1. Introduction

This paper investigates the aspectual and/or Aktionsart function of the adverbial particle \textit{out} in different sentential contexts. The (statistic) analysis will be performed on the corpus excerpted from modern British novels by Julian Barnes. The database includes six novels by the author consisting of 165 examples of sentences with finite verb forms containing the particle \textit{out}.

1.1. Summary of research area

Verb–particle combinations consist of a lexical verb followed by one or two particles making a lexical unit. Two-part combinations can manifest as phrasal (comprising an adverbial particle) and prepositional (comprising a prepositional particle) combinations. This study focuses only on phrasal combinations.

The starting point of this analysis was the general definition of verbal aspect given by Comrie. According to Comrie (1976: 3) “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. He defines perfectivity as an aspectual category which “indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation” (Comrie 1976: 16), and imperfectivity as an aspectual category which “looks at the situation from inside, and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation” (Comrie 1976: 4).

However, for most linguists, aspect is a much broader category, which not only deals with aspectual information marked by affixes on the verb but also includes lexical aspect, as opposed to grammatical aspect. Since an adverbial particle and a lexical verb form semantically and functionally a single unit, it is important to take into account the effect of the particle on the character of the situation referred to as inherent aspect, objective aspect, situation aspect, ontological aspect, actionality or Aktionsart. According to Comrie (1976: 6–7), there are at least two distinctions between aspect and Aktionsart. The first distinction is in the fact that aspect is the grammaticalisation of the relevant semantic distinctions, while Aktionsart represents lexicalisation of these distinctions, irrespective of how they are lexicalised; this use of Aktionsart is similar to the no-
tion of inherent meaning. The second distinction, which most Slavists focus on, is in the fact that aspect is the grammaticalisation of the semantic distinction, and Aktionsart the lexicalisation of the distinction, provided that the lexicalisation is by no means a result of derivational morphology.

Verkuyl’s (1972) and Brinton’s (1988) work of perfective aspect or as modiﬁcal and/or Aktionsart interpretations. Among them being the one that questions the “quasi-aspectual” nature of particles as the most signiﬁcant criterium in the deﬁnition of phrasal verbs (Live 1965: 441, 443; Bolinger 1971: 85, 96–97; Fraser 1976: 6). In relation to aspect, adverbial particles have on the one hand been classiﬁed as perfective or intensitive (Kennedy 1920: 27), perfective or resultative (Bolinger 1971: 96), ingressive or terminative (Poutsma 1926: 296, 300–301), ingressive, effective or durative (Cappelle 2005: 354–356), completive (Fraser 1976: 6), or telic (Comrie 1976: 46). This transparent terminological inconsistency in describing the verbal aspect and Aktionsart has made it somewhat difﬁcult to conclusively deﬁne particles as markers of verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart.

Brinton (1985: 158), also claims that “verb particles in Modern English function as markers of telic Aktionsart”, or in other words, that “an atelic situation can be made telic by means of verbal particles such as out, off, about, etc” (Kardela 1997: 1483). What we should bear in mind and what has surely been underlined in Cappelle (2005: 354–356), is that Brinton never claimed that all particles are markers of telicity. A few of them (namely, on, along, and away), she said, can express an iterative aspect or continuative aspect.

One of the ﬁnal indications of the telic nature of the particles according to Brinton is their non-occurrence with state verbs like know, hope and resemble, as noted by Fraser (1976: 11) and discussed brieﬂy by Bolinger (1971: 88–90). Bolinger observes that particles may occur with be, have, and other normally stative verbs when they are in fact non-stative or when the particles refer to a resultant condition. “In general, the Aktionsart category of state is incompatible with the notion of goal inherent in particles. States are durative and begin and
end, but they cannot lead up to a conclusion or climax; they involve no change or progression” (Brinton 1985: 165).

Also, it has long been recognised that the mass/count qualities of subjects or objects influence aspectual meaning. Brinton claims that if the argument of the phrasal verb is either a mass noun, a collective noun, or a plural count noun, the particle may contribute a distributive or iterative aspectual meaning to an achievement verb (Brinton 1985: 165).

