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Phrasal Verbs, Idiomaticity and the Fixedness Continuum

Abstract. Leonard Talmy assigns the *phrasal verb* to a typological group called *satellite-framed languages*, whose prototype would be the Germanic languages, however, this construction exists also in Romance and Slavic Languages (in lesser quantity). Besides, these structures have much more in common with phrasemes than with syntactic combinations, and the function played by these verbs is quite similar to that of a proportional number of Romance and Slavonic prefixed verbs. This work analyzes both mechanisms within a *continuum* of verbal constructions with different degrees of fixedness and idiomaticity, going from regular syntactic combinations to completely lexicalized verbs, with an intermediate zone occupied by several idiomatic structures: light verb collocations, verbal idioms, separable phrasal verbs, inseparable phrasal verbs and compound verbs.

Key words: *phraseology, phrasal verb, compound verb, syntagmatic verb, preverb, postverb, prefix*

1. Introduction

Assuming that the most basic element of an event is the expression of displacement in space-time, Talmy (1985) divides the world languages into types which depend on whether they encode the "trajectory" into the verb itself (*verb-framed languages*) or into a "satellite", that is, a directive element external to the verb but associated with it (*satellite-framed languages*). If we take examples such as sp. *entrar*/*salir*; fr. *entrer*/*sortir*, and compare them with rs. *входить*/*выходить*, pol. *wejść*/*wyjść*, grm. *herein*kommen/*heraus*kommen and eng. *come **in***/*come **out***, it could seem reasonable to assign Romance languages to the first type, whereas Slavonic and Germanic languages would belong to the second (Kopecka 2004: 114).

A prototypical example illustrating this dichotomy would be the syntactic model *Paul ran out of the school*, where Romance languages start from a specific verb expressing an abstract trajectory, complementing it with a second verb describing the concrete "manner" of moving. By contrast, Germanic and Slavonic use only one verb, describing a manner of the movement, adding a locative particle to indicate its direction (or *path*).

Table 1. Trajectories expressed by verbs and "satellites"

TRAJECTORY EXPRESSED BY A VERB	TRAJECTORY EXPRESSED BY A "SATELLITE"
sp. *Pablo **salió** de la escuela <u>corriendo</u>*	eng. *Paul <u>ran</u> **out** of the school*
fr. *Paul est **sorti** de l'école <u>en courant</u>*	grm. *Paul <u>rannte</u> **aus** der Schule*
pt. *o Paulo **saiu** da escola <u>correndo</u>*	rs. *Павел **вы**<u>бежал</u> из школы*
it. *Paolo è **uscito** <u>correndo</u> dalla scuola*	ukr. *Павло **ви**<u>біг</u> із школи*
cat. *en Pau ha **sortit** de l'escola <u>corrent</u>*	cz. *Pavel **vy**běhl ze školy*
rmn. *Pavel a **ieşit** <u>fugind</u> din şcoală*	pol. *Paweł **wy**biegł ze szkoły*

Source: own research.

However, in fact, phrasal verbs may be found in several language families. They were identified long ago in the Spanish language by J. D. Luque Durán (1972: 808), who called them *verbos con extensión preposicional*. Raffaele Simone also observed them in Italian, and called them *verbi sintagmatici*, which is a literal translation of the term *phrasal verbs* (1996: 156–157), being followed later by Iacobini (2009) Artusi (2016), and also by Calvo Rigual, who compared these Italian verbs with their Spanish and Catalan counterparts (2008: 59–61).

Several Russian constructions, traditionally considered as idioms or as verbs with restricted arguments, belong to the same lexical association between a verb and an adverbial or prepositional particle, forming synthetically a verbal expression with a different meaning: e.g. eng. *piss off*; it. *mandare giù* (*send down: "swallow"); fr. *sauter dessus* (*jump over: "attack"); sp. *venirse abajo* (*come+self+down: "collapse"); pt. *estar por dentro* (*be by inside "be well informed") (cf. Pamies 2018b).

An English sentence, such as *the apple **falls down** from the tree*, may be expressed in Italian with exactly the same structure: *la mela **cade giù** dall'albero* (Russo 2014: 97). Conversely, English may also use *verb-framed* constructions, such as *the frog **escapes** from the jar* whereas Italian uses a phrasal verb, therefore, a *satellite-framed* construction: *la rana **salta via** dal barattolo* (*the frog jumps out of the jar) (Anastasio 2014: 110–111).

