# Location, Locatum Verbs, and the Locative Alternation in English and Romanian

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**Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to look into the structure of location verbs and locatum verbs, as well as the locative alternation in Romanian, a Romance language, in opposition to English, a Germanic language, and offer a possible explanation for their different behaviour. English is a language full of location verbs (i.e. verbs incorporating Locations such as *to shelve the books, to cage the parrots* a.o.) and locatum verbs (i.e. verbs incorporating Locatums/ displaced Themes such as *to butter the bread, to paint the wall* a.o.). I argue that Romanian, on the other hand, is not so rich, it only has a few verbs like *a adăposti* 'to shelter' (location verb), or *a bandaja* 'to bandage', *a potcovi* 'to shoe' (locatum verbs). It is, however, quite productive in verbs constructed with the prefix *în-,* such as a *îmbarca* 'to ship' or *a împodobi* 'to adorn'. In addition, following Mateu 2000 and Damonte 2005, I argue that a verb's ability to occur in two location patterns, i.e. the locative alternation in a Romance language (like Romanian) has different properties from the locative alternation in a Germanic language (no complex resultatives, an additional *of-*variant absent in Germanic a.o.), and relate this to the verb-framed/ satellite-framed distinction (Talmy 1985, Mateu 2002), i.e. the distinction between languages which conflate the Path and languages which conflate the Manner instead.

## 1. Aim of the Paper

The aim of this paper is to present and explain the differences between location verbs and locatum verbs, as well as the locative alternation in Romanian, a Romance language, in opposition to English, a Germanic language. The term 'location verbs' is used to refer to verbs that incorporate nouns bearing the Location theta-role: a verb like *to shelve (the books),* for instance, can be paraphrased as 'to put the books on the shelf', and, according to Hale & Keyser (1998, 2002), it is considered to derive from a lexical-syntactic structure of the type 'to V the books P shelf', where the V and the P are silent. Verbs labeled 'locatum verbs' are

verbs that incorporate nouns bearing the Locatum theta-role (i.e. displaced Theme): a verb like *to saddle (the horse)* is paraphrased as 'to provide the horse with a saddle', and it is considered to derive from the lexical-syntactic structure 'to V the horses P saddle'. The term 'locative alternation' refers to a verb's ability to express location by means of two frames: a change of location frame and a change of state frame (*The man loaded hay onto the truck, The man loaded the truck with hay).* Interestingly, as they express a result, location verbs and locatum verbs are excluded from the locative alternation, which only allows manner verbs.

Romanian differs from English in that it does not have so many location and locatum verbs, verbs like *to shelve the books* or *to butter the bread, to paint the wall* do not even have a corresponding denominal verb in Romanian. Romanian does, however, have verbs like *a adăposti* 'to shelter' (location verb), *a bandaja* 'to bandage', *a potcovi* 'to shoe' (locatum verbs), and it is productive in verbs constructed with the prefix *în-,* such as a *îmbarca* 'to ship' or *a împodobi* 'to adorn'. In what follows, I will try to account for this difference in productivity by relating location and locatum verbs to concepts such as *incorporation*, i.e. head-movement (first discussed in Baker 1988) and *conflation*, i.e. merge (Mateu 2000). More specifically, I will argue that location and locatum verbs are the result of a Hale & Keyser (2002) lexico-syntactic *incorporation*: the English verb *to shelve* is the result of the incorporation of Location into the P, and then, further on, into V, in a sequence such as *to put the books on the shelves* (where the V and the P are silent). In contrast, no such incorporation takes place in Romanian, which is why there is no verb *a *răftui* (to shelve) in Romanian. However, if a verb encodes Manner, and it allows template augmentation (*Mary swept the floor clean, Mary swept the crumbs off the floor)*, it is the result of a *conflation* process, where the Manner is simply merged into the verb, and no Movement takes place. Interestingly, while *shelve* does not enter the locative alternation, the verb *sweep* does, as it is Manner verbs that enter the locative alternation, never result verbs (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 1998, Levin 2006, 2011).

In addition, following Damonte (2005), I argue that the locative alternation in a Romance language (like Romanian) has different properties from the locative alternation in a Germanic language. For one thing, English has complex resultatives (such as *off the crystal ball* in *John rubbed the fingerprints off the crystal ball,* or *clean of fingerprints* in *John rubbed the crystal ball clean of fingerprints*), while Romanian lacks such constructions. Following Mateu (2002), I will relate this to the verb-framed/ satellite-framed distinction (Talmy 1985, 1991), arguing that complex resultatives in locative sentences only occur in satellite-framed languages (like English), where the Manner is conflated into the Verb, but not

in verb-framed languages, where the Path is conflated into the verb. Another difference is that Romance languages seem to display the option of using the preposition *with* and the preposition *of* where English can only use the preposition *with* (*He loaded the cart with sand*), an issue which I will try to solve by resorting to silent elements (Kayne 2003) that can be incorporated, possibly adjectives (*pieno di/ plin de* 'full of'), or classifiers, more exactly, indefinite nouns (Damonte 2005). Moreover, Germanic languages (with the exception of English) display the possibility of using a prefix in one of the frames of the locative alternation, a possibility which seems to occur in Romance too. However, looking carefully at the verbs with the prefix *în-* in Romanian, one realizes that, unlike the corresponding prefixed verbs in German or Dutch, the prefixed verbs in Romanian are not in complementary distribution with the unprefixed verb, and, hence, they must receive a different analysis. I will argue that, while the prefixed verbs in German can be analyzed as the result of incorporation at a syntactic level, with the prefixed variant being derived from the unprefixed one (Damonte 2005), or the result of a conflation process, with the prefix acting as a satellite around the verb (Mateu 2000)[1], the prefixed verbs in Romanian require a different analysis, given the fact that the verb in 'basic' variant is either identical to the prefixed verb, or there is simply no 'basic' variant whatsoever.

The paper thus relates the lack of productivity of locative alternation in Romanian to the verb-framed/ satellite-framed distinction.