1.2. Methodology

This paper relied on the general classification of lexical verbs by Vendler (activity-Vact, state-Vst, accomplishment-Vacc, achievement-Vach, expanded by the class of semelfactive verbs-Vsem) in the discussion of lexical properties of lexical verbs, as well as phrasal verbs formed by adding the particle out to lexical verbs.

The following procedure was used: every verb that combined with the particle out was classified according to its aspectual and Aktionsart type. Each verb was placed in the minimal syntactic frame in which it can occur, i.e. with singular subjects and no objects where possible and with as few internal arguments as possible when they were grammatically required. A minimal syntactic frame was used in order to minimise the effect that other sentential components could have on the lexical aspect of the sentence. The resulting verb was then tested using the above-mentioned diagnostics to determine which Aktionsart class the verb belonged to. However, one of the problems with this classification is that many verbs can take different lexical interpretations when they are found in different contexts. The verbs bring, get, put, set and take from the corpus were classified as ambiguous (Vamb), since in the minimal syntactic frame it was impossible to decide which Aktionsart group these verbs belong to. The corpus analysis shows that the basic lexical verbs are mostly activities (68.6%), then achievements (15.1%), semelfactives (6.1%), ambiguous verbs (6.1%) and accomplishments (4.8%). No example of the particle out combined with state verbs was recognised.

Once the verbs were classified according to their aspectual and Aktionsart type, each isolated verb phrase was analysed together with the other sentential elements. The aspectual and Aktionsart properties of each sentence were compared in order to ascertain how the presence of the particle out affected the structure of the sentence. The procedure was repeated for each verb that combines with the particle out and then the data were integrated in order to obtain the general perspective. The aim of this paper was not to give a comprehensive survey of phrasal verbs with the particle out and their meanings, but to investigate some issues related to the various ways in which this particle can influence the aspectual and Aktionsart properties of the verb to which it is added.

2. Results and discussion

The results of the analysis defined the telic impact of the particle out on lexical verbs and finally determined its status in the systems of aspect and Aktionsart. Firstly, we investigated the impact the particle out has on the nature of a situation and we concluded that the majority of phrasal verbs belong to an Aktionsart category different from the one lexical verbs without the particle out belong to (see Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical verbs</th>
<th>Phrasal verbs with particle OUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of examples</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>Accomplishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

verbs belong to activities and they retain only 8.8% of sentential examples. More frequently, activity verbs become achievements or accomplishments, as we can see in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity lexical verbs</th>
<th>Number of examples</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activity → Achievement</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity → Accomplishment</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity → Activity</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Activity verbs combined with the particle OUT

The particle out turns 38.1% of activity verbs into accomplishments (act out, bear out, billow out, carry out, chip out, clear out, dig out, dish out, draw out, drive out, drown out, dry out, duke out, falten out, gaze out, go out, level out, let out, pack out, paint out, pan out, read out, row out, run out, send out, ship out, show out, sound out, spell out, spread out, sort out, stick out, turn out, write out, wipe out, work out), and 53.1% of activity verbs into achievements (ask out, break out, breathe out, call out, cut out, dish out, fall out, fly out, give out, go out, help out, hold out, invalid out, lay out, leave out, let out, lift out, make out, move out, pick out, pull out, rule out, run out, reach out, rule out, sail out, ship out, shoot out, show out, sing out, stick out, slide out, spit out, stagger out, stake out, stand out, strike out, Tippex out, throw out, try out, turn out, venture out, walk out, yell out), therefore acting as a marker of telicity.

