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Journal of Linguistics / Volume 25 / Issue 02 / September 1989, pp 277 - 290  
DOI: 10.1017/S0022226700014109, Published online: 28 November 2008

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### How to cite this article:

Bas Aarts (1989). Verb-preposition constructions and small clauses in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 25, pp 277-290 doi:10.1017/S0022226700014109

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# Verb-preposition constructions and small clauses in English<sup>1</sup>

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(Received 28 October 1988; revised 14 February 1989)

## I. INTRODUCTION

The analysis of verb-particle constructions, or verb-preposition constructions, as I will call them, has given rise to much debate in the linguistic literature over a long period of time. Traditionally, a bipartite classification of these structures has been assumed consisting of a class of ‘phrasal verbs’, such as those in (1) and (2), and a class of ‘prepositional verbs’, such as those in (3):

- (1) I *switched* the light *off*.
- (2) I *looked* the information *up*.
- (3) *Look at* the prospectus: it clearly states that your admission *depends on* your examination results.

In this paper I will be concerned only with constructions of the type in (1) and (2). In the next section I will give a brief overview of previous theoretical treatments of the verb-preposition construction, concentrating on three important Government-Binding Theory (GB) treatments. In Section 3, I will outline arguments which support a different, and in my view, more adequate and elegant analysis of this type of construction in GB terms. I will present this analysis in Section 4. For the time being the neutral term ‘particle’ will be used for the final elements in (1) and (2), though below they will be taken to be prepositions.

## 2. BACKGROUND

In this section I will mainly be concerned with some of the theoretical proposals that have been put forward in analysing the verb-preposition construction. The more descriptive treatments (such as e.g. Bolinger, 1971, and Dixon, 1982), although they provide large quantities of interesting data and potentially useful ideas, are not aimed at explaining the phenomena in

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[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1988 Autumn Meeting of the Linguistics Association of Great Britain in Exeter. I would like to thank Flor Aarts, Bob Borsley, Peter Coopmans, Sidney Greenbaum, Teun Hoekstra, Ewa Jaworska, Andrew Radford, And Rosta, Joe Taglicht, Nigel Vincent and two anonymous *JL* referees for valuable comments.

question. I have made some use of the very wide range of material found in these studies.

Authors working in the earlier generative frameworks of the Standard Theory and the Extended Standard Theory dealt with the verb-preposition construction by making use of a rich transformational apparatus (see e.g. Chomsky, 1957; Fraser, 1974, and Emonds, 1972, 1976). Some of these linguists have suggested that these constructions involve particle movement. Thus, Chomsky assumed that at Deep Structure the particle was adjacent to the verb, and that movement to the right across the NP yielded the alternative configuration. This rule was obligatory if the NP was a pronoun (see e.g. Chomsky, 1957: 75-76 and 1964: 228). In Emonds' analysis (1976: 82) the NP is adjacent to the verb at Deep Structure. Leftward movement of the particle then derives the alternative order. Recent GB work has not paid a great deal of attention to the verb-preposition construction. The most important studies are Kayne (1984 b), which provides a detailed analysis, and the discussions in Radford (1988) and Stowell (1981). Let us look at these studies in a little more detail, starting with the latter.

Stowell assumes (1981: 296 ff.) that the particle in sentences such as (4),

- (4) I switched off the light.

where it is adjacent to the verb, is 'incorporated' within that verb to form a complex unit. This newly-formed verb subcategorizes for an NP, and the two together are dominated by V', as in (5):

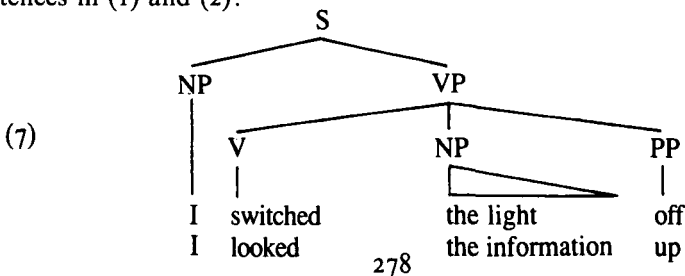
- (5) I [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>V</sub> switched-off] the light]]

