sup>16</sup> In particular, we claim that verb-particle constructions are possible in Italian if the verb already encodes or involves path/result, which is further specified by the particle. In contrast, such a restriction does not hold in Germanic. Accordingly, examples like those in (23) are impossible in Italian because the verb does not involve path/result.<sup>17</sup>

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

Gianni has washed away the stain

'Gianni washed the stain away.'

b. Gianni ha raschiato via la vernice.

Gianni has scraped away the paint

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<sup>16</sup> Despite claims to the contrary, verb-particle constructions are not a quirk of Italian but can also be found in other Romance languages (e.g., see Iacobini [2009]). For instance, Mateu and Rigau (2010) show that many verb-particle constructions from Dante's dialect (see Masini [2006: 87-99]) can also be found in Catalan and Spanish. This said, it is true that Italian and other languages such as Venetan and Friulan can indeed be considered exceptional among other Romance languages since they have developed a pattern where the verb is not a motion verb (e.g., see the examples in [22], which are not found in Dante's dialect; see Masini [2006]). This notwithstanding, Mateu & Rigau (2010) argue that this innovative pattern is allowed in Italian (and other languages such as Venetan and Friulan) as long as the verbal basis involves an abstract directionality/result component (cf. also Folli & Ramchand [2005]).

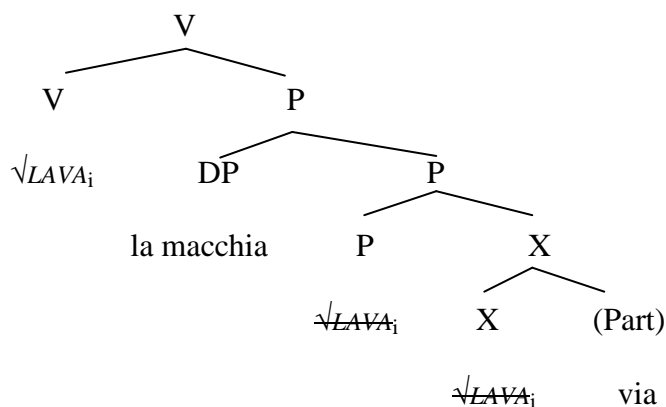
<sup>17</sup> Masini (2005: 167) claims that the existence of Italian phrasal verbs like *lavare via* ('wash away') or *raschiare via* ('scrape away') in (22) depends on the removal sense of the verb, which Mateu & Rigau (2010) argue is related to the incorporating status of path/result.

‘Gianni scraped the paint away.’

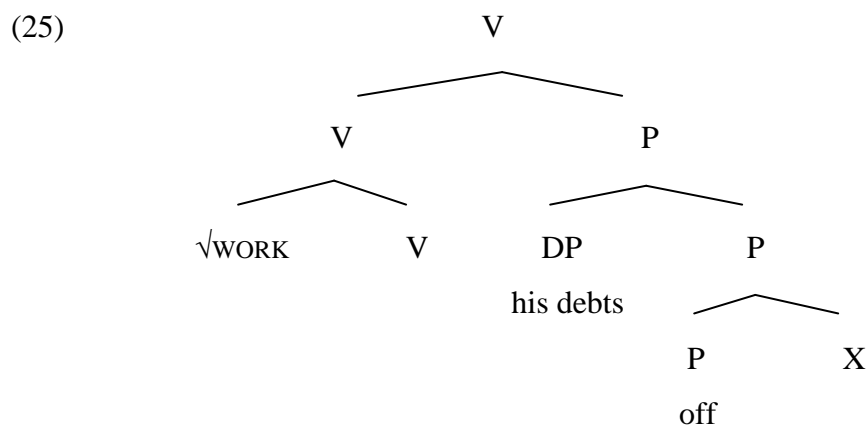
- (23) a. John worked his debts off.  
 b. John danced the night away.  
 c. John danced away.

As pointed out above, Italian phrasal verbs like the one depicted in (24) can be analyzed as a particular instantiation of the weak resultative pattern, i.e., the one where the particle specifies the abstract result that has been incorporated (i.e., copied) into the verb. Like in (19), *X* is semantically 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). Moreover, the incorporation of P(ath) into the Verb is intended to capture Masini’s (2005) observation that the verbal basis of It. *lavare* ‘wash’ in (22a) involves a directional meaning. Its occurrence in a Romance language like Italian would otherwise be impossible (cf. [23]).

(24)



In contrast, the English examples of verb-particle constructions in (23) exemplify the strong pattern, whereby they involve the conflation analysis: e.g., in (25) is depicted the l-syntactic structure of (23a).<sup>18</sup>



The strong l-syntactic pattern in (25), which does not involve any structural relation between the root  $\sqrt{WORK}$  and the particle *off*, should then be distinguished from the weak l-syntactic pattern in (24), where the result root of It. *lavare* ‘wash’ can be claimed to be related to the verb via head-incorporation (i.e., copy à la Haugen [2009]).