## 2. Location and Locatum Verbs

### 2.1 Location Verbs

Location verbs are quite numerous in English. Hale & Keyser (2002: 18) give the following examples:

> (1) to *bag, bank, bottle, box, cage, can, corral, crate, floor (opponent), garage, jail, package, pasture, pen, photograph, pocket, pot, shelve, ship (the oars), shoulder, tree*

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[1] Of course, the analysis of prefixed verbs as incorporation verbs has its problems. As indicated by a reviewer, some verbs show locative alternation without marking, e.g. 'gießen':
(a) Er gießt die Blumen.
He water-PRES 3rd sg DEF ART-fem, pl flowers 'He waters the flowers'
(b) Er gießt Wasser auf die Blumen.
He water-PRES 3rd sg DEF ART-fem, pl flowers 'He pours water onto the flowers'
Hence, it would perhaps be more legit to make a structural distinction between particle and prefix verbs, and analyse only particle verbs as incorporation structures. However, I would like to claim that the existence of verbs displaying locative alternation without marking is not sufficient evidence not to analyse the ones with marking as the result of incorporation. Moreover, the ones without marking could be analysed as a case where the incorporated preposition is silent.

Most of these verbs do not have a corresponding verb in Romanian: instead, we find combinations of verbs and nouns, such as 'a pune pe raft' ('to put on the shelf'/*to shelve*), 'a pune în buzunar' ('to put in pocket'/*to pocket*), 'a pune în cutie' (' to put in box'/*to box*), or 'a băga la închisoare' ('to put in jail'/*to jail*). In (2), I listed the corresponding forms of the English verbs:

> (2) *a pune în sac* (lit. to put in bag) 'to bag', *a îndigui/a depune la bancă* (lit. to put at bank), 'to bank', *a pune într-o sticlă* (lit. to put in a bottle), 'to bottle', *a pune într-o cutie* (lit. to put in a box), 'to box', *a băga într-o colivie* (lit. to put in a cage), 'to cage', *a pune în conservă* (lit. to put in can), 'to can', *a îngrădi/a înconjura*, 'to corral', *a pune într-un coş sau ladă* (lit. to put in a basket or a case/chest), 'to crate', *a pune la pământ* (lit. to put to earth), 'to floor', *a duce în garaj* (lit. to carry in garage), 'to garage', a *arunca pe cineva la închisoare* (lit. to throw on somebody to prison), 'to jail', *a împacheta,* 'to package', *a pune pe o păşune* (lit. to put on a pasture), 'to pasture', *a închide într-un ţarc* (lit. to close/ shut in a pen), 'to pen', *a fotografia* 'to photograph'', *a pune în buzunar* (lit. to put in pocket), 'to pocket', *a pune în oală* (lit. to put in pot), 'to pot', *a pune pe rafturi* (lit. to put on shelves), 'to shelve', *a transporta pe vas* (lit. to transport on ship), 'to ship', *a pune pe umăr* (lit. to put on shoulder), 'to shoulder', *a face pe cineva să se urce în copac* (lit. to make on somebody CONJ climb in tree), 'to tree'

However, Romanian does not lack verbs which incorporate Location. There are many verbs containing the prefix *în-* (*a încărca* 'to load'*, a îngrămădi* 'to cram'*, a îmbarca 'to* embark'*, a îngropa* 'to bury'*, a îmbutelia* 'to bottle'*, a împacheta* 'to pack'*, a încarcera* 'to imprison', *a încazarma* 'to barrack' a.o. ).

## 2.2  Locatum Verbs
The second class of verbs that presents interest is that of locatum verbs. Apart from the classic cases of Themes, there are special cases of Themes, such as 'Locatums', a particular instance of Theme, more exactly, displaced Theme. Under the label 'locatum verbs', we find verbs such as:

> (3) to bandage, bar, bell, blindfold, bread, butter, clothe, curtain, dress, fund, gas, grease, harness, hook, house, ink, oil, paint, paper, powder, saddle, salt, seed, shoe, spice, water, word (Hale & Keyser 2002: 18)
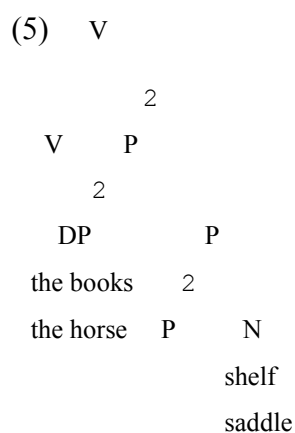
Not all have a corresponding verb in Romanian, only the underlined verbs are actually denominal in Romanian:

(4) <u>*a bandaja,*</u> 'to bandage', <u>*a bara,*</u> 'to bar', *a purta un clopoţel* (lit. to wear a bell), 'to bell', *a lega la ochi pe cineva* ( lit. to tie to eyes on somebody), 'to blindfold', *a găti cu pesmet/pâine* (lit. to cook with biscuit/bread), 'to bread', *a îmbrăca,* 'to clothe', *a pune perdele la ferestre* (lit. to put curtains at windows), 'to clothe', *a îmbrăca/a decora*, 'to decorate', *a prepara*, 'to prepare', *a consolida/ a finanţa*, 'to fund', *a gaza*, 'to gas', *a unge cu unsoare* (lit. to smear with grease), 'to oil', *a picta,* 'to paint', *a înhăma*, 'to harness', *a prinde în cârlig* (lit. to catch in hook), <u>*a găzdui*</u> (lit. to shelter), 'to shelter', <u>*a locui*</u>, 'to live', *a scrie cu cerneală* (lit. to write with ink), 'to ink', *a unge*, 'to oil', *a picta*, 'to paint', *a împacheta în hârtie* (lit. to wrap in paper)/*a pune pe hârtie* (lit. to put on paper), 'to paper', <u>*a pudra,*</u> 'to powder', *a înşeua* 'to saddle', <u>*a săra*</u> 'to salt', <u>*a semăna*</u> 'to sow', <u>*a potcovi*</u>/*a încălţa* 'to shoe', <u>*a condimenta*</u> 'to spice', *a uda* 'to water', *a exprima prin cuvinte/*<u>*a formula*</u> 'to express/formulate'

*'To butter'*, for example, paraphrased as 'to put butter on…' in English, does not have a corresponding verb in Romanian. Instead, the language displays the paraphrase 'a pune unt pe…' ('to put butter on…'). There are, nonetheless, verbs like *a bandaja* ('to bandage'), *a săra* ('to salt'), or verbs with prefixes such as *a înşeua* ('to saddle') or *a înhăma* ('to harness').

