

Vandals splashed red paint on the walls and ran the rats into the White House:

Manner Conflation as ‘Welcome Invasion’

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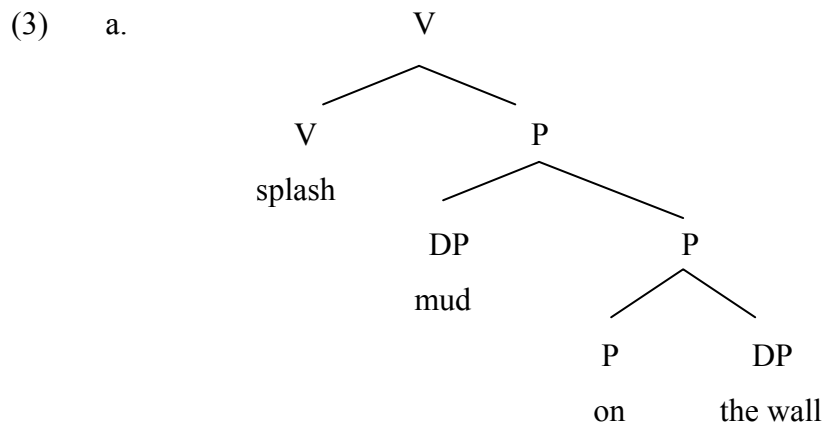
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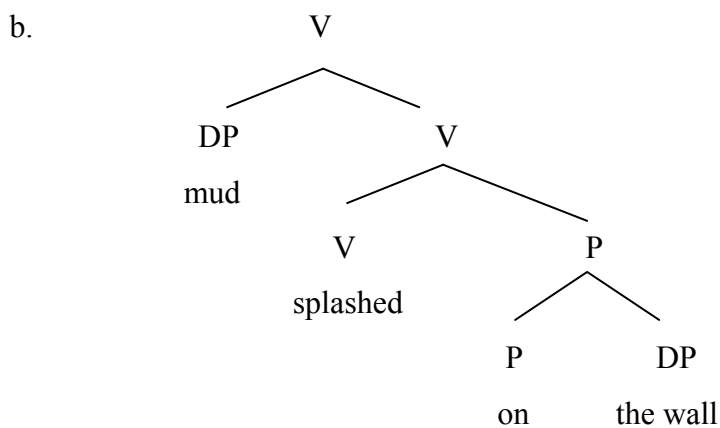
1. Goal. To show that ‘Manner conflation’ (Talmy 2000) is a local process whose semantic interpretation is syntactically determined (Mateu 2006; McIntyre 2004; Zubizarreta & Oh, in press).

2. Hale & Keyser’s (2005) analysis of *splash/smear* verbs

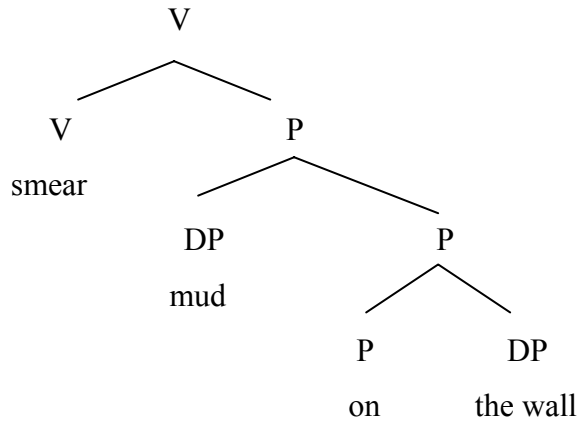
- (1) a. The kids splashed mud on the wall.
- b. Mud splashed on the wall.
- (2) a. The kids smeared mud on the wall.
- b. *Mud smeared on the wall.



Nota bene: The external argument is not present at l-syntax (H&K 1993; 2002; 2005)

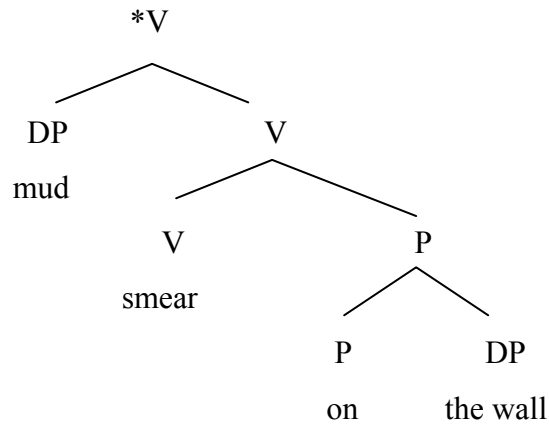


(4) a.



Nota bene: The external argument is not present at l-syntax (H&K 1993; 2002; 2005)

b.



Hale & Keyser (2005: 20)

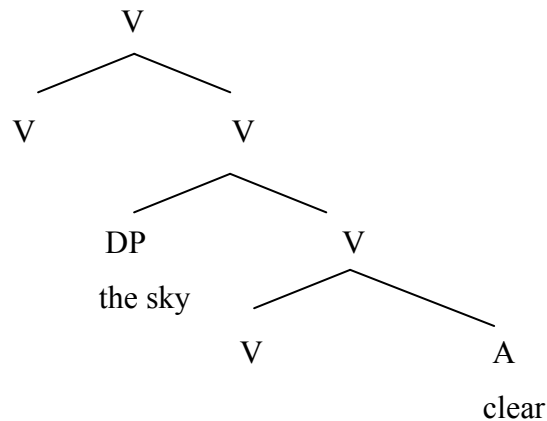
3. The l-syntax of *splash/smear* verbs revisited

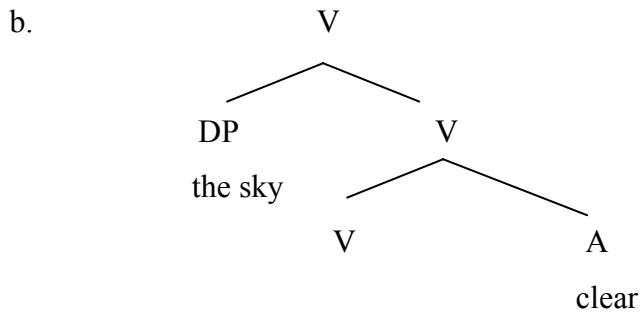
Nota optime: according to H&K (2005: 20), the l-syntactic analysis of (1a) and (2a) is the same: cf. (3a) and (4a).