The main motivation for this analysis is the Case Adjacency Principle (1981: 113) which requires that for an NP to be assigned Case, it must be adjacent to the verb. In (5) the NP *the light* is adjacent to the complex verb after application of the rule of Particle Incorporation. Stowell accounts for structures such as (1), where the particle appears to the right of the NP, as follows: first the word formation rule of NP Incorporation applies, resulting in the creation of the complex verb *switched-the light*; then the rule of Particle Incorporation applies to the output of this process. The resulting S-Structure is (6):

- (6) I [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> [<sub>V</sub> [<sub>V</sub> switched-the light]-off]]]

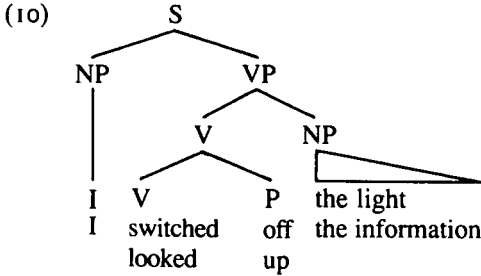
The NP *the light* has the status of an 'incorporated object'. Below I will show that there are compelling arguments against this treatment.

Radford (1988: 90 ff.) argues for a structure like that in (7) for the sentences in (1) and (2):



According to Radford this structure involves a PP rather than a bare preposition because the elements in question (*off* and *up*) can be premodified by intensifiers such as *right* and *completely*. The alternative configurations for the sentences in (1) and (2), namely those in (8) and (9), are assigned the structure in (10).

- (8) I switched off the light.
- (9) I looked up the information.



In this structure *switch off* and *look up* are complex verbs in which the prepositions *off* and *up* can be regarded as word-level adjuncts (1988: 257). With regard to the relation between (7) and (10), Radford remarks (personal communication): ‘To the extent that I envisage any rule relating the two, it’s one in which the P originates as part of the PP, but is incorporated into the V by REANALYSIS ...’ Below I will argue against positing the existence of such a rule.

Kayne (1984b) attempts to account for the constructions under investigation in his binary branching model (see Kayne, 1984a). He argues for the analysis of (1) and (2) as in (11):

- (11) [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>sc</sub> NP Prt]]
- |          |                 |     |
|----------|-----------------|-----|
| switched | the light       | off |
| looked   | the information | up  |

The verb subcategorizes for a Small Clause (SC) which is headed by the particle and whose subject is the NP. Kayne makes no syntactic distinction between (1) and (2). He does remark, however, that in (1) the particle expresses a result (1984b: 121), whereas this is not the case for the particle in sentence (2), which is said to belong to the class of verb-preposition constructions that have ‘an idiomatic character’ (1984b: 124). In Kayne’s framework structures such as (8) and (9), repeated here as (12) and (13),

- (12) I switched off the light.
- (13) I looked up the information.

in which the particles appear in a position adjacent to the verb, are derived by moving the NPs to the right and by adjoining them to V.<sup>2</sup> For similar treatments see Beukema & Verheijen (1987) and Hoekstra (1988).

[2] As this is not a maximal projection, Kayne’s analysis violates Chomsky’s (1986b: 6) Adjunction Condition (see below).

In what follows I will adopt this rightward movement analysis. However, my treatment will be different in two respects. Firstly, the displaced NPs adjoin to VP. Secondly, and more importantly, I will be arguing that the Small Clause analysis of the constructions under investigation is warranted only for verb-preposition constructions such as (1), where there is a genuine subject-predicate relation between the NP and the particle, but not for those of the type in (2), where no such relationship holds. I will show that the semantic difference between spatial-resultative constructions such as (1) and idiomatic constructions such as (2) is paralleled by the different syntactic behaviour of these two constructions. Thus, the claim here is that there are two distinct classes of verb-preposition construction.