As predicted by the analysis in (25), the particle *off* is obligatory in English since it is the head of the Small Clause Result (cf. Hoekstra [1988, 1992]), i.e., in our l-syntactic terms, the head of the PP. Similarly, there appear to be some few cases in Italian where the particle is obligatory: see (26). However, these examples are not to be regarded as counterexamples to the generalization that Italian lacks the Germanic conflation pattern. Rather, following Den Dikken’s (2010: 47-48) insight that manner verbs can also instantiate or lexicalize the event operator, these examples do not involve manner conflation but rather incorporation of P(ath)

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<sup>18</sup> The analysis of (25) captures Svenonius’s (1996) proposal, assumed by Hale and Keyser (2002: 229-230), that bare particles like *off* can be analyzed as prepositions that incorporate a complement (i.e., the Ground): such a proposal is coherent with maintaining the birelational nature of P.

into the light motion verb: see (27).<sup>19</sup> In other words, the examples in (26) involve a copular use of manner verbs (see also Hoekstra & Mulder [1990]).

(26) a. Gianni è corso \*(via) (Italian)

Gianni is run away

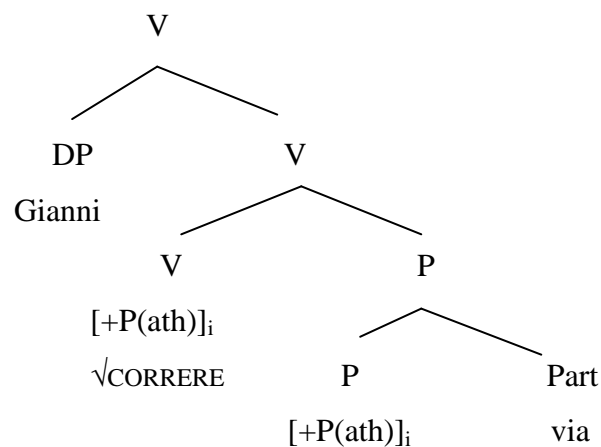
‘Gianni ran away.’

b. Gianni è volato \*(via)

Gianni is flown away

‘Gianni flew away.’

(27)



<sup>19</sup> The examples in (26) involve an unaccusative structure like the one represented in (27), where *Gianni* is not an external argument. Although both verbs *correre* ‘run’ and *volare* ‘fly’ select *avere* ‘have’ in the unergative structure, they select *essere* ‘be’ in the unaccusative one, e.g., in the one containing the particle *via* ‘away’. Hence the contrasts between (26) and (i). See also Hoekstra (1988, 1992), for the claim that unaccusative constructions like those ones exemplified in (26) involve a Small Clause Result (SCR), whereas unergative constructions like the ones in (i) do not.

(i) a. Gianni ha corso (\*via).

Gianni has ran away

b. Gianni ha volato (\*via)

Gianni has flown away

The conclusion is then that, unlike English, Italian lacks those verb-particle constructions that involve conflation of a root with a null light verb: i.e., only the ones that involve incorporation are possible in Italian. Two subtypes have been distinguished within the incorporation type: those ones that involve incorporation of a result root into P en route to the verb (i.e., the ones that involve the weak resultative pattern: e.g., see [24]) and the ones that involve a light/copular use of the verb and incorporation of P into the verb (i.e., the ones that involve the simple resultative pattern: e.g., see [27]).

To sum up, the relevant generalization to be drawn from the Japanese and Italian facts revisited above is that these two languages lack the strong resultative pattern that is found in English and, more generally, in Germanic. Such a structural generalization is indeed important and nicely squares with Talmy's (1991, 2000) typological observation that both Italian (and, more generally, Romance) and Japanese lack the co-event conflation pattern that can be found in languages like English or Chinese: i.e., in our syntactic terms, both Romance and Japanese lack the pattern that involves conflation of a root with a null light verb.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, an interesting fact that is also nicely predicted by Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology is that Japanese precisely lacks the resultative V-V compounds that can be found in Chinese: e.g., see the paradigmatic contrast in (28a,b), taken from Nishiyama (1998: 209) (cf. also Sybesma [1992], Li [1990, 1993], and Huang [2006], i.a.).