(5) a. The strong winds cleared the sky.

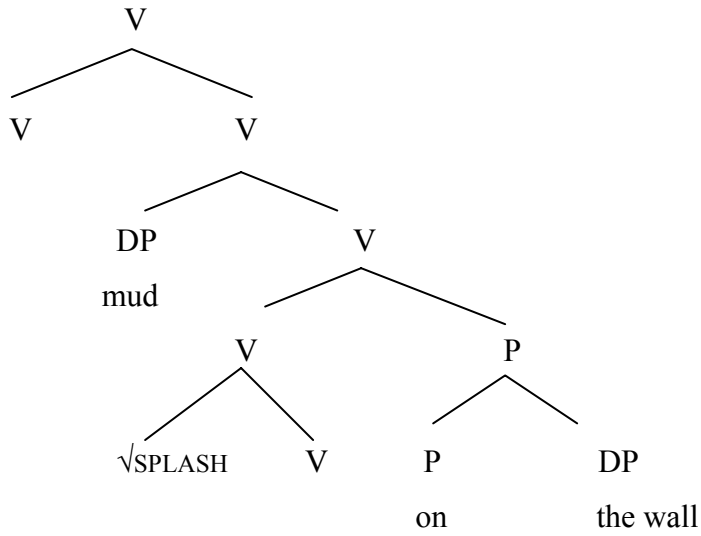
b. The sky cleared.

(6) a.

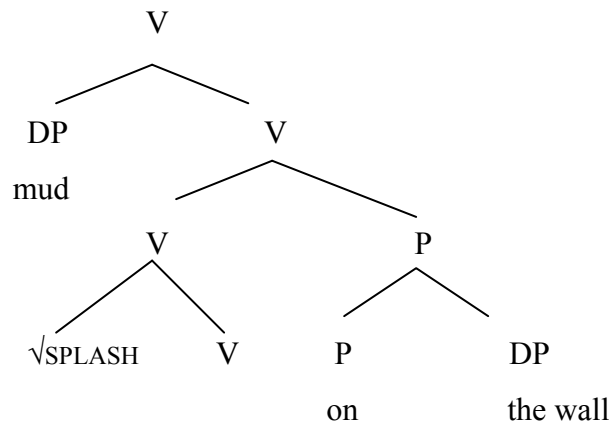




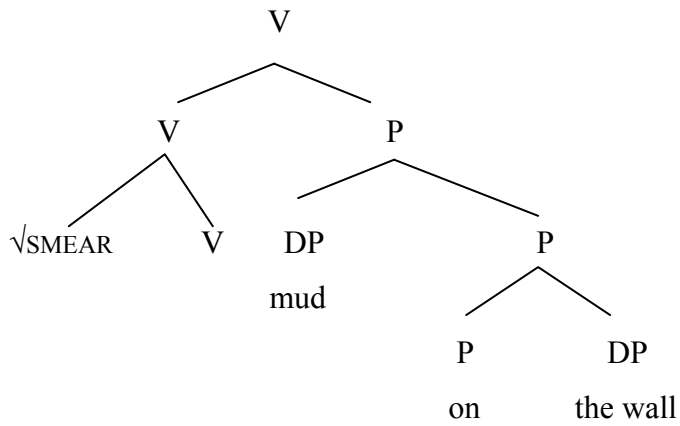
(7) a.

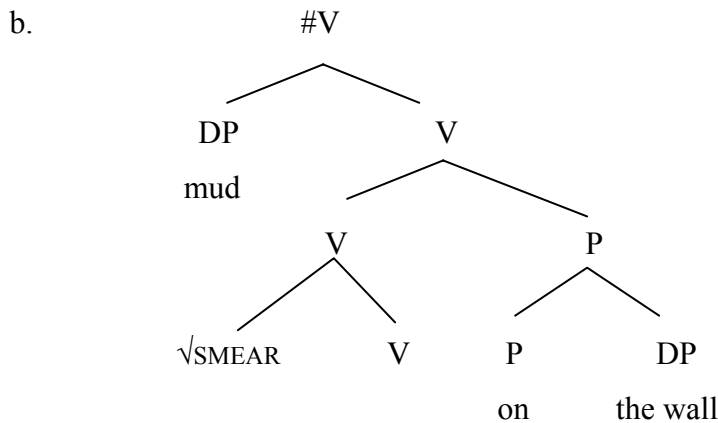


b.



(8) a.





Nota optime: The relevant conflation process involved in complex resultative(like) constructions (Mateu (2002: chap. 3) and Mateu & Rigau (2002)) was appropriately referred to as ‘Welcome Invasion’ by Hirschbühler (2006). Here I assume McIntyre’s (2004) and Zubizarreta & Oh’s (in press) insightful modification of Mateu’s (2002) syntactic plug-in device.

4. *Welcome Invasion* extended

Locative alternation verbs

- (9) *Smear*-verbs: brush, dab, daub, plaster, rub, slather, smear, smudge, spread, streak;
Spray-class: splash, splatter, spray, sprinkle, squirt. See Pinker (1989: 126-127) for these classes and others.

