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**A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHRASAL VERBS
AS ASPECT AND AKTIONSART MARKERS**

Porto Alegre

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Trabalho de conclusão de curso de graduação apresentado à Faculdade de Letras da Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, como requisito para obtenção do grau de Licenciado em Letras em Inglês, Português e respectivas literaturas.

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Putting together a list of people to thank seems like a difficult, if not impossible, task. It might be easier, then, to start off with the reason for which I have decided to try. This paper symbolizes not only the end, but the whole journey. It is the definite, natural endpoint of that accomplishment. But accomplishments, unlike achievements, focus on the process, not only on the endpoint. During the process, I have met people who have literally helped me through, to who I probably owe not only a thanks but much more. Classmates who have become true friends, those who you can count on for absolutely everything. Teachers who have truly believed in me and helped me believe, too. And, all the while, my family had to deal with all kinds of mood swings, especially during this last semester. I would like to thank each and every one of these people for helping me achieve the goal, the endpoint. And may new accomplishments come.

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson

ABSTRACT

Constituted by a verb plus a particle, phrasal verbs are usually divided by scholars into literal and idiomatic. There is, however, a third category which is not always included in the studies about this kind of verb: the phrasal verbs which convey aspectual meanings. Aspect is divided into grammatical aspect and lexical aspect, or Aktionsart, but there seems to be a great deal of confusion between these concepts in the literature. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the origins of phrasal verbs in the English language and their development as aspect and Aktionsart markers, as well as to analyze their use as such in Modern English. To do that, the first thing was to review the concepts and define which the study would be based on. The next step was to consider examples of the first appearances of phrasal verbs in the language in an attempt to approach the possibilities around their development. The last part of the study was an analysis in order to determine how phrasal verb particles are used with aspectual meanings nowadays. Among the findings this study provided is the assumption, consensual among scholars, that phrasal verb particles first appeared in Old English and, throughout Middle English and Early Modern English, substituted a prefixal system whose functions were very similar to those phrasal verbs have, including aspectual marking. Another point provided in the study is that phrasal verb particles have, in Modern English, two basic kinds of aspectual meanings: continuative aspect and telic Aktionsart. Such conclusions are useful for the foreign student of the language, because they provide a better understanding of the meanings phrasal verb particles can provide, especially since phrasal verbs are a widely used structure in English, not only with transparent or opaque meanings, but providing aspectual notions as well.

Keywords: Phrasal verbs. Aspect. Aktionsart. Telicity. Old English. Middle English. Early Modern English. Modern English.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Phrasal verbs are present in many languages and, in English, they are widely used. Constituted basically by a verb and a particle, their meaning is not always very transparent, which constitutes a difficulty for the foreign learners of the language. Some native speakers even mention the fact that, sometimes, a foreign speaker has an outstanding pronunciation and extensive knowledge in vocabulary, but can still be recognized as a foreigner due to his or her tendency to use the Latin counterparts of phrasal verbs, which frequently resemble words in languages which have their origins in Latin.

Usually, phrasal verbs are divided into literal, the category of phrasal verbs which are a result of the meaning of the simple verb plus the directional meaning of the particle, and idiomatic, the ones whose meaning cannot be guessed from such combination. There is, however, a category of aspectual phrasal verbs, in which the particle adds to the simple verb an aspect or Aktionsart meaning. Aspect and Aktionsart, also known as grammatical and lexical aspect, respectively, are notions which have to do with the relations between situations and time, beyond simply past, present and future.

This paper investigates how phrasal verbs might have originated in the English language, as well as how they might have developed into markers of aspect and Aktionsart, presenting and exemplifying how such a use of phrasal verbs seems to have functioned in Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English, as well as analyzing how they are used with such a function in Modern English.

The second chapter revises the theoretical literature on phrasal verbs, aspect and Aktionsart. The third presents how phrasal verbs might have originated and developed into aspect and Aktionsart markers since Old English and through Middle English and Early Modern English. As for the fourth chapter, it analyzes and exemplifies such a use of the phrasal verb particles in Modern English, in an attempt to define which meanings can be conveyed by the particles and how such an interaction occurs.

2 PHRASAL VERBS AND ASPECT / AKTIONSPORT

Phrasal verbs are a very common structure in the English language. Especially in colloquial contexts, they are undoubtedly more used by native speakers than their respective

Latinate correspondents. There is, however, one usage of phrasal verbs which is not as commonly mentioned as it is used: the attribution of an aspect or Aktionsart meaning to a situation due to the use of a phrasal verb particle. To be able to talk about such a use of phrasal verbs further on this paper, this chapter is meant to bring a theoretical background on phrasal verbs and on aspect and Aktionsart.

McArthur (1973) states that phrasal verbs are called “phrasal” because of their resemblance with a phrase: their structure is made up of a verb and at least another word, usually called a particle. Biber et al (1999, p. 403) call the particles “adverbial”, and state that they all have “core spatial or locative meanings”, but that they are often used with “extended meanings”.

Because phrasal verbs consist of a combination of a verb and a particle, which is commonly originally an adverb or a preposition, they can be easily mistaken for combinations of a verb and a preposition in which they do not function in the same way together, as in the example offered by Leech and Svartvik (1994) and reproduced in 1.

1

a) They *ran over* the bridge. [verb + preposition]

b) They *ran over* the cat. [phrasal verb]

(LEECH and SVARTVICK, 1994, p. 338)

In 1-a, the combination of a verb plus a preposition looks exactly like the phrasal verb in 1-b. However, there is a noticeable difference in meaning; while the structure in 1-a means simply “to cross the bridge by running”, the phrasal verb means “to knock down and pass over”. This shows how the verb and particle take on a new meaning, different from the combination of verb plus preposition.

Palmer (1970, p. 180) points out how such items as *give up*, *look after* and *put up with* must be treated as “single units”. The author argues that there are no combinations such as *give down*, *look before* or *put down with*, which serves as proof that his examples are not simply a combination of verb and preposition or adverb, otherwise the additional combinations he presented would be possible. Palmer also states that such structures are semantic units since *give in* corresponds to *yield*, *make up* to *invent* and *put up with* to *tolerate*, that is; verb and particle form a single meaning.

Leech and Svartvik (1994, p. 338-339) also argue that it is important to differentiate phrasal verbs from prepositional verbs, which they define as “a fixed combination” between a

verb and a preposition, citing as examples *apply for*, *comment on*, *hint at*, *object to*, *run for*, among others. As ways of making that distinction, the authors cite the fact that the particle of a phrasal verb is stressed in pronunciation, while a preposition in a prepositional verb – or in a verb plus particle combination, for that matter – is not (except when the speaker wants to contrast or for some other reason in context). Also, they point out that, in prepositional verbs, the preposition will never appear after the object, as in Leech and Svartvick's examples in 2-a, while some particles can move, as in 2-b, also exemplified by the authors:

2

a) We'll *call on* our friends. / We'll *call on* them. [prepositional verb]

*We'll *call* our friends *on*. / We'll *call* them *on*.

b) We'll *call up* our friends. [phrasal verb]

We'll *call* our friends *up*. / We'll *call* them *up*.

(LEECH and SVARTVICK, 1994, p. 339)

Another difference mentioned by the authors is that only prepositional verbs allow an adverb between verb and preposition (3-a), while phrasal verbs will not take one between verb and particle (3-b):

3

a) They *called* early *on* their friends.

b) *They *called* early *up* their friends.

(LEECH and SVARTVICK, 1994, p. 339)

Leech and Svartvick (1994, p. 339-340) state that there are phrasal verbs which behave like prepositional verbs, and call them phrasal-prepositional verbs. As examples, they cite *put up with* (meaning *tolerate*), *break in on* (meaning *interrupt*), *get away with* (meaning *succeed*), *walk out on* (meaning *abandon*), *catch up on* (meaning *bring something up to date*), *stand up for* (meaning *defend*), among others. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) would simply call it a requirement for certain prepositions by some phrasal verbs, as it happens with single-word verbs, adjectives and nouns, and the authors' examples include some of the ones cited by Leech and Svartvick.

Actually, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) do not differentiate between phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs at all. Biber et al (1999, p. 403) make the distinction,

but also state a similarity, namely, that both “usually represent single semantic units that cannot be derived from the individual meanings of the two parts” which constitute them. In fact, there is no consensus. While there are grammars that make the distinction between phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs, some consider the latter also phrasal verbs (CRYSTAL, 2003).

Biber et al (1999, p. 403) also discuss structures which phrasal verbs can be mistaken for. Initially, the authors talk about a group of multi-word lexical verbs which phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs are a part of, along with “other multi-word verb constructions”, such as verb plus noun phrase (*take a look*), verb plus prepositional phrase (*take into account*) and verb plus verb (*make do*). Then, they explain that there might be combinations identical to phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs but which do not have the same single meaning, rather, “each element has separate grammatical and semantic status”: these identical combinations are called “free combinations” by the authors and defined as consisting of “a verb followed by either an adverb that carries its own distinct meaning (e.g. *come down, go back*), or by a prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial (e.g. *live in, sit on*)”. The authors state that it is difficult to differentiate phrasal verbs from free combinations, apart from analyzing their meanings, but cite the observation aforementioned concerning the possibility of moving the particle as a means.

Phrasal verbs can be intransitive or transitive, like single-word verbs. Biber et al (1999, p. 407) actually call transitive and intransitive the “two major subcategories” of these verbs. An intransitive phrasal verb does not need a complement (the plane *took off*), while a transitive one demands a noun phrase complement (she *put on* her shoes).

In transitive phrasal verb cases, as Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) and Biber et al (1999) point out and as briefly mentioned above, the particle can usually be separated from the verb, as shown in example 4-a; when the direct object is a pronoun, the separation is mandatory, as demonstrated in example 4-b.

4

a) She *put on* her shoes. / She *put* her shoes *on*.

b) She *put* them *on*. / *She *put on* them.

Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999, p. 426-427) present tree diagrams showing an example in which the particle may be separated or not from the main verb (reproduced here in Image 1 and Image 2). Two trees are possible to represent cases like this. If the noun

phrase complement should be replaced by the pronoun “it”, as in “Jamie *turned it out*”, the particle would have to be separated from the main verb and thus only one tree would be possible.

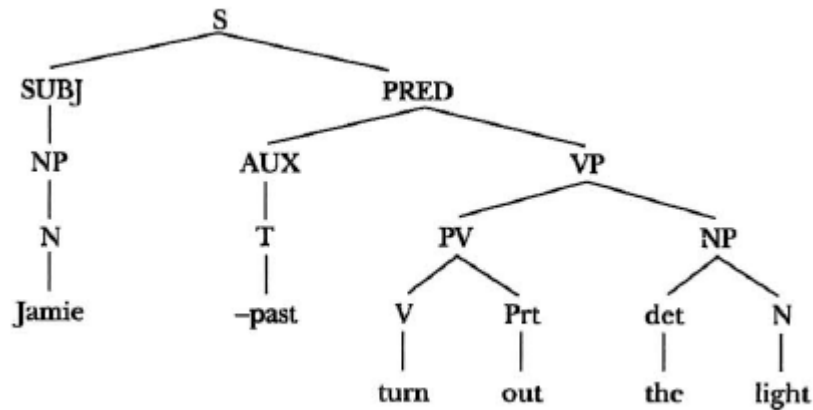


Image 1 – Tree representing “Jamie *turned out* the light.”

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 426)

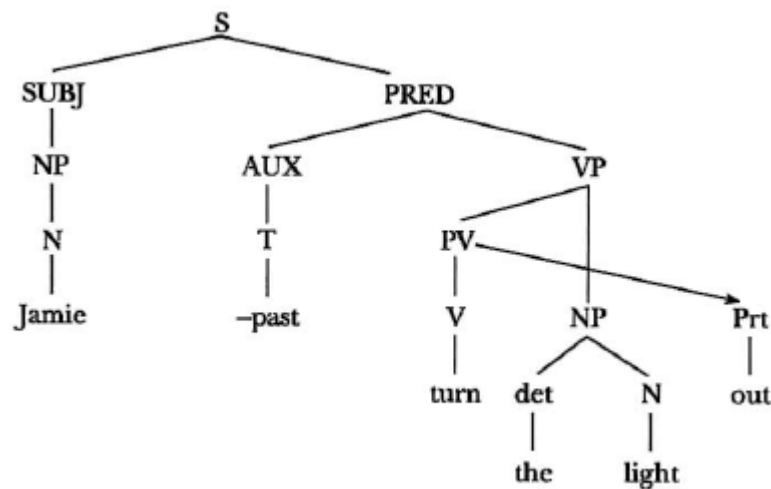


Image 2 – Tree representing “Jamie *turned the light out.*”

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 427)

However, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) show that there are transitive phrasal verbs which cannot be separated, like *come across* and *run into*, exemplified by them and reproduced here in 5-a. The authors also give examples of phrasal verbs which have to be always separated by a complement; an example with the verb *get (something) through* is reproduced in 5-b.