This means that in 91.2% of the examples originally containing activity lexical verbs, the particle out adds an endpoint to atelic verb phrases, i.e. changes the feature /–telicity/ into /+telicity/. These data (including examples of perfective, imperfective and perfect aspect) support Brinton’s claim that particles function as markers of telic Aktionsart (the numbers in brackets refer to the novels numbered in SOURCES and the pages from the novels, respectively):

(1) A week later they clear everything out and disappear. (2: 262)
(2) He got so drunk his contact lenses fell out. (4: 54)
(3) Did it on the phone first, tried it out talking to other people about her, finally did it to her face. (4: 41)

However there are still 8.8% of corpus examples having activity verbs that do not change the Aktionsart category when the particle out is added, i.e. they retain the feature /–telicity/:

(4) His left knee was on a higher step than his right knee; his bottom was sticking out. (1: 78)
(5) He was helping her out because he was on holiday and she was feeling tired. (1: 78)
(6) ...because after all you didn’t stop him going out and you honestly wouldn’t mind if he stayed out longer… (4: 53)
(7) A constable was holding out a case containing four razors. (5: 133)
These verbs and their sentential context were therefore examined for any observable patterns that may suggest why they do not conform to the pattern of behaviour shown by other verbs.

a) Surveying the examples, we concluded that the majority of phrasal verbs (about 60%) in the sentences with neutralised telicity belong to progressive aspect. The correlation between activity verbs and progressive aspect is more than obvious. Activities are dynamic situations with possible duration, the segments of which are qualitatively equal, because the situation does not have a goal. On the other hand, progressiveness implies the combination of progressive meaning and non-stative (dynamic) meaning. Comrie (1976: 38) implies that “the basic meaning of the English Progressive is to indicate a contingent situation: this would subsume progressive meaning itself, and also the use of the Progressive to indicate a temporary (contingent) state, and its use to indicate a contingent habitual situation”. The fact that “the progressive aspect views a situation as ongoing or developing and as being continuous and incomplete in the time frame considered”, stated in Brinton (1988: 39), implies that the temporal features of the activity Aktionsart (dynamicity and duration) are naturally compatible with the progressive aspect.

For instance, in example (5), the endpoint condition supplied by the particle out represents the completion of an action, i.e. the particle out adds the feature of telicity to the verb help. Therefore, the phrasal verb help out is accomplishment (i.e. telic) confirming the particle’s telic function. But, since the progressive aspect expresses an ongoing action within the given frame (the process of helping out expands during his holiday and her tiredness), the phrase was helping out is perceived as atelic. Or, in example (7), the particle out establishes the endpoint or the goal for the activity hold suggesting the notion of holding something in one’s hand towards someone else. But in this example, the progressive indicates that the action is ongoing and that the goal is not reached; therefore, the action in this example is incomplete, and in progress at the point of speech. Finally, with the progressive aspect, atelic situations are seen as ongoing, whereas phrasal verbs that express activities present the situation as a structure.

The neutralisation of telicity can also be observed under the specific syntactic conditions in the progressive aspect. The action of durative phrasal verbs with plural subjects may be seen as either iterative or having a neutralised goal, as in the case of an unspecified plural/mass object. The following examples illustrate progressive aspect (is sending out, wasn’t throwing out), combined with unspecified plural object (drunken drivers, orphans), which causes the action in the progressive to be seen as progressing towards its goal, without ever reaching it. In other words, the goal is neutralised in these examples:

(8) That firm isn’t going to last long if it’s sending out drunken drivers to pick up clients. (2: 64)
(9) I wasn’t throwing orphans out into the snow. (4: 105)

Example (8) illustrates the activity verb send converted into achievement by the particle out. However, in this example, the goal is neutralised by the unspecified plural noun phrase drunken drivers. In that respect, send out is an achievement in which the feature of telicity is neutralised by mutual impact of the unspecified plural object and progressive aspect. This occurrence also yields an iterative reading, i.e. the one which implies multiple repetitions of the event.