Nota bene: See Mateu (2002) for a Hale-Keyserian approach to the relation between Talmy’s (1985, 2000) lexicalization patterns and the productivity of the so-called “locative alternation”, this being much more productive in Germanic than in Romance.

Manner of motion verbs

- (10) Do not tread, mosey, hop, trample, step, plot, tiptoe, trot, traipse, meander, creep, prance, amble, job, trudge, march, stomp, toddle, jump, stumble, trod, spring, or walk on the plants. Slobin (2006)

Nota bene: From a photograph of the original sign in the Wild Animal Park of the San Diego Zoo.

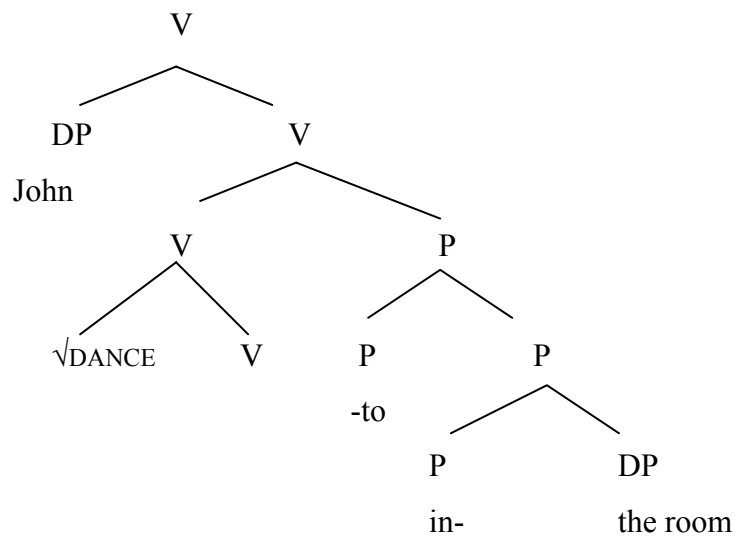
- (11) “Why, for example, is the sign quite normal (albeit amusing) in the San Diego Zoo, whereas it would be inconceivable in Le Parc Zoologique de Paris?”

Slobin (2006)

Constructions involving a “pure (i.e., *non-directional*) manner” component (**regular** pattern):

- (12) a. John danced into the room.
 b. The truck rumbled into the yard.
 c. John talked us into a stupor.
 d. Peter laughed his butt off.
 e. The dog barked the chickens awake.
 f. He slept his way into a wonderful world.
 g. He gambled his fortune away.
 h. He sang himself to death.
 i. He hammered the metal flat.

(13)

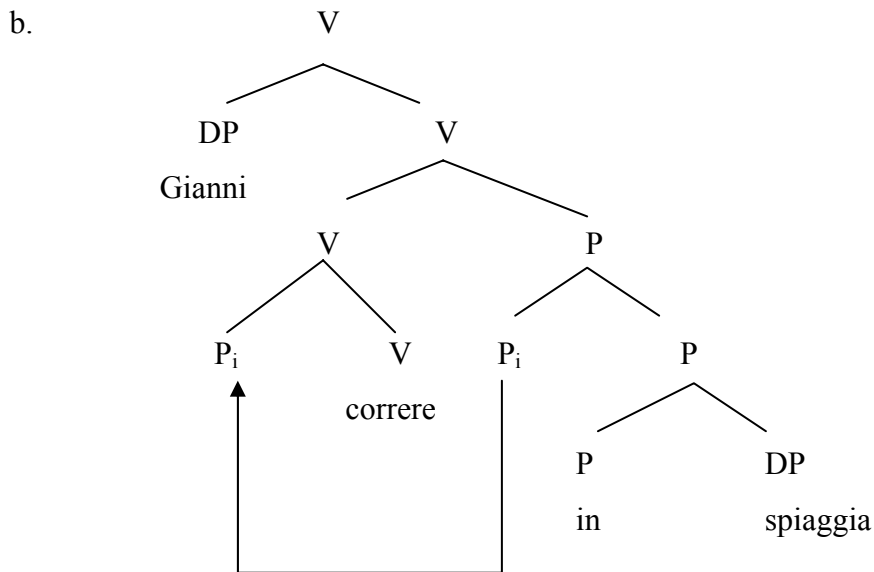


Constructions involving a hybrid “*directional* manner” component (**idiosyncratic** pattern: cf. the well-known exceptional cases of *correre* ‘run’, *saltare* ‘jump’ or *volare* ‘fly’):

- (14) a. Gianni è corso in spiaggia. (Italian)
 Gianni is run loc.prep. beach
 b. Gianni è volato a Parigi.
 Gianni is flown loc.prep Paris

Nota bene: Concerning the *roll* verbs (*rotolare* ‘roll’), Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995: 157) point out that: “the *roll* verbs can select the unaccusative auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ even when they are found without the clitic *si* or without a directional phrase; the *run* verbs cannot select the auxiliary *essere* in these circumstances”; cf. also Folli & Ramchand (2005) and Zubizarreta & Oh (in press).

(15) a. Gianni è corso in spiaggia.



Nota bene: The unaccusative V in (15) is directly associated to the phonological features of *correre* ‘run’, this association being restricted to few “contentful verbs” (only “light verbs” are directly associated to eventive heads: Mateu 2002), whereas the null phonological matrix of V in (13) would be saturated via the syntactic process called ‘Welcome Invasion’. Crucially for my Talmian argument, directionality is not conflated in (13), but it can be claimed to be in (15). But see also Folli & Ramchand (2005) and Zubizarreta & Oh (in press) for two different views. See also Mateu (2006) and Mateu & Rigau (2006) for a ‘P-cognition’ analysis of Italian verb particle constructions (e.g., *uscire fuori*, lit. ‘exit out’, *tirare su* ‘pull up’, etc): unlike Germanic Verb-Part constructions (e.g. *sleep away*, *think up*, etc), Italian ones typically involve a verb with a Path component.

