

ASPECTUAL AND/OR AKTIONSART FUNCTION OF ADVERBIAL PARTICLES IN ENGLISH PHRASAL VERBS

UDC 811.111'367.625

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Abstract. *Productivity and frequency of English phrasal verbs in everyday speech and literature ask for a thorough study of the functions of adverbial particles in them and point to both syntactic and semantic issues that arise from their analysis. The aim of this study is to analyse the potential effects of the most frequent particles - down, off, out, and up on the aspect categories and/or Aktionsart of the lexical verbs. We will explore the percentage (including the undergoing syntactic conditions) in which the main verb suffers the aspectual and/or Aktionsart change induced by these particles. The (statistical) analysis will be performed on the corpus taken from the modern British literature, so that it can reflect the current state in this field.*

Key words: *adverbial particle, phrasal verb, aspect, Aktionsart, telicity*

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the aspectual and/or Aktionsart function of the adverbial particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* in English phrasal verbs. The (statistical) analysis will be performed on the corpus excerpted from the modern British novels by Julian Barnes. A corpus-based approach was used in this paper, as corpus data reflect the actual usage of phrasal verbs and can thus be said to be more representative of the range of possible phrasal verbs than intuitive data. The database includes six novels by the author and it consists of 585 examples of sentences with the finite verb forms with particles *down*, *off*, *out*, and *up*. The choice of these four particles is justified considering their frequencies in the corpus (i.e. they are the most frequent ones). The empirical research was conducted on each particle separately and the results were then compared in order to draw general conclusions about their aspectual and/or Aktionsart impact on lexical verbs.

1.1. Summary of the research area

Verb-particle combinations consist of a lexical verb followed by one or two particles making a lexical unit. Three-part combinations consist of a lexical verb, an adverbial particle and a prepositional particle. Two-part combinations can manifest as phrasal (comprising an adverbial particle) and prepositional (comprising a prepositional particle) combinations. This study focuses only on phrasal combinations.

The starting point of this analysis was the general definition of verbal aspect given by Comrie. According to Comrie (Comrie 1976: 3) "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation". He defines perfectivity as an aspectual category which "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation" (Comrie 1976: 16), and imperfectivity as an aspectual category which "looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation" (Comrie 1976: 4).

For most linguists familiar with the Anglo-Saxon aspectual literature, aspect is a much broader category, which not only deals with aspectual information marked by affixes on the verb, but also includes lexical aspect, as opposed to grammatical aspect. Since an adverbial particle and a lexical verb form semantically and functionally a single unit, it is important to take into account the effect of the particle on the character of the situation referred to as inherent aspect, objective aspect, situation aspect, ontological aspect, actionality or Aktionsart. According to Comrie (Comrie 1976: 6-7), there are at least two distinctions between aspect and Aktionsart. The first distinction is in the fact that aspect is the grammaticalisation of the relevant semantic distinctions, while Aktionsart represents lexicalisation of these distinctions, irrespective of how they are lexicalised; this use of Aktionsart is similar to the notion of inherent meaning. The second distinction, which most Slavists focus on, is in the fact that aspect is the grammaticalisation of the semantic distinction, and Aktionsart the lexicalisation of the distinction, provided that the lexicalisation is by no means a result of derivational morphology.

Zeno Vendler's classification (Vendler 1967, In Novakov 2002: 15-23) of Aktionsart categories into states, activities, accomplishments and achievements is one of the best known and most widely used classifications. It is outlined in Dowty (1979) and augmented by a further class of semelfactives (Smith 1991: 30). Telicity, stativity and duration are the features based upon which Vendler (Vendler 1967: 97-109) formulated his classification. Telicity is a feature in the semantic structure of some dynamic lexical verbs and verb phrases which denotes the existence of a goal. This goal could be indicated by the presence of the direct object, an adverbial particle or other syntactic elements (Novakov 2008: 52). The telicity of particles can be tested in several ways, according to Verkuyl's (Verkuyl 1972) and Brinton's (Brinton 1988) work on telic aspect. A well known test is the "*for X time/in X time*" test. The adverbial phrase *for X time* expresses a duration, whereas *in X time* indicates that the action or event has an endpoint. Thus, the fact that the sentence allows *in X time* modification indicates that it has telic aspect.

