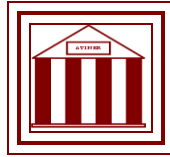


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**True and Pseudo-Instrumental Verbs in
English and Romanian and the Verb-
Framed /Satellite-Framed Distinction**

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True and Pseudo-Instrumental Verbs in English and Romanian and the Verb-Framed /Satellite-Framed Distinction

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine verbs incorporating instruments in English and Romanian, both true denominals (like *chain*) and apparent denominals (like *hammer*). Starting from Kiparsky (1997), I will try to see if it is useful or not to provide different syntactic structures for the different types of instrumentals: for true denominals, an analysis similar to the analysis of location/ locatum verbs proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), for apparent denominals, a manner conflation/incorporation analysis, in which *hammer(ing)* is simply merged in a *v* position (Harley 2005, Haugen 2009). On the basis of empirical evidence (a bilingual dictionary), the article argues in favour of the idea that there are only true denominal instrumental verbs in Romanian, unlike English, which has both true and manner-of-motion instrumentals, and it shows that this can be correlated with the distinction between the (im)possibility of conflating manner-of-motion onto the verb, i.e., with the verb-framed (Romance)/ satellite-framed distinction (Germanic) between languages. (Talmy 1991, Zubizarreta and Oh 2007). Ultimately, it shows that Instruments conflate with a null light verb in Romanian, a satellite-framed language, while, in English, a verb-framed language, they can conflate both with a null light verb and the verb *enter*.

Key words:

Corresponding Author:

Aim of the Paper

The aim of this paper is to analyze verbs incorporating instruments in English and Romanian, both true denominals (like *chain*) and apparent denominals (like *hammer*). Starting from Kiparsky (1997), I will try to see if it is useful or not to provide different syntactic structures for the two types: an analysis similar to the analysis of location/ locatum verbs proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), a Theme analysis in the style of Hale & Keyser (2002), or a manner conflation/ incorporation analysis, in which *hammer(ing)*, for instance, is simply merged in a *v* position (Harley 2005, Haugen 2009). The paper is structured as follows: in the first part, I present Kiparsky's distinction and try to see whether it can apply to Romanian incorporating verbs as well, and I suggest an analysis also, in the second part, I will try to see in what way these findings can be correlated to the verb-framed/ satellite-framed language distinction, according to which, in certain languages, manner of motion is conflated onto the verb (verb-framed) and in others it is not (satellite-framed). Also, I will try to look at what conflation consists in and what the element the instrument conflates to is.

True Denominal Instrumental Verbs and Pseudo-Instrumental Verbs

Kiparsky (1997) distinguishes between two types of verbs incorporating instruments: true denominal verbs, and pseudo-instrumental verbs, actually denoting manner of motion. While true instrument-incorporating verbs like *chain* imply the specific use of the incorporated instrument, pseudo-instrumental verbs like *hammer* are more generic in their use, denoting the most typical instrument used for the activity; the verb itself does not require any particular instrument. According to him, the criterion for distinguishing between the two is whether or not they can take a PP denoting a different 'instrument' from the one incorporated in the verb or not. While true denominal verbs (1) cannot, pseudo-instrumental ones (2) can:

- (1) a. #They chained the prisoner with a rope.
 b. #Jim buttoned up his pants with a zipper.
- (2) a. He hammered the desk with his shoe.
 b. He brushed his coat with his hand. (Kiparsky 1997: 15)

Thus, in English, it seems to be the case that two types of instrument-incorporating verbs can be found (true denominals and pseudo-instrumentals). The question I would like to answer is whether the same situation occurs in Romanian too. Indeed, when looking at the Romanian counterparts of (1a) and (1b), one can easily see that (3), the counterpart of (1a), represents an ungrammatical sentence:

- (3) # Au înlănțuit prizonierul cu o sfoară.
 Have chained prisoner-the with a rope.
 'They chained the prisoner with a rope.'

Sentence (1b) does not even have a counterpart in Romanian:

- (4) # Jim s-a încheiat la nasturi la pantaloni cu un fermoar.
 Jim cl-has closed at buttons at trousers with a zipper.
 'Jim buttoned up his pants with a zipper.'