(28) a. Lisi ba shoujuan ku-shi-le (Chinese)

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<sup>20</sup> As pointed out by Mateu & Rigau (2010), Talmy's (1991, 2000) descriptive term "satellite" is misleading when dealing with the relevant differences between Germanic and Romance phrasal verbs. Since the particle is a prepositional-like satellite in both linguistic families, both patterns of phrasal verbs could in principle be classified as "satellite-framed". Given this, Mateu & Rigau (2010) point out that Talmy's notion of co-event conflation pattern is not so misleading (as the "satellite-framed pattern" is) when referring to the Germanic conflation processes involved in (6), (10), and (23). In Section 4, I will deal with some apparent exceptions to Talmy's (1991, 2000) typological claim that the co-event conflation pattern is typically not found in Romance.

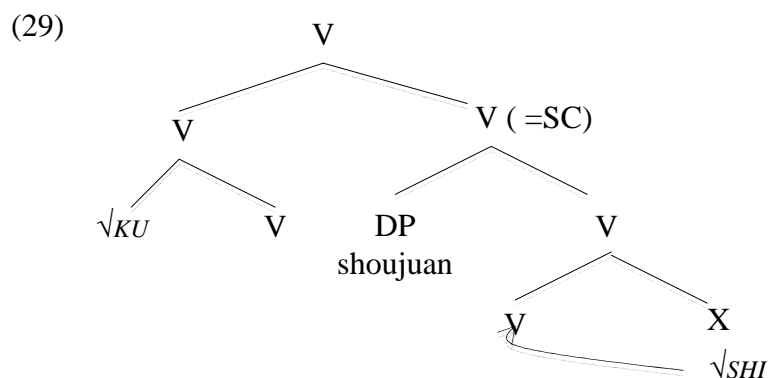
Lisi BA handkerchief cry-wet-LE

‘Lisi cried the handkerchief wet.’

b.\*John-ga hankati-o naki-nure-ta (Japanese)

John-nom handkerchief-acc cry-wet-past

The Chinese V-V compound exemplified in (28a) can be claimed to involve the same manner conflation process that has also been argued for the English strong resultative construction in (10) *The boy danced his feet sore*, i.e., the one that exemplifies the so-called unselected object pattern: see (29), where word order details have been omitted for the sake of clarity. Accordingly, in (29) result/path can be claimed to be encoded in the subordinate/complement V (cf. the SC-like PP in [11]), while the root encoding manner can be claimed to be conflated/compounded with the main null causative verb. Following Mateu’s (2005) 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.



In contrast, I claim that Japanese resultative V-V compounds (e.g., see (30a), 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,<sup>21</sup> while the subordinate verb (*nomi* ‘drink’ in [30a]) which encodes manner turns out to be left-adjoined to that main verb. Crucially, notice that the subordinate/adjoined V is not compounded with a null verb but with a full one, whereby conflation (i.e., compounding of a root with a null light verb; see Section 2 above) is not involved.

(30) a. John-wa zaisan-o      nomi-tubusi-ta      (Japanese)  
        John-top fortune-acc    drink-use.up-past

b. John [[ $\sqrt{\text{DRINK-CAUSE}}$ ] [<sub>SC/PP</sub> his fortune away]] (cf. *John drank his fortune away*)

The English resultative structure in (30b), which does involve conflation of a root with a null causative verb, is just a good translation of (30a). However, unlike (30b), the 1-syntactic analysis of the Japanese example in (30a) 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’).<sup>22</sup> See (31), where word order details have been omitted again for the sake of clarity.

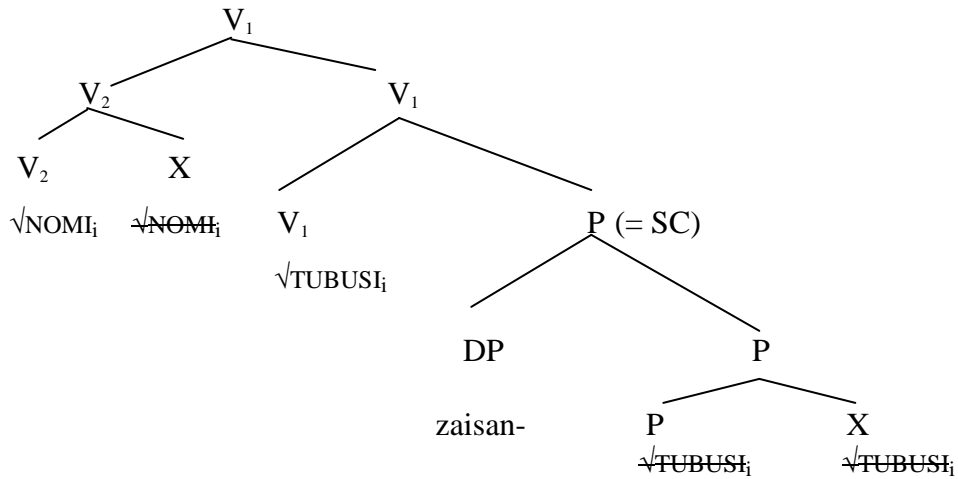
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<sup>21</sup> See Nishiyama [1998: 184]), for some arguments that make it clear that the main verb in Japanese V-V compounds is the second one.