5

a) I *came across* an interesting article/it last night.*I *came* an interesting article/it *across* last night.b) How can I *get* the message/it *through* to him?*How can I *get through* the message/it to him?

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 428-429)

These examples would also have only one possible tree diagram representation, like the one exemplified by Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) to represent the sentence “Angela *ran across* a classmate”, reproduced in Image 3.

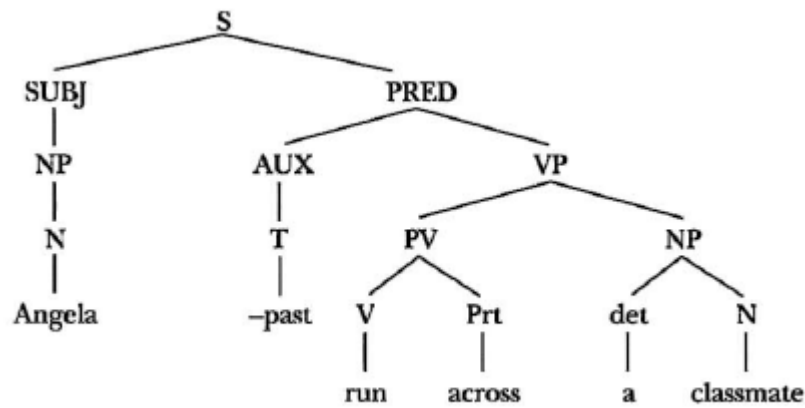


Image 3 – Tree representing “Angela *ran across* a classmate.”

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 429)

Semantically, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) divide phrasal verbs into three categories: literal phrasal verbs, idiomatic phrasal verbs and aspectual phrasal verbs. Literal phrasal verbs are those whose meaning can be seen as a combination of the meanings of the verb and the particle, like *sit down* and *throw away*. By idiomatic phrasal verbs, the authors (1999, p. 433) mean those whose meaning is not at all transparent by looking at the verb and the particle. Some examples would be *put up with*, *look after* and *freak out*.

Although it is very common to see such a category of idiomatic phrasal verbs in grammars, it is important to make a remark. Idiomaticity is not a synonym for non-literal meaning; in fact, many expressions with a clearly literal meaning can be considered idiomatic, such as “in this case”. It is a fact that some idioms present what is commonly called “semantic opacity”, but that is only one of the concepts involved in the studies of idioms and

idiomaticity (FERNANDO, 1996). That being said, the terminology will be adopted in this paper nevertheless.

Some phrasal verbs, like single-word verbs, are polysemous, that is, have more than one meaning, and some have both a literal and an idiomatic meaning, such as *take off*, as seen in 6.

6

- a) John *took off* his jacket. (literal)
- b) John and I had a fight and he *took off*. (idiomatic)

As for aspectual phrasal verbs, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999, p. 432-433) list a series of aspectual meanings conveyed by phrasal verb particles: inceptive (*set out, start up*); continuative (*keep on, play along, dance away, goof around, think through*); iterative (*write over, think over*), completive (*drink up, cut off, win over*).

Several authors, among them Brinton (2009), state that phrasal verbs can convey aspect and Aktionsart meanings, but these matters will be further discussed in the following chapters. An analysis on Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's classification will be presented in chapter 4. In order to be able to discuss matters concerning aspect and Aktionsart, though, general considerations about aspectual studies will be presented and the views which will be adopted in this paper will be stated.

Aspect has been the object of extensive studies by several scholars, but Brinton (2009) argues that not all these studies were targeting the same phenomena. The author presents several definitions of aspect by many authors and divides them into two categories: the ones that talk about "aspect strict sense" and those which describe Aktionsart.

The definitions of aspect classified by Brinton (2009, p.2-3) as characterizing "aspect strict sense" comprehend the one by Kruisinga¹ (1931 apud BRINTON, 2009), who says that aspect "expresses whether the speaker looks upon an action in its entirety, or with special reference to some part" and also that by Comrie² (1976 apud BRINTON, 2009) that "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". Among those which Brinton believes describe Aktionsart are the one by Karl Brugmann³, that aspect is "the

¹ KRUISINGA, Etsko. **A handbook of present-day English**, part II. (English accidence and syntax), vol. 1, 5th edn. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1931.

² COMRIE, Bernard. **Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems**. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics, 2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

³ Brinton references as a source for Brugmann's definition the work by Gonda:

manner and way in which the action of the verb proceeds” and the one by Jakobson⁴ (1971 apud BRINTON, 2009), that aspect “deals with temporal values inherent in the activity or state itself”.

For Brinton (2009, p. 3), the first step when studying aspect is differentiating very clearly the two phenomena commonly addressed by that name: aspect, which she defines as “a matter of the speaker’s viewpoint or perspective on a situation”, and Aktionsart, described by the author as “an indication of the intrinsic temporal qualities of a situation.” Smith (1997, p. 1-3) offers similar definitions, but with different terminology. Aspect, or rather, “viewpoint”, describes situations “with a particular perspective or focus”, showing “a full or partial view of the situation talked about”. Aktionsart, or “situation type”, “indirectly classifies the event or state talked about according to its temporal properties”.

Aspect is expressed by grammatical means such as inflection or “quasi-auxiliary” verbs which Brinton (2009, p. 3) calls aspectualizers, while Aktionsart is expressed mainly by “the lexical meaning of verbs” and of other elements added to describe the situation. For that reason, aspect and Aktionsart are also often called, respectively, grammatical aspect and lexical aspect (OLSEN, 1994).

Brinton (2009, p. 3) also says that, because aspect is grammatical, it is subjective, that is, “the speaker chooses a particular viewpoint”, while Aktionsart is objective since it is inherent to verbs. It is arguable that the speaker can also choose which verbs to use, but for a purpose of comparison, suffices to say that Aktionsart is less subjective, since the speaker has less control upon the inherent features words might express.

The model for aspect adopted in this study will be the one presented by Brinton (2009, p. 53). According to the author, a scheme for aspect should not take only formal markers into account, but also and especially “universal notional distinctions”, as well as considering meaning interaction without leaving aside a clear distinction between aspect and Aktionsart as separate systems. The author’s scheme for aspect is reproduced in Table 1.

GONDA, J. **The aspectual function of the Rgvedic present and aorist.** (Disputationes Rheno-Trajectinae, 7). ‘S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962.

⁴ JAKOBSON, Roman. Shifters, verbal categories, and the Russian verb. **Selected Writings**, n. 11, 137-47. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1971.

Category	Subcategory	Formal markers
1. perfective		<i>simple forms</i>
2. imperfective	progressive	<i>be V-ing</i>
	continuative	<i>continue to V, V-ing; keep on V-ing</i>
3. phase	ingressive	<i>start to V, V-ing; begin to V, V-ing</i>
	egressive	<i>stop V-ing; cease to V, V-ing; finish V-ing</i>
4. habitual		<i>(be) used to V; be accustomed to V; simple forms</i>
5. perfect		<i>have V-en</i>

Table 1 – Brinton’s scheme for aspect in English

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 53)

Brinton (2009) explains that perfective aspect sees a situation as complete or as an indivisible whole, that is, the situation is complete and cannot be divided into stages, as seen in example 7-a. Phase aspect is, according to the author, traditionally classified as a subcategory of perfective aspect, which she disagrees with, because the subcategories of phase, ingressive and egressive, focus, respectively, on the beginning and end of situations, as seen in examples 7-b and 7-c. Ingressive and egressive thus focus on stages of the situation, which is exactly what perfective aspect does not do. For the same reason, phase aspects are incompatible with durative adverbials, as seen in 7-d, while perfective “is neutral in respect to durativity and occurs with punctual and durative adverbials” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 52). An example of perfective plus durative adverbial can be seen in 7-e, as well as one of perfective plus punctual adverbial, in 7-f.

7

- a) Patrick *built* an enormous sandcastle. [perfective aspect]
- b) Patrick *started to build* the sandcastle. [ingressive aspect]
- c) Patrick *finished building* the sandcastle. [egressive aspect]
- d) *Patrick *started to build* the sandcastle *in an hour*. [phase aspect + durative adverbial]

- e) Patrick *built* a sandcastle *in an hour*. [perfective aspect + durative adverbial]
- f) Patrick *built* a sandcastle *at ten in the morning*. [perfective aspect + punctual adverbial]

Concerning imperfective aspect, Brinton's view also differs from tradition in that she does not follow common sub categorizations such as the one by Friedrich⁵ (1974 apud BRINTON, 2009), who divides the imperfective into iterative and non-iterative, or the one by Comrie (1976 apud BRINTON, 2009), who splits it into habitual and continuous. Instead, considering that the imperfect aspect sees a situation as incomplete, she divides it into progressive, "which views a situation as ongoing or progressing (and hence incomplete)", as in example 8-a, and continuative, "which views a situation as continuing rather than ending (and, again, incomplete)" (BRINTON, 2009, p. 53), as in example 8-b. The author believes that iterative is a compositional meaning (made up of progressive or continuative aspect and punctual Aktionsart or simply a verb with intrinsic iterative Aktionsart, such as *chuckle* or *hammer*) and thus should not be in a scheme for the kinds of aspect.

8

- a) Patrick *is building* a sandcastle.
- b) Patrick *continues building* the sandcastle.

As for habitual aspect, Brinton (2009, p. 53) believes its meaning differs from that of the imperfective aspect and thus considers it as a separate category in her scheme. This kind of aspect "views a situation as repeated on different occasions, as distributed over a period of time", as in the example in 9-a. The author (2009) also differentiates it from iterative stating that whereas iterative views a situation as repeated on one same occasion, as in example 9-b, habitual sees it as repeated on different occasions, as seen in 9-a and 9-c. She believes these actions are probably not imperfect, that is, not incomplete, and justifies her statement by saying, in an explicative note, that the frequent use of traditionally perfective markers such as simple present to express habits is evidence of that (BRINTON, 2009, p. 256). Consequently, in her opinion, habitual aspect could not be seen as a subcategory of imperfective aspect.

⁵ FRIEDRICH, Paul. On aspect theory and Homeric aspect. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, [S.l.], n. 40, 1-44, 1974

9

- a) Patrick *used to build* sandcastles when he was a kid.
- b) Joy *knocked* on my door for an entire hour.
- c) Joy *was accustomed to knock* on my door early in the morning.

The perfect aspect views a past situation, which is usually complete, but could also be incomplete, as “somehow connected to the present state” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 14-15), as in examples 10-a and 10-b.

10

- a) Patrick *has built* a sandcastle. [that is why he has sand all over him *now*]
- b) I *have seen* that movie. [so I know it *now*]

Aspect, also known as grammatical aspect or “viewpoint” (SMITH, 1997), is the point of view chosen by the user of the language to express a situation. It is expressed by grammatical means, such as inflection and “quasi-auxiliary” verbs (BRINTON, 2009). The examples shown demonstrate that fact, since the same verb was used to express practically all types of aspect, with changes only in its inflection or an addition of another verb functioning similarly to an auxiliary. Lexical aspect, or Aktionsart, differs from grammatical aspect in this sense; Aktionsart meanings are mostly inherent to verbs, and therefore the same verb is hardly able to express all types of Aktionsart meanings.

Aktionsart is a term originated in German, which means “kind of action”. Many authors have presented typologies concerning actions, but the best-known set of Aktionsart categories is the one delivered by language philosopher Zeno Vendler (1957). These categories are: states, activities, accomplishments and achievements.

States “last for a period of time” (VENDLER, 1957, p. 147, 149), a longer or shorter one, without a natural endpoint, involving “time instants in an indefinite and nonunique sense”. States will answer the question *for how long?*. Typical examples include *know*, *believe* and *love*, as shown in 11-a and 11-b. States can also be seen as descriptions of places and situations, for instance, as seen in 11-c.

11

- a) She *knows* Jane like the palm of her hand.
- b) He *believes* in the existence of extraterrestrial life.
- c) Chandeliers *illuminated* the wide room.

Activities are actions that go on in time, but not a definite, “unique” time; they will happen for a while and then stop, without a natural final endpoint. Activities “go on in time in a homogenous way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole” (p. 146). Activities answer the question *for how long?*. Some examples are *run*, *push a cart* and *walk*, as shown in 12-a and 12-b.

12

- a) Alex *is running* in the park.
- b) They *walked* together at the beach.

Accomplishments take certain time; they have a climax and a natural endpoint, implying “the notion of unique and definite time periods” (VENDLER, 1957, p. 149). Accomplishments will answer the question *how long did it take?*. *Run a mile*, *draw a circle* and *write a letter* are typical examples, as are the ones in 13-a and 13-b.