Although many Russian linguists believe that their language *has no phrasal verbs at all* (e.g. Mudraya et al. 2008: 296), we can find counter-examples like rs. *идти налево* (*go to+left: "be unfaithful" [sexually]), which fits exactly in the definition of the phrasal verb: multi-word units composed by a verb followed by an adverbial particle, with a spatial or locative meaning, whose sense is global and cannot be derived from the individual meanings of the parts (cf. Biber, Conrad & Leech 2002). Even if they are called *idioms* (2008: 297), the fact is that Mudraya et al. quote examples that could be analyzed as canonical phrasal verbs: *сводить вместе* ("bring together"), *отставлять позади* ("leave behind"); *двигатся вперед* ("move forward").

Phrasal verbs have been considered as a syntactic phenomenon, a kind of *verbal periphrasis* (cf. Bolinger 1971; Quirk et al., 1972; Fraser 1976; Courtney 1983), though they fulfill the definition of phraseological units: several lexemes, formal fixedness, semantic idiomaticity. E.g., *to play something down* has little to do with a game or a sport, since its unique and indivisible meaning is "minimize the importance of something" (Riguel 2014: 120). The same can be said about the German "separable" and "inseparable verbs". However, as well as these Russian *idioms*, they all belong to phraseology, since they are multi-lexemic, fixed, and idiomatic (cf. Kunin 1996: 308–309). On the other hand, phrasal verbs share many properties with certain verbs which are mistakenly considered as "prefixed".

2. Postverbs and preverbs

A preverb is an element that is attached to a verb but retains a relative autonomy, that allows it to make semantic modifications giving rise to new verbs (Buridant 1995: 292). Formally, it is opposed to the postverb, which, however, fulfills the same function in the inverse position. Therefore, the locative English adverb *down* is a "preverb" in *download* and a "postverb" in *kneel down*, but the mechanism is basically the same: joining a locative adverb to a verb in order to form a new unit, that acquires a single function in the sentence, with an indivisible meaning. Depending on the language, it is even possible that, with the same verb and the same sense, a preverb may be convertible into a postverb, depending on its conjugation. E.g., grm. *mitkommen → kommst mit mir* ("accompany me"); *austrinken* (*out drink "drink completely") → *trink das Glas aus* (Pamies & Pazos 2018); fr. *bien vouloir* (*well want "accept") → *je veux bien* (*I want well); *bien tomber* (*well fall "to come/happen in the right moment") → *ça tombe bien* (*it falls

well). The commutability between these preverbs and postverbs confirms their functional synonymy, which can also be observed in English, e.g. between *break **up**/**up**break*; *hold **up**/**up**hold*: *look **over**/**over**look*.

If we do not pay attention to the graphic separation and the order of the components (*ran **out*** vs. *выбежал*), the Slavic system is not so different from the Germanic one: in both cases the particle identifies the abstract direction of the movement, and the verb indicates only its concrete manner (*walk, run, jump, ride, drive, swim, navigate, fly*, etc.). However, the fact that an analytical procedure such as the addition of lexemes or morphemes can fulfill the same function as a synthetic procedure does not rule out the possibility that the same language may use both mechanisms (cf. Kopecka 2004; Michot et al. 2015; Pamies 2018b). On the other hand, nothing prevents these mechanisms from being applied to verbs that are alien to physical displacement. Movement is one of the most productive source domains of figurative language, and there is no guarantee either that metaphorical displacements have the same morpho-syntactic regime as the literal ones.

3. Aspectuality

Particles may also contain information about the *internal tense* of an action, either as a morpheme of aspect (throughout the whole verbal system) or as an inherent feature of its lexical meaning (*Aktionsart*). Slavic languages systematically distinguish the imperfective from the perfective aspect, by adding a prefix to the imperfective, in order to obtain its perfective correlate, never the opposite[1] (e.g., rs. *играть* "play" ≠ *сыграть* "having played"). Due to the high percentage of homonymy between preverbs and prefixes in these languages, Slavists often use these terms as synonyms, but they divide them into two subclasses: the "lexical" one (which entails a new verbal meaning) and the "grammatical" one, also called "de-lexicalized" or even "empty", which conveys exclusively the perfective aspect (Fougeron 1995: 256). In practice, this distinction is very similar to the aforementioned borderline between preverb and prefix, because the former would be lexemes and the latter would be mere grammatical morphemes.

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[1] A verb with a new meaning can only be derived from a perfective one, and another imperfective verb can emerge from it by adding the appropriate suffix (Fougeron 1995; Cygal-Krupa 1995; Žaucer 2002). We leave aside here the few exceptions, such as verbs expressing a state (e.g., rs. *жить*; pol. *żyć* "live") or borrowed French verbs (e.g., rs. *резервировать* "to book"; pol. *replikować* "retort"; sln. *reorganizati* "reorganize").