<sup>22</sup> See also Volpe (2004), for the proposal that consumption verbs (e.g., *drink*, *eat*, etc.) are unergative verbs.



(31)



Furthermore, Nishiyama (1998) tries to argue that Japanese V-V compounds like (32a) share a fundamental structural similarity with Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) like the one in (32b) from Yoruba. However, when dealing with this parallelism, Nishiyama (1998) omits the crucial syntactic fact that the second verb in (32b) is unaccusative. It should be noted that the direct parallel of (32b) in Japanese is as ungrammatical as (28b) is: see (32c). The following examples in (32) are all taken from from Nishiyama (1998: ex. [1] and [2], p. 175; ex. [37], p. 191).

(32) 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.’

Since (28b) and (32c) are ungrammatical in Japanese, the relevant conclusion seems then to be that the Yoruba SVC in (32b) should not be put on a par with the Japanese V-V compound in (32a) but rather with its equivalent in Chinese.<sup>23</sup>

All in all, we can conclude that Japanese weak resultatives, Italian phrasal verbs, and Japanese resultative V-V compounds fall under Talmy's (1991, 2000) path incorporation pattern (i.e., the one that involves incorporation of {path/result} into the verb), while English strong resultatives and Chinese resultative V-V compounds fall under his co-event conflation pattern (i.e., the one that involves conflation of a root with a null light verb of {motion/causation}).

In the next section, I show that the distinction between the path incorporation pattern and the co-event conflation pattern does not necessarily mean that they mutually exclude one another in the same language: e.g., both Talmian patterns are found in Chinese and English. I also argue that the basic structural differences are not to be expressed in Talmy's (1991, 2000) descriptive terms of "verb-framed languages" vs. "satellite-framed languages" but rather in Haugen's (2009) syntactic terms of incorporation vs. conflation/compounding (see my footnote 20). This move will be shown to lead us to relate Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern with Snyder's (2001) so-called "compounding parameter".

#### **4. Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern meets Snyder's (2001) compounding parameter**

An interesting puzzle emerges in Talmy's (1991, 2000) famous typology of verb-framed languages (i.e., those ones where path/result is incorporated into the verb) and satellite-framed

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<sup>23</sup> Kratzer's (2005: 38) preliminary remarks on serialization and resultatives (see [i]) could then be valid if Chinese (but not Japanese) resultative V-V compounds are understood as serialization in (32b). Furthermore, resultatives in (i) should be understood as strong resultatives (i.e., those ones involving conflation):

- (i) "Whatever forces compounding for serial verb constructions <like [32b]: JM> can be assumed to force compounding for <strong: JM> adjectival resultatives as well".

languages (i.e., those ones where path/result is not incorporated but is a “satellite” around the verb): while it has proven difficult to find clear examples of conflation in verb-framed languages like Romance or Japanese, it is much easier to find examples of incorporation in satellite-framed languages like English or Chinese. For example, consider the examples in (33), which involve incorporation of P(ath) into the motion verb.

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

Similarly, consider the data in (34), discussed in Den Dikken (2010), Gehrke (2008), Ramchand (2008), and Real-Puigdollers (2010): (34a) is ambiguous (both locative and directional readings are possible), while (34b) is not (the locative reading is the only possible one). As expected, both verbs in (34) can be used in an unergative structure with a locative PP adjunct. The interesting issue here is why a directional reading is possible in (34a) but not in (34b) or, to put in other words, why the verb *run* (but not *dance*) can be used in an unaccusative structure with a non-directional locative PP complement (see Den Dikken [2010: 47-50], for the claim that this reading involves an unaccusative structure).

- (34) a. The boy ran in the kitchen.  
b. The boy danced in the kitchen.