13

- a) Diana *solved the puzzle*.
- b) Patrick *built a sandcastle*.

Achievements take place at a definite, single moment. They have a natural endpoint and involve “unique and definite time instants” (p. 149), answering the question *at what moment?*. Examples include *reach the hilltop*, *win the race* and *spot something* and the ones in 14-a and 14-b.

14

- a) Brenda *found* her bracelet.
- b) Kate *noticed* a stranger in the house.

There are authors who disagree with Vendler in many respects as, for example, in terms of the difference between accomplishments and achievements. Mourelatos (1978), for example, states that both categories take definite time and have endpoints, and that the endpoint in an accomplishment could be considered an achievement. In fact, Vendler himself had considered the possibility of confusion between the two, and offered the following explanation:

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

What Vendler makes clear in the excerpt is that achievements do not focus on the process involved in the action as accomplishments do; although many achievements involve a prior process, they are not necessarily connected to them as accomplishments are. Smith (1997, p. 30-31) explains that clearly when she states that an achievement “is a single-stage event, detached from any associated process” and reiterates that “although preliminaries of different types are related to Achievements, they are conceptually detached from events”.

Another criticism frequently made about Vendler’s typology is that it attempts to classify verbs instead of situations. Mourelatos (1978, p. 419) argues that verbs can have aspectual “multivalence”, that is, function as more than just one category; a verb normally classified as a state verb, for example, could express an activity, depending on the context. According to Mourelatos, this should be reason enough not to work in terms of categories of verbs, but “types or categories of verb predication”. On that matter, Brinton (2009, p. 31) states that “we must recognize that Aktionsart is a feature of the entire sentence and that it is difficult to specify the ‘basic’ Aktionsart of any verb”, and thus the Aktionsart of a situation must be seen as compositional. Smith (1997, p. 2) expresses the same opinion, saying that “situation type” is expressed by the verb plus its arguments, which she calls “verb constellation”. For the purposes of this work, the term “situation” will be adopted, as it is used by Brinton (2009), to refer to examples.

Authors have also offered their own improvements of Vendler’s categories; Smith (1997, p. 3, 29) added a fifth category to the typology, which she called “semelfactives”. Those would be actions or events similar to achievements in that they occur in a quick, single moment. The difference would be that for achievements there would be a result or outcome; they would promote a change of state. As for semelfactives, they would not. For Smith, they would be “the simplest type of event, consisting only in the occurrence”. Typical examples would be *hiccup* and *cough*, as in 15-a. Differently from the achievement example in 15-b, *coughing* does not bring a result or change of state.

15

- a) Olivia *coughed* because of the smoke surrounding her. [but continued with her life normally after that]
- b) Olivia *spotted* him in the middle of the crowd. [and now she knows he is there and might go talk to him]

Smith (1997, p. 30) states, however, that, in a sentence with a semelfactive situation plus a durative indicator, the situation becomes a “multiple-event activity”, a notion that she introduces as a subclass derived from activities. The example in 16 shows that, like an activity, this multiple-event activity might last for some time and then simply stop, without a determined endpoint. However, the same example, if analyzed under Brinton’s (2009) view, could be classified as having a compositional iterative meaning, because it presents imperfective aspect (progressive) plus punctual Aktionsart.

16

Olivia *was coughing*.

Brinton (2009, p. 54-55) also suggests a category, which would be called “series” (term by Freed⁶, according to Brinton) and expressed by habitual aspect along with an activity, accomplishment or achievement situation. The author argues that this category should be included in an Aktionsart model “if aspectual features of the context are considered as well as lexical features of the verb”, since Vendler’s own category of accomplishments would also depend on that consideration. The author calls both series and accomplishments “compositional” categories. Example 17 could be a series event, because it follows Brinton’s model in that it places habitual aspect and an accomplishment situation together.

17

Patrick *used to build sandcastles* when he was a kid.

A good way to further explain the Aktionsart categories is by attributing to them the semantic features of dynamicity, telicity and durativity. They might be denoted with plus and minus values, as in [+TELIC] or [-TELIC], or in oppositions like dynamic/static, telic/atelic, durative/instantaneous.

⁶ FREED, Alice F. **The semantics of English aspectual complementation**. Dordrecht, Boston, and London: D. Reidel, 1979.

The static/dynamic features distinguish between states (the states category) and events (the categories of activities, accomplishments and achievements, along with Smith's of semelfactives and Brinton's of series); states are static and events are dynamic, that is, they are able to receive new inputs of energy at any point. Examples in 18 show how dynamicity differentiates states from events.

18

- a) Peter *knew* who the killer was. [state: static]
- b) Peter *was talking* to Teresa. [activity – event: dynamic]
- c) Peter *drove a mile*. [accomplishment – event: dynamic]
- d) Peter *found out* who the killer was. [achievement – event: dynamic]
- e) Peter *nudged* Teresa. [semelfactive – event: dynamic]
- f) Throughout the week, Peter *noticed* his father was acting weird. [series – event: dynamic]

The telic/atelic features indicate whether the situation has a natural endpoint or not. A telic event has “a change of state which constitutes the outcome, or goal, of the event. When the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and the event is complete” (GAREY, 1957 apud SMITH, 1997, p. 19)⁷. Accomplishments and achievements are telic, because they have a definite endpoint. States and activities are atelic, since they do not. Examples in 19 illustrate that.

19

- a) Sydney *drove around Boston*. [-TELIC]
- b) Sydney *drove back to Boston*. [+TELIC]

In 19-a, there is no definite endpoint. Sydney could drive for hours, or just minutes, and at some point she would just stop driving. 19-a is therefore an atelic, activity situation. As for 19-b, the endpoint is defined by the notion that Sydney will be driving until she arrives in Boston, that is; her action of driving will end at a definite time, that of her arrival. The example in 19-b is a telic, accomplishment situation

⁷ GAREY, Howard. Verbal aspect in French. *Language*, [S.l.], n. 33, 91-110, 1957.

Not all authors attribute change of state to telicity, like Smith (1997) does; mostly, scholars focus on the idea of natural endpoint. In fact, if change of state is not taken into account, there is no reason for the existence of such a category as semelfactives. Smith's category is considered atelic because it does not promote a change of state, and being atelic is the only point in which semelfactives differ from achievements.

The durative/instantaneous features determine the length of situations. Smith (1997, p. 19) makes an important remark, saying that "this notion of instantaneous is conceptual, an idealization. An event such as [win the race] may take several milliseconds, strictly speaking, without marring its categorization as [Instantaneous]". Achievements are instantaneous, as well as Smith's category of semelfactives. States, activities and accomplishments are durative.

20

- a) Michael *was lying* in bed.
- b) Michael *fell asleep*.

Example 20-a designates a durative situation; it is impossible for people to lie in bed for milliseconds, rather, they usually lie for at least a few minutes, so it is a [+DURATIVE] situation – an activity. Example in 20-b refers to the very quick and unique moment in which someone falls asleep. How long Michael lay in bed before falling asleep does not really matter; the actual moment in which he slipped into unconsciousness was instantaneous, or [-DURATIVE], a typical achievement situation. Additionally, 20-a does not have a natural endpoint whereas 20b does; therefore, 20-a is [-TELIC] and 20-b [+TELIC].

Smith (1997) offers a scheme demonstrating the distribution of semantic features among the categories, including her own of semelfactives, shown in Table 2.

Situations	Static	Durative	Telic
States	[+]	[+]	[-]
Activity	[-]	[+]	[-]
Accomplishment	[-]	[+]	[+]
Semelfactives	[-]	[-]	[-]
Achievements	[-]	[-]	[+]

Table 2 – Smith's semantic features scheme

(SMITH, 1997, p. 20)

There also are divergences when it comes to the features; Olsen (1994 p. 1) argues that they should be studied as “privative oppositions” rather than “equipollent features”, which is the view of such authors as Smith and Brinton. What she means by “privative oppositions” is that only the features marked [+FEATURE] make up a homogenous class, while the [-FEATURES] are simply the absence of [+FEATURE]. Such a view only considers the features telic, dynamic and durative; instead of attributing features such as atelic, static or instantaneous, these situations would only be considered unmarked for telicity, dynamicity and durativity, but not [-FEATURE].

To clarify her view, Olsen offers a clear example, transcribed below:

As a non-linguistic example, consider religious groups as privative oppositions: Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Buddhists are relatively homogeneous classes characterized by certain beliefs and behaviors; non-Christians, non-Muslims, etc. are not. Contrast religious groups with the equipollent opposition between male and female, where each class may be positively described. (OLSEN, 1994, p. 3)

Although the example makes perfect sense, the question is whether such concept really applies to the features. To prove her point, Olsen (1994) gives reasons for why each of the features should be seen as privative oppositions. The author states that unmarked features may become marked under the influence of other sentence constituents, while marked features cannot become unmarked. As an example, Olsen mentions a test for atelic verbs: their progressive forms should entail the perfect forms, as in 21-a. However, other elements in the sentence make the atelic verb [+TELIC], and the entailment does not happen anymore, as seen in 21-b.

21

a) Lee is running *entails* Lee has run. [-TELIC]

b) Lee is running a mile *does not entail* Lee has run a mile. [+TELIC]

(OLSEN, 1994, p. 4)

The other reason Olsen (1994) offers for seeing telicity as a privative opposition is that speakers might omit the element that indicates the endpoint if it is something known by all of them, that is; they have an endpoint in mind, but do not express it in words. As for dynamicity, Olsen (1994, p. 5) brings up the differentiation between states and events, mentioning tests for making that distinction, among which are the frame developed by

Dowty⁸ (1979 apud OLSEN, 1994) for events, which consists of a tendency of dynamic situations to occur in constructions with *do*, as seen in 22-a, and the test by Jackendoff⁹ (1983 apud OLSEN, 1994), which “puts events in frames entailing the notion ‘happen’”, as in 22-b. The examples, adapted from Olsen, include an activity, an accomplishment and an achievement, which are all events.

22

a) *What Lee did* was run / destroy his car / notice a bug.

b) *What happened / occurred / took place* was Lee ran / destroyed his car / noticed a bug.

(OLSEN, 1994, p. 5)

Olsen (1994, p. 6) argues that such tests only frame homogeneously events, that is, [+DYNAMIC] situations, but do not propose frames for static verbs. The author states that even classic examples of states, like *know* and *love*, might fit in the dynamic frames in some contexts, and gives examples, adapted in 23-a for Dowty’s test and 23-b for Jackendoff’s.

23

a) *What Ted did* was always *know* where Mary was.

What Jane did was *love* her husband.

b) *What happened* was Ted *knew* where Mary was.

What happened was Jane *loved* her husband.

(OLSEN, 1994, p. 6)

What Olsen means is that these tests prove that only dynamic situations represent a homogeneous class, since verbs unmarked for dynamicity might become dynamic, or fit the frame for dynamic verbs. One could argue, however, as I do here, that her examples only prove that the tests were not completely effective in framing events only. Especially because, actually, in these examples, even though used in constructions with *do* and verbs indicating occurrence, such as *happen* or *take place*, the states tested are still states, unmarked for dynamicity.

⁸ DOWTY, D. **Word meaning in Montague grammar**. Dordrecht: Reidel, 1979.

⁹ JACKENDOFF, R. **Semantics and cognition**. Cambridge: MIT, 1983.

Another point Olsen (1994) presents concerning dynamicity is that state verbs are, by definition, unmarked for telicity and dynamicity, while accomplishments are [+TELIC] and [+DYNAMIC]. There are, however, certain verbs whose meaning alternates between the two categories, namely, *fill* verbs, such as *bind*, *block*, *carpet*, *fill* and *flood*. The author presents an example with both a state and an accomplishment reading, reproduced in 24-a, and another whose only reading is as an accomplishment, seen in 24-b.

24

a) Water *flooded* the house. [state or accomplishment]

b) I *flooded* the house with water. [accomplishment]

(OLSEN, 1994, p. 7)

The state reading of example 24-a would be if, for example, it has stopped raining and thus water is no longer invading the house. However, there was a huge amount of water flooding the house at the moment when the speaker was describing the situation. The accomplishment reading would be understood in a situation in which it still rains and water is still entering and flooding the house; at some point, the house will be completely flooded (the endpoint). In 24-b, Olsen explains that the addition of an agentive subject is what makes the accomplishment reading the only one possible. In fact, both situations might be explained by means of the compositionality of Aktionsart meaning, that is, the context in which a certain sentence is found will determine, in the case shown in 10-a, whether the state or accomplishment reading should be considered. In the same way, an agentive subject will be added if an accomplishment idea is what the speaker means to say at the moment when he or she is speaking.

Finally, Olsen (1994) addresses durativity. She observes that the difference between accomplishments and achievements is that the former are marked for durativity while the latter are not, then argues that, provided with durative temporal adverbials, achievements might become marked for durativity, as in the example reproduced in 25.