A complementary test to avoid confusing them is translating them into a non Slavic language: if the particle is an aspectual prefix: the translation does not change the verb but its conjugation (morpheme):

rs. *читать* ≠ *прочитать* → eng. *read* ≠ *have read* → sp. *leer* ≠ *haber leído*;

rs. *писать* ≠ *написать* → eng. *write* ≠ *have written* → sp. *escribir* ≠ *haber escrito*.

By contrast, if the particle is a preverb, the translation does not change the conjugation but the verb (lexeme):

rs. *ходить* ≠ *входить* → eng. *walk* ≠ *enter* → sp. *andar* ≠ *entrar*;

rs. *играть* ≠ *выиграть* → eng. *play* ≠ *win* → sp. *jugar* ≠ *ganar*.

However, besides this dichotomy, other aspectual values can also be marked by particles, whose relationship with prepositions is obvious (Fougeron 1995: 267). For example, in Russian, the polysemic preposition *no* ("by"/ "on"/"along"/"because of"/"according to") acts as an **inchoative** prefix in *пойти* (*by+go: "begin to go"), *побегать* (*by+run: "begin to run"); while the preposition *из* ("from") is a **terminative** prefix in *измылить* (*from+soap: "spend the soap to the end") (Fougeron 1995: 258–259). In Polish, the preposition *z* ("from") is an inchoative prefix at *zsinieć* (*from+pale+ACTION: "turn pale") and *po* ("behind") has this function in *pokochania* (*behind+love: "fall in love"), while the preposition *do* ("until") is a terminative prefix in *dopić* (*until+drink: "drink to the end"), *dośpiewać* (*until+sing: "sing to the end" [a melody]), *dolecieć* (*until+fly: "arrive (flying)", *dorysować* (*until+draw: "finish a drawing") (Cygal-Krupa 1995: 270–274). English can use postverbs for aspectual purposes (e.g., *clean* ≠ *clean up*; *drink* ≠ *drink out*), as well as German: *er trank das Bier* ≠ *er trank das Bier aus*). But, even in these languages, aspectuality is neither limited to this aspectual couple nor to these markers. Other aspects, such as the inchoative, may have their own (figurative) locative marker.

By metaphorically projecting space over time, the telic Aktionsart can express the passage from a starting point to an ending point (e.g., sp. *entrar en la casa* *enter into the house), whereas the atelic one represents the trajectory (e.g., *caminar hasta la casa* *walking until the house), and, in both cases, the mark of this dichotomy would be the preposition. (cf. Kopecka 2004: 112). In Romance languages, the inchoative aspect of an event may be marked by the addition of locative preverbs (sp. *enloquecer*; it. *impazzire*; cat. *embogir*; pt. *endoidecer* (*in+crazy+Vsuf.: "to get crazy"). The same may happen in German: *lieben* ("love") ≠ *verlieben* ("fall in love"). This system may also express the **terminative** aspect in Germanic languages: e.g., grm. *austrinken* (*out+drink) "drink to the end", a formulation almost identical to that of their Polish semantic equivalence, *dopić* (*until+drink). There are also pairs

of Romance preverbs that symmetrically oppose between them inchoative and terminative actions, as in fr. *emménager* ("to start living in a new house") vs. *déménager* ("to stop living in one house, to move to another one"), where the figurative spatial movement refers to the initial and final phase of the same process. This is also possible for Slavic and Germanic preverbs: rs. *включить* (*in+connect) vs. *выключить* (*out+connect), grm. *anschalten* (*near+switch) ≠ *ausschalten* (*out+switch), whose Aktionsart refers to the initial and final phases of a process (in this case, to start or stop functioning), by means of a grammatical metaphor, mapping two antonymic spatial positions on the temporal domain. In the inverse order, the same system is ruling English postverbs, such as *switch on* ≠ *switch off*.