I claim that the unaccusative structure of (34a) runs parallel to that of the Italian example in (35a) (see also [26a]). Following Den Dikken (2010), I assume that the relevant contrast in (34) has to do with the fact that *run* can be used as a light/copular verb in its unaccusative use,

while *dance* always behaves as a pure (i.e., non-directional) manner verb, whereby the latter can only be used as unaccusative in English if there is an explicit directional element: cf. (34b) with (6a) *The boy danced into the room*. (6a) has been argued to involve conflation (see [7]), whereas (34a) can be claimed to involve incorporation of P(ath) into a light verb (as noted above, the incorporation analysis is the only one found in Romance, e.g., cf. [35]).<sup>24</sup> Accordingly, it is not the conflation pattern that is depicted in (36) (cf. [7]), but rather the incorporation pattern.<sup>25</sup>

(35) a. Il bambino è corso a la cucina. (Italian)

the boy is run prep the kitchen

‘The boy ran in the kitchen.’

b. \*Il bambino è danzato a la cucina.

the boy is danced prep the kitchen

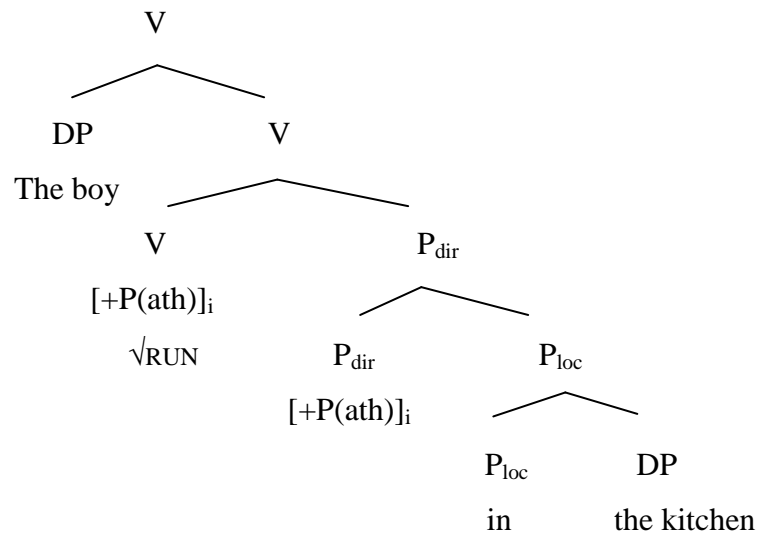
‘The boy danced to the kitchen.’

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<sup>24</sup> See also Folli & Ramchand [2005], for a similar analysis of the Italian data in (35): they argue that the verb *correre* ‘run’ (but not *danzare* ‘dance’) is optionally provided with a [R]esult feature, which enables it to enter into the unaccusative construction in (35a). See above for the localistic claim that Result can be understood as involving an abstract Path (see also Gruber [1965], Jackendoff [1983], Talmy [1991, 2000], and Mateu [2008], among others).

<sup>25</sup> Two predictions follow: on the one hand, non-directional locative PPs are not possible in those unselected object constructions that involve manner conflation (e.g., *John danced the puppet in\*(to) the room*) and, on the other, those verbs that cannot enter into directional constructions with non-directional locative PPs (e.g., *dance*, *swim*, etc.) will never be allowed to be used as verbal predicates of simple AP resultative constructions: cf. (13).

(36)



With this background in mind, let us try to solve the puzzle presented in the beginning of this section. First, it is worth pointing out that incorporation is the most pervasive cross-linguistic pattern in (caused) motion events: i.e., an embedded inner element (e.g., path/result) is incorporated into an upper null light verb. Here I concur with Beavers et al. (2010: 20): “since nearly all languages have path verbs, then nearly all languages have at least one verb-framed encoding option”. In contrast, the pattern exemplified above by English strong PP/AP resultatives and Chinese V-V compounds (i.e., the one that involves conflation of a root with a null light verb) is not found in all languages.<sup>26</sup> Given this, the relevant question is why. Interestingly, the present conception of conflation as compounding of a root with a null verb (see McIntyre [2004], Haugen [2009] and Section 2 above) leads us to examine the extent to which this operation could be related to Snyder’s (2001: 328) “compounding parameter” in (37):

(37) The grammar {disallows\*, allows} formation of endocentric root compounds during the syntactic derivation. [\*unmarked value]

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<sup>26</sup> Recall that adjunction of a verbal structure to a non-null path/result verb in Japanese resultative V-V compounds is not the same case since incorporation has been applied to give a path/result verb: see (31).

According to Snyder (2001: 328), “the idea behind the formulation in <37> is that morphological compounds can be created in at least two ways: as deliberate coinages (independently of the setting of <37>), and as automatic products of syntactic derivation (when <37> assumes the marked value). The latter process accounts for the extreme productivity of endocentric compounding in English (taking the marked setting of <37>), where a compound such as *frog man*, for example, can be called into service to designate a man with almost any type of connection to frogs: a man who resembles a frog, behaves like a frog, or collects frogs, for example”.

However, Snyder’s (2001: 329) correlation between productive root compounding (e.g., N-N compounds like *frog man*) and complex predicate formation (e.g., complex AP resultative constructions and separable verb-particle constructions) cannot be maintained *stricto sensu*: for example, according to Snyder (2001: 329), both English and Japanese have AP resultatives and productive N-N compounding. This notwithstanding, in Section 3 above, I have shown that Japanese cannot be put on a par with English with respect to conflation/compounding (see also Washio [1997: 43]).