In his 1997 paper on denominal verbs, Kiparsky gives more examples of true denominal verbs incorporating, such as:

- (5) a. #She taped the picture to the wall with pushpins.
 b. #Let's bicycle across France on our tricycles.
 c. #Screw the fixture on the wall with nails.
 d. #You have to padlock the door with a latch.
 e. #He snowplowed the sidewalk with a shovel.
 f. #The artist charcoaled the drawing with ink. (Kiparsky 1997: 15)

as well as pseudonominal instrumental verbs:

- (6) a. I paddled the canoe with a board.
 b. String him up with a rope!
 c. Can you whistle with a blade of grass?
 d. The convict sawed off the bars with her dentures.
 e. She anchored the ship with a rock.
 f. We wedged the window open with a screwdriver. (Kiparsky 1997: 16)

The counterparts of these verbs in Romanian are:

- (7) a. A fixat cu bandă adezivă tabloul pe perete cu piuneze.
 Has fixed with tape adhesive picture on wall with pushpins.
 #She taped the picture to the wall with pushpins.
 b. Hai să ne dăm cu bicicleta prin Franța cu triciclele noastre.
 Let CONJ give with bicycle through France with tricycles ours.
 #Let's bicycle across France on our tricycles.

 c. Înșurubează armătura de pe perete cu unghiile.
 Screw fixture-the on the wall with nails-the.
 #Screw the fixture on the wall with nails.

 d. Tu trebuie să închizi cu un lacăt ușa cu clanța.
 You have to close with a padlock door-the with latch.

 #You have to padlock the door with a latch.

 e. El a dezăpezit cu plugul trotuarul cu o lopată.
 He has taken the snow out with plow sidewalk-the with a shovel.
 #He snowplowed the sidewalk with a shovel.

 f. Artistul a făcut cu cărbunele desenul cu cerneală.

Artist-the has made with charcoal drawing-the with ink.

#The artist charcoaled the drawing with ink. (Kiparsky 1997: 15)

As for pseudo-instrumental verbs, what we get in Romanian is:

- (8) a. Am vâslit barca canoe cu un bord.
Have paddled boat canoe with a board.
'I paddled the canoe with a board.'
- b. Leagă-l cu o sfoară!
Tie him with a rope!
'String him up with a rope!'
- c. Poți fluiera cu un fir de iarbă?
Can whistle with a blade of grass?
'Can you whistle with a blade of grass?'
- d. Prizoniera a retezat barele cu dantura ei.
Convict-the has sawed off bars-the with her dentures.
'The convict sawed off the bars with her dentures.'
- e. Ea a ancorat barca de o stâncă.
She has anchored ship with a rock.
'She anchored the ship with a rock.'
- f. Noi am deschis geamul cu o șurubelniță.
We have opened window-the with a screwdriver.
'We wedged the window open with a screwdriver.'

What can easily be noticed is the fact that most of the English instrumental verbs do not have a counterpart in Romanian: the instrumental meaning is usually expressed by a verb and a prepositional phrase.

There are very few instrumental verbs in Romanian, in fact. To see if this is the case, I have taken a bilingual dictionary (a Romanian-Norwegian dictionary), and I tried to look for all the verbs there incorporating instruments. Surprisingly, I have come across very few verbs, such as *a fluiera* 'to whistle', *a biciui* 'to whip', *a ciomăgi* 'to club', *a peria* 'to brush', *a săpa* 'to spade/burrow/ dig', *a vâsli* 'to oar', *a pistonona* 'to push or extract liquid with a piston', *a claxona* 'to honk'.

All these verbs are true denominals, they cannot appear with a prepositional phrase that includes a noun referring to a different object from the object denoted by the root. The only exception would, perhaps, be the verb *a peria*, which can be used together with the PP 'cu mâna', or a verb like *a ciocăni*, 'to hammer':

- (9) ? Și- *a periat paltonul cu mâna.*
Refl.clit-has brushed coat-the with hand-the.
'She brushed the coat with the hand.' , or

- (10) ?? *A ciocănit în birou cu pantoful.*

Has hammered in desk with shoe-the.
 ‘He hammered against the desk with his shoe.’