25

During the same period, immigration, lawyers, family counselors and shelter operators *have noticed* a sharp increase in the number of battered and abused immigrants who feel caught in the situation.

(OLSEN, 1994, p. 8)

Such affirmation is also arguable, since the example could be explained and classified as belonging to the series Aktionsart category, fitting the profile perfectly: habitual aspect provided by the context plus an activity, accomplishment or, in this case, achievement situation.

Evidently, thorough analysis must be done before stating anything concerning the applicability of Olsen's perspective on the semantic features which characterize the Aktionsart categories. Besides, the fact that the author's examples do not exactly prove her point does not mean that there are no other possible ways of proving it. However, for the purposes of this paper, Olsen's privative oppositions will not be adopted throughout the next chapters, which will treat the features as "equipollent", as in telic/atelic, dynamic/static and durative/instantaneous, according to such authors as Brinton and Smith. Similarly, the notion of compositionality, defended by both authors, will also be adopted.

This chapter's aim was to present a general view on phrasal verbs and on the studies about aspect and Aktionsart, choosing certain views to adopt for the following chapters. The next one will present a brief discussion on how phrasal verbs might have originated in the English language and, also, how they might have started to express aspectual and/or Aktionsart meanings.

3 PHRASAL VERBS: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASPECT AND AKTIONSPORT MARKING

In the previous chapter, an overview on phrasal verbs and the concepts of aspect and Aktionsart was presented, as well as the assertion that phrasal verbs might express aspect and Aktionsart meanings. This chapter is meant to show an insight on when, how and why phrasal verbs might have originated in English, as well as the process through which they may have developed the aspect and Aktionsart meanings they convey. To better explain the context in which the discussion takes place, a quick background will be offered on the early periods of the language, namely, Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English.

Old English is the name by which we refer to the language spoken in the British Islands from the time when the Anglo-Saxons took over, around the 450s, until the beginnings of the 12th century (CRYSTAL, 2003). According to Crystal (2003) and Baugh and Cable (1993), the first Indo-European language spoken in the Isles was from Celtic origin, brought by a people who had settled there at about 500 BC. After several frustrated attempts, in 43 BC

the Romans took over the Islands and started to rule them, spreading Latin all over most of the territory.

According to Baugh and Cable (1993), Latin was the official language, spoken by the upper classes and by some other portions of the people, and through time more groups started to speak it, even though the Celtic language still survived in some parts of the Islands. By the year of 410, however, the Romans left. Later, then, came the Germanic invasions, from which the Britons were not prepared to protect themselves, so they called the Romans for help and, when they could not aid, they called the Anglo-Saxons, who, after helping the Britons, decided to take over the Islands.

It was thus from a mixture of the original Celtic language with Latin and with the languages of the Germanic invaders and of the Anglo-Saxons that the language known today as Old English originated. The degree of influence that Latin had at this point is debated among scholars. Crystal (2003) believes that this influence was very limited, while Baugh and Cable (1993) disagree, stating that the Anglo-Saxons admired the Romans, and, therefore, were interested in learning many things from them, including their language.

Either way, Latin would bring a much more significant influence from the year 1066 on, when the Normans invaded England. When they took control, all important power positions were occupied by Norman French-speaking people, even though the citizens continued to speak English. For about 150 years, there was hardly any written evidence of what was going on in the language, because, according to Crystal (2003, p. 31), “French was the language of government, law, administration, literature, and the Church, with Latin also used in administration, education, and worship”. English survived, but huge changes occurred and, around the beginnings of the 12th century, it started to re-emerge from the Norman domination into what is known today as Middle English.

From Old to Middle English, one of the most noticeable changes was the loss of the inflectional system, which made it possible to understand the function of the words in sentences according to their endings. Among the reasons cited by Crystal (2003) for such loss are phonological changes, which may have made it no longer possible to distinguish the inflections during speech. Another reason given by the author is the influence of Old Norse, a medieval Scandinavian language that came into contact with English during the Viking settlements, which started in the year 787 and lasted for about 200 years. Nonetheless, the inflections were lost and it caused the Old English word order, which had very commonly an OV (object-verb) structure, to change much into that which we have in Modern English, VO (verb-object).

There was a period between Middle English and Modern English when the language had suffered serious changes, especially in pronunciation, but it was not close enough yet to the language spoken for the last 50 or 100 years to be considered Modern. This period is therefore commonly referred to as Early Modern English, even though scholars generally do not agree upon a date for its start. Crystal (2003) adopts the view that considers the advent of printing as the division marker, taking thus the year 1476 as a reference for the beginning, for it was then that the first press was established. Printed texts inspired the need for a standardization in spelling and punctuation, as well as a possibility for people to print materials they wrote, which consequently contributed to more texts from the period having survived. During the 18th century, the language lost the last remaining structural characteristics which distinguished it from what is considered Modern English.

Going back to the Old English period and focusing on the most relevant matters for this paper, the first thing to be mentioned must be the prefixal system – that is; a set of prefixes which attached themselves to verbs. According to such authors as Denison and Brinton, the prefixal system worked much like phrasal verbs do in Modern English. For instance, like the phrasal verb particles nowadays, the prefixes back then also had primarily a directional meaning, as stated by Brinton (2009). Also, the prefix-verb compounds could have idiomatic meanings, which can be demonstrated by an example provided by Denison (1985, p. 46): *berædan* meant “to disposses”, while its root, *rædan*, meant “to advise”. Another characteristic the two systems share is that both can add Aktionsart meanings while leaving “the meaning of the simple verb almost intact” (DENISON, 1985, p. 46).

The considerations above lead to the conclusion that phrasal verbs eventually took the functional place that once belonged to the prefixal system in the language, a structural shift which started in Old English and finished in Early Modern English (BRINTON, 2009). Scholars are consensual about the substitution of one system for another, but there are different opinions as to when it first started. Blake (2002), for example, believes that phrasal verbs only appeared in the language after the Norman Conquest. However, there is evidence that phrasal verb particles already existed in Old English, when the prefixal system was still functional and productive, as shown in the examples provided by Brinton and Denison¹⁰ and adapted in 1-a and 1-b, respectively.

¹⁰ The translation, as well as the examples, is offered by the respective authors.

1

a) Ic þe ofslea & þe þine teþ *of* *abeate*

‘I [will] knock out your teeth for you’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 217)

b) Ethna *up* *ableow* swyðe egeslice ontendnysse

‘Etna exploded (blew up) with a very fearful burning’

(DENISON, 1985, p. 39)

On both examples, the particle precedes the verb, as well as the object does. The OV order was, according to Crystal (2003), the most common at the time, so the particle also tended to precede the verb, even though it also appears, in some examples, in a post-verbal position. Another thing that both examples demonstrate is the presence of a prefix, *a-*, besides the particle. We can thus understand that, in Old English, phrasal verbs were starting to appear and were working together with the prefixal system.

To explain how this interaction took place, Brinton (2009) divides the prefixes and particles used then in three groups: prefixes which had no corresponding particles, prefixes which had equivalent particles and particles which did not have matching prefixes. The first group is what de la Cruz¹¹ (1975, apud BRINTON, 2009, p. 216) calls ‘pure prefixes’, defined by Brinton as “prefixes without prepositional counterparts or with widely differing functions from their counterparts”. The prefixes *a-*, *ge-*, *be-*, *for-*, and *tō-* belong to this group.

The literal meaning of *a-* could be compared to the modern forms *away* and *out*, but it also added telic meaning to verbs, as in Brinton’s (2009, p. 202) example *ādruwian*, “to dry up”. Both *a-* and *ge-* were losing their meaning during Old English, according to Brinton (2009, p. 212), becoming “unclear or empty”, and many times had to be reinforced by particles, as shown in examples 1-a and 1-b above, where the particles *of* and *up* appear right before a prefix-verb compound with *a-*. By the beginning of the Middle English period, *a-* and *ge-* were no longer productive, that is; new words did not derive from them anymore. Brinton (2009, p. 216) also believes that “the lack of adverbial equivalents for these prefixes in Old English undoubtedly led to their loss”.

The prefix *be-* had a similar meaning to *about* and *around* and seemed to have “a transitivizing function”, as shown by an example that Brinton (2009, p. 210) presents: *bemurnan* meant “to mourn over” while its root, *murnan*, meant simply “mourn”. *Bemurnan* thus demands a complement, while *murnan* does not. The author also argues that endpoint can

¹¹ DE LA CRUZ, Juan M. Old English pure prefixes: structure and function. *Linguistics*, [S.l.], n. 145, 1975.

be attributed to it in comparison to its directional meaning, in that the movement of circling ends when the initial position is achieved again.

For- had a similar directional meaning to modern *forth* and *away*, but in figurative or Aktionsart meanings it provided intensification, mostly with an inherent negative connotation (BRINTON, 2009). Both *be-* and *for-* had, in fact, independent counterparts – respectively, *by* and *for*. However, this correspondence falls under Brinton’s aforementioned remark about counterparts which play widely different roles: *by* and *for* hardly ever function as phrasal verb particles, probably due to the fact that they are used for many other functions, such as agentive, for *by*, as in “the phone was answered *by* John”, and dative for *for*, as in “she left her belongings *for* John”.

The prefix *tō-* had a directional meaning somewhat like that of *apart* and *away*, indicating separation, dispersion. In figurative meaning, it also added the idea of separation, but mostly referring to mental processes, as seen in Brinton’s (2009, p. 207) example *tōcnawan*, which meant “to discern, distinguish, know the difference between”. Similarly to *for-*, *tō-* also began, later, probably because of its frequent association with situations which described destruction, to convey negative connotation, and this might have contributed to its loss, as well as the lack of a counterpart, because alternative forms which did not carry negative meanings would probably be preferred over it (BRINTON, 2009).

The second group is constituted by forms which existed both as prefixes and particles, namely, *of*, *forð*, *ymb*, *purh*, *on*, and *ofer*. These forms appeared much more frequently as prefixes in Old English; their use as adverbial particles was still rare then, and when they were used, this use was mostly in their literal, directional senses. However, *of* and *forð* are exceptions, because they already seemed to be fully developed as particles then. *Of* corresponded to today’s *off*, and sometimes also *away*. It provided such meanings as separation, removal, as in the example adapted from Brinton¹² (2009) in 2-a, in which *of* is used as a post-verbal particle.

2

a) Him mon *slog* ða honda *of*, ða ðæt heafod

‘Someone cut his hands off, then his head’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 217)

¹² All the examples offered by Brinton which appear in this paper were translated by the author herself.

As a prefix, the meaning of *of-* depends much on the root verb it attaches to. The three following examples, provided by Brinton (2009, p. 206), show the difference: *ofrīdan* meant “to overtake by riding”, *ofsnīðan* meant “to kill by cutting” and *ofspyrian* meant “to find out by inquiry or search”. The author argues that this difference can be accounted for in terms of goal meaning; that is; the common meaning among the examples in a telic one, the presence of an endpoint: “to move to the end is to overtake, to strike to the end is to kill, and to ask to the end is to obtain”.

As stated by Brinton (2009, p. 219), *forð* had a spatial meaning similar to *forwards*, and conveyed an Aktionsart meaning of “to an end”, especially in examples in which life, or a day, are seen as journeys, like in the examples adapted in 3-a and 3-b, in which *forð* is used as a verb particle.

3

a) *Alædað mine ban forð mid eow*

‘Lead my bones forth with you’

b) *Gewat se dæg forð*

‘The day went forth (departed)’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 218)

The other members of this second group, as mentioned above, were not so commonly used as particles, but there are some examples. *Ymb*’s meaning was close to today’s *around*, and, similarly to *be-*, its Aktionsart meaning attribution might be understood from the analogy of the circling movement, in which the endpoint is when the starting point is reached again. However, *ymb* is not very much developed as a telic marker even when used as a prefix (BRINTON, 2009). Examples of *ymb* being used as a particle can be seen below in 4.

4

a) *þonon eode gehwyder ymb*

‘then he went everywhere around’

b) *Ðeah he nu nanwuht elles næbbe ymbe to sorgienne* (Bo 11.24.15)

‘Though he now has nothing else to worry about’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 219)

As for *þurh*, it corresponds to today's *through*. As a prefix, it provides Aktionsart meanings of completeness and thoroughness, as in the example given by Brinton (2009, p. 205): *þurhhælan*, “to heal thoroughly”. An example of its use as a verb particle is shown in 5-a, with spatial meaning.

5

- a) He sæ toslat ... and hi *foran þurh*
 ‘He split the sea and they travelled through’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 219)

Even though *on* looks the same as Modern English *on* and seems to have had the same spatial meaning, it did not have its continuative or iterative meaning. Rather, in Old English, it indicated ingression, with a meaning similar to today's *into*, as in the examples provided by Brinton (2009, p. 212): *ontendan*, meaning “to set fire to, to kindle”, and *onslæpan*, “to fall asleep”. In the example shown in 6-a of *on* being used as a particle, it exceptionally does not have a directional meaning, which it does in the example transcribed in 6-b.