(16) a. Jaume spread butter on the bread.

b. Jaume spread the bread with butter.

(17) a. Jaume sprayed paint on the wall.

b. Jaume sprayed the wall with paint.

Change of location variant (construction involving a “directional manner” component)

(18) a. En Jaume escampà mantega sobre el pa. (Catalan)

The Jaume spread butter on the bread

b. *En Jaume escampà el pa amb mantega.

The Jaume spread the bread with butter

Change of state variant preferred (cf. Mateu 2002)

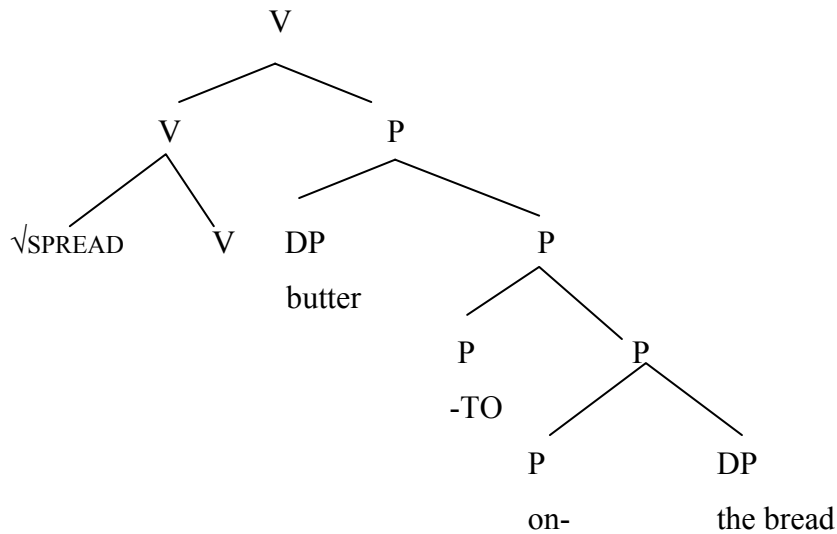
(19) a. ??En Jaume ruixà pintura sobre la paret.

The Jaume sprayed paint on the wall

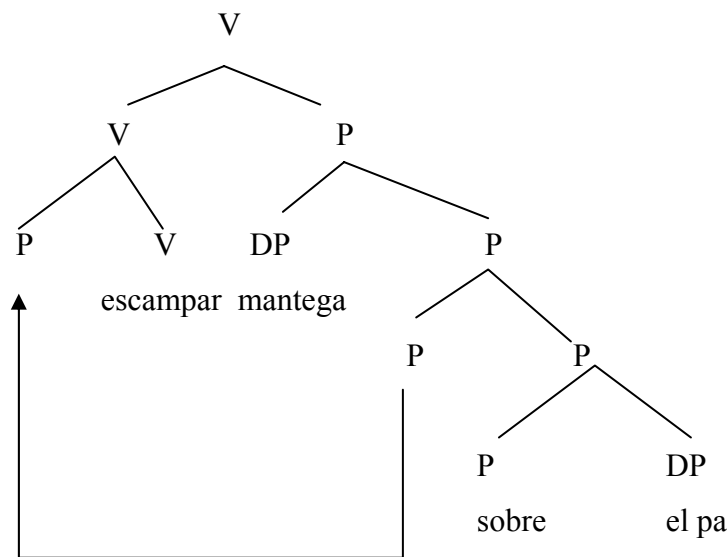
b. En Jaume ruixà la paret {de/amb} pintura.

The Jaume sprayed the wall {of/with} paint

- (20) a. Change of location variant in Germanic: *Welcome Invasion* is involved



- b. Change of location variant in Romance: *Welcome Invasion* is **not** involved



Nota bene: Assuming that the pattern involved in (18a) is a regular one, one could argue that the change of location variant in Romance involves an adjunct analysis of the locative PP (e.g., *sobre el pa* 'on the bread'), this analysis being impossible for the directional PP in English (i.e., *on(to) the bread* is the SC predicate). Be this as it may, what is important for our present purposes is that (20a) is **not** the pattern involved in Romance.

- (21) a. John wiped the fingerprints *(off the table) (cf. John wiped the table (clean))
 b. En Joan fregà les ditades (de la taula) (cf. En Joan fregà la taula (*neta))
 the Joan wiped the fingerprints (of the table)

English typically lacks constructions involving a “directional manner” component (Mateu & Rigau 2006): cf. (22).