I will call verbs such as *switch* in (1), which I will argue take SC complements, A-VERBS, and I will use the label B-VERBS for verbs like *look up* in (2), which do not subcategorize for clausal complements.

### 3. THE DATA

The first argument that supports the distinction between A-verbs and B-verbs concerns the fact that only the [NP + particle] complements of A-verbs can occur elsewhere as complements. Thus in (14)–(16) below such sequences occur as the objects of prepositions in what van Riemsdijk has called absolute prepositional phrases (see van Riemsdijk, 1978, although note that for him these do not involve clauses).

- (14) He propped the bonnet of the car up; *with the bonnet up* he then drove off.
- (15) Sally pushed the lever on the amplifier down; *with the lever down* her CD-player was pre-programmed.
- (16) Jim turned the radio off; *with the radio off* he could finally relax.

For B-verbs the absolute construction is not available:

- (17) \*He brought the kids up by himself; *with the kids up* he could go on holiday.
- (18) \*My teacher always puts his pupils down; *with his pupils down* he feels superior.
- (19) \*Jim sold the car off to a friend; *with the car off* he could buy a boat.

Notice that the [NP + particle] sequence may also occur, though perhaps only marginally for some speakers, after the comparative prepositions *than* and *as*:

- (20) (a) *The oven off* is less dangerous *than the oven on*.
- (b) *The oven off* is as dangerous *as the oven on*.
- (c) *The ovens off* is as at least as dangerous *as the ovens on*.

These facts clearly suggest that in (14)–(16) and in (20) the elements following

the prepositions form a constituent, whereas the elements in (17)–(19) do not.<sup>3</sup>

The sentences in (20) reveal another interesting property of the [NP+particle] complements to A-verbs, namely their ability to appear in subject position. The inability of the [NP+particle] strings of B-verb constructions to do the same, cf. (21) and (22), is a second argument in favour of analysing A-verbs and B-verbs differently.

(21) \**The kids up* is very desirable.

(22) \**His pupils down* is terrible.

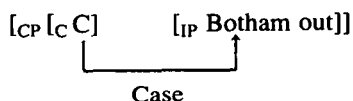
The existence of a subject-predicate relation between the NP and the particle in each of the sentences in (14)–(16) and in (20) points to a Small Clause analysis for the strings following the prepositions and for the subject expressions in (20).

With regard to (20), an objection to this claim might be that *off* and *on* are postmodifiers. There is, however, empirical evidence which strongly suggests that this is not the case. Firstly, if we pluralize the noun *oven* in these sentences, as in (20c), we find that there is no concomitant change in the verb form (cf. Safir, 1983). This shows that the subject expression in (20c) is not an NP. Given the subject-predicate relation between *the ovens* and *off*, it must be a Small Clause. Secondly, note that (23) is possible for most speakers:

(23) *Botham out* is a disaster for the England team.<sup>4</sup>

As proper names cannot normally be modified, *out* can only be analysed as a predicative element whose subject is the NP.

Small Clauses in subject position in sentences like (23) are best analysed as CPs which take an abstract prepositional complementiser in C which assigns Case to the SC subject:



We could also argue that the main clause I assigns Case to the SC subject. However, as one *JL* referee points out, this is unlikely because objective Case is expected in this position (cf. *Her out is a problem*/\**She out is a problem*). As for the thematic properties of these constructions, the matrix clause predicate does not assign a  $\theta$ -role to the subject of the SC, but to the SC as a whole. As in standard analyses, the predicate of the clause, in this case the particle, is instrumental in assigning a  $\theta$ -role to the Small Clause subject.

[NP+particle] strings may also occur as complements in copular constructions:

(24) so that's # *Barrington out* #<sup>5</sup>

[3] See Beukema and Hoekstra (1983, 1984) for an SC analysis of *with*-NP-PP constructions such as *With George Bush in the White House America is doomed*.

