

Sound emission and directional phrases in S-C

On the background of the theoretical approach of Beavers et al. (2008), in which the realization of the manner and result components in the VP is central for the typology of the verbal domain, **we investigate S-C VPs involving a sound emission component with respect to their capacity to combine with directional phrases and receive resultative interpretation.** The paper aims to provide an exhaustive syntactic and semantic classification of VPs with a directional phrase, headed by sound-emission verbs, as verbs lexicalizing a particular type of a manner component. Three factors are identified as central to this classification.

1. Argument structure. In the default case, combining a sound-emission verb with a directional phrase yields an interpretation in which the sound, as the incremental theme of emission undergoes a (possibly abstract) motion in the specified direction (1a). The more interesting case is when the subject of this motion is another participant, the incremental theme of some other process than the sound emission, usually motion (1b).

- (1) a. Marija se/je do-viknula do kraja ulice.
 Marija.NOM REFL/AUX do-shouted.PFV till end.GEN street.GEN
 ‘Marija shouted (down) to the end of the street.’
- b. Marija je do-škripala do kraja ulice.
 Marija.NOM AUX do-creaked.PFV till end.GEN street.GEN
 ‘Marija reached the end of the street (while) creaking’ /
 ‘Marija creaked till/to the end of the street’

Sound emission verbs involving an external argument holding control over the process, in combination with directional phrases, tend to stick to the default interpretation, in which the prefix and the directional phrase modify the emission and motion of sound (2a). Unaccusatives more easily receive the interpretation in which a process other than the sound emission is modified (2b).

- (2) a. Jovan je od-pevao (do kraja/??uz brdo). (J as a controlling agent)
 Jovan.NOM AUX od-sang.PFV (till end.GEN/??up hill.ACC)
 ‘Jovan sang till the end/??up the hill.’
- b. Jovan je od-zujao uz brdo. (an unaccusative interpretation)
 Jovan.NOM AUX od-buzzed.PFV up hill.ACC
 ‘Jovan moved up the hill (while) buzzing/ Jovan buzzed up the hill.’

2. Overt realization of the prefix. In VPs involving a causal relation between the motion and sound emission, overt realization of the prefix related to the directional PP yields ungrammaticality (3a). Only when the causal relation is indirect (an implicature) (2a), when the sound emission is an independent eventuality (1), or the prefix is not related to the directional phrase (3b), such VPs are well-formed.

- (3) a. Zubi su (*pro/od/do-)škripali o tanjir.
 teeth.NOM.PL AUX (*pro/od/do-)screeched.PFV against plate.ACC
 ‘The teeth screeched against the plate.’
- b. Zubi su pro-škripali kroz hodnik.
 teeth.NOM.PL AUX pro-screeched.PFV through hall.ACC
 ‘The teeth screeched through the hall.’

3. Richness of the directional scale. Prefixes related to directional phrases with denotations defined over a richer scale, such as *pro/do/od-V*, in combination with PPs headed by *kroz/niz/uz/duž...* (through, down, up, along) have a higher productivity than those defined over a binary scale, like *u/na/pod/nad-V*, combining with *u/na/pod/nad...* (in, on, under, above).

- (4) a. Jovan je pro-stenjao/-zveckao niz ulicu.
 Jovan.NOM AUX pro-moaned/clinked.PFV down street.ACC
 ‘Jovan moaned/clinked down the street.’
- b. ??Jovan je u-stenjao/-zveckao u zgradu.
 Jovan.NOM AUX u-moaned/clinked.PFV in(to) building.ACC
 ‘Jovan moaned/clinked in(to) the building.’

The former class of verbs allows the use of their imperfective forms (without the perfectivizing prefix) in the same type of construction, while with the latter class, such construction is out.

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- (5) a. Marija je zviždala/šuštala kroz šumu.
 Marija.NOM AUX whistled/rustled.IPFV through woods.ACC
 'Marija whistled/rustled through the woods.'
- b. *Marija je zviždala/šuštala na ostrvo.
 Marija.NOM AUX whistled/rustled.IPFV on(to) island.ACC
 'Marija whistled/rustled on(to) the island.'

Semelfactive verbs can be described as verbs with a temporal interval amounting to a point, hence lacking any scalar structure due to their minimal temporal structure. Semelfactive verbs with a sound-emission etymology tend to lose their original meaning of sound emission, and take on a primary denotation of an intense physical contact resulting from motion.

- (6) a. Marija je zveknula o zemlju, a da se
 Marija.NOM AUX bang-S_suff-PTCP against ground.ACC, but that REFL
 ni zvuk NEG.AUX začuo.
 not_even sound not INC-heard.PST
 'Marija banged against the ground without making a sound.'
- b. *Marija je zvečala zubima o tanjir, a da
 Marija.NOM AUX clinked.IPFV teeth.INST against plate.ACC, but that REFL
 se ni zvuk nije začuo.
 not_even sound not INC-heard.PAST
 'Marija clinked her teeth against the plate but not a sound was heard.'

Explaining the facts. It appears to be a general regularity in S-C that, verbs denoting sound emission only combine with directional phrases specifying scales with more than two degrees, thus never deriving proper resultative interpretation. We take this to be a parametric property of S-C, in the range as specified in Talmy (1985), or in Beavers et al. (2008). Apart from that, in the default case, when the sound emission is the incremental process, these verbs face few restrictions. When the denotation of the VP includes some other process, usually some kind of motion, this other process may be one that directly emits the sound and hence conflates with the process of sound emission (3a), or it can coincide with the emission of sound, which is then interpreted as a manner modification (3b). In the former case, no prefix can be realized. The reason is that the contribution of the prefix is in specifying the mapping between the path of the eventuality and the one specified by the directional phrase; yet, in the observed case, the directional phrase already specifies a mapping – that between the path of some motion and the path along which sound emission takes place. Hence, a prefix either conflicts with this specification of mapping, or is redundant.

When sound emission contributes only a manner modification for another process, the subject must be interpreted as an undergoer, and the presence of an agent that controls the eventuality leads to ungrammaticality. We explain this as follows. Due to its syntactic locality with both the process of motion and the process of sound emission, this argument is interpreted as the agent in control of both eventualities, rendering a coordinative interpretation between the two eventualities, which clashes with the subordinated status of sound emission.

Conclusion. In the domain of sound emission verbs, the facts in S-C can be explained based on only one parametric stipulation: that in S-C these verbs only combine with scales with more than two degrees, and all the rest can be derived from here. This sheds an interesting light on the nature of variation and parameters: not only they have to be formulated as relatively fine grained on the structural level, but they also may be different for different semantic classes, one such being the verbs of sound emission.

References:

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- Talmy, Leonard. 1985.** Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Vol. 3. Grammatical categories and the lexicon* (pp. 36-149). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.