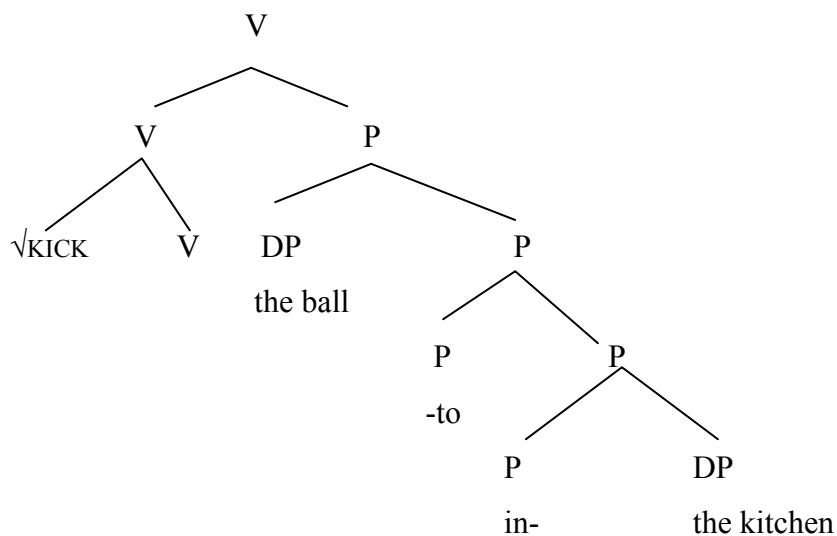
- (22) a. Juan limpió las huellas (de la mesa) (Spanish)
 a'. John wiped the fingerprints *(from the table/away...)
 b. Jean a essuyé la poussière (de la table) (French)
 b'. John wiped the dust *(from the table)
 c. Gianni ha lavato (via) la macchia. (Italian)
 c'. John washed the stain ??(away).
 d. En Joan va fregar les taques (de la porta) (Catalan)
 d'. John wiped the stains *(from the door)

Mateu & Rigau (2006)

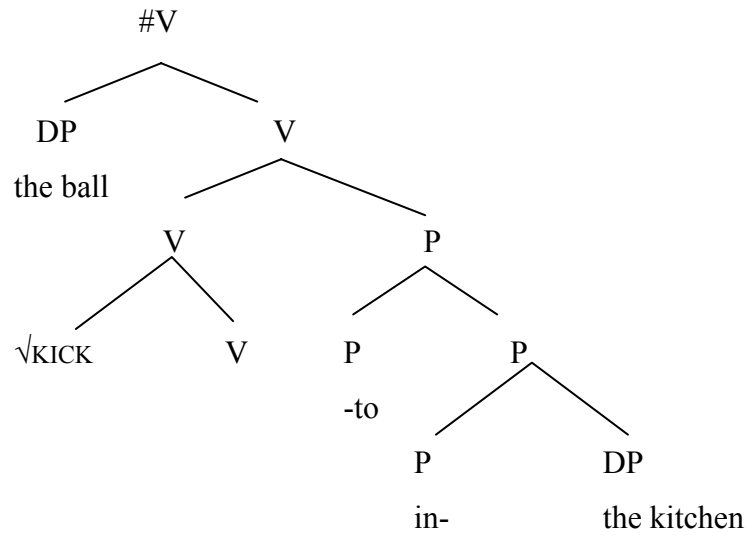
5. The l-syntax of *smear* verbs extended

- (23) a. The kids kicked the ball into the kitchen.
 b. #The ball kicked into the kitchen.
 c. John pushed the car into the garage.
 d. #The car pushed into the garage.

- (24) a. “Caused-motion constructions” involving agent-oriented manner



b.



6. The I-syntax of *splash* verbs extended

(25) Caused-motion constructions involving patient-oriented manner (cf. *splash* verbs)

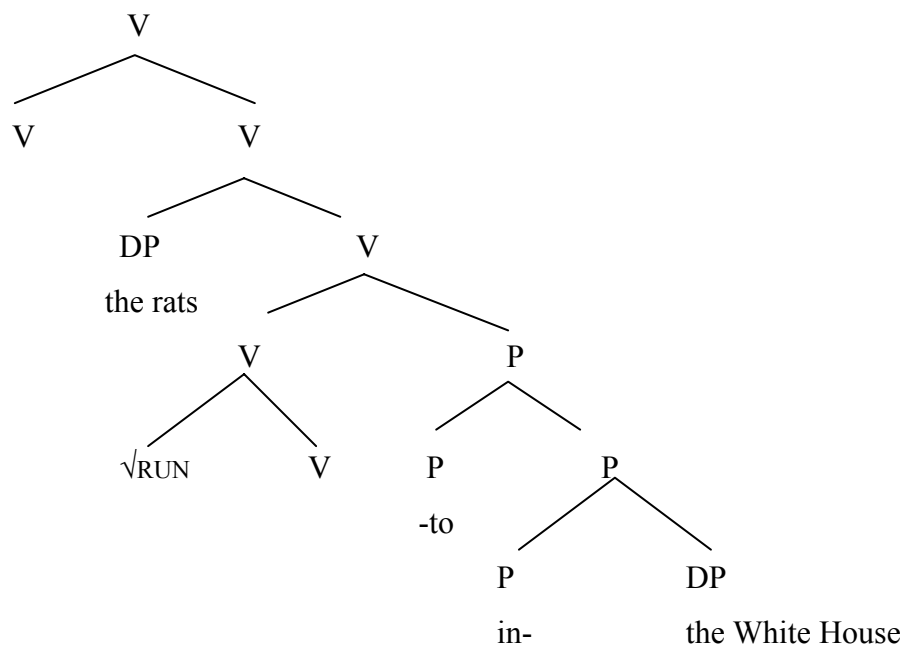
- a. He ran the rats into the White House. (cf. *The rats ran into the WH*)
- b. He danced the puppet across the stage (cf. *The puppet danced across the stage*)