b) The remaining 40% of corpus examples having the phrasal verbs in which the particle out does not change activity Aktionsart are in non-progressive aspect, and they urge a different explanation of at-
elic reading. Closer examination reveals that most lexical verbs these phrasal verbs comprise of belong to specific semantic verb classes, which points to the fact that the semantic properties of lexical verbs significantly influence these phenomena. We noticed that these lexical verbs conveyed the meaning of maintaining a situation or body position through/in space (camp, stand, stake, stare). The particle out appears merely to confirm or make explicit what is already lexically stated in the verb (camp out, stake out, stare out, stand out). For example:

(10) I do not stake out and fence in what is taken to be your approved and registered nature. (2: 166)

(11) Around this time he drew a self-portrait, from which he stares out at us with the sullen, rather suspicious gaze... (3: 138)

(12) Their white umbrellas stood out vividly against the harsh terrain of the mountain. (3: 167)

(13) ...so I camped out at the airport; (6: 106)

In the example (12), the verb stand conveys the meaning of maintaining the position in space. The particle out intensifies the semantic element present in this lexical verb – something to be clearly visible in the position kept. Therefore, this particle does not make any Aktionsart change to activity verbs with the meaning of maintaining a situation or body position through/in space, if the verb and the particle have the matching semantic component. In the example with the phrasal verb camp out (13), not only does the adverbial particle out imply movement from inside to outside (its literal meaning), but the phrasal verb camp out illustrates coherent connection between the lexical verb and the adverbial particle (since the verb camp itself conveys the meaning of setting up a tent or shelter outdoors and staying there for a short time).

These presented data are included in the (statistic) analysis stating that 8.8% of corpus examples having phrasal verbs with the particle out assert an atelic interpretation exclusively due to the progressive aspect or semantic link between the basic verb and particle out. Therefore, the field Activity → Activity in Table 1 and Table 2 should not be understood as atelicity of these phrasal verbs (since the particle out basically changes the activity features of these verbs making them accomplishments or achievements, i.e. telic), but as an observed impact of syntactic and semantic factors on the inherent telicity of these phrasal verbs. Hence, the conclusions of this analysis reflect the overall corpus research results, i.e. the characteristics of the corpus phrasal verbs with the particle out identified in the given syntactic and semantic environment.

2.2. Particle out with accomplishment and achievement verbs

The meaning of the particle sometimes overlaps in certain segments with that of the verb, as is the case of fall down. For this reason, it has been claimed that some particles do not add any meaning to that of the verb and are therefore redundant (Jackendoff 2002: 76). Despite the overlap in meaning, the particles in phrasal verbs are by no means redundant, as Jackendoff implies. They serve to emphasise the endstate of an inherently telic situation and to draw attention to the effectiveness of the action. Regardless of whether the basic lexical verbs are achievements (15.1% – buy, burst, come, crush, flip, find, mark, pass, pay, rip, sell, send, slide, slip, step, stub, tear) or accomplishments (4.8% – die, blot) i.e. /+telic/ (total 19.9%), our results (Table 1) show that the particle out does not affect the Aktionsart category of these verbs, as in the following examples:

(14) Pages 367 and 368: Graham ripped them out. (1: 185)
(15) I reached down and stubbed out one of these cigarettes he’d got burning. (2: 200)

(16) In any case, his eyes were trained on the ashtray as he crushed out the perfectly smokeable length of a very decent cigar. (5: 391)

(17) The Daily Telegraph paid out the contents of its appeal fund, which amounted to some £300. (5: 440)

(20) Oliver likes to pretend he knows what I do, andchucks outthe odd word from time to time to sound authoritative. (2: i8)

Therefore, the adverbial particle out turns atelic situations (semelfactives) into telic (achievements) situations confirming this particle’s function as the marker of telicity.

2.4. Particle out with state verbs

The analysis of the corpus recognised no example of the particle out combined with state verbs.

2.5. Particle out and verbs with ambiguous Aktionsart

Last, but not least, we should mention the category of verbs with ambiguous Aktionsart. The interpretation of Aktionsart of these verbs varies considerably in different syntactic frames. Verbs bring, get, put, set and take on their own are unclassifiable according to Aktionsart, since in minimal syntactic frame it is almost impossible to decide which Aktionsart group these verbs belong to.