## 2.3 The Hale & Keyser (2002) Analysis of Location and Locatum Verbs

Hale & Keyser (2002) propose the following representation for location verbs and locatum verb (*PUT the books ON shelf, PROVIDE the horse WITH saddle*), where the direct object of the verb is the specifier/ subject of a prepositional SC (*the books ON shelf, the horse WITH saddle*):

(5)    V

              2
        V      P
           2
        DP            P
      the books    2
      the horse    P      N
                      shelf
                      saddle

This representation makes use of a silent preposition P (*on, with*) and a silent verb V (*put, provide*). The N incorporates into the P, forming a N+P complex, which further incorporates

into V, the phonological matrix of the N+P complex is copied under V$^2$. From a semantic point of view, the *shelf* example shows the relation of terminal coincidence (putting the books on the shelf results in the books being on the shelf, there is a change in the location of the figure in relation to the place), while the *saddle* example shows the relation of central coincidence (providing the horse with a saddle gets the saddle on the horse, the two elements coincide (more or less centrally) in space) (Hale & Keyser 2002).[3]

While in English, incorporation takes place in (5), in Romanian, this does not happen so often. There are no verbs *a şeua (to saddle)* or *a răftui (to shelve)*, although *a pudra (to powder)* is possible, just as *a îngropa ('to in-hole'-to bury)*:

(6) V
      2
V       P
      2
  DP     P
  fata     2
  (girl-the)  P   N
  omul      pudră
  (man-the)    ( powder)
          groapă
          (hole)

In conclusion, location and locatum verbs are not as productive in Romanian as in English.

## 3. The Locative Alternation

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[2] Hale & Keyser (2002) take the structure in (5) to be the source of location and locatum verbs, and not the frame (a) where the N *shelf/ saddle* occupies SpecP, and the noun *books/ horse* occupies the Complement of P:

  *(a)  V
        2
  V   P
   2
  N      P
 shelf    2
 saddle  P   N
       the books
       the horse

In the Hale & Keyser framework, this is because only complements and heads can undergo incorporation, never Specifiers, a choice motivated by Head-to-Head Movement Constraints.
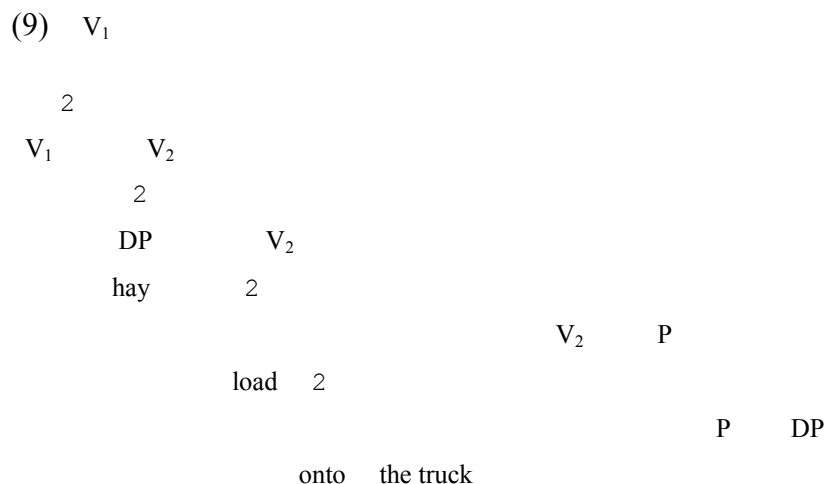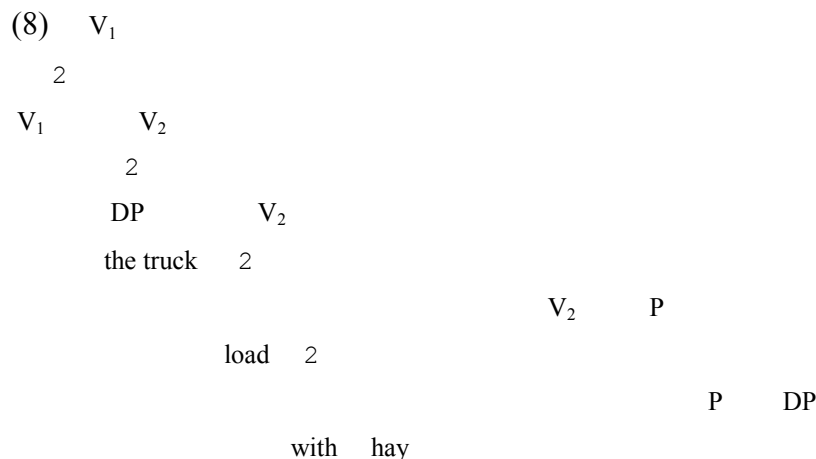
[3] Mateu (2002) disagrees with this, arguing that both location and locatum verbs express the terminal coincidence relation, which explains their telicity. According to him, it is not the case that the silent prepositions have a different semantic value depending upon the type of verb (corresponding to *on, with* respectively).

A verb is said to participate in the locative alternation when it displays the possibility to appear in two slightly different structures, a prepositional phrase (see (7a)), and one where the noun expressing Location appears as a direct object (see (7b)) (Hale & Keyser (2002: 43)):

(7) a. They loaded hay onto the truck.

b. They loaded the truck with hay.

According to Hale & Keyser (2002: 43-44), each of the two sentences receives a different representation in lexical syntax:

(8)     $V_1$
```
        2
   V₁        V₂
              2
        DP        V₂
      the truck     2
                         V₂    P
                  load     2
                              P    DP
                        with   hay
```

(9)     $V_1$
```
        2
   V₁        V₂
              2
        DP        V₂
       hay      2
                         V₂    P
                  load     2
                              P    DP
                        onto   the truck
```

Even if the two sentences are similar inasmuch as that they both refer to a loading event where hay and a truck are involved, there is a difference in meaning: unlike (7a), (7b) expresses the idea that the truck is completely filled with hay, a semantic difference which has received the label *the holistic effect* (Damonte 2005)[4].