Some previous investigations in this field have given the starting point for the following analysis, the most influential among them being the one that questions whether the particles function as markers of perfective aspect or as modifiers of main verb's lexical meaning.

According to Bolinger (Bolinger 1971: 85-7), any phrasal verb particle in its basic meaning must comprise two features: motion-through-location, and terminus, or result. With regards to the resultative meaning of phrasal verbs, Brinton (Brinton 1988: 182)

argues that it derives from a combination of semantic focus and aspect under which the situation is viewed, and is not an intrinsic part of the phrasal verb. She believes that the notion of result must be distinguished from that of telicity, noting that particles "may add the concept of a goal or an endpoint to durative situations which otherwise have no necessary terminus" (Brinton 1988: 168). In this respect, the particles are responsible for the change in the intrinsic nature of a situation and, as a result, the phrasal verb is seen as belonging to a different Aktionsart category than that of the lexical verb. In cases where the lexical verb is telic, the particle re-emphasizes the endpoint, without affecting the Aktionsart category.

Brinton (Brinton 1985: 158), also claims that "verb particles in Modern English function as markers of telic Aktionsart", or in other words, that "an atelic situation can be made telic by means of verbal particles such as *out*, *off*, *about*, etc". (Kardela 1997: 1483). What we should bear in mind and what has surely been underlined in Cappelle (Cappelle 2005: 354-356) is that Brinton never claimed that all particles are markers of telicity. A few of them (namely, *on*, *along*, and *away*), she said, can express iterative aspect or continuative aspect. Furthermore, even some of the particles that are typically professed to be telic (*down*, *off*, *out* and *up*) do not always yield a telic event, which is supported by the fact that they can add adverbials of the *for X time* type.

One of the final indications of the telic nature of particles according to Brinton is their non-occurrence with state verbs like *know*, *hope* and *resemble*, as noted by Fraser (Fraser 1976: 11) and discussed briefly by Bolinger (Bolinger 1971: 88-90). Bolinger observes that particles may occur with *be*, *have*, and other normally stative verbs when they are in fact non-stative or when the particles refer to a resultant condition. "In general, the Aktionsart category of state is incompatible with the notion of goal inherent in particles. States are durative and begin and end, but they cannot lead up to a conclusion or climax; they involve no change or progression" (Brinton 1985: 165).

Also, it has long been recognised that the mass/count qualities of subjects or objects influence aspectual meaning.¹ Brinton claims that if the argument of the phrasal verb is either a mass noun, a collective noun, or a plural count noun, the particle may contribute a distributive or iterative aspectual meaning to an achievement verb (Brinton 1985: 165).

Moreover, previous research has revealed a tendency to connect adverbial particles in phrasal verbs with aspectual and/or Aktionsart interpretations. Brinton (Brinton 1985: 158) noticed that some linguists considered the aspectual or "quasi-aspectual" nature of particles as the most significant criterium in the definition of phrasal verbs (Live 1965: 441, 443; Bolinger 1971: 85, 96-97; Fraser 1976: 6). In relation to aspect, adverbial particles have on the one hand been classified as perfective or intensive (Kennedy 1920: 27), perfective or resultative (Bolinger 1971: 96), ingressive or terminative (Poutsma 1926: 296, 300-301), ingressive, effective or durative effective (Curme 1931: 379, 381), intensive or terminative (Live 1965: 437) and terminative/resultative (Traugott 1978: 390), and on the other hand as conclusive (Dietrich 1960: 87), completive (Fraser 1976: 6), or telic (Comrie 1976: 46). This transparent terminological inconsistency in describing verbal aspect and Aktionsart has made it somewhat difficult to conclusively define particles as markers of verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart.

¹ See Mourelatos 1978: 424 – 431

1.2. Methodology

This paper relied on the general classification of lexical verbs by Vendler (activity-Vact, state-Vst, accomplishment-Vacc, achievement-Vach, semelfactive-Vsem) in the discussion of lexical properties (Aktionsart) of lexical verbs, as well as phrasal verbs formed by adding particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* to lexical verbs. The following procedure was used: every verb that combined with the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* was classified according to its aspectual and Aktionsart type. Each verb was placed in the minimal syntactic frame in which it can occur, i.e. with singular subjects and no objects where possible and with as few internal arguments as possible when they were grammatically required. A minimal syntactic frame was used in order to minimise the effect that other sentential components could have on the aspect of the sentence. The resulting verb was then tested using the above mentioned diagnostics to determine which Aktionsart class the verb belonged to. However, one of the problems with this classification is that many verbs can take different lexical interpretations when they are found in different contexts. The verbs *bring*, *get*, *put*, *set* and *take* from the corpus were classified as ambiguous (Vamb), since it was impossible to decide which Aktionsart group they verbs belong to in the minimal syntactic frame.