Despite the previous qualification (see also Son [2007], for other critical remarks on [37]), I do think that there is a residue for the validity of Snyder’s parameter if compounding is understood in the following reduced sense: i.e., conflation of a root with a null light verb.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Russian can also be taken into consideration in order to show that the compounding parameter should not be formulated in terms of productive root compounding (e.g., N-N compounds like *frog man*) but rather in terms of conflation of a root with a light verb. This language lacks productive root compounding of the English sort but, as predicted by Talmy’s (1991, 2000) typological classification, it has complex resultative constructions of the strong pattern kind, which are also found in Germanic but not in Romance: e.g., see the unselected object constructions in (i), taken from Spencer & Zaretskaya (1998).

(i) a. Ona is-pisala svoju ručku. (Russian)  
 she iz(out)-write her pen.ACC

This accepted, there emerges an interesting connection between Talmy's (1991, 2000) typological co-event conflation pattern and the compounding parameter in (37'):<sup>28</sup>

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

It should however be clear that conflation is not only present in those complex resultative-like constructions that involve a directional/result satellite (e.g., in English satellite-framed constructions like those in [6] and [10]) since conflation and satellite-framedness involve two logically independent strategies: for example, as pointed out above, there are syntactic constructions in English like those ones exemplified in (4), repeated in (38), which lack a path/result satellite but can be claimed to involve a compound formed by a root plus a null light verb, as shown in the syntactic analysis in (5), repeated in (39).

- (38) a. John smiled his thanks.  
b. The factory horns sired midday.

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'Her pen has run out of ink' (lit. She has written her pen out (of ink)).

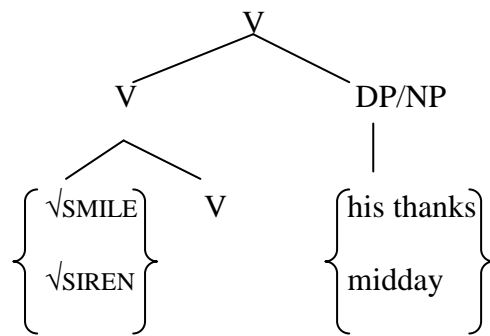
- b. Rebēnok do-kričal-sja do xriputy.  
baby do-cried-sja(itself) to hoarseness

'The baby cried itself hoarse.'

According to Snyder (2001, this volume), Russian should be classified on a par with Romance since both languages lack productive N-N compounds of the English type and separable verb-particle constructions. However, from the present Talmian perspective, Russian and Romance should not fall into the same group since only the former allows complex resultative constructions of the strong type (i.e., the ones involving conflation of a root with a light verb).

<sup>28</sup> See also Zubizarreta and Oh (2007), for an insightful account based on Snyder's (2001) compounding parameter (cf. McIntyre [2004: 553-554]): according to them, Romance cannot use the relevant compound rule ("Merge two lexical categories of the same categorial type") to compose manner and directed motion in the way Germanic does; see also Mateu and Rigau (2002), for the claim that the co-event conflation pattern depicted in (7) involves a V-V compound.

(39)



As predicted, verbs formed via conflation like those ones exemplified in (38) are not possible in Romance nor in Japanese (cf. also Levin & Rapoport's [1988] example *He burned a hole with a cigarette*, which, as expected, is also ungrammatical in Talmy's languages that lack the co-event conflation pattern). These examples do not involve causative constructions with a path/result satellite nor involve strong resultative constructions, but rather the unergative construction in (39), which can be claimed to be associated with the constructional meaning of creation (see Hale & Keyser [2002: 93], for the claim that the l-syntactic structure of unergatives is typically associated to the meaning of "creation" or "production").

Similarly, it is interesting to point out that the polysemy found in the English verb *bake* (see [40]) is not typically found in Romance (see Atkins et al. [1988], Pustejovsky [1995, 1998], and Mateu [2003]). (40a) involves the incorporation analysis (i.e., *John caused the potatoes to become baked*; see Hale & Keyser's [2002: 98-102], for the l-syntactic analysis of causative change of state verbs), whereas (40b) involves the conflation analysis depicted in (39): cf. *John made the cake by baking it*. The latter analysis could be claimed to explain why it is only the first sense that is typically found in Romance.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> See Pustejovsky (1998: 301; fn. 3):

Regarding the *bake* data, French and Italian differ from English in an interesting way. Neither language allows this polysemy, and *faire* and *fare* <'make': JM> must be used in the 'create' context (...) This sense alternation is related to a larger set of crosslinguistic differences and is apparently linked to the



- (40) a. John baked the potatoes. (change of state sense)  
b. John baked the cake. (creation sense)

To conclude this section, I would like to address some qualifications and criticisms that have been put forward against Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) typology (e.g., see Beavers et al. [2010], for a recent review). Basically, I will concentrate on some alleged exceptions to Talmy's typological classification of Romance languages. For example, according to Beavers et al. (2010), *until*-markers in motion events present satellite-framed behavior, since the goal is expressed via a PP: e.g., see (41).