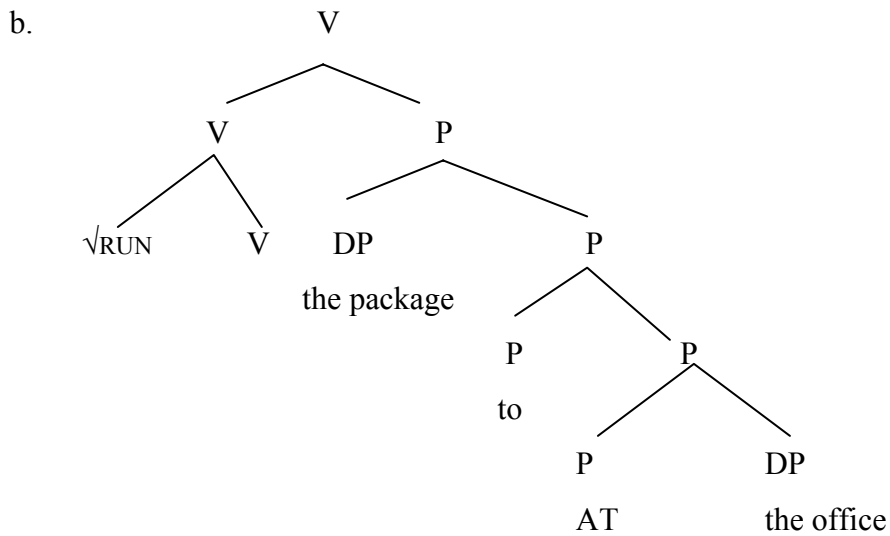
(26) Caused-motion constructions involving agent-oriented manner (cf. *smear* verbs)

- a. John ran the package to the office. (cf. *#The package ran to the office*)
- b. Mary whistled Rover to her side. (cf. *#Rover whistled to her side*)

Folli & Harley (2006)

(27) a.





Interim conclusion: ‘manner conflation’ (Talmy 2000) is a local process whose semantic interpretation is syntactically determined; after revising H& K’s (2005) l-syntactic analysis of *splash/smear* verbs, a variety of causative resultative-like constructions have been analyzed from an even more radical syntactically-driven perspective than the one put forward by Folli & Harley (2006): cf. *infra*.

Non-trivial problem for further research: By using syntactic/structural tests like the causative alternation (H&K 1998, 2002; but see Harley 1995), I would like to argue for the hypothesis that two verbal heads are syntactically represented for deadjectival verbs like *clear* and *splash* verbs, but not for denominal verbs like *shelve* and *smear* verbs.

7. Appendix: Some remarks on Folli & Harley’s (2006) “four manner-of-motion verb classes”

(28) “Verbs which can appear with a directional PP fall into four distinct categories defined by their Agent and Path *implications* (my emphasis: JM). We’ve provided examples of each of the four types in Table 1”

Folli & Harley (2006: 143)

Table 1

	+ Path	-Path
+Agent	walk, run, swim	whistle, hiss, sing
-Agent	roll, float, slide	shudder, tremble

Folli & Harley (2006: 144)

Nota bene: According to F&H (2006: 143), “the classification of verbs like *walk, run, swim, whistle, hiss* and *sing* as requiring an Agent should be uncontroversial”. However, notice that *whistle* cannot be claimed to be a [+Agent] verb in *The bullet whistled through the window*. So perhaps it should be more properly classified as [\pm Agent] [-Path]; e.g., another variable verb is *run*. Moreover, it is not entirely clear what F&H mean when saying that “any Path PP that appears with these latter verbs <i.e., [-Path] verbs like *whistle* and *shudder*> is purely structurally licensed” (p. 144). Indeed, I guess that substance emission verbs like *stink* could also be classified as [-Agent] [-Path], whereby *pure* unaccusative *structure* is not enough for its licensing: #*John stank into the room* (cf. Borer (2005) for a different view).

(29) “The contrast between (43a-b <my 30a-b: JM>) on the one hand, and (43c-d <my 30c-d: JM>) on the other, confirms the difference we propose above. The verbs *walk* and *roll* presuppose a Path argument, while the verbs *whistle* and *shudder* do not”.

(30) *Walk* or *roll* are [+Path] verbs vs. *whistle* or *shudder* are [-Path] verbs

- a. How far did Sue walk?
- b. How far did the log roll?
- c. *How far did the bullet whistled?
- d. *How far did the train shudder? Folli & Harley (2006: 144)

(31) “Our claim is that manner elements can be felicitously inserted into the v° of the causative motion structure when they can be interpreted as modifiers of either the causative sub-event or the motion sub-event. If a verb root has a [+Agent] or [+Path] specification, that guarantees that it will be able to be interpreted as such a modifier: [+Agent] verbs like *whistle* can modify the causing sub-event <cf. (33b): JM>, while [+Path] verbs like *roll* can modify the motion sub-event <cf. (34): JM> (...) *shudder* can be related neither to the causation subevent (because it has no [+Agent] specification), nor to the motion sub-event (because it has no [+Path] specification): <cf. (32): JM>”.
Folli & Harley (2006: 148)

(32) [-Agent][-Path] verbs (e.g., *shudder*)

- a. *The wind shuddered the cart across the parking lot.
[-intentional] [+accompanying]
- b. *Bill shuddered the shopping cart across the parking lot.
[+intentional] [-accompanying] (e.g., by giving it a hard push)
- c. *Bill shuddered the cart across the parking lot.
[+intentional] [+accompanying]

(33) [+Agent][-Path] verbs (e.g., *whistle*)

- a. *The teakettle whistled Mary into the kitchen.
[-intentional] [+accompanying]
- b. Mary whistled Rover to her side.
[+intentional] [-accompanying]
- c. *Mary whistled Rover down the path.
[+intentional] [+accompanying] (i.e., both are going down the path)