[4] I thank Bob Borsley for suggesting this example to me.

[5] Survey of English Usage S.10.1.76-30. The # indicates a tone unit boundary.

As a third argument in favour of distinguishing A-verbs from B-verbs, consider (25)–(27). These indicate that the [NP + particle] strings of A-verb constructions can also occur on their own:

- (25) The room was extremely noisy: children shouting, *the tv on, the record player on*, and little Jimmy kicking the cat.  
 (26) *Hands up!*<sup>6</sup>  
 (27) The thief, *while out*, swore never to end up in jail again.

Again, in each of these sentences there is a subject-predicate relation between the NP and the particle. Therefore it is reasonable to analyse the strings in italics as clauses.

The examples (25) and (26) pose no Case-theoretical problems. In both these sentences the Small Clauses, which here also are CPs, contain an abstract prepositional complementiser in C which assigns Case to the Small Clause subject, as in (23). In (27) the Small Clause has an empty PRO subject. *While* is positioned in C, and, as it is not a possible governor, does not govern the PRO subject of the Small Clause, as required by Chomsky's PRO-theorem (see Chomsky, 1981 : 60). Unlike most of the SCs we have discussed so far, the Small Clauses in (23) and in (25)–(27) are not in complement positions. The [NP + particle] strings which are part of B-verb constructions do not occur on their own, as the reader can easily verify.<sup>7</sup>

As a final piece of evidence in favour of recognising two different types of verb-preposition construction in English, consider the coordination facts in (28) and (29):

- (28) Mel and Kim were watching television in the dark when suddenly Rick burst in; he switched *the lights on* and *the tv off*.  
 (29) It is difficult to arrange this furniture; let me see: I want *the couch here* and *the table there*.

Given the standard assumptions regarding coordination, namely that units that can be coordinated are constituents, both (28) and (29) offer strong empirical support for the claim that the sequences in italics are constituents.<sup>8</sup>

[6] Anja Böing drew my attention to this type of imperative SC.

[7] Nigel Vincent has drawn my attention to the danger that positing an abstract prepositional complementiser in (23) and in (25)/(26) leads to a circular argument: Why do the SC subjects have Case? Because there is a prepositional complementiser. What is the evidence for such an element? The fact that the SC subject must be assigned Case. The analysis given here, however, is at least in part motivated in that (27) shows that positing a complementiser position in this type of SC is necessary on independent grounds. In any case, whatever the exact mechanism assigning Case to the subject of the SCs in (23) and in (25)/(26), the main concern here is to demonstrate the fact that A-verb [NP + Prt] strings occur independently, whereas their B-verb counterparts do not.

[8] There are exceptions to the assumption above about coordination. Thus we can have *I gave Vincent a book and Caroline a newspaper*, where we would not want to say that *Vincent a book* and *Caroline a newspaper* are constituents. However, this problem is not peculiar to the present analysis. See Larson (1988) and Hudson (1988) for discussion and possible solutions.

As there is a subject-predicate relation between the NP and the particle, we must conclude that the units in question are clauses.

The behaviour of B-verbs is again different. For these verbs coordination of [NP + particle] sequences is impossible:

(30) \*I looked *him through* and *the proposal through*.

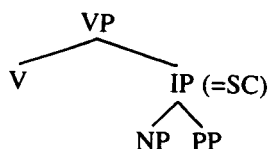
(31) \*He sorted *the problem out* and *the clothes out*.

The ungrammaticality of (30) and (31) suggests that the strings in italics are not constituents.

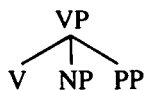
#### 4. THE ANALYSIS

The semantic and syntactic evidence which has been accumulated in favour of drawing a distinction between A-verbs and B-verbs suggests the following syntactic structures for the relevant VPs (V' is irrelevant here and has been omitted):

(32) *A-verbs*: [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>IP</sub> NP PP]]



(33) *B-verbs*: [<sub>VP</sub> V NP PP]



Following Emonds (1972, 1976) I am analysing the particles here as intransitive prepositions heading a Prepositional Phrase. Henceforth I will use the label PP for the element that has hitherto been called particle.