- (41) La botella flotó hasta la cueva. (Spanish)  
the bottle floated until the cave

However, the existence of examples like the one in (41) in Romance is not problematic since, according to Mateu (2002), the syntactic notion of path/result that is relevant to Talmy's typology is the one heading the Small Clause-like PP in constructions like the one exemplified in (8b) *The bottle floated into the cave*. There are arguments for claiming that those *until*-markers that appear with manner of motion verbs do not have the same syntactic status as the resultative-like PP in (8b): for example, the presence of *until*-markers in Italian examples like the one in (42a) does not involve auxiliary BE-shift, which shows that the argument structure involved in (42a) is not the unaccusative one in (7) but rather the (irrelevant) unergative one, which contains a PP that does not involve a SCResult in

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phenomena of resultatives as well as manner of motion confluents (see Talmy 1985; Levin 1985), owing to the presence or absence of event composition rules of a particular sort.

Hoekstra's (1988, 1992) sense. Accordingly, it is not surprising that both satellite- *and* verb-framed languages are expected to have examples like the ones in (41) and (42a). Similarly, Aske's (1989) qualification that atelic paths like the one encoded by Sp. *hacia* 'towards' are compatible with manner of motion verbs in verb-framed languages like Spanish (see [42b]) is also coherent with the fact that they are not Small Clause predicates (see the Italian example in [42c]), whereby these examples can also be argued to be irrelevant to Talmy's typology.

(42) a. La bottiglia {ha galleggiato/\*è galleggiata} fino alla grotta. (Italian)

the bottle {has floated /is floated} until at.the cave

'The bottle floated until the cave.'

b. Juan caminó hacia/hasta el mar. (Spanish)

Juan walked towards /up.to the sea

c. Gianni {ha/\*è} camminato verso il mare. (Italian)

Gianni {has/is }walked towards the sea

'Gianni walked towards the sea.'

Furthermore, Spanish examples like those ones exemplified in (43) should not be taken as true counterexamples to Talmy's typology, as is often claimed (e.g., see Martínez Vázquez [2001] and Beavers et al. [2010]; see also Fábregas [2007], for the claim that the Spanish preposition *a* in (43) encodes a locative meaning rather than a directional one).

(43) a. Juan voló a Barcelona. (Spanish)

Juan flew to Barcelona

'Juan flew to Barcelona.'

b. Juan saltó a mi lado.

Juan jumped to my side

‘Juan jumped to my side.’

The Spanish examples in (43) should not be analyzed as instantiations of the Germanic co-event conflation pattern exemplified in (7). One would otherwise expect the well-formedness of examples like the ones in (44), contrary to fact. Given the contrast between (43) and (44), the relevant descriptive observation seems to have to do with the distinction between directional manner verbs (e.g., those ones in [43]) and pure (i.e., non-directional) manner verbs (e.g., those ones in [44]). Similarly, as shown above when dealing with Romance phrasal verbs, those constructions in (43) turn to be available in Romance to the extent the verb does not encode pure manner. To put it in Hoekstra & Mulder’s (1990) words, the verb can be claimed to have been construed copularly in (43).

(44) a. \*Juan bailó a la cocina. (Spanish)

Juan danced to the kitchen

‘Juan danced to the kitchen.’

b. \*Juan cojeó a la puerta.

Juan limped to the door

‘Juan limped to the door.’

Unlike the examples in (41) and (42), those ones in (43) are not analyzed as unergative structures plus an adjunct PP since there is empirical evidence that the examples in (43) can be claimed to involve an unaccusative structure. For example, the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ is selected in their Italian counterparts in (45).