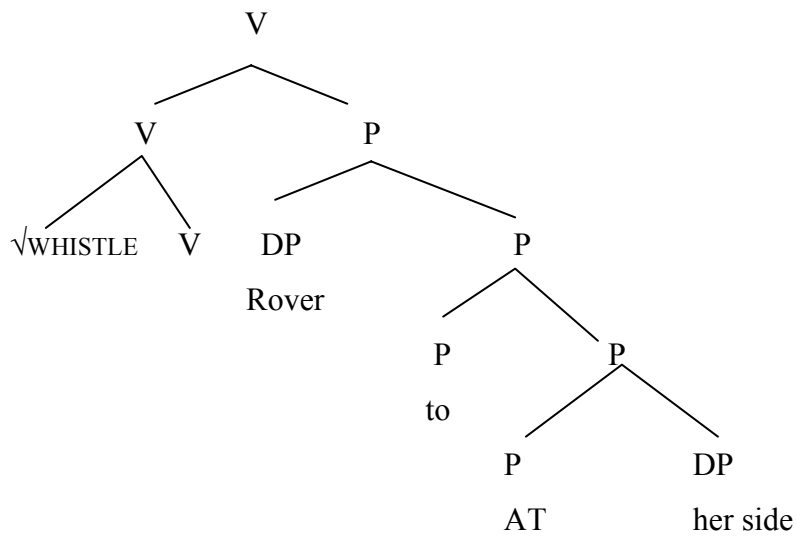
(34) [-Agent][+Path] verbs (e.g., *roll*)

- a. The tide rolled the log up the beach.
[-intentional] [+accompanying]
- b. Bill rolled the ball to the toddler.
[+intentional] [-accompanying]
- c. Bill rolled the tire along the street.
[+intentional] [+accompanying]

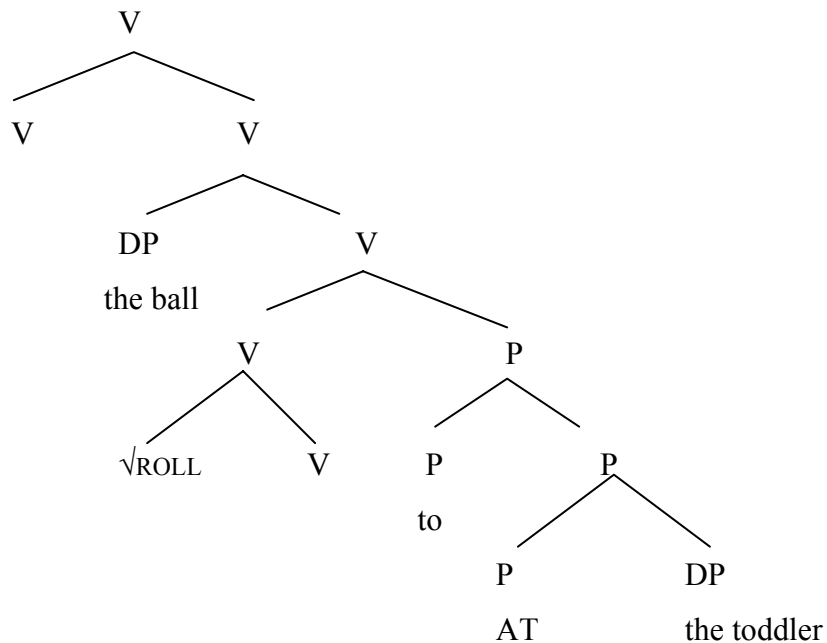
- (35) [+Agent][+Path] verbs (e.g., *walk*)
- a. *The wind walked the dog into the house.
 [-intentional] [+accompanying]
 - b. *John walked the child onto the stage.
 [+intentional] [-accompanying]
 - c. Mary walked John to his house.
 [+intentional] [+accompanying]

Folli & Harley (2006: 145-146)

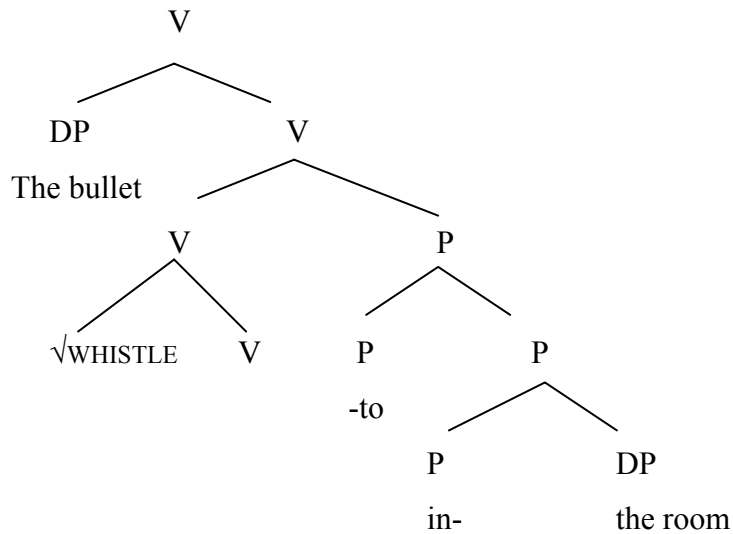
- (36) a. Mary whistled Rover to her side.



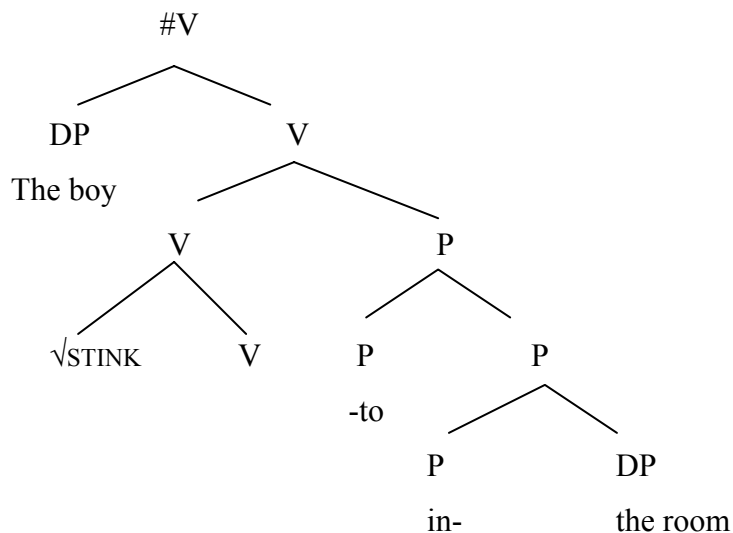
- b. Bill rolled the ball to the toddler.