In (32) and (33) we see that A-verbs subcategorize for SCs, which I have analysed as IPs, whereas B-verbs subcategorize for an NP and a PP. The structure of the SC could also be taken to be [<sub>PP</sub> NP [<sub>PP</sub> P]] as in Chomsky (1986b: 20–21). In that analysis the Small Clause is a projection of the lower prepositional phrase. If this analysis is correct, A-verb constructions are a subset of cases such as *I expect that sailor off my ship*, which also involve a prepositional Small Clause (see Stowell, 1981: 257). However, as we saw in connexion with (23) and (25)–(27) above, the categorial status of the Small Clause could be argued to be CP rather than XP for SCs which are not in subcategorized positions. I will not here take part in the debate on the categorial status of SCs. Suffice it to say that the argument developed here does not hinge on the exact status of the Small Clause node. In (32), the head verb  $\theta$ -marks the Small Clause, but not the subject of the SC. It is the predicate of the clause, in this case the prepositional phrase, which assigns a



$\theta$ -role to the subject NP. In (33) the V-node assigns a  $\theta$ -role to the NP, and to the prepositional phrase. We can view this prepositional phrase as what has been called a 'quasi-argument' (see Chomsky 1981: 37, 325). Such arguments occur in  $\theta$ -positions and, because of their idiomatic status, receive dummy  $\theta$ -roles. In both (32) and (33) Case is assigned to the NP by the adjacent verb.

From the discussion above it follows that an analysis of A and B-verb constructions as involving some sort of complex verb (as in e.g. Stowell, 1981, and Radford, 1988: 90 ff.) is rejected here. The reason for this is that in such structures the PP may be preceded by a modifier, as in (34) and (35) below:

- (34) I cut the branch *right* off.
- (35) I switched the radio *completely* off.

The fact that (34) and (35) are well-formed constitutes empirical support for the claim that the element *off* in these sentences is an independent maximal projection. *Right* and *completely* are P'-specifiers in the structure [<sub>PP</sub> Spec [<sub>P</sub> P]]. It might be objected that although modification of the prepositional phrase is possible in [V NP PP] configurations, it is not possible in [V PP NP] sequences, as is shown in sentences (36) and (37):

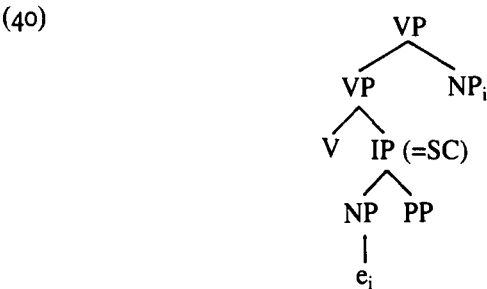
- (36) \*I cut right off the branch.
- (37) \*I switched completely off the radio.

These sentences suggest in these configurations the preposition cannot be a maximal projection. Radford has taken data such as these to be evidence for his claim that the preposition is incorporated in the verb, thus forming a complex verb through Reanalysis. We will see below, however, that the ill-formedness of these sentences can be explained without recourse to a Reanalysis rule.

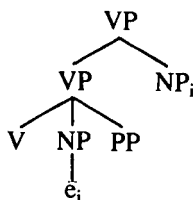
Let us now turn to an account of (8) and (9), repeated here as (38) and (39):

- (38) I switched off the light.
- (39) I looked up the information.

I propose that in both cases we have rightward movement of the NP deriving (40) and (41) from (32) and (33) respectively:



(41)



The NP in each case is adjoined to VP.<sup>9</sup> This treatment is in accordance with Chomsky's (1986: 6) claim that Adjunction is possible only to maximal projections in non-argument position. If this is correct then Adjunction to the Small Clause is excluded in (40) because it is an argument position. Note that the Empty Category Principle is satisfied in (40) and (41), as both traces are properly governed through antecedent government by the displaced NPs.