With the particle out these verbs exhibit the same general tendency as other phrasal verbs in which this particle functions as a marker of telic Aktionsart. Furthermore, 11.1% of these verbs become accomplishments and 88.9% become achievements. For example:

(21) I just take out what I need to keep the conversation going. (2: 244)

(22) They got out and Spike pointed to a small stream. (3: 271)

(23) It’s my children who bring out the ‘I in the ‘I love you’. (4: 158)

(24) It was all brought out in court, by the family itself. (5: 386)

(25) Then when we meet up with the copter he’ll take the mail out. (3: 198)
Verb *bring* in the examples (23) and (24) can serve to illustrate this ambiguity. Particle *out* in these examples adds the feature of telicity to the verb *bring* by supplying it with the endpoint (i.e. with the goal of perceiving the emphasis of the first person in the sentence ‘I love you’ and displaying something in court). The Aktionssart category of the achievement verb *take* in the example (25) has not been affected by the particle *out* since it already bears the meaning of attainment of the goal. Isolated in a minimal syntactic environment, these verbs are unclassifiable according to Aktionsart categories. Since they can obtain different Aktionsart interpretations, the particles’ impact on these specific verbs is included in the analysis.

2.6. Phrasal verbs with particle *out*, aspect and telicity

As we can see in Table 3, phrasal verbs with the particle *out* identified in the corpus are mostly telic (93.6%). This feature is either achieved by adding this particle to atelic verbs (72.4%) or retained and intensified by adding the particle *out* to telic verbs (21.2%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action predicate (Act)</th>
<th>Accomplishment (Acc)</th>
<th>Seminal (Sem)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atelic→Atelic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telic→Telic</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atelic→Telic</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3. Phrasal verbs with the particle out and telicity*

A telic verb phrase refers to a telic event, i.e. an event that tends towards an inherent or intended endpoint. An atelic verb phrase, then, refers to an event that can only be stopped arbitrarily. Nevertheless, (grammatical) aspect significantly influences the interpretation of particles’ function in phrasal verbs (we have seen that in the case of progressive aspect above). The complex correlation between grammatical and lexical aspect (Aktionsart) is also reflected in the interaction of phrasal verbs with the perfect or perfective aspects. Since a perfective aspect views a situation as a single whole, with telic phrasal verbs, it includes their necessary endpoint, expressing the attainment of the endpoint (in the example (26), the repeating actions of sorting something out were completed at the specific time frame). This “creates the illusion that the achievement of the goal is part of the lexical meaning of such a verb” (Garey in Brinton 1985: 163), whereas it is in fact contributed by the grammatical aspect. Imperfective aspect, expressing the internal structure of the situation, views telic phrasal verb situations as ongoing and incomplete and it says nothing about the attainment of the endpoint (example (26) illustrates that the action of the life being sorted out is not completely finished in the given time frame). So with a telic situation, it is possible to use a verbal form with imperfective meaning, the implication being that at the time in question the terminal point had not yet been reached:

(26) I told you, I’m sorting out my life. (2: 115)
(27) But they sorted something out. (3: 113)
(28) I told him France wasn’t working out. (4: 23)
(29) I just looked at the market, worked out what people wanted, did my research and then my sums. (4: 37)

The perfect aspect, which views a situation in respect to its resultant state, also expresses the realisation of the endpoint with phrasal verbs. The situation is completed in the past and is not currently go-
ing on, though it has some current relevance. That is, only resultative, not continuative perfect readings are possible (Comrie 1976: 56-61):

(30) She had drawn out the worst the tempter had to offer. (3: 115)
(31) Her life hasn’t worked out like she hoped, but she just gets on with things. (4: 82)
(32) About some dessert that hadn’t panned out. (4: 168)

Therefore, grammatical aspect significantly influences the interpretation of the function of particles in phrasal verbs. As we have seen, particles mostly mark telicity (stating only the presence of a goal as part of the lexical meaning), whereas aspect determines whether the goal is attained (with perfect or perfective aspect, which views a situation as a single whole) or denotes ongoing and incomplete situations stating nothing about the attainment of the goal (with imperfective aspect, which views a situation as a structure).