6

- a) þeah heo gladu wære *on to locienne*
 ‘though they were glad to look on’
 b) *Deþ* he wyrplas *on*
 ‘He puts the falcon's rings on’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 220)

Some scholars believe *ofer* to be, in Old English, strictly adverbial, but Brinton (2009, p. 208-209) does not agree with that; the author believes they can denote goal meanings, like in the example *ofersceadwian*, “to cover with a shadow”, which she believes to combine direction and goal, as well as in the example *oferrædan*, “to read over or through; to consider”, a rare figurative use of *ofer*. The author also makes a remark about the “going to the limit and beyond” meaning, still present in Modern English, as in the example *oferdrincan*, “overdrink”. In 7-a, there is an example for *ofer*'s use as a particle, with directional meaning.

7

a) he eode to ðære burge wealle, and *fleah* ut *ofer*.

‘he went to the wall of the city and fled out over’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 220)

As for the last group, it is formed by particles which do not have corresponding prefixes: *adūne*, *aweg*, *ūt* and *up*. According to Brinton (2009), these forms seemed to be fully developed as phrasal verb particles already in Old English, often conveying Aktionsart meaning and appearing in a post-verbal position more frequently than the other particles.

According to Denison (1985, p. 57), *adūne*, which was also very frequently found spelled *ofdūne*, derives from the phrase *of dūne*, “from the hill”. It would correspond to today’s *down*, and, although the particle was more often used in its directional meaning, Brinton (2009, p. 220) argues that it also provided telic meaning in its senses “down to destruction” (*bræcon adune*), “down to the ground” (*adune astah*) and “down to the feet” (*leton ofdune*). Examples of these senses are transcribed below, respectively, in 8-a, 8-b and 8-c.

8

a) þa oðre ða dura *bræcon* þær *adune*.

‘the others broke the doors down’

b) He *adune astah*

‘He descended (went down)’

c) he *leton* hiera hrægl *ofdune* to fotum

‘they let their clothing down to their feet’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 220-221)

Aweg, also very commonly spelled *onweg*, would be equivalent to Modern English’s *away*. Brinton (2009) states that *aweg* was used in its directional sense with verbs of motion, as in 9-a, but conveyed both telic and directional meaning when used with verbs of driving, taking, removing, tearing, etc., as in 9-b and 9-c.

9

a) he mid hreowlicere wanunge *aweg gewat*

‘he with more grievous lamentation went away’

- b) he hi raðe *aweg aþywde*
 ‘he quickly drove them away’
- c) þær se stream *bær aweg* þone cnapan
 ‘there the stream bore away the boy’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 221)

Ūt, or *ut*, corresponds to Modern English *out*; its directional meaning appears, when it is combined with verbs of motion or communication, as exemplified, respectively, in 10-a and 10-b, and that both directional and Aktionsart meanings are conveyed in combination with verbs of casting, pouring, freeing, leading, putting, etc, seen in examples 10-c and 10-d.

10

- a) ond oðer swylc *ut offerede*
 ‘and such another one [he] carried out’
- b) gif hie hi *ut ne sprecað*
 ‘if they themselves do not speak out’
- c) þa *wearp* se broðor þæt glæsene fæt *ut*
 ‘then the brother cast out that glass vat’
- d) *alæd* me *ut* of ðyssum bendum
 ‘free me (lead me) out from these fetters’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 222-223)

Up, considered by Denison (1985, p.37) “the Aktionsart particle par excellence”, is said to be “the most common post-verbal particle in Modern English” by Brinton (2009, p. 223) and him. However, the two authors disagree slightly in that Denison only considers *up* as conveying completive meaning from Middle English on, while Brinton recognizes telic Aktionsart in the particle since Old English. In fact, Denison admits that there is Aktionsart marking in Old English’s *up*, but he searched for examples of what he calls “pure completive”, that is, “not including a component of meaning which is spatial or transparently derived from a spatial sense” (DENISON, 1985, p. 38).

Brinton (2009) provides several examples with *up*, including examples in which it presents a combination of directional and goal meanings, as in 11-a, others where *up* appears in figurative phrasal verbs, as in 11-b, and one which she presents as a challenge to Denison, stating that it seems to represent a purely telic meaning, adapted in 11-c.

11

a) þa scipmen þa oncras *upp teon*

‘the shipmen [began] to pull up the anchors’

b) Syþþan *up cymð* deofles costnung

‘Afterwards comes up the temptation of the devil’

c) Gefrægen ic ða Holofernus ... eallum wundrum þrymlic *girwan up* swæsendo

‘Then I learned that Holofernus with all wonders served up a magnificent banquet’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 224-225)

In fact, Denison (1985) had already shown and discussed the example reproduced in 11-c in his article. He admitted it was hard to dismiss it as a pure completive *up* example, but he offered many reasons against it. First, he argues that *girwan up* seems a little too modern, and that the post-verbal position was not very common during the tenth century, which is when the text supposedly dates from. Then, he states that he could not find completive *up* combined with this verb anywhere else in other texts from that time. Restating, Denison believes this example to be too out of character for its supposed time, which leads him to believe that it must have some spatial meaning.

Summing up, we can say that, in Old English, there was a prefixal system which provided both spatial and Aktionsart values to situations. During this period, however, phrasal verb particles, which would later substitute the prefixes, started to appear. These particles were then used primarily in their literal spatial senses, but they also conveyed Aktionsart meanings, sometimes, even though these meanings were still very connected to the directional sense or the single verb’s meaning.

During Middle English, the use of phrasal verbs was significantly expanded, even though this process was slowed down a little with the influx of French and Latinate verbs brought by the Normans (BAUGH and CABLE, 1993). Brinton (2009) explains that prefixes continued to become weaker, while the particles had their usage extended, with an increase on contexts where both directional and Aktionsart meaning could be used, as well as a wider range of figurative uses and the appearance of the first idiomatic senses.

Of, förth, down, awei, out and *up* continued to be used as telic markers, with a whole new set of verbs available to match with. *Of*, for example, still presented both telic and directional meanings when combined with verbs of cutting, but now more verbs could take on that meaning, such as *take off*, as shown in the example reproduced in 12-a.

12

a) þan *take* it *off* and streyne it

‘then take it off and strain it’

(BRINTON, 2009, p.226)

Forth also had both directional and Aktionsart meaning in some expressions, but it was still mostly directional, according to Brinton (2009). Examples are presented in 13-a, showing the phrasal verb *to foster forth*, corresponding in meaning to Modern English *to bring up*, and in 13-b, with the expression *to tarry forth*, both presenting a combination of directional and telic meaning.

13

a) þe dewe dame ... *fostrith* hem *forthe* till þey fle kunne

‘the female dove fosters them forth till they can fly’

b) What helpeth it to *tarien forth* the day?

‘What does it help to tarry forth the day’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 227)

As for *down*, which was still found frequently spelled *adoun* as well, it continued to present both directional and telic meaning in its senses “down to the ground” and “down to destruction”, as seen in 14-a. Also, figurative phrasal verbs with this particle became more common. An example of figurative use of *down* is shown in 14-b.

14

a) He wan the cite after And *rente adoun* bothe wal and sparre and rafter

‘He conquered the city after and tore down both wall and spar and rafter’

b) Trouthe is *put down*, resound is holden fable

‘Truth is put down (eradicated), reason is considered fable.’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 228)

Awei, also found sometimes already spelled as *away*, presented more prominent telic meanings, such as “out of existence” and “from contact or possession”, exemplified in 15-a and 15-b, even though it still had both directional and telic occurring together, as in 15-c.

15

- a) Al his good was *spent away*
 ‘All his good was wasted away’
- b) *Cast al away* the werkes of derknesse
 ‘Cast the works of darkness all away’
- c) Hys schirt lappe he gan take, And *wiped away* þat blake
 ‘His shirt tail he took and wiped away the black’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 228-229)

Examples containing *out* show its expressive development in that it could combine “with a wide variety of verbs with a strong telic and little directional meaning, especially in the senses ‘to an end’, ‘into prominence’, and ‘to extinction’” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 229). Examples 16-a and 16-b demonstrate that.

16

- a) Marrch wass þa Neh all *gan ut* till ende
 ‘March was then nearly all gone out to its end’
- b) But long sikernes of pees haþ *wered out* the vse of þis craft
 ‘But long certainty of peace has worn out the use of this craft’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 229-230)

As for *up*, it was already in Middle English a very common particle, and examples such as the ones in 17-a and 17-b demonstrated “an increasing change in emphasis from directional ... to goal meanings” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 230-231).

17

- a) Aurora ... Hadde *dreyed up* the dew of herbes wete
 ‘Aurora had dried up the dew of wet plants’
- b) Knyght *dressed* hym *up* and kissed the crosse
 ‘The knight dressed himself completely and kissed the cross’
 (BRINTON, 2009, p. 230)

Denison (1985) states that it was during the Middle English period that the first clear examples of pure completive *up* appeared, and shows a few taken from the Final Continuation

of the *Peterborough Chronicle*¹³, which are transcribed in 18-a, 18-b, 18-c and 18-d without a translation to Modern English, since the author does not provide it in his article.

18

- a) & dide him *gyuen up* ðat abbotrice of Burch
- b) & dide ælle in prison til hi *iafen up* here castles
- c) þat he alle his castles sculde *iiuen up*
- d) til hi *aiauen up* here castles

(DENISON, 1985, p. 44)

Denison (1985, p. 44) states that in such examples “there is no plausible spatial meaning to be attributed to *up*”, and shows other occurrences of such uses of the particle to prove that these examples do not occur in isolation; rather, they are “merely the earliest recorded examples of a well-attested usage”. Also, the fact that the example transcribed in 18-d still presents a prefix occurring along with the particle is evidence that this piece of the *Peterborough Chronicle* “stands at a transitional stage in the history of the marking of completion”.

The example in 18-a shows the development of the phrasal verb *give up*, which belongs to a class which Denison (1985) calls verbs of surrendering. The author (1985, p. 54-55) believes that “the well-attested use of *up* with verbs of surrendering (or more accurately, to produce a phrasal verb of surrendering) was the catalyst for the extension of completive *up* to new classes of verb”.

Concerning continuative and iterative meanings in Middle English, Brinton (2009, p. 231-232) believes that *along* was the clearest marker, because it focused “on the extent of the situation”, “with its locative sense of ‘on the length of’”, as seen in the example adapted below.

19

- a) He *drow along* the word till into mydnyȝt

¹³ The Peterborough Chronicle is part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a compilation of texts which differ in date, author and place of origin, in a form of a yearly diary. The Chronicle accounts for most important facts of the history of the formation of England and also serves as an important source for the study of the evolution of the language. Seven manuscripts have survived, among them the Peterborough Chronicle, which covers the greater part of the 12th century. Its Final Continuation is the part which was written after the end of the civil war in King Stephen’s reign, during which there were no records in the Chronicle. The language in this part is different, much closer to Middle English. (CRYSTAL, 2003)

‘He drew along the word until midnight’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 231)

Forth was also commonly used to convey such continuative/iterative meaning when combined with verbs of communication, as seen in example 20-a. The particle *on* could also convey such meanings in combination with communication verbs, as in the example in 20-b, but it was much less commonly used than *forth*.

20

a) *Do foorth, do foorth*, continue your socour

‘Do forth, do forth, continue your aid’

b) ‘Nay, certes’ seide þemperour, ‘þer-fore, *seie on* sone’

‘No, certainly’, said the emperor, ‘therefore, say on, son’

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 232-233)

Lamont (2005, p. 2) states that, in the Early Modern English period, the occurrence of phrasal verbs “exploded”, and cites William Shakespeare as having been an influence in that increase, due to his extensive use of such forms. Blake (2002) wrote an article about Shakespeare’s usage of phrasal verbs in his works, presenting reasons for the author’s preference: first, phrasal verbs have been, from the beginning, characteristic to the colloquial language, thus serving as an interesting mechanism of representing “ordinary conversation” in plays’ dialogues. Second, they had what the author called “rhetorical exuberance”. Another reason would be that they presented “compression and adaptability”, an important feature for the creation of sonnets (BLAKE, 2002, p.25).

Blake’s work shows a few characteristics of the phrasal verb in Early Modern English through examples taken from Shakespeare’s works. For instance, the author (2002, p. 27) points out the strength of the particles then, by showing how sometimes they even appear alone, as though representing the whole phrasal verb, as seen in the examples below. In 21-a, *away* takes an object, when “Hamlet demands that Laertes remove his hands, presumably from around his neck”. In example 21-b, *up* also takes “sword” as an object, when Hamlet decides not to kill Claudius. Example 21-c shows *about* appearing alongside two verbs as if it were one as well, when “the plebeians of Rome stirred up by Antony demand that the conspirators be sought out and killed”, in *Julius Ceasar*. As for the example in 21-d, it shows how *about* functions as though it were a verb in the presence of the modal *will*.