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[4] As indicated by a reviewer, the holistic effect may be thought to be a consequence of having a definite direct object. If we modify (8b) as "They loaded trucks with hay" (bare plural) or even "They were loading trucks with hay" (progressive to further encourage atelic interpretation), there seems to be no holistic effect anymore. Moreover, if we take (8a) and modify it as "They loaded the hay onto trucks", one gets the reading that the whole quantity of hay has been loaded (hence, a holistic effect related to the hay). Therefore, it seems to be the case that one needs to give up the idea that the holistic effect is encoded in a framework, and, if one takes the

**4. The Types of Verbs Entering the Locative Alternation in English**

As argued in Levin (1993), there are basically two types of verbs that enter the locative alternation: (i) verbs of *placing* (*spray, load*) and (ii) *detaching* (*clear*). They alternate between two frames, each expressing a different meaning:

(10) a. Frame A: DPAgent V DPStuff PPLoc *change of location (COL)*

b. Frame B: DPAgent V DPLoc PPStuff *change of state (COS)*

**4.1 Verbs of Placing**

Some examples of *placing* verbs (Levin 1993: 117) are:

(11) *to cram*, *to cultivate*, *to dab*, *to daub*, *to drape*, *to dust*, *to inject*, *to jam*, *to load*, *to wrap*, *to  pack*, *to plaster*, *to prick*, *to pump*, *to rub*, *to spray, to sow*, *to smear*, *to smudge*, *to sprinkle*, *to splatter*, *to wash*, *to wrap*

From a semantic point of view, one notices the presence of two types of verbs: *spray* and *load*; while the *spray* verbs are surface contact verbs, i.e. they *place* something on the *outside* of an object (*She sprayed paint on the wall)*, the *load* verbs are inner contact verbs, i.e. they *place* something *inside* an object *(She loaded hay onto the truck)*.

As for Romanian, the corresponding verbs would be:

(12) *a îndopa (to cram), a îngrămădi* (to crowd) (*only COL), a îndesa (to cram), a încărca (to cram), a aglomera  (to crowd), a cultiva (to cultivate), a tampona (to dab), a unge (to daub), a mâzgăli (to daub), a înveli (to drape), a şterge praful (to dust), a injecta (inject), a înghesui (to jam), a încărca (load), a ambala* (to wrap) (*only COL), a împacheta (pack) (*only COL), a lipi cu un plasture (plaster), a aplica un plasture pe (plaster), a înţepa (to prick)* (only COS)*, a pompa (to pump)** (only COL)*, a freca (to rub), a însămânţa* (*only COS), a semăna (to sow), a păta (to smear)**(only COS)*, a murdări*  (to smudge)* (only COS)*, a stropi (to sprinkle), a împrăştia (to splatter)** (only COL)*, a spăla (to wash), a acoperi (to wrap)* (only  COL)

**4.2 Verbs of Removal**

Apart from verbs of placing, there are verbs of removal such as *to wipe, to clean* a. o., and, in Romanian, *a şterge (to wipe), a curăţa (to clean), a curăţi (to clean)* a.o. Sometimes, these

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exact same nominal objects (*hay, the truck*), and places them in different locative  frameworks, one gets a different reading. Rather, the readings are influenced to a great extent by the +/- definite value of the direct object  nominal .

verbs accept both frames. *A şterge*, for instance, accepts both frames (*Marina a şters masa de praf* ʿMarina has wiped table-the of dust', *Marina a şters praful de pe masă* ʿMarina has wiped dust-the of on table'), unlike its English counterpart. However, this is not always the case. *A freca* (to rub), for instance, does not. And there are many other verbs that do not accept both frames in English and in Romanian alike: verbs of detaching that only allow the change of location frame such as *to steal/ a fura* (*\*The thief stole the museum of a painting*)*,* and verbs that only allow the change of state frame, such as *to cure/ a vindeca* (*\*The doctor cured pneumonia from Pat*). This ties in nicely with the observation (Levin 2006, 2011) that only manner verbs enter the Locative Alternation, and not result verbs.

## 4.3 Analyses of the Locative Alternation

The Locative alternation has basically received two different analyses: (i) a derivational analysis, where the two frames are related derivationally (e.g. Damonte 2005) and (ii) a non-derivational analysis, according to which the two frames are not related derivationally (e. g. Rappaport & Levin's (1988) lexical semantic approach, Jackendoff's (1990) conceptual approach, Tenny's (1994) lexical-aspectual approach, Mulder's (1992) syntactic-aspectual approach).

Adopting a syntactic analysis, one can see a clear difference between a non-derivational approach and a derivational one. While for Mulder (1992), the verbs simply select a SC (small clause) in both sentences: (a) Verb [$_{SC}$ NP$_{material}$ PP$_{locative}$] for the change of location variant, (b) Verb [$_{SC}$ NP$_{locative}$ A] (PP$_{material}$) for the change of state variant, according to Damonte (2005), the two patterns are not independent. Starting from [VP load [SC/PP the sand [on the truck]], we get the second pattern through a series of movements: [AgrO the truck$_i$ [VP t$_i$ P$_j$-load [sand t$_j$ t$_i$]]], which nicely predicts the prefixation of locative verbs in a language like German, for instance (the "path" prefixes *um-*, *hinter-*, *durch-* etc.). Irrespective of the syntactic analysis adopted, a very important idea is that the two frames involve two different semantic construals of the same scene, and, hence, the locative alternation involves two distinct lexical conceptual structures:

(13) a.   [[x ACT] CAUSE [y BECOME P$_{loc}$ z] [*LOAD*]$_{MANNER}$]

b.   [x ACT] CAUSE [z BECOME [     ]$_{STATE}$ WITH-RESPECT-TO y] [LOAD]$_{MANNER}$] (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1998: 260-261)

## 5. Differences between the Locative Alternation in English and in Romanian

In what follows, I will look at the differences between the locative alternation in English and Romanian.