Both in Romance and Slavic languages, the preverb marker of inchoativity is not always the same, and no preverb expresses only this aspect[2] (cf. Cygal-Krupa 1995: 278). The reflexive pronominal form has an inchoative value in sp. *irse* (*go+oneself: "to leave") but not in *pasearse* ("have a walk"). In Russian, the preverb *в* ("in") is inchoative in *влюбиться* (*in+love+oneself: "fall in love") but not in *всадить* (*in+sit: "to stick"). In French, spatial preverbs also express inchoativity in *s'envoler* (*oneself+in+fly) and something similar can be found in German (*wegfliegen* *far+fly), and Russian (*улететь* *in+fly), all of them meaning "fly off", whereas English and Italian use here a postverb (*fly off*; *volare via* *fly away). In this particular case, Spanish does not have a syntagmatic verb and resorts to inchoative periphrastic means (*salir volando* *exit flying), or lexicalized collocations (*tomar vuelo* *take flight / *alzar el vuelo* *raise the flight). Inchoative preverb constructions are therefore closer to composition than to derivation, since their overall sense is unpredictable, either by a rule or by the meaning of its components (Pamies 2018b). Here, the distribution of languages no longer corresponds to Talmy's typology mentioned in table 1, since languages of the same family would not necessarily share the same column. Furthermore, this distribution may change from one verb to another.

4. Composition vs. derivation

Martinet (1960) included among the *synthemes* any kind of amalgam between *monemes*, thus, not only composition but also derivation. However,

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[2] In addition, there are some verbs that, by nature, are only interested in one phase of a process, either initial or final, but not in the intermediate trajectory. E.g., esp. *to saddle/to unsaddle* (a horse); fr. *seller/déseller* (un cheval).

their degree of lexicalization is far from being homogeneous. In fact, we may even distinguish different degrees among what morphology calls *prefixes*, since they can also proceed from prepositions and/or adverbs, some of them may have kept part of their original autonomy, and, therefore, behave as preverbs. Verbal prefixes produce analogical series: speakers may assume that eng. *retwit* is to *twit* what *reappear* is to *appear*. Preverbs do not behave this way; the semantic modifications they bring about are neither systematic nor predictable, but lexically specific: e.g., in the English preverbs *down* and *under*, whose semantic role is not the same in *download*, *downturn*, *downshift*, *understand*, *undergo*, *underwrite* or *undertake*. The Spanish preverb *entre* ("between") does not produce the same meaning effect in *entrecortar* ("cut intermittently"), *entreabrir* ("half-open"), *entrever* ("to catch a glimpse"), *entretener* ("distract"). The same can be said of postverbs: e.g. eng. *around*, does not fulfill the same role in *stick around* than in *hang around* or *mess around*.

According to this criterion, the preverb (*under*⟨1⟩) would be the synchronic homonym of a prefix (*under*⟨2⟩), whose value is regular and predictable (e.g. *underrate*, *underlie*, *undersell*, *understate*, *underestimate*, *underfeed*, *undercut*). This item is (more or less) equivalent to the Latin prefix *sub-* that we find in sp. *subdividir*, *subcontratar*, *subestimar*, *subyugar*, *subrogar*, *subordinar*). The German particle *ver-* ("wrong") is perfectly regular[3] in *verachten* (*wrong+estimate: "despise"), *vertreiben* (*wrong+drive: "expel"), *verraten* (*wrong+advise: "betray"); *verlaufen* (*wrong+walk: "to go wrong", which can be applied to many other movement verbs, as in *verfahren*, *verfliegen*, *verschwimmen*... *verspazieren*, all of them meaning "to miss the right way" (riding/driving, flying, swimming or taking a walk), thus, it is a prefix. However, this particle is quite idiomatic in *verstanden* (*wrong+stand: "comprehend"), *vergeben* (*wrong+give: "forgive"), *verführen* (*wrong+lead: "seduce") or *verkaufen* (*wrong+buy: "sell"), where *ver-* is a preverb. The same could be said about *über*⟨1⟩ and *über*⟨2⟩ ("over"): this preposition is a regular prefix in *überbieten* (*over+provide: "surpass"); *überdauern* (*over+last: "survive"); *übereilen* (*over+rush: "to be too hasty"), *überessen* (*over+eat: "eat too much"), etc., but it is an idiomatic preverb in *übersetzen* (*over+sit: "translate") or *überlaufen* (*over+walk: "overflow").

In Romance languages, we find also this homonymy. The spatial particle *sobre* ("on/over") behaves as a regular prefix in predictable derived verbs, such as *sobrecargar* ("overload"), *sobrevalorar* ("overrate"), *sobreestimar* ("overestimate"), *sobreescribir* ("overwrite"), *sobrealimentar* ("overfeed"). But it behaves as preverb in idiomatic compounds, such as *sobrecoger*

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[3] Cf. Bayley 1997.

(*on+take: "excite"/"impress"), *sobrellevar* (*on+carry: "endure") *sobreentender* (*on+comprehend "take for granted"). Unlike prefixes, preverbs and postverbs are idiomatic components, whereas prefixes are grammatical instruments.