21

- a) *Away thy hands*
- b) *Vp sword*
- c) *About, seeke, burne*
- d) *Ile about it this evening*

(BLAKE, 2002, p. 27)

The author still points out the development of nominalizations originated in verbs in general, offering an example of one resultant from the phrasal verb *to throw about*. The example is adapted in 22-a, and shows the nominalization of the phrasal verb in the statement by Guildenstern in *Hamlet*.

22

- a) there ha's beene much *throwing about* of Braines

(BLAKE, 2002, p. 29)

Lamont (2005) points out that phrasal verbs in Early Modern English were much more frequent in drama texts and informal letters, an indication of their colloquial character. They were probably less prestigious than their Latinate counterparts, probably more common among lower social classes and more characteristic of the spoken language.

Even though it is consensual that phrasal verbs eventually substituted Old English's prefixal system, the remaining questions are why and how. Concerning why, Brinton (2009, p. 189) presents several reasons which she collected from many scholars, including "the shift in word order from OV to VO", "the model of Old Norse, which had lost verbal prefixes at an early stage", "the lack of stress in the prefixes and subsequent loss of phonetic content", "the weakening of the meaning of the prefixes", among others.

The shift in order from OV to VO is defended by, among others, Blake (2002), who suggests the development of relative clauses as a factor for such a change because, according to him, even though forms like *wherein* continued to be used, new forms, like the relative pronouns *which* and *who*, started to be used, leading to a different word order, as explained by the author in the following excerpt:

These [forms] in their turn often end up with *which* at the beginning of the clause and the preposition on which it depends at its end. This leads to the following situations: preposition before the relative pronoun, *I cannot tell good sir, for which of his Virtues it was*, (WT 4.3.87-8); preposition and the relative pronoun at the beginning, and the preposition repeated at the end of the clause, *An eye, at which his foes did tremble at*, (Ham sc.11.26, Q1); the preposition at the end of the clause with the relative pronoun at its beginning as in *To think to the theene that I haue turn'd you to* (*Tempest* 1.2.64); and the preposition at the end with the relative pronoun omitted, *this is the letter he spoke of*, (KL 3.5.10, Q, ...) and *That thing you speake of*, (KL 4.5.77). (BLAKE, 2002, p. 28)

Old Norse's influence, in its turn, is defended by Denison (1985, p. 49-52), who offers as evidence the facts that “in classical ON of the Saga Age there is widespread use of verb-particle collocations in ways that are very reminiscent of ModE practice” and that Old Norse had a “particle *upp*, cognate with English *up*, [which] is frequently used as an Aktionsart marker of completion” with certain verbs. The author also presents a detailed analysis on how completive *upp* might have developed in Old Norse and earlier Scandinavian languages and dialects.

The lack of stress in prefixes makes sense, since there are several examples of particles being used to reinforce prefixes both for this reason and for the weakening of their meaning, which has already been exemplified above. Also, lack of stress had previously led to the aforementioned loss of inflections, so it could be a possible explanation for the loss of prefixes as well.

Curme¹⁴ (1913/14, apud BRINTON, 2009, p. 189-190) states that the position of the particle is related to its meaning, in that, at first, figurative particles appear before the verb, while literal, directional ones occupy post-verbal position. The first particles to be affected by the ability to move and to receive stress were *ūt*, *up* and *in*, which were already quite developed as adverbial. Then, the next ones were “the other prefixes under the influence of their strongly stressed concrete counterparts, and finally those with figurative meaning”.

M. L. Samuels¹⁵ (1972 apud BRINTON, 2009, p. 190) compares the substitution of the prefixal system to the loss of the inflections, in a “drag and push chain”, in which the drag chain represents the loss of prefixes, due to phonetic and semantic weakening, and the push chain corresponds to the pressure of replacement, that is; once the prefixes are no longer effective in communication, new forms need to be adopted to function in their place.

¹⁴ CURME, George O. The development of verbal compounds in Germanic. **Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur**, [S.l.], n. 39, 1913/14.

¹⁵ SAMUELS, M.L. **Linguistic evolution with special reference to English**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

In short, all these reasons might serve as complementary explanations for why post-verbal particles substituted the prefixal system. The other remaining question, however, concerns the process or processes through which the particles' meanings developed from strictly spatial into aspect and Aktionsart notions.

Two standard views concerning the matter are presented by Brinton (2009, p. 191-192), namely, bleaching and metaphor. In bleaching, the original meaning of the particles is believed to have gradually faded from concrete to abstract, and, in metaphor, it is said to have suffered a "figurative shift from concrete to abstract, or more specifically from spatial to aspectual meanings".

Brinton (2009) sees, however, problems in both explanations. Concerning bleaching, she presents as a counterargument the fact that concrete and abstract meanings can occur simultaneously, as in many examples offered above, discarding then the gradual fading suggested. As for metaphor, the problem is that the particles' meaning seems to be a continuum. For example, in a certain use, a particle can be almost completely telic, but still have a small percentage of directional meaning, as well as the contrary situation is also possible. That would debunk the ideas of transfer or shift suggested by the metaphor view.

The best explanation for the development of abstract meanings for particles is iconic motivation, states Brinton (2009). This view is based on an analogy between spatial and Aktionsart meanings, seeing situations as spaces in time. That way, the directional meanings of the particles would suggest similar movements of the actions in time. With this in mind, Brinton offers a deeper analogy, concerning the Aktionsart meanings each particle can convey:

Because the development of situations through time is conceived of in spatial terms, particles which express movement from, to, over, or through come to indicate situations oriented or headed towards a goal (telic situations), whereas particles which express stasis or location come to indicate situations atelically continuing or repeating at a particular time. (BRINTON, 2009, p. 195)

A similar, though simpler explanation concerning the development of telic meaning for *up* is presented by Denison (1985, p. 48) when he considers "some obvious possibilities", like the suggestion that "the directional meaning of *up* often combines with a goal meaning: to pull something up, when the verb is used in its literal sense, is usually to pull it both upwards and to some final, high position". The author believes that this notion could have been carried along when *up* eventually started to be used with verbs which do not have inherent upward movement in their meaning but are compatible with it.

Denison (1985, p. 44-45) offers another interesting analogy, which could also be considered congruent with the idea of iconic motivation, when he is discussing the development of *give up*, namely, the “familiar and universal symbolism of subjection and supplication: something is handed over to someone whose superior power or status requires a figurative movement upwards”.

It is, of course, impossible to state with absolute certainty what happened and how when it comes to developments in the language; there are, however, theories that make more sense than others when taking the existing examples into account in an effort to reconstruct the origins of a certain structure, like the attempts to investigate the history of phrasal verbs by many authors exemplified above.

The objective in this chapter was to demonstrate the evidence known and the possibilities built around them concerning the appearance of phrasal verbs and the developments in their use through time, since Old English and through Middle English and Early Modern English, focusing on the development of aspect and Aktionsart meanings conveyed by the phrasal verb particles. The next chapter analyzes such a use of the post-verbal particles in Modern English.

4 PHRASAL VERB PARTICLES AS ASPECTUAL MARKERS IN MODERN ENGLISH

The previous chapters have attempted to define what phrasal verbs are, to present an overview on aspect and Aktionsart marking and a perspective on how phrasal verbs may have developed as aspect and Aktionsart markers in the English language. The aim in this chapter is to provide an analysis on such use of the phrasal verb particles in Modern English, presenting the aspect and Aktionsart meanings they might attribute to the simple verbs. Before that, however, a few considerations must be made about what post-verbal particles are usually said to mean, the confusion between aspect and Aktionsart concepts and the notion of compositionality.

Brinton (2009) mentions the fact that phrasal verb particles are often classified as markers of perfective aspect, but she disagrees with that. Perfective aspect, as discussed in chapter 2, sees a situation as an indivisible whole; phrasal verbs, however, are compatible with focusing on a part or phase of a situation, such as its beginning, middle or ending, that is, they are compatible with markers of continuative, ingressive, and egressive aspect, as seen, respectively, in the examples in 1-c, 1-d and 1-e; that is why Brinton (2009) states phrasal verbs should not be seen as perfective aspect markers.

1

- a) That small, isolated town's population *died off*. [perfective aspect]
- b) That small, isolated town's population is *dying off*. [imperfective aspect – progressive]
- c) She continued *cleaning up* the house. [imperfective aspect – continuative]
- d) I will start to *clean up* the house now. [phase aspect – ingressive]
- e) I have just finished *cleaning up* the house. [phase aspect – egressive]
- f) She was used to *cleaning up* the house. [habitual aspect]
- g) I can rest now; I have *cleaned up* the house. [perfect aspect]

One could observe the role of the phrasal verbs in the examples in 1 and conclude that, in fact, neither continuative, ingressive, egressive or any of the other kinds of aspect demonstrated are expressed by the particles. The phrasal verbs are expressing the same

situations in many examples, and what changes the aspect are other elements, such as auxiliaries (1-c, 1-d, 1-e, 1-f) or inflection (1-a, 1-b, 1-g), pointing out clearly the difference between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect (Aktionsart), the latter being expressed in the examples by the phrasal verbs.

The example in 1-a shows perfective aspect, which is being expressed not by the post-verbal particle, but by the use of the simple past form, indicating the completion of the action. The only marking provided by the particle in this example and, actually, in all examples in 1, is that of endpoint; a telic Aktionsart meaning, which occurs along with the grammatical aspect markers. Particles such as the ones in the examples cannot be considered perfective aspect markers because they indicate an intrinsic endpoint of an action but not its attainment.

Another meaning commonly attributed to post-verbal particles is that of result. The “resultative analysis” is explained in detail by Brinton (2009), who also presents several reasons not to adopt such a point of view. However, for the purposes of this paper, the following notion mentioned in the author’s discussion will be focused on: the difference between result and goal or endpoint.

Telic particles are those which contribute a necessary goal or endpoint to a situation; in doing so, they only express that the situation *has* a necessary goal or endpoint; the realization of that goal, which could be a result meaning, is provided by the aspectual notions of completeness (perfective aspect) or incompleteness (imperfective aspect). It can therefore be said that result is an aspectual meaning; which is not conveyed by telic particles (BRINTON, 2009). Yet, telic Aktionsart and aspectual result are compatible and frequently occur together.

It is important to mention, though, that there are situations in which some particles, even when they are more frequently used as telic markers, may be seen as assuming a resultative meaning. In such cases, according to Brinton (2009), the placement of the particle after the object is a factor, as demonstrated in 2-a and 2-c, while 2-b and 2-d are presented to make a comparison.

2

- a) He *knocked* the window *out*.
- b) He *knocked out* the window.
- c) He *pushed* the window *up*.
- d) He *pushed up* the window.

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 181)

In 2-a and 2-c, the particles seem to be more related to the object than to the verb, as in “he knocked the window and now, as a result, it is *out*”, and “he pushed the window and now, as a result, it is *up*.” In these cases, the phrasal verb could be classified as a “literal phrasal verb”, according to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), as seen in chapter 2, because its particle is expressing a directional meaning rather than an aspect or Aktionsart one. Such structures as the ones in the examples could be compared to a construction like “*shoot somebody dead*”, which is not made up of a phrasal verb, but expresses typical resultative meaning, as in “to shoot somebody in a way to cause them to be *dead*”. The constructions in 2-a and 2-c are therefore directional phrasal verbs being used as though to express resultative meaning.

As for the examples in 2-b and 2-d, the meaning of the particles seems to be part of the verb’s, that is, an activity with an endpoint, *knock out* as in *knock* the window and break it so no piece of glass is left in place and *push up* as in *push* the window upwards to the limit, the highest position possible. Therefore, one could say that the examples in 2-b and 2-d are “aspectual phrasal verbs” expressing telic Aktionsart meanings. Put simply, what Brinton (2009) criticizes in the resultative analysis is not that post-verbal particles cannot have resultative meanings; they even can, but these rare cases should not be confused with the ones in which the particles have telic meanings.

The confusion between aspect and Aktionsart concepts is in fact the first problem in the aforementioned classification by Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) of aspectual phrasal verbs. The categories of aspect meanings that the authors attribute to the particles mix up grammatical aspect and Aktionsart notions and are presented as though they belonged to the same typology.