In these cases, the noun included in the PP performs the same function as the object denoted by the root. The verbs mentioned above, however, do not have the same flexibility.

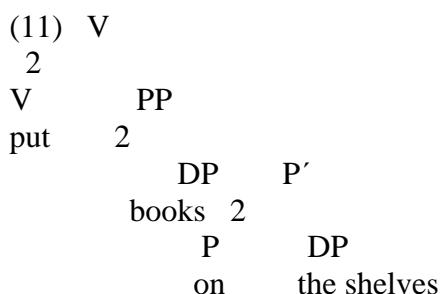
A Tentative Proposal of Analysis for Instrumentals in English and Romanian

In what follows, I would like to put forth the idea that Romanian is different from English in what concerns instrumental verbs in two respects: (i) it has fewer instrument-incorporating verbs than English, it uses verbs and PPs rather, (ii) the instrument verbs found in the language are true denominals (most of them), and they do not allow PPs which incorporate a different noun.

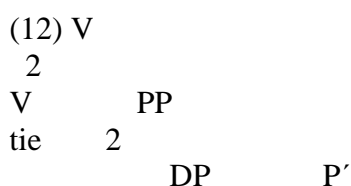
Hence, I will argue for the fact that, while in English, two structures are needed to represent the verbs syntactically (a Hale and Keyser (2002) structure for the true denominal ones, and a conflation/ merge structure for the manner-of-motion ones (Harley 2005, Haugen 2009)), in Romanian, only one structure is needed (the structure representing denominal verbs).

I would like to suggest that an adequate analysis for true denominal instrumental verbs is in the lines of the analysis proposed by Hale and Keyser (2002) for denominals. Two possibilities open up.

(i) One possibility could be to argue that a true denominal like *to hammer* is to be analyzed just like Location/ Locatum verbs, like *to shelve the books*, or *to saddle the horse*:



In this case, *put* is a null verb from a phonological point of view, and so is the preposition *on*. Following the pattern of (6), the representation of *to chain the prisoner* would be as in (12):



the prisoner 2
 P DP
 with chains

In this case, both the verb *tie* and the preposition *with* would be null from a phonological point of view.

However, this would result in the Instrument being treated on the same par as the Location, which does not represent a problem, given the fact that the Location in *put the books on the shelves* seems to be obligatory, and the Instrument in *hit the table with a hammer* is also obligatory.

(ii) Another possibility would be to treat the Instrument as a Theme, and say that incorporation is just like in the case of the *dance* verb:

(13) V
 2
 V R
 do dance

In this case, the verb *do* would also be null phonologically, and the root would incorporate into this null light verb:

(14) V
 2
 V R
 chain

The problem is that the instrument would be treated as a direct object.

As for pseudo-instrumentals, a Hale & Keyser analysis in the Location style (2002) would treat *hammer* as obligatory:

(15) V
 2
 V PP
 hit 2
 DP P'
 the table 2
 P DP
 with a hammer

and a Hale & Keyser Theme analysis (2002) would treat *hammer* as a direct object:

(16) V

2

V R
 hammer

Hence, a Merge analysis would perhaps be more suitable for pseudo-instrumentals (Harley 2005, Haugen 2009).

I propose two possible solutions for handling the difference between true instrumental and pseudo-instrumentals.

On a first solution, true instrumentals receive the same analysis as Location Verbs in Hale & Keyser (2002), and pseudo-instrumentals-Merge analysis (Harley 2005, Haugen 2009). While in English, there are both true and pseudo-instrumentals, in Romanian, there are only true instrumentals

On a second solution, true instrumentals are to be analysed as *dance* verbs in the Hale & Keyser analysis (2012) (*use chain*), while pseudo-instrumentals are to be analysed as location verbs in the Hale & Keyser analysis (2012) (*hit the table with a hammer*).

Thus, true instrumental and pseudo-instrumentals can be distinguished structurally by means of different lexical-syntactic representations.