Once the verbs were classified according to their aspectual and Aktionsart type, each isolated verb phrase was analysed together with the other sentential elements in the examples. The aspectual and Aktionsart properties of each sentence were compared in order to ascertain how the presence of the particle affected the structure of the sentence. The procedure was repeated for each verb that combines with the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* and then the data were integrated in order to obtain the general perspective. The aim of this paper was not to give a comprehensive survey of phrasal verbs and their meanings, but to investigate some significant issues related to the various ways in which the particle can influence the aspectual and Aktionsart properties of the verb to which it is added.

2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis defined the telic impact of particles on lexical verbs (including state, accomplishment and achievement verbs) and thoroughly determined their status in the systems of aspect and Aktionsart.

2.1. Particles as markers of telicity

Firstly, we investigated the impact that these particles have on the nature of a situation and we concluded that the majority of phrasal verbs from the corpus belong to an Aktionsart category different from the one lexical verbs without the particles belong to (see Table 1).

As we suspected, most of the lexical verbs belong to activities and they retain their Aktionsart category and activity features (+duration, -stativity, -telicity) in only 6.8% of examples. More frequently, activity verbs become achievements (49.6%) or accomplishments (43.6%), as we can see in Table 2.

Table 1 Aktionsart category of verbs combined with particles DOWN, OFF, OUT and UP

Lexical verbs → Phrasal verbs with particles DOWN, OFF, OUT and UP	Number of examples	%
Activity → Achievement	182	31.1 %
Activity → Accomplishment	160	27.3 %
Achievement → Achievement	113	19.3 %
Ambiguous → Accomplishment / Achievement	55	9.4 %
Semelfactive → Achievement	28	4.8 %
Activity → Activity	25	4.3 %
Accomplishment → Accomplishment	20	3.4 %
Other	2	0.4 %
Total	585	100%

Table 2 Activity verbs combined with particles DOWN, OFF, OUT and UP

Activity lexical verbs → Phrasal verbs with particles DOWN, OFF, OUT and UP	Number of examples	%
Activity → Achievement	182	49.6 %
Activity → Accomplishment	160	43.6 %
Activity → Activity	25	6.8 %
Total	367	100%

This means that in 93.2% of the examples which originally contained activity lexical verbs, the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* add an end-point to an atelic verb phrases, i.e. change the feature /-telicity/ into /+telicity/. These data (including examples of perfective, imperfective and perfect aspect) support the Brinton's claim that particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* function as markers of telic Aktionsart (the numbers in brackets refer to the novels numbered in SOURCES and the pages from the novels, respectively):

- (1) And because it doesn't taste of anything, consumers have to be charged less for it, and that drives down the productions margins, and so on. (4: 121)
- (2) As soon as they washed off, the words mysteriously reappear. (5: 30)
- (3) I told you, I'm sorting out my life. (2: 115)
- (4) He has also drawn up a few wills, and recently begun to obtain clients as a result of his *Railway Law*. (5: 103)

However there are still 6.8% of activity verbs that do not change Aktionsart category when the particle is added, i.e. they retain the feature /-telicity/:

- (5) A while ago I was shooting a regular 59, and now, under cloudless skies, I was inching down to the low 50s. (3: 297)
- (6) He wasn't showing off or anything, just assuming that the waiters at somewhere called Le Petit Provencal were French. (2: 170)
- (7) If he was chatting up a girl at a party, he'd go off to fetch some drinks and free his hands by tucking his lighted cigarette into his beard. (1: 39)

These verbs and their sentential context were therefore examined for any observable patterns that may suggest why they do not conform to the pattern of behaviour shown by other verbs.

a) It was noticed that the permanence of activity aktionsart of verbs with the given particles is not dependent on the particles themselves, since this occurrence has uniform distribution among the four particles.