**5.1 Resultatives**

As argued in Mateu (2002) for Spanish, unlike English, Romance does not allow complex resultatives (PP/AP) in locative structures:

(14)    a. John rubbed the fingerprints off the crystal ball.

b. John rubbed the crystal ball clean of fingerprints.

c. *Juan frotó las huellas        de la bola de cristal. (Spanish)

Juan rubbed the fingerprints off the ball of crystal.

d.*Juan frotó la bola de cristal limpia de huellas.  (Spanish)

Juan rubbed the ball of crystal clean of fingerprints.

e. Juan frotó la bola de cristal. (Spanish)

Juan rubbed the ball of crystal.

Although several attempts have been made in the literature to explain this difference, many of the attempts have proved to be descriptive rather than truly explanatory from a theoretical point of view. Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998: 114-123), for instance, account for the elasticity of meaning via Template Augmentation:

(15)    *Template Augmentation*

a. [x ACT$_{<RUBBING>}$ on y]

b. [x ACT$_{<RUBBING>}$ on y] CAUSE [BECOME [z <PLACE>]]]

However, as very well explained by Mateu (2002), there is a  *morphosyntactic* reason that prevents Romance from generating complex resultative constructions such as *John rubbed the crystal ball clean (of fingerprints)*: languages simply have different ways of lexicalizing manner/ means and directionality/ result, which explains the difference in productivity:

(16)    *Lexicalization Patterns* (Talmy 1985, 1991)

a. Germanic (e.g. English): conflation of V with Manner

b. Romance languages (e.g. Spanish): conflation of V with Path/ Directionality

According to Talmy (1985, 1991), there is a clear distinction between Germanic languages, which are *satellite-framed languages,* and Romance languages, which are *verb-framed languages. Satellite-framed languages* leave the Path stranded, as a satellite around the verb, but they conflate the Manner into the verb (e.g. *The little girl danced into the room*). By contrast, *verb-framed languages* conflate the Path into the verb, e.g. Spanish verbs such as *entrar* 'go into', *salir* 'go out', *subir* 'go up' etc.  In other words, only satellite-framed languages like English allow the Path to be expressed as a satellite (as in *John rubbed the*

*fingerprints off the crystal ball.*), while the Manner component is encoded into the verb, while, in a verb-framed language like Spanish, Manner is expressed as a satellite *Juan quitó las huellas (de la bolla$_i$) (frotándola$_i$)* (Juan got+ *out* the fingerprints from the ball-rubbing it).

Mateu (2011) argues that the distinction between conflation and incorporation can explain the presence of complex resultatives in Germanic languages versus the absence of complex resultatives in Romance. Following Haugen (2009), Mateu (2011) distinguishes between *incorporation* and *conflation*. While *incorporation* involves head-movement and is instantiated through the syntactic operation of copy, *conflation* involves compounding/ merge (to a null light verb).

Mateu (2000) represents a sentence like *John rubbed the fingerprints off the crystal ball* by resorting to the conflation of the subordinate verbal object encoded by *rub,* which expresses Talmy's component:

(17)   a.   $V_1$                                  b.   $V_2$

                              2                                                                               2

         $V_1$          $P_1$                               $V_2$   X

                                   2                           rub$_i$      t$_i$       (*RUB* ($V_2$)> [*DO RUB*])

                              N          $P_1$

    fingerprints        2

                              $P_1$          $P_2$

         off$_i$    2

                                   $P_2$          N

              t$_i$         ball

(18)        $V_1$

                   2

         $V_1$                        $P_1$

         2                             2

    $V_2$              $V_1$                     N              $P_1$

    2                              fingerprints     2

    $V_2$    X                         $P_1$          $P_2$

    rub$_i$      t$_i$                  off$_i$    2

                                                                       $P_2$          N

                                                                       t$_i$          ball

Given the inability of the preposition *off* to saturate the phonologically null matrix of the verb[5], an independent verbal lexical syntactic object ($V_2$, *[DO RUB]*) is selected and conflated into the phonologically null matrix of the verb ($V_1$).

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[5] The preposition *off* acts as a head in $P_2$, and, also, as a head in $P_1$, a SC whose subject position is occupied by the N *fingerprints*.

In contrast, in a language like Spanish, the directional/ Path element is lexically conflated into the causative verb (V). The example he gives involves the verb *quitar* ('get out'):

(19) V

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\quad\quad 2 \\
\text{V}\quad\quad \text{X}_1 \\
\text{quitar}_i\quad 2 \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad \text{N}\quad\quad \text{X}_1{}^6 \\
\quad\quad \text{huellas}\quad 2 \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \text{X}_1\quad \text{P}_2 \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad t_i\quad\quad\quad 2 \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \text{P}_2\quad \text{N} \\
\quad\quad\quad\quad de\quad bola
\end{array}
$$
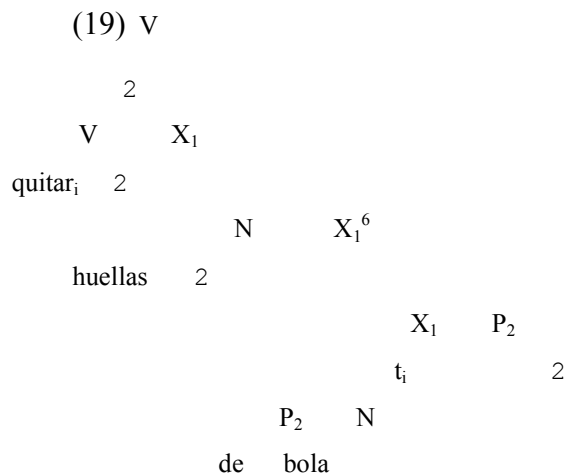
In a more or less similar fashion, another denominal verb, *to rub the ball* can be paraphrased as *to give the ball a rub,* 'to provide the ball with a rub', and is represented by a spatial relation expressing 'central coincidence' (Hale & Keyser 1993).