- (37) a. The bullet whistled into the room.

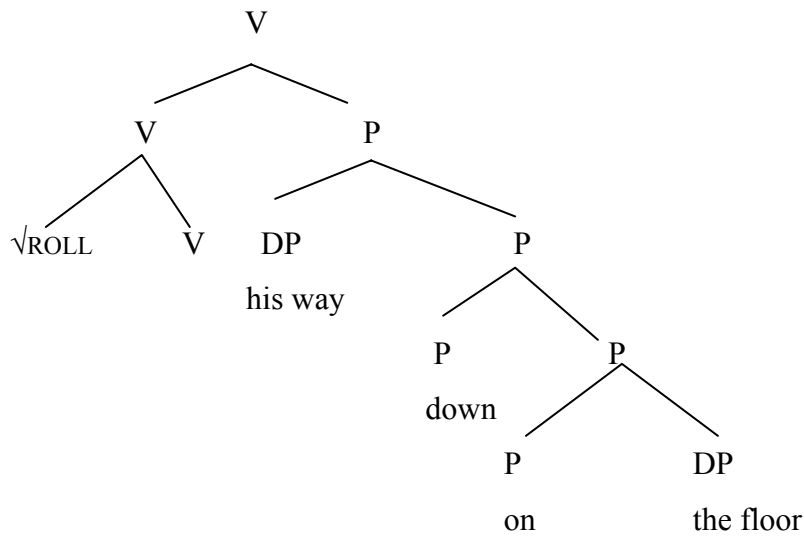


- b. #The boy stank into the room.

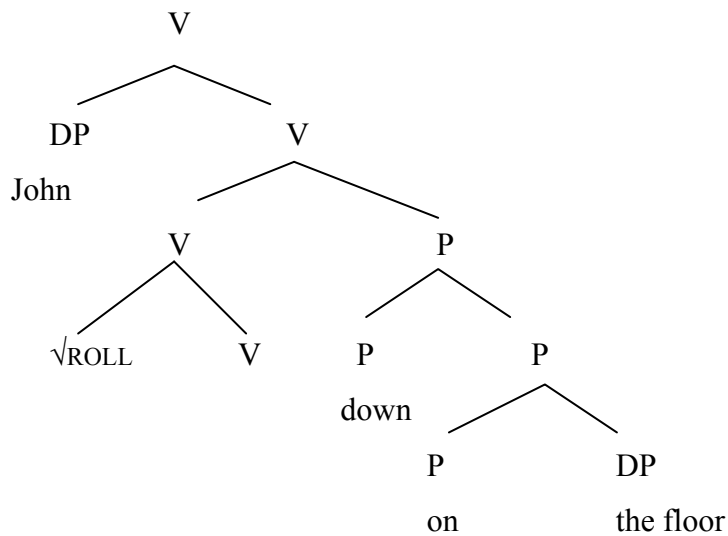


A verbal root like *roll* is said to modify the motion sub-event in the causative structure due to its [+Path] feature (cf. 34b). But notice that in the so-called *one's way* construction in (38) *roll* modifies the causative event in spite of its having an alleged [-Agent] feature (cf. Table 1 below (28)). Once again, to my view, these lexical assignments in Table 1 (e.g., *roll* is lexically assigned a [-Agent] [+Path] combination) should be relaxed or perhaps, as Borer's fans would claim, eliminated.

- (38) a. John rolled his way down on the floor.



- b. John rolled down on the floor.



- (39) a. Johan rullade sig ner pa golvet. (Swedish)

Johan rolled REF down on floor.the

- b. Johan rullade ner pa golvet.

Johan rolled down on floor.the

Toivonen (2002: 317; ex. (6))

Nota bene: according to Toivonen (2002: 317), “the only difference in meaning between them has to do with volitionality: in <39a>, Johan is rolling on purpose, whereas in <39b>, some external force may have caused John to roll”.

“Accompanied-action requirement”: the manner verbal semantics of *gallop*, *walk*, and *waltz* is both [+Agent] and [+Path]:

- (40) a. The jockey galloped the horse past the barn (“Manner-Motion modification”)
b. Mary walked the bicycle to the shop (“Manner-Cause modification”)
c. John waltzed Matilda around the room (“Manner-Cause and Manner Path modification”)

Folli & Harley (2006: 151)

- (41) “Whenever the manner verbal semantics is both [+Agent] and [+Path], the contemporaneity effect extends both to the causative event and the motion event, even if the manner modification applies only to one or the other. This is what produces the accompanied-action requirement <in (40): JM>”

Folli & Harley (2006: 151)

Nota bene: Folly & Harley (2006: 151) acknowledge the problem raised by the well-formation of (34a), for which they “do not have a theoretical explanation”.

- (42) *Push* and *kick* can be said to be [+Agent] [+Path] verbs (but they don’t behave like *walk* in (35)):

- a. How far did he push the car? (cf. (30))
b. How far did he kick the ball?

- (43) a. *Splash* verbs as [-Agent] [-Path] verbs (but they don’t behave like *shudder* in (32))
b. *Smear* verbs as [+Agent] [-Path] verbs (but they don’t behave like *whistle* in (33))

Nota bene: the [-Path] feature could be related to the fact that these verbs enter into the locative alternation (typically, Path verbs do not enter into it; cf. Brinkmann 1997).

Selected references

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