A complementary criterion is that, unlike a prefix, a preverb exists as a word by itself (Pamies 2018b). Verbs like **re**probar ("condemn") **pro**meter ("promess") or **dis**parar ("shot") are actually prefixed derivatives, because *re-*, *pro-* and *an-* do not exist alone. This is even more evident when the verb itself does not exist alone too; e.g., sp. *producir, traducir, inducir, deducir*, which cannot be compounds since their "parts" are not words. Since the verb **ducir* does not exist anymore in modern Spanish, the particle becomes a mere prefix.

By contrast, verbs like eng. *overcome*, *underlie*, sp. *entretener* (between+ have: "distract") or *sobrecoger* (on+take: "impress") are compounds, because they have two lexemes, fixedness and idiomaticity (Pamies 2007, 2017). The distinction between preverb and prefix coincides with the extreme border between words and phrasemes (Pamies 2018b).

Although all of them are of prepositional or adverbial origin, only the preverb is still a "satellite", whereas the prefix has become totally amalgamated to the verb: speakers no longer divide semantically verbs such as *suppose*, *compose*, nor *suppress*, *repress*, *compress*, *express*, because – from a communicative point of view – distinguishing their "parts" would be a nonsense[4]. Therefore, what the morphological tradition calls inaccurately *prefix*, would be an overlapping mixture, covering three degrees of lexicalization: (1) preverb of a compound verb (*upgrade*, *download*), (2) actual prefix of a derived verb (*retwit*, *unlock*), (3) etymological sediment of a current simple verb, morphologically irrelevant (*repeat*, *produce*).
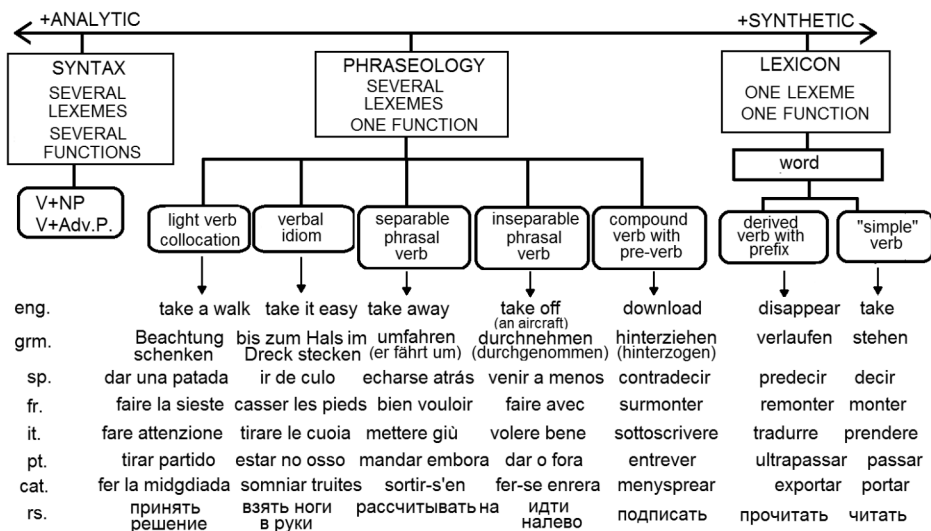
In Slavic languages, the boundary between preverb and prefix may be even more blurred: one could deduce that, since rs. *вы* / pol. *wy* ("outwards") do not exist as words, they would be prefixes in rs. *выходúть* / pol. *wychodzić*: "exit", whereas rs. *в* and pol. *w* ("in") would be preverbs (rs. *входúть* / pol.

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[4] The (apparent) exceptions are generally due to the semantic darkening or disappearance of the verbal base itself. The Latin verbs *ducere* "lead", *fugire* "flee", *petere* "beg", *premere* "push" became unrecognizable in Spanish, so that their derived verbs ceased to be analyzable (e.g. *reducir* "reduce", *conducir* "lead/drive", *refugiar* "shelter", *repetir* "repeat", *competir* "compete", *reprimir* "repress", *comprimir* "compress". These examples are perceived by current speakers as "simple" words, whereas *releer* ("rereading"), *recalcular* ("recalculating"), *reformar* ("reforming"), *conformar* ("make up"), are easily recognizable as derivatives, since their verbal element is still a Spanish word (*reescanear* "rescan", *redimensionar* "resize", *recauchutar* "retread", *codirigir* "co-direct", *cofinanciar* "to finance jointly", *configurar* "to shape/set up", *reconfigurar* "reset").