According to Mateu (2000), therefore, the distinction between *incorporation* and *conflation* can explain two things. On the one hand, it can explain the difference between a sentence like *John rubbed the ball,* a sentence lacking resultatives, where we are dealing with incorporation, and a sentence like *John rubbed the fingerprints off the crystal ball,* where we are dealing with conflation. On the other hand, it can explain the absence of complex resultatives in Spanish versus their presence in English. In other words, in locative sentences where complex resultatives are present, there is a process of *conflation* taking place, namely, a *[DO MANNER]* verb is conflated into the phonologically null matrix of the verb. In locative sentences lacking complex resultatives, *incorporation* is involved. Since complex resultatives occur in satellite-framed languages, but not in verb-framed languages, the distinction between *conflation* and *incorporation* can thus be related to the *satellite-framed/ verb-framed* distinction.

The same situation as in Spanish is present in Romanian, where it is not possible to use complex PP/AP resultatives in locative sentences:

(20) a. *Ion a  frecat  urmele  degetelor  de pe globul de cristal.
        John has rubbed prints-the fingers-GEN  of on ball  of crystal.
        'John rubbed the fingerprints off the crystal ball.'

    b. *Ion a frecat  globul de cristal  curat de urmele  degetelor.

---

[6] X$_1$ is an arbitrary name given to the verbal projection headed by *quitar*, which then moves.

John has rubbed the globe of crystal clean of prints-the fingers-GEN.

'John rubbed the crystal ball clean of fingerprints.'

Take, for instance, the case of the verb *load*. While it is perfectly possible to utter (21a) in English, the corresponding (21b) is not possible:

(21)  a.  John loaded the cart full of hay.

      b. *Ion a încărcat carul plin cu fân.

          Ion has loaded cart-the full with hay.

          'Ion loaded the cart full of hay.'

(21b) is grammatical under the reading 'Ion loaded the cart that was already full of hay.', but not under the reading in (21a), 'John loaded the cart until it was full of hay'. Romanian seems to be intolerant to complex AP resultatives[7].

## 5.2 The *Of*-Phrase Locative Frame?

It has been argued that one of the differences between the locative alternation in Germanic and the locative alternation in Romance is the presence in Romance of an additional *of*-frame (Damonte 2005). Apart from the expected 'Ho caricato la sabbia nel camion'('have-1 sg loaded the sand on the truck.') and 'Ho caricato il camion con la sabbia' (' have-1sg loaded the truck with the sand'), one encounters the *di*-frame in Italian:

(22)    Ho      caricato il camion di sabbia.

        have-1sg loaded the truck of sand.

        'I have loaded the truck with sand.'

---

[7]The discussion has revolved around structurally complex resultatives. Nevertheles, unlike complex resultatives, simple resultatives (consisting only of a noun, for instance) are possible in Romance:

    a. A curăţat masa lună.

     Has wiped table-the moon.

     'He has wiped the table clean.'

   b. L-      a   bătut măr pe copil.

     Cl-3rd sg has  beaten apple on child.

     'He beat the child black and blue.'

While in Romanian, adjectival resultatives are not found so often (Farkas 2011 a, b) e.g. *a vopsi gardul albastru* 'to paint fence-the blue'), what we find instead are predicate bare nouns as in (a) *a curăţa lună* 'to wipe moon' ('to wipe clean'), or (b) *a bate măr* 'to beat apple' ('to beat black and blue'). The resultatives above are weak resultatives, where the meaning of the verb entails the meaning of the resultative to a great extent (Washio 1997). They differ from strong resultatives, where the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the resultative seem to be more independent (e.g. *The joggers ran the pavement thin*). Mateu (2011), for instance, even argues that weak and strong resultatives are derived via different derivational processes: conflation of a root with a null light verb can account for strong resultatives, while incorporation can account for the weak ones.

Being a different frame, it is associated with a different meaning. The *with-* phrase and the *of-* phrase in Romance have different properties. From a semantic point of view, the *with-* phrase usually selects definites, while the *of-*variant selects indefinites or plural bare nouns:

(23) a.  Ho caricato il camion di sabbia/tubi.

       have-1sg loaded the truck of sand/tubes

       'I have loaded the truck with sand/tubes'

   b.* Ho caricato il camion della sabbia.

       have-1sg loaded the truck of-the sand

       'I have loaded the truck of the sand'[8]

However, the Romanian variant of (24), namely, *Am încărcat camionul de nisip* (have-1sg loaded the truck of sand.) is not really used by Romanian speakers. This is confirmed by looking at other examples in Romanian (*a stropi* 'to sprinkle'*, a unge* 'to grease' a.o.), thus proving Damonte's generalization to be wrong. I will relate this to the fact that Romanian is intolerant to complex adjectival resultatives in the locative alternation.

I argue that, in the *of-* variant in Romance, there is a silent adjective- *PIENO*[9] (full) in Italian, which explains the presence of the preposition *di*. While Italian allows the incorporation of *PIENO,* Romanian fails to allow complex adjectival resultatives:

(24) V

       2

  V           $X_1$

---

[8] This makes Damonte (2005) argue in favour of two different analyses for the phrases. Starting from a structure where the verb *load* can license an empty preposition ([VP load [SC sand P the truck]]), what we get is a structure where the preposition incorporates into the verb. In the case of the *with*-phrase, after the incorporation of the preposition, the locative moves to [Spec, AgrO], the verb moves out of the VP to check its features, the Theme argument moves to [Spec, KP], the case projection selected by *with*:

