Introduction

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This collection of papers is based on the workshop "The Argument Structure of Semantically Complex Verbs", which was part of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the German Linguistics Society (DGfS), held at the University of Marburg in March 2000.

The workshop addressed the question of to what extent and according to which principles the syntactic behavior of verbs can be derived from their semantic representations and how it can be affected by lexical or syntactic operations. This book brings together insights from the research on verbs whose semantic structure has been made more complex by the incorporation of a particle, a prefix, a verbal or a nominal element, or - as in the case of psych verbs - that are notorious for a quirky correspondence between semantic representation and syntactic structure.

While most papers are written from the perspective of theoretical linguistics (including generative syntax and head-driven phrase structure grammar), others approach the topic from a more cognitive, psycholinguistic, or historical viewpoint. Surprisingly (or perhaps not), they address the same range of issues and constructions. All papers are concerned with aspects of what one might describe as "adding some element or information to a simple verb at a specific level of representation". Some focus on the morphological dimension of this operation, such as Jochen Zeller on prefixation in German and Strait Salish, Gh. Karimi Doostan on noun incorporation in Persian, and Antroulla Papakyriakou and Niina Zhang on verbal compounding in Greek and Chinese. Others deal with the syntactic representation of complexity (mainly in English), e.g. Cristiano Broccias, Tavs Bjerre, and Jaume Mateu

on different aspects of the resultative construction, Claudia Felser & Anja Wanner on cognate objects, and Andrew McIntyre and Nicole Dehé on particle verb constructions. Holden Härtl and Heide Wegener include underlying conceptual structures in their analyses of English and German psych verbs. The following summaries give an overview of the articles in the order in which they appear.

In his article "Prefixes as Transitivizers" *Jochen Zeller* discusses a strong hypothesis about argument linking: Conceptual arguments of the verb are linked to syntax through "transitivizers", which he takes to be syntactic heads that project specifier positions, which in turn must be filled by NP-arguments. In German, he argues, prefixes are overt realizations of this transitivizing head, which explains why prefix verbs tend to be obligatorily transitive, while the corresponding base verbs are not (compare complex *be-lügen/lie to* vs. non-prefixed *lügen/lie*)). His assumption is corroborated by data from Strait Salish, where objects of a verb can only be realized if a transitivizing morpheme is attached to the verb stem.

Another construction in which an intransitive verb is used transitively is the resultative construction *(laugh oneself hoarse).* In his paper "The English Resultative Construction: A Schematic Analysis" *Cristiano Broccias* presents an analysis for subject-oriented and object-oriented resultative constructions along the lines of Cognitive Grammar, postulating three different resultative schemas.

Tavs Bjerre focuses on the aspectual structure of resultative constructions in his contribution "Verbs and Descriptions of Complex Situations". Discussing data from Danish he analyzes the resultative construction as a complex predicate accomplishment, for which he gives representations within the HPSG format.

Jaume Mateu compares "Unselected Objects" in resultative constructions in Romance and Germanic languages, making use of a merge operation on the level of lexical syntactic structure, thus combining two independent argument structures into one. He discusses typological differences between resultative constructions in Romance and Germanic languages, the latter being "satellite-framed" and allowing for the incorporation of semantically independent constituents (not just paths),

while the former are "verb-framed" and have to provide a path for the lexical saturation of the abstract causative verb.

Claudia Felser and *Anja Wanner* also briefly discuss the resultative construction. Their main issue, however, is "The Syntax of Cognate and Other Unselected Objects", i.e. they focus on constructions in which an intransitive verb is followed by a morphologically related noun phrase *(smile a happy smile)*. On the basis of a comparison with the semantics of object deletion constructions they argue that intransitive (unergative) verbs should always take a complement in syntax. This complement will either be an unquantified indefinite pronoun ("Null Theme"), as in the case of seemingly intransitive verbs, or it can be lexically realized and function as an aspectual delimiter (as in the case of cognate objects and, arguably, resultative constructions).