3. Conclusion

This paper focuses on the aspeutal and/or Aktionsart function of the adverbial particle out in English phrasal verbs. Its scope also includes the systematic checking of (syntactic) conditions influencing the impact of this particle on lexical verbs. Considerable attention is paid to whether or not this particle has a telicising effect on the event expressed by the verb. The following conclusions were drawn:

1. Most of the basic lexical verbs belong to activities, and in 91.2% of these examples, phrasal verbs with the particle out have a telic reading, i.e. the particle out changes the feature /–telicity/ into /+telicity/ leading to the general conclusion that this particle marks telic Aktionsart.
2. About 8.8% of corpus examples having basic activity verbs do not change the Aktionsart category when the particle out is added, i.e. they retain the feature /–telicity/, and in these examples we noticed the following:
   a) about 60% of the examples with neutralised telicity belong to the progressive aspect implying that the progressiveness can influence the telicity perception.
   b) the remaining 40% of the corpus examples with atelic reading are in non-progressive aspect. In these cases the particle out does not make any Aktionsart change to activity verbs carrying the meaning of the maintaining of a situation or body position through/in space if the verb and the particle have the matching semantic component.

However, these observations should not be considered as an atelic influence of the particle out (since the particle out in these, as in other examples, changes verbs’ atelicity into telicity), but as an observed impact of syntactic and semantic factors on inherent telicity of the phrasal verbs with the particle out.

3. The particle out combined with accomplishment and achievement verbs serves to emphasise the end-state of the inherent telicity of those verbs. In cases where the lexical verb is an accomplishment or an achievement, i.e. /+telic/ (total 19.9%), our results show that this particle does not affect the Aktionsart category.
4. The basic semelfactive (atelic) verbs affected by the particle out acquire achievement (i.e. telic) interpretation.
5. The analysis of the corpus also proved Brinton’s claim that particles do not occur with state verbs.
6. The verbs bring, get, put, set and take found in the corpus were classified as ambiguous (Vamb) since even in the minimal syntactic frame it is almost impossible to decide which Aktionsart group they belong to. With the particle out, these verbs exhibit the same general tendency as other phrasal verbs in which this particle functions as a marker of telic Aktionsart. Furthermore, 88.9% of these verbs become accomplishments and 11.1% become achievements.

7. Grammatical aspect significantly influences the interpretation of the function of the particle out in phrasal verbs. As we have seen, this particle mostly marks telicity (stating only the presence of a goal as part of the lexical meaning), whereas aspect determines whether the goal is attained (with perfect or perfective aspect) or denotes ongoing and incomplete situations stating nothing about the attainment of the goal (with imperfective aspect).

According to the data obtained in this research, it can be stated that one of the most frequent adverbial particles – out – does not mark perfective (nor any other) verbal aspect, but telic Aktionsart. However, the type of verb situation in English is not fully determined in the lexicon, i.e. the object of the verb can introduce or neutralise the feature telicity.

Sources

References
FUNKCIJA ADVERBIJALNE PARTIKULE OUT
U ENGLESKIM FRAZNIM GLAGOLIMA:
ANALIZA KORPUSA

Rezime

Cilj ovog rada je analiza potencijalnog uticaja jedne od najfrekventnijih engleskih glagolskih partikula – out – na kategorije glagolskog vida i tipa glagolske situacije. Istražili smo da li i u kojem procentu (uključujući date sintaktičke uslove) pomenuta partikula utiče na glagolski vid i tip glagolske situacije glavnog glagola, te da li menja njihova obeležja. Analiza je sprovedena na korpusu ekscerpiranom iz savremenih britanskih romana, sa ciljem da se na osnovu njega uoči trenutno stanje na ovom polju.

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