Although the concepts of aspect and Aktionsart must be distinguished, that does not mean that they will appear separately. Rather, their meanings will be very often connected, as seen in the examples above, which might contribute to the confusion between the concepts but surely supports the applicability of the notion of compositionality to such meanings. The truth is that each one provides a different notion; aspect will provide a grammatical idea of point of view, while Aktionsart will express the inherent characteristics of the situation presented. Roughly, it could be said that Aktionsart shows the situation’s intrinsic temporal features, those which do not change, while aspect shows how the situation is viewed by the speaker at that moment, in respect to the features that depend on the moment of speech.

The fact that Aktionsart is inherent might bring some confusion with the idea of compositionality; if Aktionsart is inherent, how can it be compositional? An easy way to

explain how it can be both inherent and compositional is that there is not a definite number of situations; new situations will be represented in new ways, as well as common situations might come to be represented by new forms, and they will still have inherent notions of duration or not, endpoint or not, and so on. Aspect seems to be more easily understood as compositional, because of its point of view idea, and a point of view depends on several factors by definition. In fact, it is the very notion of compositionality that allows us to say that the aspect or Aktionsart of a situation might be influenced by phrasal verb particles, as compared to the use of the simple verb.

Phrasal verb particles basically assume two kinds of aspect and Aktionsart meanings: telicity and continuative or iterative aspect (BRINTON, 2009). In fact, telicity is the most frequent meaning conveyed by them, and most particles can function as telic markers. The most frequent telic particles are *up*, *down*, *off* and *out*; less frequently appear, with such a use, *through*, *over* and *away*.

Brinton (2009, p. 168) says that “the particles may affect the intrinsic temporal nature of a situation and hence alter its aktionsart”. What happens is that the telic particle will accompany a verb usually classified as conveying an activity notion, providing an endpoint or goal meaning to it that it originally did not have, that is; the particle will be applied to the simple verb and turn its activity notion into an accomplishment one.

Accomplishments make up a “compositional category” (BRINTON, 2009, p. 55), because they will usually be expressed by activity verbs plus an expression which provides a goal or endpoint, as seen in the comparison between examples 3-a and 3-b. The particles, then, would substitute that expression; they would become the indicators of the goal or endpoint, as seen when comparing examples 3-c and 3-d.

3

- a) Peter is drawing.
- b) Peter is drawing *a circle*.
- c) Sydney is drinking milk.
- d) Sydney drank *up* her milk.

Therefore, the addition of a telic particle to a simple verb could be understood as a sum of the simple verb’s meaning to an expression like “to the end”, “completely”, “until it is finished” or “all of it / them” (p. 169).

It is important to mention that the notion of goal might be debatable, sometimes, as to how definite it might be (BRINTON, 2009). In some cases, the goal or endpoint is an undoubtedly definite notion, such as the ones presented in examples 4-a and 4-b, because it is not debatable whether there is still some juice in the glass or whether the package was open. However, there are some examples in which the endpoint is not so definite, as in the examples in 4-c and 4-d, because a warm coffee for one person might be practically cold for another and extremely hot for a third one, as well as the slowness of the car, which might depend on the speed limit, etc.

4

- a) to *drink down* the juice
- b) to *open up* the package
- c) to *warm up* coffee
- d) to *slow down* a car

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 169)

Even though those considerations are true, the endpoint or goal meaning is still in all the examples in 4, because, even in examples 4-c and 4-d, the speaker has one in mind; they know how warm is warm enough for them, and that is the goal temperature they refer to when they say *warm up coffee*. Similarly, the speaker knows how much he or she needs to slow down for the speed to be slow enough for the situation they are in. So, it is true that some goals might seem more definite and less debatable than others, yet they all can be considered definite endpoints nevertheless.

Dowty (1979 apud BRINTON, 2009) presents tests to determine whether a certain situation is an accomplishment or an activity; such tests can be used to find out whether a phrasal verb is conveying telicity or not, because, as explained above, the telic particles usually transform simple verbs expressing activities into accomplishments. Some of Dowty's tests will be exemplified here. First, accomplishments are compatible with expressions such as *take an hour to V* and *in...*, as seen in the examples in 5.

5

- a) It *took a year to* use up the supplies.
- b) They hunted down the criminal *in a couple of days*.

(BRINTON, 2009, p. 171)

Also, accomplishments and telic phrasal verb particles can occur with egressive markers such as *finish* or *stop* and *cease*, but *finish* will convey the attainment of the goal or endpoint, while *stop* or *cease* will not.

6

- a) I *finished* sending out the invitations.
- b) I *stopped* sending out the invitations. (before finishing)

(adapted from BRINTON, 2009, p. 171)

The examples in 6 show the difference in meaning; the example in 6-a implies “I *sent out* the invitations”, while the example in 6-b does not. Another test for accomplishments is that they are ambiguous with the adverb *almost*, as in the example in 7-a. It is not clear whether the subject almost finished the action or almost started doing it. The use of phase aspect markers would disambiguate, as shown in 7-b and 7-c.

7

- a) I almost *cleaned up* the house.
- b) I almost *started to clean up* the house.
- c) I almost *finished cleaning up* the house.

Although telicity is the most common marking expressed by phrasal verb particles, some of them can convey continuative aspect or iterative meaning. The particles which convey such meanings are *on*, *along* and *away*. Continuative, as seen in chapter 2, is defined by Brinton (2009, p. 53) as viewing “a situation as continuing rather than ending”, and is expressed by aspectualizers, that is, aspect marking auxiliaries such as *continue*. In this case, the particle would take that position and portray a situation as continuing. As for iterative, it is, as seen in chapter 2 as well, defined by the author as composed of progressive or continuative aspect and telic Aktionsart, demonstrating repetition.

In fact, iterative works very much like continuative; the difference is that, due to the presence of telic Aktionsart, it expresses repetition of an action, and the whole meaning could be seen as “the continuation of a repetition”. Thus, even though telicity is present, it does not refer to the continuation of the repetition, whose endpoint is not determined.

The phrasal verb *keep on* is very frequently used as an auxiliary marker of continuative aspect, as seen in example 8-a, which serves as evidence of the use of the particle

for continuative aspect (BRINTON, 2009, p. 175). The particle, when added to the simple verb, forming a phrasal verb, will have the same continuative effect, as in 8-b and 8-c. In 8-c and 8-d, the correspondence between the use of the particle and the use of auxiliaries is shown.

8

- a) Parker *keeps on* denying his feelings for Joy.
- b) Parker *talked on* about what a great person Joy was.
- c) Parker *lived on* after Joy met another man.
- d) Parker *kept on talking* about what a great person Joy was.
- e) Parker *continued living* after Joy met another man.

Both *along* and *away* are also used for marking continuative aspect, as seen in the examples 9-a through 9-d. Examples 9-e through 9-h show the correspondence to aspect auxiliary markers. It is important to mention that this correspondence, however, is hardly ever exact; comparing examples 9-d and 9-h, especially, there is noticeable difference in meaning upon using *away* or *keep on* as markers of continuative aspect; while the use of *away*, in 9-d, seems to refer to a less specific action of dreaming, the use of *keep on* gives an idea of dreaming about something more specific about the trip.

9

- a) Diana *walked along*, lost in her thoughts.
- b) Peter *drove along*, trying to forget his problems.
- c) I'm *working away* on my paper.
- d) He *dreams away* about his trip.
- e) Diana *continued walking*, lost in her thoughts.
- f) Peter *kept on driving*, trying to forget his problems.
- g) I *continue to work* on my paper.
- h) He *keeps on dreaming* about his trip.

Besides showing the use of *on* and *along*, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), in their classification of aspectual phrasal verbs, say that the use of *away* might also indicate that the activity is “heedless”, an idea also pointed out by Jackendoff (1997). Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman provide the examples transcribed in 10; in 10-a, an example for *on*, in

10-b, one for *along* and, in 10-c, one for *away*. I would, however, question the example in 10-b; I do not think it is expressing an action that is continuing rather than ending. As for the example in 10-c, it shows a structure, namely *verb plus time expression plus away*, which could be interpreted as expressing an endpoint (JACKENDOFF, 1997), a matter which will be discussed further in this chapter.

10

- a) Her speech *ran on* and *on*.
- b) *Hurry along* now.
- c) They *danced* the night *away*.

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 432)

Aside from *on*, *along* and *away*, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999) consider *around* as expressing continuative aspect in that it gives the meaning of “absence of purpose”, as in 11-a. It is an interesting remark, even though maybe *around* is only providing the “absence of purpose” meaning, and not the aspectual notion. It might seem so, since this meaning is compatible with duration and atelicity, but the particle itself is probably not acting as an aspect marker in 11-a. It is even debatable whether the example provided by the authors is expressing continuative aspect at all.

11

- a) They *goofed around* all afternoon.

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 432)

There is still another problem in the authors’ classification of continuative aspect particles: they state that *through* expresses continuative aspect with its meaning of “from beginning to end”, showing the example transcribed in 12-a. Clearly, though, “from beginning to end” indicates a definite endpoint and is thus a telic meaning.

12

- a) She *read through* her lines in the play for the audition.

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 432)

The authors also present a category of iterative meaning, showing the example in 13 to demonstrate:

13

a) He *did* it *over* and *over* again until he got it right.

(CELCE-MURCIA and LARSEN-FREEMAN, 1999, p. 433)

The problem with the example is that, first of all, it is debatable whether *do* something *over*, with such a sense, is a phrasal verb. Leaving that aside, there is still the problem that the situation does not have intrinsic telic meaning; the construction does indicate repetition, but not the repetition of an intrinsically instantaneous action, which characterizes iterative situations, at least according to Brinton's (2009) view, which is the one adopted on the matter in this paper.

Despite the several problems pointed out above, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's (1999, p. 432) analysis basically divides the particles into expressing continuative or completive (telic) meanings. The only thing that seems distant is the category the authors call inceptive, signaling "a beginning state". The example shown is "John *took off*", but the problem with it is that it does not look like, for example, ingressive aspect, which emphasizes the beginning of a situation through auxiliaries such as *begin* or *start*. Also, it seems like the "beginning state" the authors refer to might be what Smith (1997) would call "change of state", as being part of the notion of telicity. The idea that *taking off* presents a change of state is acceptable, as in "John was here and now, since he took off, he no longer is". Yet, *take off* is an idiomatic phrasal verb, and even though it might present an intrinsically telic situation, the particle is not the element which adds that meaning to the simple verb; instead, the two elements of the phrasal verb combine into a meaning which cannot be guessed from the combination of their meanings.

Similarly to Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's analysis, Jackendoff (1997) also presents a category of aspectual phrasal verbs. In fact, the former may have been inspired by the latter, since Jackendoff's article is referenced at the end of Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman's chapter. Jackendoff (1997) does not indicate which aspectual notions expressed by the phrasal verb particles refer to aspect and which to Aktionsart as well, but such a difference seems to be clear in the author's mind considering the whole article. Such a misinterpretation of the meaning of *through* does not appear in the article either; the author calls it a telic aspectual particle.

Something else which is still important to point out concerning the continuative particles is that more confusion between aspect and Aktionsart notions might arise between the concept of continuative aspect and the Aktionsart feature of duration, seen in chapter 2. Duration is the feature that characterizes a situation as taking some time rather than being instantaneous. It will be always true of a durative situation to be durative, which has nothing to do with it ending or not, which is what continuative aspect is about: continuing rather than ending. The examples in 14 might help clarify:

14

- a) Peter *drove along*, trying to forget his problems.
- b) Peter *drove* for a long time, trying to forget his problems.
- c) Peter *knocked away* at the door until the neighbors told him nobody had been home for days.

In 14-a and 14-b, the same situation is presented; it has the durative feature, which means it always takes some time to drive a car, as short as the distance might be. Yet, in 14-a, such situation is viewed under continuative aspect, meaning that the action of driving continued, while in 14-b the aspect is perfective, showing a completed action of driving. In 14-c, the situation does not have the durative feature; knocking is an instantaneous situation. However, it is being viewed under continuative aspect in the example, making up iterative meaning, so Peter continued to knock, repeatedly, until somebody told him nobody was going to answer.

Now, the focus goes back to the telic particles: both the most common ones, *up*, *down*, *off* and *out* and the less common ones, *through*, *over* and *away*. Each one of these particles obviously has several meanings, including their directional meaning, used in literal phrasal verbs, as well as in combination with verbs to form idiomatic phrasal verbs. The following analysis, however, only focuses on their role as aspectual phrasal verb particles, namely, as telic particles. The analysis compares the difference in meaning when a telic particle is added to the simple verb.

As mentioned in chapter 3, *up* is “the Aktionsart particle par excellence”, according to Denison (1985, p. 37). Being also the most common particle in phrasal verbs, in general, *up* has a number of meanings, but its aspectual contribution is telicity; “completive up”, as Denison (1985) would call it. The examples in 14 show several phrasal verbs in which *up* adds a goal or endpoint.

15

- a) That store is *closed up*.
- b) I am going to *clean up* the house for Saturday's party.
- c) We have *used up* the flour; we'll need more.
- d) The clothes finally *dried up*.
- e) I left early, the place was still *filling up*.