b) Surveying the examples, we concluded that 83.35% of the verbs in the sentences with neutralized telicity belong to progressive aspect. The correlation between activity phrasal verbs and progressive aspect is more than obvious. Activities are dynamic situations with possible duration, the segments of which are qualitatively equal, because the situation does not have a goal. On the other hand, progressiveness implies the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative (dynamic) meaning. Comrie (Comrie 1976: 38) implies that "the basic meaning of the English Progressive is to indicate a contingent situation: this would subsume progressive meaning itself, and also the use of the Progressive to indicate a temporary (contingent) state, and its use to indicate a contingent habitual situation". The fact that "the progressive aspect views a situation as ongoing or developing and as being continuous and incomplete in the time frame considered", stated in Brinton (Brinton 1988: 39), implies that the temporal features of the activity Aktionsart (dynamicity and duration) are naturally compatible with the progressive aspect.

For instance, in example (5) the endpoint condition supplied by the particle *down* should represent the completion of an action, i.e. *down* adds the feature of telicity to the verb *inch*. But, in this example *inch down* is an activity, since the progressive aspect expresses an ongoing action within the given frame. Or, in example (6) the particle *off* should establish the endpoint or the goal for the activity *show* suggesting the notion of attempt to impress someone by making person's qualities very obvious (showing disapproval). But in this example, the progressive indicates that the action is ongoing and that the goal is not reached; therefore, the action in this example is incomplete, and in progress at the point of speech. Finally, with the progressive aspect, atelic situations are seen as ongoing, whereas phrasal verbs that express activities present the situation as a structure.

The neutralisation of telicity can also be observed under the specific syntactic conditions in the progressive aspect. The action of durative phrasal verbs with plural subjects may be seen as either iterative or having a neutralized goal, in the case of an unspecified plural/mass object. The following examples illustrate progressive aspect combined with unspecified plural object, which causes the action in the progressive to be seen as progressing towards its goal, without ever reaching it. In other words, the goal is neutralised in these examples:

- (8) Stuart's been putting up *shelves*. (4: 152)
- (9) You know, you're in a shop, and there's usually a harassed mum with a couple of kids who are picking up *things* and saying... (4: 137)
- (10) That firm isn't going to last long if it's sending out *drunken drivers* to pick up clients. (2: 64)

Example (10) illustrates activity verb *send* converted into achievement by the particle *out*. However, in this example, the goal is neutralized by the unspecified plural noun phrase *drunken drivers*. In that respect, *send down* is an achievement in which the feature of telicity is neutralised by the progressive aspect. This occurrence also yields an iterative reading, i.e. the one which implies multiple repetitions of the event.

c) The remaining 16.65% of phrasal verbs in which the particles do not change activity Aktionsart are in non-progressive aspect, and they urge different explanation of atelic reading. Closer examination reveals that most lexical verbs that these phrasal verbs comprise belong to specific semantic verb classes, which points to the fact that the semantic properties of lexical verbs significantly influence these phenomena. We noticed that these lexical verbs conveyed the meaning of maintaining a situation or body position through/in space (*hover, stare, stake*). The particles (*out* and *up*) appear merely to confirm or make explicit what is already lexically stated in the verb (*hover up, stake out, stare out*). For example:

- (11) Around this time he drew a self-portrait, from which he stares out at us with the sullen, rather suspicious gaze... (3: 138)
- (12) I do not stake out and fence in what is taken to be your approved and registered nature. (2: 166)
- (13) The hungry eye hovers up her stout jugful of brushes, her bottled solvents – xylene, propanol, acetone – her jars of vivacious pigment, her special picture restorers cotton wool which with teasing banality turns out to be mere Economy Pleat from Pretty. (2: 113)

In example (13), verb *hover* conveys the meaning of staying up in the air without moving. It shares the same semantic element with the literal meaning of particle *up* – movement upward or retaining upward position. Therefore, particles do not make any Aktionsart change to activity verbs with the meaning of maintaining a situation or body position through/in space, if the verb and the particle have the matching semantic component. This explains why the particles do not change the aktionsart structure of these verb phrases.

d) The importance of syntax for these phrasal verb occurrences should also be taken into consideration. The addition of adverbials of the *for X time* type to examples with non-progressive aspect explains the rest of phrasal verbs yielding an atelic reading:

- (14) ...one or two drops of this liquor, dispensed with reluctance by its possessor, produced on the tongue a delightful sensation which *for a few seconds* cast out thirst. (3: 124)
- (15) He said OK rewrite them, so I held things up *for an hour* and at the end of it he said he wasn't convinced. (3: 208)

2.2. Particles with state verbs

The analysis of the corpus also proved Brinton's claim related to the particles' non-occurrence with state verbs, confirming that the particles do not mark perfective aspect. The inspection of the only state verb combined with a particle observed in the corpus speaks in favor of the telic nature of particles.