The following two contributions focus on verb particle constructions. In his paper "Argument Blockages Induced by Verb Particles in English and German: Event Modification and Secondary Predication" *Andrew McIntyre* deals with the phenomenon that certain verb particles disallow the inheritance of the direct object subcategorized by the simplex verb *(read (*the text) along)*. He argues against attributing the blocking of the object to any correlation between atelicity and intransitivity. Instead, his alternative proposal is based on the position that the direct arguments of particle verbs must always be licensed by the particle. If particles license the objects of particle verbs, he argues, those particles which make no reference to an entity in their semantic representations will automatically block any direct objects contributed by the base verb.

Nicole Dehé's approach to verb particle combinations in English is a different one. In her paper "Transitive Particle Verbs in English: The Neutral Order. Evidence from Speech Production" she contributes to the discussion on whether one of the alternately possible word orders of PV's, namely the continuous one *(He looked up the word)* and the discontinuous one *(He looked the word up)*, is the neutral/underlying one. Dehé reports a speech production experiment. The results are in line with the hypothesis that the continuous construction is the neutral one. In a context free

experimental situation it was formed significantly more frequently than the discontinuous alternative.

Two contributions open the discussion for questions that go beyond the limits of syntactic representations: In his paper "Mapping Conceptual onto Grammatical Structures: The Case of Psych-Verbs" *Holden Härtl* addresses the general problem of mapping extra-linguistic, conceptual structures onto grammatical representations (at the level of lexical semantic structure). He focuses on psych verbs, which are known for their crosswise realization of Agent and Experiencer in subject and object position *(The storm frightened the children/The children feared the storm).* On the basis of psycholinguistic data Härtl concludes that both subclasses of psych verbs denote causal relations on the conceptual level, but differ in their event structures. Only the latter, he claims, is visible in grammar. Thus, structural aspects shared by all psych verbs are established on the conceptual level, while differences are deduced from aspectual structure.

The conceptual structure of psych verbs is also discussed by *Heide Wegener* in her article "Verbs of Affect from a Synchronic and a Diachronic Perspective". As the title indicates, she also investigates changes in the meanings of psych verbs and explores recent additions to that class, specifically within the register of informal German *(anmachen/ turn on))*, to answer the question of according to which criteria conceptual arguments are mapped onto grammatical structures. Experimental data from German indicate that "responsibility" for an action is a key notion for determining which argument of the verb will be realized as the subject. Wegener relates these findings to the behavior of relatively new psych verbs in German and concludes that emotions are still conceptualized and realized linguistically as processes which cannot be controlled.

The aspectual construction in Modern Greek is the subject of Antroulla Papakyraiakou's paper "Aspectual Verbs as Complex Predicates". The complexity of this construction results from the (morpho-) syntactic combination of an aspectual verb (like *arhizo/begin*)) with a verb introduced by a particle. Papakyriakou examines both the syntactic and semantic relationship between the two participating verbs and offers a theoretical analysis of the data within the HPSG format.

On the subject of morphological incorporation, Gh. Karimi Doostan analyzes "N+V Complex Predicates in Persian", in which the noun refers to an action or a process, while the verb (like *kardan/do*), though semantically bleached and lacking an argument structure of its own, has certain aspectual features. He argues that these features of Persian light verbs should be represented in an aspectual tier. They can combine with semantic properties of nouns to form complex predicates in the lexicon. This means light verbs select nouns whose arguments are licensed to play syntactic roles after they are selected by the light verbs.

Finally, Niina Zhang's paper "Predicate Raising in the Chinese Secondary Predication" is based on data from Chinese. It completes the contributions on resultatives, but is also concerned with depictive constructions. Using the generative syntactic approach, Zhang argues that predicate raising occurs in both these constructions.

We would like to thank the audiences at the Marburg workshop for their interest in and their stimulating discussion of the questions that are elaborated in this volume. We also warmly thank the contributors, who made it possible to offer this collection of their presentations to a wider audience so quickly. Thanks also to Stefan Müller, Saarbrücken, for his competent advice on HPSG representations. We are particularly grateful to Alexander Kaiser, Utrecht, for his invaluable help with preparing the camera-ready manuscript.

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