wchodzić: "enter"), since these particles also exist as prepositions. In order to avoid such an exaggeration, a **secondary criterion** must be applied: that of systematic productivity[5]. There is a stable and general rule, which makes it possible that a displacement verb with the prefix *вы/wy* implies "outwards" and, with the one of *в/w*, implies "inwards", it is not an unpredictable casuistry but a regular productive phenomenon, therefore, both *вы/wy* and *в/w* can be considered as prefixes **when they follow a rule**: *выводить* (*out+lead: "take out"), *выезжать* (*out+ride/drive: "leave"), *носить* (*out+carry: "take away"), *вылетать* (*out+fly: "fly out") etc. According to this point of view, there would be two homonymic particles "в" in Russian, the prefix of *входить* (literal and rule governed) and the preverb of *влюбиться* (idiomatic and unpredictable).

According to their degree of fixedness and idiomaticity, we may set out a cline of verbal constructions, placed along a *continuum* going from regular syntactic combinations to completely lexicalized verbs, with several intermediary constructions, based on different phraseological mechanisms.

Figure 1. Verbal phraseologisms within the syntax-lexicon continuum

	light verb collocation	verbal idiom	separable phrasal verb	inseparable phrasal verb	compound verb with pre-verb	derived verb with prefix	"simple" verb
eng.	take a walk	take it easy	take away	take off (an aircraft)	download	disappear	take
grm.	Beachtung schenken	bis zum Hals im Dreck stecken	umfahren (er fährt um)	durchnehmen (durchgenommen)	hinterziehen (hinterzogen)	verlaufen	stehen
sp.	dar una patada	ir de culo	echarse atrás	venir a menos	contradecir	predecir	decir
fr.	faire la sieste	casser les pieds	bien vouloir	faire avec	surmonter	remonter	monter
it.	fare attenzione	tirare le cuoia	mettere giù	volere bene	sottoscrivere	tradurre	prendere
pt.	tirar partido	estar no osso	mandar embora	dar o fora	entrever	ultrapassar	passar
cat.	fer la midgdiada	somniar truites	sortir-s'en	fer-se enrera	menysprear	exportar	portar
rs.	принять решение	взять ноги в руки	рассчитывать на	идти налево	подписать	прочитать	читать

(Diagram: +ANALYTIC → +SYNTHETIC; SYNTAX — SEVERAL LEXEMES / SEVERAL FUNCTIONS — V+NP / V+Adv.P.; PHRASEOLOGY — SEVERAL LEXEMES / ONE FUNCTION; LEXICON — ONE LEXEME / ONE FUNCTION — word)

Source: adapted from Pamies & Pazos 2018 and Pamies 2018b.

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[5] *Productivity* is understood here as the ability of coining new units following regular rules, contrary to *creativity*, which refers to the possibility of creating units without a rule (Dal 2004: 3).

5. Literal and figurative displacement

The locative particles are not always "directive" since their relations with space can be figurative: e.g., in phrasal verbs such as *give up* ("surrender"), *burn out* ("exhaust"), *knock out* ("render unconscious") (cf. García Vega 2011). Such "displacements" are metaphorical in many ways; for example, by virtue of an archi-metaphor shared by many languages, the inchoativity of certain mental states (e.g. LOVE, DRUNKENNESS, MADNESS, FEAR) is conceptualized as an INWARDS MOVEMENT (Iñesta & Pamies 2003). The typology that Talmy applied to literal displacement should lead us to expect that Romance languages would also represent this imaginary "entry" with a simple directional verb (as it happens in sp. ***entrar** en trance* [*enter into trance] or ***entrar** en coma* [*enter into coma]), whereas Germanic and Slavic languages would always do it with a "concrete" verb linked to a directional particle (as it happens in pol. *zakochać się* *behind+love+oneself: "falling in love") or rs. *напиться* (*on+drink+oneself: "get drunk"). But we do not find always this distribution either, since Romance languages also use preverbs (this, locative prepositions) to designate the beginning of certain mental states: sp. ***en**amorarse* (*in+love+oneself: "to fall in love"), ***a**sustarse* (*at+fear+oneself "to get frightened), ***en**tristecerse* (*in+sad+oneself: "to become sad"). If movements are figurative, nothing prevents two language from using inverse trajectories to express the same idea. E.g. "to get crazy" is *entering* madness in Spanish, and *escaping* out from good sense in Russian: sp. ***en**loquecerse* (*in+crazy+V.suf.) = rs. *сходить с ума* (*exit from spirit), therefore, in order to represent the beginning of the new mental state, the directionality of the path is not always inwards.