In example 15-a, the meaning of *close* without the particle would mean that the store was simply closed, say, for the night, and would be open again the next day, but the use of the particle adds the notion that the store was closed for good, with no intention of opening its doors anytime soon, giving an idea of definite termination. In 15-b, the use of the simple verb simply names the activity of *cleaning*, a house, for example, without specifying which rooms would be cleaned or how thorough the cleaning would be, whereas the use of *up* implies cleaning all the rooms until they are completely clean. The verb *to use*, in example 15-c, would not imply that there is no flour left, while its use with the particle does. In 15-d, *dry up* indicates that the clothes have completely dried, while the use of the simple verb would not necessarily imply that, referring simply to the action of drying. The example in 15-e shows that the person left before the place was *filled up*, that is, before the maximum capacity of occupation of that certain place was achieved; the use of *fill* does not necessarily imply that the maximum capacity of a place or an object will be reached.

In dealing with spatial meanings, *down* is the counterpart of *up*, yet in many idiomatic senses as well as when expressing aspectual notions, that is hardly the case. *Down* is also a telic particle and thus conveys the same meaning as *up*, that of goal or endpoint. Considering the examples in 16, an opposite interpretation of the phrasal verbs in 16-a and 16-b is only possible when considering *up* and *down* as indicating increasing or decreasing of the fire, which would be a directional interpretation of their meaning.

16

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

As markers of telicity, though, both particles express the idea of endpoint; in both cases, the fire destroyed the house. One might ask, then, what is the use of having two different particles – or many more, for that matter – expressing the same meaning. The fact is

that it is not exactly the same meaning. Even though both 16-a and 16-b show situations in which a house is destroyed by fire, 16-b emphasizes more the destruction, because *down* gives an idea that no piece of the house was left, that every part of it was “down to the ground” after the fire. Such meanings as “down to the ground”, “down to destruction” and “down to the feet”, all of them expressing telicity, are accounted for since Old English, as seen in chapter 3, and are still used today. In 17 there are more examples of *down* conveying telic meaning.

17

- a) The police officers *broke* the door *down*.
- b) Trees have been carelessly *cut down* for too many years.
- c) The fight had only started when one of the contenders *knocked down* the other one.

In example 17-a, *break down*, as opposed to *break*, means that the police officers not only broke the door in order to enter; they broke it so it was completely “down to the ground”, leaving the passage unobstructed. The example in 17-b also opposes *cut down* to *cut* as in, with the addition of the particle, the idea that the trees fell completely to the ground is expressed, instead that only parts of them were cut. In the example presented in 17-c, not only the contender was *knocked* several times, but he was knocked in a way that he was on the ground, unable to stand up, defeated.

Off has a meaning of “finishing completely”, as in the example in 18-a and 18-c below, while, in example 18-b, it specifies the idea of the verb, adding a necessary endpoint; the *dying off* of a whole group’s endpoint is the moment when the last member dies.

18

- a) Zack has finally *paid off* his student loans.
- b) Have the survivors of that disaster in the 20s *died off* yet?
- c) The effect of the painkillers was *wearing off*.
- d) Helping you carry that book case was what *finished me off*.

In 18-a, *paying off*, as opposed to *paying*, expresses the idea of paying the whole amount of money, not just a part of it, so there is no debt anymore. The example in 18-b refers to the death of a group of people, as would the single verb, but, with the use of the particle, the question is whether all members of the group have already died. In 18-c, the meaning of the single verb would only express diminishing, while, with the addition of the particle, it

expresses diminishing completely. As for the example in 18-d, it presents a situation in which a person is incapable of doing something, in this case due to excessive pain, and the last straw in getting him or her into this state was carrying a book case.

Out can present situations of disappearing completely, as in the examples in 19-a and 18-b, or simply add an endpoint to the verb's meaning, as in example 19-c and 19-d:

19

- a) When I got home, the sunlight was already *fading out*.
- b) We have to preserve the animals which are in danger of *dying out*.
- c) I'm begging you, just *hear me out*.
- d) My favorite jacket is *wearing out*.

In the example in 19-a, *fade out* indicates an inherent endpoint, because there will be a point when the sunlight will be completely gone. In 19-b, *dying out* refers to the danger of a whole species of animals disappearing, whereas the simple use of *die* would refer to a single animal's death. The example in 19-c shows how the addition of the particle adds an endpoint to the action of *hearing*; not only the person is asking someone else to hear him or her, but to hear all he or she has to say. As for the example in 19-d, *out* adds an endpoint to the meaning of *wearing*, expressing that there will be a point in which the jacket is so worn that it will not be possible to wear it anymore.

The difference between *dying off* and *dying out* is that *dying off* refers to a group, but not necessarily a whole species or kind, as *dying out* does. *Dying off* means "dying one by one until all members of a certain group are dead", while *dying out* would correspond to "being extinct". Similarly, the difference between *wearing off* and *wearing out* has to do with the sense of the verb; *wear* has, among its several possible meanings, that of "diminishing" and that of "exhausting", which are, respectively, the ones focused on with the addition of *off* and *out*.

Through adds an idea of "beginning to end", implying, of course, the endpoint, as seen in the examples:

20

- a) Olivia decided to *follow through* with the plan.
- b) Angela *read through* the long list of things she had to do.
- c) Jack has really *thought through* the holiday trip.
- d) We are going to *work through* this situation.

The example in 20-a shows that not only has Olivia decided to *follow* the plan, but she has decided to follow it to the end, that is, she has decided not to change plans before the plan is completely executed. In example 20-b, *reading through* differentiates from *reading* in that it means to read something from beginning to end, like the whole list. In 20-c, Jack has not only thought about or planned a holiday trip, but he has considered every detail about it while planning it, so that nothing happens unexpectedly. As for 20-d, it shows that everything will be done in order to find a solution to the problem, until it is solved.

Over has a meaning of checking all the possibilities or details in search for something, as in looking for it from beginning to end; having a conversation, or reading something, or looking for something, in order to find a solution or in order to find out if there is something wrong, as in examples 21-b and 21-c.

21

- a) Don't leave; let's *talk* this *over*.
- b) The doctor *checked* me *over* again, but he still couldn't find the reason for my headaches.

In example 21-a, *talk* would mean to simply have a conversation about the problem, while the addition of the particle expresses finding a solution to the problem through that conversation. In 21-b, the use of *over* adds the idea that the doctor performed every possible exam or procedure in order to find the cause of the patient's headaches.

As for *away*, it is more often used, in aspectual terms, as a marker of continuative aspect, as discussed above. However, it might convey some specific telic meanings, as in the examples in 22; in 22-a, *away* supports the idea that *fading* has a natural endpoint, that is; after some time fading, there will be a moment when the headlights, or whatever else which is fading away, will not be seen anymore. As for 22-b, a conversation *dying away* expresses the idea of all people stopping talking, one by one, until there is complete silence. In 22-c, *away* has an idea of "out of existence" or "out of possession", with an endpoint notion referring to the fact that there was no money left after the ex-wife spent it.

22

- a) The headlights slowly *faded away* in the night.
- b) The conversation *died away*.
- c) His ex-wife has *spent* his money *away*.

Besides these cases, *away* also participates in a telic construction, according to Jackendoff (1997): the “time-*away* construction”. Such a construction, as stated by the author, is constituted of a verb plus “a free time expression” plus the particle, as demonstrated in the examples in 23.

23

- a) Bill slept the afternoon away.
- b) We’re twistin’ the night away.

(JACKENDOFF, 1997, p. 534)

The time expression can be preceded by many determiners, quantifiers included, but it has several constraints. For example, the verb must represent an activity, not a state, as demonstrated in 24-a. Also, the subject must be agentive, as in 24-b. Another example is that the verb in the construction acts as though it were (even if it is not) transitive, but the complement is the time expression; no other complement is possible, as seen in 24-c. It is, thus, a quite restrictive construction.

24

- a) John *worked* the week away. / *John *believed* the week away.
- b) *John* swam the afternoon away. / **The sun* shined the day away.
- c) John drank *the night* away. / *John drank *gin* the night away.

Jackendoff (1997) claims that the time-*away* constructions are telic because the time spent with the activity mentioned is determined, as in the night ends when the sun rises, so that is a definite endpoint for the action of *twisting* in example 23-b. Jackendoff (1997, p. 535) states that “the subject is in some sense understood as ‘using’ the time, or even better, ‘using the time up’”, as in something like “Bill *used up* the afternoon sleeping”.

The author’s statement can be verified by means of a simple test for accomplishment situations; in an example like “John *worked the week away*”, a person cannot say, if the week has not finished yet, to have worked the week away. The other tests for accomplishments might not apply, since it is such a peculiar construction, with both syntactic and semantic restraints, but the fact that the week has to be over for a person to be able to say that he or she worked the week away seems to indicate the presence of an endpoint; one could say, therefore, that the time-*away* constructions can be considered telic.

The analysis presented above focused on the influence of telic particles on situations, verifying that the use of the simple verb would not express the aspectual notion added by the particle. There is obviously much more to say on the subject; there are, for example, a number of other structures such as the *time-away* constructions which express aspectual notions based on the meaning of the particles they borrow – in 25, there are a few examples of phrasal verbs commonly classified as idiomatic, in which the use of a particle seems to influence their aspect or Aktionsart.

25

- a) I *went over* the list again, but your name wasn't there.
- b) I am *fed up* with your lies.
- c) In a few kilometers, we'll *run out* of gas.
- d) Peter is *carrying on* with his life.

All these examples could be interpreted as simply idiomatic, because the simple verb would have a completely different meaning if not in combination with the particle. However, the aspectual meaning they have could have been influenced by the particles they are constituted of. In 25-a, for example, *going over* has a telic meaning *over* usually conveys, that of searching for something from beginning to end. In 25-b, the idea of being *fed up* implies reaching a limit, a natural endpoint, as *up* so commonly provides. The example in 25-c presents a situation with an endpoint as well, but not only telicity is contemplated in the examples; the one in 25-d shows *carry on*, a very common idiomatic phrasal verb which expresses the idea of continuation.

This is just an example of how much further the studies on the aspect and Aktionsart marking provided by phrasal verb particles can go. The considerations in this chapter did not mean to cover everything on the matter, only to present a general view on the aspectual meanings conveyed by the particles. It is possible to state, as discussed above, that there are two basic of such meanings which can be expressed by phrasal verb particles: continuative aspect and telic Aktionsart. It is amazing to observe the development of the particles' meanings, not only how they were transformed through time, but also how some remained the same, centuries later. It is also fascinating how sometimes a little influence of the initial directional meaning of the particles upon their aspectual meanings can be noticed. Having such a background on the meanings of particles helps understanding the subtle differences they still present today, even when conveying the same aspectual notions.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aim in this paper was to analyze phrasal verbs while markers of aspect and Aktionsart notions in the English language. In order to do that, certain views were adopted. First of all, phrasal verbs were defined as to their characteristics and divided into literal, idiomatic and aspectual, the category in question, which is not always focused on in studies about phrasal verbs. Such a category differentiates the cases when the particles convey aspectual meanings from the ones in which they convey spatial, directional ones or form with the verb an opaque, idiomatic meaning.

The other views adopted concerned aspect and Aktionsart. The first thing to do was to distinguish the notions of grammatical aspect and lexical aspect, or Aktionsart, which are commonly confused with one another. Then, models for the two distinct kinds of aspect were adopted; for grammatical aspect, Brinton's (2009) model was chosen, and, for Aktionsart, the basic categories by Vendler (1957) were taken as a basis, while also taking into account two categories added by Smith (1997) and Brinton (2009). The semantic features of dynamicity, telicity and durativity, which characterize the Aktionsart categories, were also described.

With such views defined, the focus changed to the origins of phrasal verbs. It was stated that, according to examples, phrasal verb particles started to appear in the Old English period, still basically providing directional meanings with, sometimes, a telic notion intertwined. At the time, there was a prefixal system which functioned in a very similar way as the phrasal verbs do today. In Middle English, while these prefixes were steadily losing their meaning and productivity, phrasal verb particles were developing pure Aktionsart meanings, gaining the ability to move to post-verbal position and forming the first idiomatic combinations. It was during the Early Modern English period that the process through which the phrasal verb particles came to substitute the prefixal system was finished.

Then, an analysis on the use of phrasal verb particles as aspect and Aktionsart markers in Modern English was presented, concluding that there are two basic meanings that the particles convey: continuative aspect, expressed by the particles *on*, *along* and *away*, and telicity, delivered by *up*, *down*, *off*, *out*, *through*, *over*, and *away*. The analysis showed how these particles add an aspect or Aktionsart notion that the single verb would not convey on its own, as well as the slight differences among the particles' meanings while adding the same aspectual notions.

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