    a. [PP with [KP sand ... [AgrOP truck ..., and

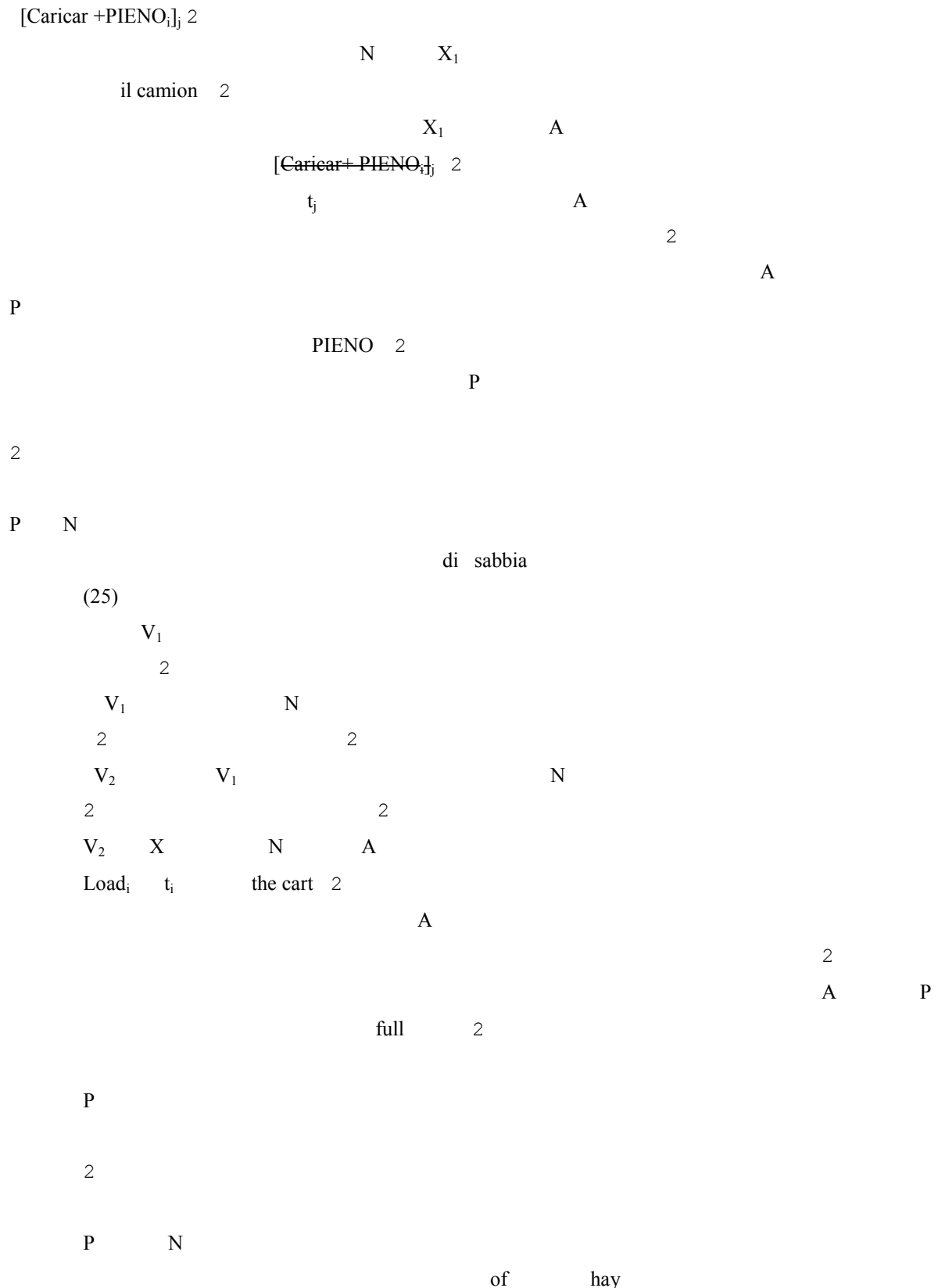then the preposition *with* attracts in its specifier the maximal projection immediately below KP.

      In the case of the *of*-phrase, Damonte (2005) assumes there is an abstract noun, a kind noun, a classifier that incorporates onto the verb, leaving behind the referring noun:

    b. [VP $NOUN_i$-$P_j$-caricare [SC [DP $t_i$ sabbia] $t_j$ camion]

[9] The idea of a silent adjective occuring in languages has been proposed before (Constantinescu 2007, Dumitrescu & Dogaru 2007). Following Kayne's proposal of silent nouns (2002), Constantinescu (2007) and Dumitrescu & Dogaru (2007) argue there are certain constructions in Romanian such as *ce*-exclamatives (*what*-exclamatives), inside which it can be argued that silent adjectives occur:

    a. Ce MANY NUMBER de băieţi!

      What MANY NUMBER of boys

      'What a great number of boys!'

    b. Ce MUCH AMOUNT de vin!

      What MUCH AMOUNT of wine

      'What a great amount of wine!'

The presence of MANY and MUCH is justified if we consider constructions involving the overt counterparts of NUMBER and AMOUNT. If *număr,* for example, were modified by *ce* alone, then the reading would not necessarily be that of a 'large number', but rather a qualitative interpretation.

[Caricar +PIENO$_i$]$_j$ 2

N      X$_1$

il camion   2

X$_1$         A

[~~Caricar+ PIENO$_i$~~]$_j$  2

t$_j$             A

2

A

P

PIENO  2

P

2

P    N

di  sabbia

(25)

V$_1$

2

V$_1$         N

2               2

V$_2$     V$_1$              N

2               2

V$_2$   X      N     A

Load$_i$   t$_i$     the cart  2

A

2

A      P

full     2

P

2

P     N

of       hay

'He loaded the cart full of hay' is a grammatical sentence, while 'He loaded the cart of hay' is not. This suggests that *full* is prevented from being incorporated into the conflated verb *load.* In the representation above, I have assumed the presence of a complex adjectival resultative, and the adjective *PIENO* (full) gets incorporated into the verb. Unlike Italian, Romanian does

not allow template augmentation by complex adjective resultatives (the equivalent in Romanian of the Italian sentence is not grammatical)[10].

If the adjective PLIN/ PIENO were not silent in locative sentences meant to convey a resultative meaning, the presence of the adjective after the noun in Romanian and Italian would create confusion at the level of interpretation: the hearer would interpret it as attributive/ predicative rather than as a resultative (given that its regular positioning is after the noun).

So as to capture the difference between the Romance case and the English case, I argue that, in Romance, the silent adjective gets incorporated, while in English, the adjective cannot incorporate into a verb that is the result of conflation. Mateu (2002) argues that:

> There is no principled way to account for this <<gap>> in terms of semantic and/ or aspectual operations available in English but not in Romance. Rather, [...] the parametric issue involved in the resultative construction must be related to one empirical fact: the morphological properties associated with the lexical-syntactic element corresponding to the directional relation are not the same in English as in Romance. (Mateu 2002: 71)

However, I believe that a great role in the absence of the complex adjective as a resultative in Romance is played by the noun-adjective ordering: while non-silent adjective would trigger an attributive/ predicative reading in Romance, this is not the case in English.