Comparing between languages the expressions meaning "get crazy" by means of figurative motion metaphors, we see that the metaphoric model of each unit is obviously unpredictable, either from one action to another, or from one linguistic family to another. For inchoative SLEEPING, we find a spatial preverb in French (*s'endormir* *oneself+in+sleep: "to fall asleep") but not in Spanish, where there is a collocation (*quedarse dormido*: *remain slept). The opposite happens with LOVE and MADNESS, where Spanish uses a locative preverb (*enamorarse*: *in+love+oneself), whereas French uses a collocation (*tomber amoureux*: *fall lover), similar to eng. *to fall in love*. If enlarging the number of languages (table 1), we can see that, when the displacement is only figurative, the linguistic distribution is completely different from what corresponded to Talmy's dichotomy for the "real" movement (tables 2 to 6).

Table 2. Love

LOVE	
INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A SYNTHETIC VERB, COLLOCATION OR IDIOM	INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A *SATELLITE* (PREVERB OR POSTVERB)
eng. *to fall in love* fr. *tomber amoureux* (*to fall lover)	grm. *sich **ver**lieben*; nl. ***ver**liefd worden* sp. *en**amorarse***; pt. *se a**paixonar**; it. *in**namorarsi***; cat. *en**amorar-se**; rmn. *se în**drăgostească*** pol. ***po**kachania / **za**kochać się* cz. *se **za**milovat*; slk. *sa **za**milovať* cro. *se zaljubiti*; sb. *ce **за**љуби*; sln. *se zaljubiti* bul. *ce **в**љуби*; mcd. *ce **в**љуби* rs. ***в**любиться*; ukr. ***за**кохуватися* blrs. *у**люблацца***

Source: own research.

Table 3. Drunkenness

DRUNKENNESS	
INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A SYNTHETIC VERB, COLLOCATION OR IDIOM	INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A *SATELLITE* (PREVERB OR POSTVERB)
eng. *get drunk* -*get hammered* -*get primed to the muzzle* grm. *sich zu betrinken* (*oneself to drink) nl. *zich bedrinken* (*oneself to drink) sp. *pillar una borrachera* (*to catch a drunkenness) -*pillar una castaña* (*to catch a chestnut); -*ponerse hasta el culo* (*to put oneself until the arse) -*ponerse ciego* (*to put oneself blind) -*ponerse hasta las orejas* (*to put oneself until the ears); it. *prendersi una scimmia* (*to catch a she-monkey) fr. *se bourrer* (*to stuff oneself) -*se bourrer la gueule* (*to stuff one's snout) -*charger la mule* (*to load the mule) svn. *se piti* (*to drink oneself) cro. *se piti* (*to drink oneself)	eng. *to **in**ebriate* it. ***in**ebriare* sp. *em**borracharse*** fr. *s'**en**nivrer* pt. *se **em**bebedar / se **in**ebriar* cat. *en**trompar-se*** rmn. *să se **îm**bete* pol. ***u**pić się* cz. *se **o**pít* svk. *sa **o**piť* rs. ***на**питься* ukr. ***на**питися* blrs. ***на**півацца* bul. *ce **на**пие* mcd. *ce **о**пие* sb. *ce **на**пује*

Source: own research.

Table 3. Sleep

SLEEP	
INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A SYNTHETIC VERB, COLLOCATION OR IDIOM	INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A *SATELLITE* (PREVERB OR POSTVERB)
eng. *fall asleep / pass into sleep* nl. *in slaap te vallen* sp. *ponerse a dormir* (*to put oneself at sleeping) -*quedarse dormido* (*to remain slept) -*quedarse frito* (*to remain fried) fr. *se mettre à dormir* (*to put oneself at sleeping)	grm. *ein*schlafen; nl. *in*slapen lat. *ob*dormīscere fr. *s'en*dormir; it. *ad*dormentarsi pt. *ad*ormecer; cat. *ad*ormir-se rmn. *să* *ad*oarmă pol. *za*snąć; blrs. *за*снуць rs. *у*снуть / *за*снуть; ukr. *за*снути cz. *u*snout; slk. *za*spať sln. *za*spati; cro. *za*spati; sb. *за*спи bul. *за*спи; mcd. *за*спива

Source: own research.