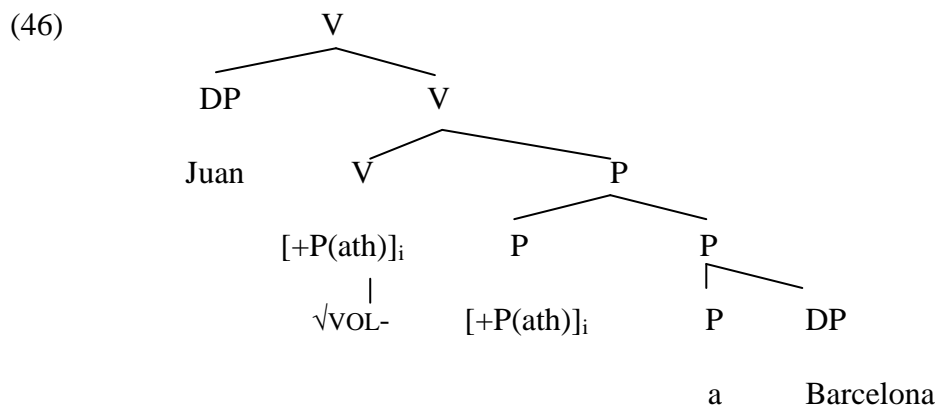
(45) a. Gianni {è/\*ha} volato a Roma (cf. its unergative use: *Gianni {ha/\*è} volato*)

Gianni {is/\*has}flown to Rome

b. Gianni {è/\*ha} saltato dalla finestra (cf. its unergative use: *Gianni {ha/\*è} saltato*)

Gianni {is/\*has}jumped from-the window

Accordingly, it seems natural to conclude that the examples in (43) and (45) do not involve the conflation analysis exemplified in the Germanic pattern depicted in (7) but rather the incorporation analysis (P is incorporated into V), which in turn involves a copular use of the manner verb: e.g., (43a) is analyzed as (46) (cf. [36]). This analysis can then be claimed to account for the abovementioned restriction that the verb in these structures cannot encode pure manner (e.g., cf. [44]).



As shown above, the incorporation analysis depicted in the Spanish example in (46) can also be applied to some verb-particle constructions in Italian, which have also been considered as counterexamples to Talmy's typology (cf. [27]).

To conclude, most of the apparent counterexamples to Talmy's typology do not seem to call his main descriptive generalizations into question. Romance languages lack complex resultative(-like) constructions where the verb is crucially non-directional (e.g., see the

examples in [6] above). Despite many criticisms and qualifications (e.g., see Beavers et al. [2010], for a review), the following relevant Talmian generalization can be maintained: [pure manner verb + Small Clause Result] constructions are predicted to be systematically absent from Romance.

## **5. Conclusions**

An important division has been shown to be drawn within resultative constructions in the light of Haugen's (2009) distinction between conflation and incorporation (Section 2). The syntactic difference between those resultative constructions that involve conflation and those ones that involve incorporation has been claimed to account for (or, at least, has been shown to run parallel to) Washio's (1997) semantic difference between so-called strong resultatives and weak resultatives, respectively. Accordingly, in Section 3 I have put forward a syntactic explanation of a hitherto unnoticed correlation between Japanese AP resultatives and Italian phrasal verbs: their corresponding weak patterns can be expected to be found in Talmy's (1991, 2000) verb-framed languages since in both cases the l-syntax of the verb already involves incorporation of result/path into the verb. In contrast, as predicted by Talmy's typology, Japanese and Italian lack the strong resultative pattern that is found in satellite-framed languages like English and Chinese. Furthermore, two subtypes of non-strong resultative patterns have been distinguished within the incorporation type: those ones that involve incorporation of a result root into P en route to the verb (i.e., the ones that involve the weak resultative pattern: e.g., see [19] and [24]) and the ones that involve a light/copular use of the verb and incorporation of P into the verb (i.e., the ones that involve the simple resultative pattern: e.g., see [14] and [27]). Finally, I have shown that Talmy's typology predicts that Japanese V-V compounds lack the resultative pattern found in Chinese V-V compounds.

In Section 4, it has been shown that the Talmian distinction between the path incorporation pattern and the co-event conflation pattern does not necessarily mean that these patterns exclude one another in the same language (e.g., both patterns are found in Chinese and English). I have argued that the basic structural differences are not to be expressed in Talmy's (1991, 2000) descriptive terms of verb-framed languages vs. satellite-framed languages but rather in Haugen's (2009) syntactic terms of incorporation vs. conflation/compounding. This move naturally led me to relate Talmy's (1991, 2000) co-event conflation pattern with Snyder's (2001) compounding parameter: a connection has been drawn between conflation à la Haugen (2009) (i.e., compounding of a root with a null light verb) and Snyder's parameter (see also McIntyre [2004] and Zubizarreta & Oh [2007], for similar proposals). Furthermore, it has been shown that conflation and satellite-framedness involve two logically independent strategies: for example, there are constructions that lack a path/result satellite but involve so-called manner conflation, whereby they are expected to be impossible in Japanese (Washio 1997: 46; fn. 22) or in Romance (Mateu 2003). Finally, I have dealt with some qualifications and criticisms of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology (see Beavers et al. [2010], for a recent review).

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