- (16) Still, if he didn't own up, at least put stop to it. (5: 123)

Naturally, the state verb *own* in the example (16) is not used in its basic meaning *possess*. Conveying the semantic notion of *confess* in this particular example, it implies the change of state or motion. In other words, the lexical verb *own* in this example calls for the dynamic interpretation, which is compatible with the particle *up*.

2.3. Particles with accomplishment and achievement verbs

The meaning of the particle sometimes overlaps with that of the verb, as is the case in *fall down*. For this reason, it has been claimed that some particles do not add any meaning to that of the verb and are therefore redundant (Jackendoff 2002: 76). Despite the overlap in meaning, the particles in these phrasal verbs are by no means redundant, as Jackendoff implies. They serve to emphasise the endstate of an inherently telic activity and to draw attention to the effectiveness of the action. In cases where the lexical verb is accomplishment or achievement, i.e. /+telic/ (total 22.7%), our results (Table 1) show that the particles do not affect the Aktionsart category. They only re-emphasise the endpoint without giving any information about the attainment of the endpoint or the realization of the goal.

The distribution of accomplishment and achievement lexical verbs retaining their Aktionsart values among the four particles is as follows: *down* - 5.9%, *off* - 22.2%, *out* - 22.4% and *up* - 29.8%:

- (17) The prosecution had just closed off one of its own avenues. (5: 176)
- (18) In any case, his eyes were trained on the ashtray as he crushed out the perfectly smokeable length of a very decent cigar. (5: 391)
- (19) They kissed a little awkwardly, as if neither of them had expected to kiss; and then Ann firmly folded up the map. (1: 61)

One of the largest groups of phrasal verbs containing telic verbs plus particle are those which combine with the particle *up*. What is more, the majority of these *up* combinations convey the notion of completion and finishing consistent with the major feature of the particles with these verbs.

There are certain cases of achievements used progressively. In such cases, there is a shift in the perception of the situation. As in the case of activity-particle combinations in progressive, the action in the progressive is seen as progressing towards its goal without reaching it, or, in examples with plural subjects, the action may be seen as iterative. In the case of an unspecified plural/mass object, the goal is neutralized. So, with achievements, the use of the progressive indicates that the action is ongoing and that the goal is not reached. Therefore, it is used to denote the action in progress at the point of speech (sometimes implying simultaneity with another non-progressive action as in example (20)), or to indicate an iterative situation (with a plural subject, or a specified plural object):

- (20) Most of all, people just wanted to be with him, beside him for a few minutes, breath in the air he was breathing out... (3: 257)
- (21) At times he feels he is letting his parents down: a dutiful child should remember being cared for from the first. (5: 4)
- (22) The sun was bouncing off the water into Graham's eyes. (1: 93)
- (23) We think we might be in love and were trying out the words to see if they're appropriate? (3: 228)
- (24) One she was taking me to school each morning and picking me up each afternoon, and the next she was being lowered into the ground. (4: 200)

2.4. Phrasal verbs, aspect and telicity

As we can see in Table 3, phrasal verbs with particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* are mostly telic (95.3%). This feature is either achieved by adding the particles to atelic verbs (70.2%) or retained and intensified by adding the particles to telic verbs (25.1%).

Table 3 Phrasal verbs and telicity

	Act→Acc Act→Ach	Act→Act	Ach→Ach Acc→Acc	Sem→Ach Sem→Acc	St→Ach	Total
Atelic→Atelic 4.7%		25				25
Telic→Telic 25.1%			133			133
Atelic→Telic 70.2%	342			29	1	372