The analysis proposed here has an important Case-theoretical implication. If we assume Case-assignment to take place at S-Structure, then in (40) and (41) the head of VP assigns Case to the trace of the moved NP. Because the NPs are moved to an A'-position in accordance with the  $\theta$ -criterion, the trace in question has the status of a variable. This consequence is a natural one if we regard movement of the NP in verb-preposition constructions as an instance of Heavy-NP-Shift, a process which has been argued to leave behind Case marked traces (see e.g. Stowell, 1981: 207 ff., and Whitney, 1982, 1983). Apart from Case, the trace is also assigned a  $\theta$ -role; both Case and the  $\theta$ -role are transmitted to the NP.

It would seem that some notion of heaviness is indeed involved in accounting for verb-preposition constructions. This becomes clear if we consider the behaviour of pronouns. As is well-known, in the unmarked cases pronouns cannot appear to the right of a preposition in English. Thus, we cannot have (42) and (43):

(42) \*I switched off it.

(43) \*I looked up it.

Kayne, in dealing with such data, suggests that pronouns are 'lighter' than other NP types. He proposes the following condition:

(44) In ...[e]<sub>1</sub> X NP<sub>1</sub>..., where NP<sub>1</sub> binds [e]<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>1</sub> must be at least as heavily weighted as X.

Weightings: heavy NP = 2, ordinary NP = 1, pronoun = 0, particle = 1, *right* + particle = 1 (Kayne, 1984b: 127)

Because particles are 'heavier' than pronouns, (44) prevents pronouns from appearing to their right. Although this proposal is intuitively very appealing,

[9] Kayne's analysis also makes use of rightward movement of the NP. One difference from the present framework, as noted above, is that the moved NP adjoins to V' (cf. Kayne, 1984b: 125). A second difference is that for Kayne A-verbs and B-verbs are syntactically indistinguishable.

as pronouns do appear to behave idiosyncratically,<sup>10</sup> it seems that because (44) is rather complex it is implausible that it is part of a child's mental make-up.

In view of these considerations I propose to modify (44) in such a way that it has the status of a condition on derivations resulting after rightward movement of maximal projections:

- (45) A maximal projection A may appear in an adjoined position after rightward movement across a maximal projection B only if A is more heavily weighted than B.

The weightings are as follows: heavy XP: 2, regular XP: 1, light XP: 0. Of course, the specified weightings are to be regarded as relative, not as absolute, values. We may regard XPs that contain a PP or a clause as being heavy (cf. Whitney, 1982: 299), and XPs that contain only a head, i.e. that have the structure in (46), as being light.

- (46) XP  
 |  
 X'  
 |  
 X

We are now in a position to explain why (42) and (43) are ill-formed. In both sentences the pronominal NPs and the intransitive PPs have the structure in (46). This means that they are light maximal projections. In these sentences the displaced pronominal NPs appear in a position to the right of intransitive PPs which have the same weight; (45) rules these structures out. In formulating (45) as above I am proposing that movement of the NP to the right, as an instance of Move  $\alpha$ , is always a possible option. The condition, however, filters out some of the resulting derivations. Because structures like (42) and (43), which result after movement of the NP, have not violated any D-Structure of S-Structure principles, it is reasonable to assume that (45) operates at the PF level.

It is to be expected that certain processes at this level affect the weight of the pronoun. As has been observed in the literature, if the pronoun is appropriately stressed, it CAN occur in final position, as in (47):

- (47) Why did you throw out HIM?

Because the pronoun carries heavy stress in this sentence its weight has increased so that its appearance to the right of the PP does not violate (45).