## 5.3 The Prefix in Locative Alternation

According to Damonte (2005), the promotion to object position of the Locative argument involves the incorporation of a locative preposition onto the verb. The connection between prefixation and the derived variant of the locative alternation is clearly visible in all Germanic languages (except for English), where prefixation is still productive and semantically

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[10] It seems to be the case that verbs that are the result of incorporation may or may not incorporate (they incorporate the adjective in Italian, but not in Romanian). On the other hand, incorporation into a verb that is the result of conflation (as in English) is not possible. The only reading allowed for *Ho caricato il camion pieno* (Have loaded truck-the full) or *Ho caricato il camion pieno di sabbia* (Have loaded truck-the full of sand) in Italian and *Am încărcat camionul plin* (Have loaded truck-the full) or *Am încărcat camionul plin de nisip* (Have loaded truck-the full of sand) in Romanian is the attributive/ predicative one, while in English, the situation is different: *I loaded the truck full* only allows the resultative reading, *I loaded the truck full of sand* is ambiguous between the two, but the resultative reading is the preferred one (given that the attributive one (loading a truck that is already loaded) does not make so much sense). However, if the sentence is understood in the context 'See that truck full of sand over there? I loaded the truck full of sand/ it.', then it becomes possible to interpret 'full of sand' as an attribute of the noun 'truck' rather than a resultative. Of course, as indicated by a reviewer, the sentence has a different information structure, meaning 'It was I who loaded the truck full of sand.' However, what truly helps the interpretation of the adjective as an attributive, not as a resultative is the fact that the adjective is used as an attribute of the noun 'truck' in a previous sentence.

transparent. In German, for instance, the verb in the basic variant is unprefixed, while it bears a prefix in the derived variant:

(26)    a. Ich lud Heu auf den Lastwagen

         I loaded hay on the truck

         'I loaded hay on the truck'

       b. Ich belud den Lastwagen mit Heu

         I loaded the truck with hay

         'I loaded the truck with hay'

Intuitively, the preposition in the basic variant alternates with the prefix in the derived variant, and the incorporation analysis captures this intuition straightforwardly: the prefix *be-* is generated as a preposition but it incorporates into the verb.

There are many verbs with prefixes in Romanian (*a încărca* 'to load', *a îndopa* 'to stuff', *a îngrămădi* 'to cram', *a îmbarca* 'to embark', *a îngropa* 'to bury', *a îmbutelia* 'to bottle', *a împacheta* 'to pack', *a încarcera* 'to imprison', *a încazarma,* 'to barrack', *a înveli* 'to cover' a.o.) but their behaviour is different. Some accept both frames (*a încărca*), others only the change of location frame (*a îngrămădi)*), others do not even enter the locative alternation (*a îmbutelia, a îngropa),* as they are result verbs. This suggests the need for a different account for Romanian.

Damonte (2005) proposes the structure [AgrO the truck$_i$ [VP t$_i$ P$_j$-load [sand t$_j$ t$_i$]]] to account for the German examples (as we can see, the preposition incorporats into the verb, generating the verb with the prefix). Moreover, he establishes a correlation between *locative* prefixes and the variants of the locative alternation:

(27)  i. Spray/load verbs are prefixed, either overtly or covertly, in the variants where the location argument is the direct object.

     ii. All overtly prefixed "verbs of putting" (Levin 1993: 111) do not alternate and only have the option of realizing the location argument as direct object of the verb.

However, this generalization does not capture a verb like *a încărca* 'to load', which allows both frames, or a verb which takes the Theme as a direct object, and not the Location (such as *a îmbutelia* 'to bottle'). It is, hence, clear that the Romanian prefix is different from the German prefix. I argue that this happens because verbs prefixed with *în-* in Romanian are generally location verbs which result from a process of incorporation (the P incorporates into V, then, the P and V incorporate further on into V:

(28)   V

```
                    2
        V       P
             2
        DP          P
              2
          P     N
                pachet
                pack
```
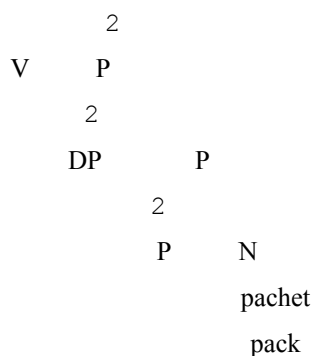
The null V thus incorporates a complex made up of a preposition and a noun, while in German, the null verb only attracts the preposition[11]. Interestingly, there are cases when, even in Romance, we encounter a non-prefixed variant, and a prefixed variant in the locative alternation, as argued by Munaro (1994) for Italian, such as *spargere sale sul tavolo* (spread salt on-the table)/ *cospargere il tavolo di sale* (CO-spread the table of salt). This suggests that, at least in certain cases, Italian is satellite-framed rather than verb-framed. Nevertheless, the alternation is not a systematic as in Germanic languages, where it is very productive. English, on the other hand, represents an exception to the rule. Even though there are many verbs containing the prefix *en-* (*endanger* "put sb in danger", *enslave* "turn sb into a slave", *enchain* "put [sb] in chains", *encage* a.o.),  they do not take part in the alternation, but they are the result of incorporation, being hence more similar to the Romanian verbs than the Germanic ones.

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion, there are less verbs displaying locative alternation in Romanian than in English, and there are less location and locatum verbs in Romanian than in English. These two facts can be correlated (since in the analysis proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), one of the frames in the locative alternation is taken as a source for the location verb), and it follows clearly that, when a verb does not enter that frame, it will not give rise to a location/ locatum verb. The locative alternation in Germanic languages and the locative alternation in Romanian behave differently, from the point of view of resultatives, the frames allowed, and prefixation, differences which can be explained by resorting to the satellite-framed/ verb-framed distinction (Mateu 2000).

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[11] According to Mateu (2000), this does not even happen, the German prefix *be-* is simply a satellite around the verb (just like the adjective *full,* for instance), regardless of the morphological unity of the two.

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