A telic verb phrase refers to a telic event, i.e. an event that tends towards an inherent or intended endpoint. An atelic verb phrase, then, refers to an event that can only be stopped arbitrarily. As we know, situations are not described by verbs alone, but rather by the verb together with its arguments. Nevertheless, (grammatical) aspect significantly influences the interpretation of particles' function in phrasal verbs (we have seen that in the case of progressive aspect above). The complex correlation between grammatical and lexical aspect (Aktionsart) is also reflected in the interaction of phrasal verbs with the perfect or perfective aspects. Since perfective aspect views a situation as a single whole, with telic phrasal verbs it includes their necessary endpoint, expressing the attainment of the endpoint. This "creates the illusion that the achievement of the goal is part of the lexical meaning of such a verb" (Garey in Brinton 1985: 163) whereas it is in fact contributed by the grammatical aspect. Imperfective aspect, expressing the internal structure of the situation, views telic phrasal verb situations as ongoing and incomplete and it says nothing about the attainment of the endpoint:

- (25) At some stage, obviously, the whole soft box just began to wear out; bits fell off; muscles – if they had such things there – got tired and stopped functioning properly. (1: 158)
- (26) Her skin was falling off. (3: 106)

As Comrie (1976: 46) claims "the particular importance of the telic/atelic distinction for the study of aspect is that, when combined with the perfective/imperfective opposition, the semantic range of telic verbs is restricted considerably, so that certain logical deductions can be made from the aspect of a sentence referring to an atelic situation". For instance, a perfective form referring to a telic situation implies attainment of the terminal point of that situation (such examples may have given rise to the widespread view that perfectivity indicates completedness) – the repeating actions of falling off were completed at the specific time (example (25)). The imperfective form (example (26)) carries no such implication, denoting that the skin had not fallen off completely at the time referred to. So with a telic situation, it is possible to use a verbal form with imperfective meaning, the implication being that at the time in question the terminal point had not yet been reached.

The perfect aspect, which views a situation in respect to its resultant state, also expresses the realization of the endpoint with phrasal verbs. The situation is completed in the past and is not currently going on, though it has some current relevance. That is, only resultative, not continuative perfect readings are possible (Comrie 1976: 56-61):

- (27) Well, I've tracked down a couple of other films Ann was in and gone to see them. (1: 46)
- (28) ...but this time the mist has shut off the stars, and it's impossible to tell whether or not there is meant to be a moon. (3: 281)
- (29) I've cut out coffee after lunch and almost don't smoke at all. (3: 206)
- (30) The raft has been cleaned up as if for the state visit of some queasy-stomached monarch:... (3: 140)

Therefore, grammatical aspect significantly influences the interpretation of the function of particles in phrasal verbs. As we have seen, particles mostly mark telicity (stating only the presence of a goal as part of the lexical meaning), whereas aspect determines whether the goal is attained (with perfect or perfective aspect, which views a situation as a single whole) or denotes ongoing and incomplete situations stating nothing about the attainment of the goal (with imperfective aspect, which views a situation as a structure).

2.5. Particles and verbs with ambiguous Aktionsart

Last, but not the least, we should mention the category of verbs with ambiguous Aktionsart. The interpretation of Aktionsart of these verbs varies considerably in different syntactic frames. Verbs *bring*, *get*, *put*, *set* and *take* on their own are unclassifiable according to Aktionsart, since in minimal syntactic frame it is almost impossible to decide which Aktionsart group these verbs belong to.

With the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up*, these verbs exhibit the same general tendency as other phrasal verbs in which the particles function as markers of telic Aktionsart. Furthermore, 34.5% of these verbs become accomplishments and 65.5% become achievements. For example:

- (31) It was the sitting alone like this that got him down; it made him brood. (3: 51)
- (32) Gillian's career has really taken off since they came back to London. (4: 52)
- (33) It was all brought out in court, by the family itself. (5: 386)
- (34) The owner of 2041 must at some point have sold off a little plot, and this half-numbered, half-acknowledged house was put up. (3: 236)
- (35) They haven't been put up this time, and they're not the only ones. (4:173)

Verb *put* in examples (34) and (35) serves best to illustrate this ambiguity. Particle *up* in example (34) adds the feature of telicity to the verb by supplying the activity verb *put* with the endpoint and lexical meaning of building something in place. The Aktionsart category of the achievement verb *put* in example (35) has not been affected by the particle *up* since it already bears the meaning of attainment of the goal (chosen to be participant). Isolated in minimal syntactic environment, these verbs are unclassifiable according to Aktionsart categories. Depending on the particle and syntax, they can obtain different Aktionsart interpretations. That is why this characteristic is considered significant and is included in the analysis.

3. CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on the aspectual and/or Aktionsart function of the adverbial particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* in English phrasal verbs. Its scope also includes the systematic checking of (syntactic) conditions influencing the impact of the particles on lexical verbs. Considerable attention is paid to whether or not the particle has a telicizing effect (i.e. the effect of evoking an intrinsic endpoint) on the event expressed by the verb. The following conclusions were drawn:

1. Most of the lexical verbs belong to activities, and in 93.2% of these examples, the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* add an endpoint to atelic verb phrases, i.e. change the feature /-telicity/ into /+telicity/. Therefore, the semantic features of the particles were also considered, which led to the general conclusion that particles mark telic Aktionsart.

2. About 6.8% of activity verbs do not change Aktionsart category when the particles are added, i.e. they retain the feature /-telicity/, and in these examples we noticed the following:

a) The permanence of activity Aktionsart of verbs with the given particles has uniform distribution among the four particles.

b) 83.35% of the verbs in sentences with neutralised telicity belong to the progressive aspect category. The temporal features of the activity Aktionsart (dynamicity and duration) are naturally compatible with the progressive aspect. The neutralisation of telicity is also observed under the specific syntactic conditions in the progressive aspect: the action of durative phrasal verbs with plural subjects can be seen as either iterative or having a neutralized goal, in the case of an unspecified plural/mass object.

c) The remaining 16.65% of phrasal verbs in which the particles do not change activity Aktionsart are in non-progressive aspect. Particles do not make any Aktionsart change to activity verbs carrying the meaning of maintaining of a situation or body position through/in space if the verb and the particle have the matching semantic component.

d) The addition of adverbials of the *for X time* type (*for an hour*, *for a few seconds...*) with non-progressive aspect explains the rest of activity phrasal verbs yielding an atelic event.

3. The analysis of the corpus also proved Brinton's claim that particles do not occur with state verbs except when they are used in non-stative meaning.

4. The particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* combined with accomplishment and achievement verbs serve to emphasise the endstate of an inherently telic activity of those verbs. In cases where the lexical verb is accomplishment or achievement, i.e. /+telic/ (total 22.7%), our results show that the particles do not affect the Aktionsart category. One of the largest groups of phrasal verbs containing telic verbs plus particle are those which combine with the particle *up* and convey the notion of completion, which is consistent with the major feature of the particles accompanying these verbs.

5. Grammatical aspect significantly influences the interpretation of the function of particles in phrasal verbs. As we have seen, particles mostly mark telicity (stating only the presence of a goal as part of the lexical meaning), whereas aspect determines whether the goal is attained (with perfect or perfective aspect, which views a situation as a single whole) or denotes ongoing and incomplete situations stating nothing about the attainment of the goal (with imperfective aspect, which views a situation as a structure).

6. The verbs *bring*, *get*, *put*, *set* and *take* found in the corpus were classified as *ambiguous* (Vamb) since even in the minimal syntactic frame it is almost impossible to

decide which aspectual or Aktionsart group they belong to. With the particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up*, these verbs exhibit the same general tendency as other phrasal verbs in which the particles function as markers of telic Aktionsart. Furthermore, 34.5% of these verbs become accomplishments and 65.5% become achievements.

According to the data obtained in this research, it can be stated that the most frequent adverbial particles *down*, *off*, *out* and *up* do not mark perfective (nor any other) verbal aspect, but telic Aktionsart, where telicity is characterised by grammatical aspect. However, the type of verb situation in English is not fully determined by the lexicon, i.e. the object of the verb can introduce or neutralise the feature telicity.

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VIDSKA I/ILI LEKSIČKA FUNKCIJA ADVERBIJALNIH PARTIKULA U ENGLISKIM FRAZNIH GLAGOLIMA

Cilj ovog rada je analiza potencijalnog uticaja najfrekventnijih partikula - down, off, out i up na kategorije glagolskog vida i tipa glagolske situacije. Istražili smo u kojem procentu (uključujući date sintaksičke uslove) pomenute partikule utiču na glagolski vid i tip glagolske situacije glavnog glagola, i menjaju njihova obeležja. Analiza je sprovedena na korpusu ekscerpiranom iz savremenih britanskih romana, sa ciljem da se iz njega vidi trenutno stanje na ovom polju.

Ključne reči: adverbijalna partikula, frazni glagoli, glagolski vid, tip glagolske situacije, teličnost