Note that light pronominal NPs also increase in weight when they take premodifying or postmodifying elements. Thus, (48) and (49) are well-

[10] In this type of construction and in general. Thus, for example, in the Binding Theory they are subject to a special condition to which regular nouns are not subject.

formed because the pronominal NPs, now heavier because of the added postmodifiers, appear to the right of a light intransitive PP after movement:

- (48) I'll phone up *you lot* when I get home.
- (49) She'll phone up *them in the corner* on Monday.

Consider now (50)–(53):

- (50) \*I cut right off the branch. (= (36))
- (51) \*He switched completely off the radio. (= (37))
- (52) I cut right off all the branches that were keeping out the light.
- (53) He switched completely off the radio that had been making funny noises all the time.

We can explain the grammaticality judgments of these sentences as follows: in (50) and (51) the PP is no longer a light phrase because the elements *right* and *completely* occur in the Specifier position. (45) prevents the NPs *the branch* and *the radio* from appearing to the right of the PP as the PPs and NPs now have equal weight. (52) and (53), by contrast, are fine because a heavy NP may appear to the right of a lighter regular PP.

Sentences (52) and (53) are evidence against a Reanalysis rule such as the one proposed by Radford (see above). If a rule of this type existed, it would reanalyse strings like *cut right off* and *switched completely off* in (52) and (53) as complex verbs. This is undesirable, for obvious reasons. Furthermore, in an analysis such as Radford's there is no way, other than by stipulation, in which the ungrammaticality of sentences like (42) and (43) can be explained. We should in general posit Reanalysis rules only if no better analysis is available.

The present analysis has the added advantage that it can also account for other types of Heavy-NP-Shift. Consider (54)–(57):

- (54) I consider a fool any man who smokes.
- (55) He claims he can make very happy the woman who refused to marry him.
- (56) I want out of the room all the people without a ticket.
- (57) I had repaired the car that my father bought last week. (where *have* is causative)

In each of these cases the Small Clause subject has moved to the right and has been adjoined to VP, leaving behind a Case-marked,  $\theta$ -marked trace. The resulting structures do not violate (45) because the heavy NPs appear to the right of a lighter regular XP. Notice that (45) is operative in preventing pronouns from appearing to the right of the Small Clause predicates:

- (58) \*I consider a fool him.
- (59) \*He claims he can make very happy her.
- (60) \*I want out of the room them.
- (61) \*I had repaired it.

There are some potential counterexamples to condition (45). Consider, for example, (62) and (63):

- (62) \*I declared winner the student.<sup>11</sup>  
 (63) They looked up idioms.

In (62) the NP *the student* is syntactically heavier than the NP *winner*. (45) wrongly predicts that this constituent may appear to the right of *winner*. In (63) it should not be possible for the light NP *idioms* to appear to the right of the equally light PP *up*. It would seem that the 'bare NPs' *winner* and *idioms* in these sentences are weighted like regular NPs, contrary to what is predicted by (46). If this is indeed the case, then (62) is ruled out, as it should be, and (63) is correctly not ruled out. It is not entirely clear what should make these NPs heavier, but a plausible possibility is that the NPs *winner* and *idioms* in (62) and (63) carry extra 'informational weight'. Their natural position is then at the end of the sentence. As in the case of (47), it is to be expected that PF processes influence the syntactic weightings.

Let us finally turn to a set of data which have been subject to some debate, and which invariably prompt a great variety of acceptability judgments from native speakers:

- (64) She made Jim out a fool.  
 (65) She sent Jim back those files.  
 (66) She wrote Jim out a note.

Although the superficial structures of these sentences are similar, (64) and (65) differ crucially from (66) in that they involve a subject-predicate relation between *Jim* and *a fool* in (64) and between *those files* and *back* in (65). These sentences appear to have the following D-Structures:

- (67) She [<sub>VP</sub> made [<sub>SC</sub> Jim a fool] [out]]  
 (68) She [<sub>VP</sub> sent [Jim] [<sub>SC</sub> those files back]]  
 (69) She [<sub>VP</sub> wrote [Jim] [a note] [out]]

Note that the existence of *she made out that Jim was a fool* supports the analysis of (67).