Instrumentals and the Verb-Framed/ Satellite-Framed Distinction

I will try to see if any connection can be found between instrumentals and the verb-framed/ satellite-framed distinction, so as to establish correlations between types of language and instrumentals. Languages are considered *verb-framed* or *satellite-framed* based on how the motion path is encoded. English is satellite-framed, its verbs use particles to show the path of motion ('run into', 'go out', 'fall down'), and its verbs usually show manner of motion. Verb-framed languages, on the other hand, are languages where the verb expresses Path, and manner-of-motion is expressed in satellites. The idea that there are only true denominal instrumental verbs in Romanian seems to go hand in hand with the fact that manner-of-motion does not conflate with the verb in Romanian, a Romance language, and a verb-framed language, unlike in English, and other Germanic languages, satellite-framed languages, where manner-of-motion conflates with the verb (Talmy 1991, Zubizarreta and Oh 2007), and it is possible to say:

(7) The cute hobbit-girl danced into the room.

But, in Romanian, you have to say:

(8) Fata a intrat în cameră dansând.

Girl-the has entered in room dancing.

'The girl entered the room dancing.'

My claim is, thus, that Romanian only has true denominal instrumental verbs, unlike English, which has both true and manner-of-motion instrumentals, and that this can be correlated with the distinction between the (im)possibility of conflating manner-of-motion onto the verb, i.e., with the

verb-framed (Romance)/ satellite-framed distinction (Germanic) between languages.

Romanian is satellite-framed, and it only has true instrumental verbs:

(19) Fata a intrat în cameră măturând.

Girl-the has entered in room sweeping.

‘The girl entered the room sweeping the floor.’

(20) Fata a măturat în cameră.

Girl-the has swept in room.

‘The girl swept up the room.’

(19) and (20) have different meanings, (19) expresses the idea that the girl entered the room while sweeping, which means she was doing it before, whereas (20) expresses the idea that the girl swept up the room, but we do not know whether she had been sweeping before entering the room.

Looking at another example with *a ciomăgi*, meaning ‘to club’, one can notice a difference in meaning between the instrument verb accompanying verb *a intra*, ‘to enter’, and the instrument verb used as a main verb:

(21) Fata a intrat în cameră ciomăgindu-și prietenul.

Girl-the has entered in room clubbing-clitic boyfriend.

‘The girl entered the room clubbing her boyfriend.’

(22) Fata și-a ciomăgit prietenul în cameră.

Girl-the cl 3rd p has clubbed boyfriend-the (Masc) in room.

‘The girl clubbed her boyfriend in the room.’

(21) and (22) have different meanings. (21) expresses the idea that the girl entered the room while clubbing her boyfriend, which means she was doing it before, whereas (20) expresses the idea that the girl clubbed her boyfriend, but we do not know whether she clubbed him before entering the room.

If true instrumentals are the result of the merge of an instrument with a null light verb, then it is clear that this verb is not *enter*, otherwise, it would generate a difference in meaning, as we see in (19) versus (20), or (21) versus (22).

In English, however, which is verb-framed, and which presents both true instrumentals and pseudo-instrumentals, instruments can conflate both with the verb *enter*¹, and they can also incorporate into a null light verb that is different from the verb *enter*:

(23) The boy entered the park bicycling.

(24) The boy bicycled into the park. (true denominal)

(25) The girl entered Wonderland paddling.

(26) The girl paddled into Wonderland. (pseudo-instrumental)

¹The word ‘conflation’ is used differently by Hale & Keyser (2002) and by Mateu (2002). While Hale & Keyser (2002) use the term to refer to the incorporation of a lexical item into a null light verb, Mateu (2002) uses this term for the incorporation into a lexical element (full lexical verb). The common thing is the idea of incorporation.

These tests apply, of course, to those instrumentals that express manner of motion (a verb like *chain*, for example, cannot be used in a sentence like *The boy chained into the room.*)

Conclusion

In conclusion, Romanian and English differ in the type of instrumentals they display (true denominal instrumentals in Romanian, true and pseudo-instrumentals in English), and, consequently, different analyses can be ascribed to these verbs. Moreover, there is a difference in how conflation takes place in Romanian versus English. Instruments conflate with a null light verb in Romanian, a satellite-framed language, while, in English, a verb-framed language, they can conflate both with a null light verb and the verb *enter* (where the meaning allows).

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