We derive (64)–(66) by moving the rightmost NPs in each case and by adjoining them to VP:

- (70) She [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> made [<sub>SC</sub> Jim [<sub>NP</sub> e<sub>i</sub>]] [out]]] a fool<sub>i</sub>]  
 (71) She [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> sent [Jim] [<sub>SC</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> e<sub>i</sub>] back]]] those files<sub>i</sub>]  
 (72) She [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> wrote [Jim] [<sub>NP</sub> e<sub>i</sub>] [out]]] a note<sub>i</sub>]

Notice that in (70) the predicate of the SC has moved, whereas in (71) it is the SC subject which is adjoined to VP. In (72) the displaced NP is a secondary object. As before, the movements to the right are instances of

[11] Pronounced without an intonational break.

Heavy-NP-Shift. For some reason, for which I have no explanation, movement of the NP *a fool* in (67) is obligatory because the D-Structure in which it occurs cannot appear as a surface form. (68) and (69), on the other hand, are acceptable as surface structures, and Heavy-NP-Shift is optional, as expected.<sup>12</sup>

Consider next (73)–(75):

- (73) \*She made out Jim a fool.
- (74) \*She sent back Jim those files.
- (75) \*She wrote out Jim a note.

The ungrammaticality of these sentences can be accounted for as follows: (73) is ruled out because in order to derive it from (67) the whole SC would have to be moved to the right, adjoining to VP. In that position neither the subject nor the predicate of the Small Clause would be Case-marked, thus violating the Case Filter. The alternative, movement of the prepositional phrase *out* to the left, also results in a violation of the Case Filter in that again neither *Jim* nor *a fool* would be assigned Case in the resulting structure (if we assume that Case is assigned under Adjacency).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, such a process would not be possible because it is neither a case of Substitution, nor of Adjunction, the only two permissible types of movement (cf. Chomsky, 1986b: 4).

The two ways of deriving (74) from (68) are also illicit. Movement of *Jim those files* to the right involves movement of a non-constituent. Furthermore, the same problem as above with regard to the Case-marking of the displaced NPs would obtain. Displacement of the prepositional phrase *back* to the left results in a violation of the Case Filter because neither *Jim* nor *those files* would be adjacent to the verb. Furthermore, as above, such movement is prohibited because it involves neither Substitution nor Adjunction.

Finally, (75) cannot be derived from (69) for the same reasons: movement of *Jim a note* is impossible because this string is not a constituent and because in the derived structure these NPs would not be Case-marked. Movement of *out* to the left within VP is illicit, again for Case theoretical reasons, as above. Furthermore, as in the discussion of (73) and (74), such movement does not involve Substitution or Adjunction.

[12] With regard to the question how *those files* in (65) and *a note* in (66) acquire Case we might extend the adjacency condition on Case marking along the lines suggested in Chomsky (1981: 94) in such a way that the matrix verb assigns a secondary Case to the traces of these NPs in (71) and (72) which is subsequently transmitted to the displaced constituents.

[13] If the Case Filter is formulated in terms of visibility the predicate of the SC, *a fool*, need not be assigned Case as it is not an argument. See Chomsky (1986a: 95).

## 5. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have shown that there is semantic as well as syntactic evidence for making a distinction between two types of verb-preposition construction. I have distinguished A-verbs, which subcategorise for SCs, from B-verbs, which subcategorise for an NP and a PP complement. We can view B-verbs as transitive prepositional verbs, the intransitive class comprising verbs of the type encountered in (3) above. So-called phrasal verbs do not exist. The analysis presented here, which posits rightward movement of the NP and Adjunction to VP in accounting for the alternations in (1)/(38) and (2)/(39), in conjunction with the condition on derivations, (45), provides a principled account of verb-preposition constructions in English.

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