Table 4. Madness

MADNESS	
INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A SYNTHETIC VERB, COLLOCATION OR IDIOM	INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A *SATELLITE* (PREVERB OR POSTVERB)
eng. *to get crazy* -*to go nuts* grm. *verrückt werden*; (*mad become) -*verrückt geworden sein* (*mad become be) sp. *volverse majara* (*to become nutty) -*perder la cabeza* (*to lose one's head) fr. *perdre la tête* (*to lose one's head) -*perdre l'esprit* (*to lose one's spirit) -*péter les plombs* (*to blow the fuses) rs. *сходить с ума* (*to exit from spirit) -*помешаться умом* (*to agitate spirit); -*помешаться в рассудке* (*to agitate reason) -*тронутый умом* (*to be touched in spirit) blrs. *сысці з розуму* (*to exit from spirit) ukr. *зійти з розуму* (*to exit from spirit) sln. *postati nori* (*to become crazy)	sp. *en*loquecer pt. *en*doidecer it. *im*pazzire cat. *em*bogir rmn. *se* *în*nebunească pol. *z*wariować cz. *se z*bláznit slk. *sa z*blázniť cro. *po*ludjeti sb. *по*луди bul. *да се по*бърка

Source: own research.

Besides, the same language can use both systems to mark the inchoativity of FEAR conceptualized as a DISPLACEMENT: either *verb-framed* (sp. *entrar miedo* [*a alguien*] *fear enters [into sb.]) or *satellite-framed* (sp. *asustarse* *at+fear+self). Comparing compound verbs with idioms, we verify again that the abstract directionality of the metaphor can be inverted. For example, between eng. *to be invaded by fear* and sln. *biti iz sebe od strahu* (*to be out of one's mind by fear)[6]. The same "directional paradox" also affects preverbs, mixing the INWARDS path (sp. *intimidarse* / it. *intimorirsi*) and the OUTWARDS path (pol. *wystraszysz się* / rs. *испугаться* / eng. *freak out*) though expressing the same idea.

Table 5. Fear

FEAR	
INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A SYNTHETIC VERB, COLLOCATION OR IDIOM	INCHOATIVITY AS A METAPHORICAL TRAJECT BY MEANS OF A *SATELLITE* (PREVERB OR POSTVERB)
eng. *to be invaded by fear* -*to be full of fear* sp. *entrarle miedo* (*fear enters [into somebody]) -*estar lleno de miedo* (*to be full of fear) fr. *être envahi par la peur* (*to be invaded by fear) it. *riempirsi di spavento* (*to fill+oneself with fear) pt. *ser invadido pelo medo* (*to be invaded by fear) rmn. *a se umple de spaimă* (*to fill oneself of fear) pol. *strach go obleciał* (*fear flew around him) rs. *напал страх [на кого-либо]* (*fear fell [on somebody]) -*захвачен страхом* (*conquered/occupied by fear) cz. *dostat strach* (*fear enters [into sb]) sln. *biti iz sebe od strahu* (*to be out+of oneself by fear)	eng. *freak **out** / flip **out*** grm. *sich **er**schrecken* sp. *a**sustarse*** -*a**temorizarse*** -*i**ntimidarse*** fr. *s'**a**peurer* pt. *se **a**ssustar* it. *i**ntimorirsi*** cat. *a**temorir-se*** -*a**covardir-se*** rmn. *a se î**nspăimânta*** -*a se **in**timida* pol. ***wy**straszysz się* cz. ***vy**strašit se* sln. ***pre**straši se* rs. ***ис**пугаться*

Source: own research.

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6 The Slovenian particle *pre* is not a pre-verb but a prefix, since it does not exist by itself as a word, and its function is just to mark perfectivity. However, it represents metaphorically an "end-to-end" traject inside a limited space, as it can be deduced from the meaning of literal movement verbs: *preplavati* "to swim from one point to another", "to bike from one point to another", *preteči* "to run from one point to another".

Phraseology is characterized by representing "imaginary" displacements to express other kinds of event, and, at the same time, by representing "real" displacements as if they were something else, by virtue of the bidirectionality between source domain and target domain (cf. Pamies 2014a; Pamies; Craig & Ghalayini 2014). Idioms are semantically indivisible per definition (Čermák 1998; 2007), so, when expressing "real" movements, they neutralize the *verb-sallelite* opposition, by simultaneously expressing together the abstract directionality ("outwards", "inwards", etc.) and the concrete description of movement ("running", "flying", "riding", "swimming", etc.):

Table 6. "RUNNING OUT"

"RUNNING OUT" EXPRESSED BY IDIOMS
eng. *to go hell for leather*; *take to one's heels*; *to show a clear pair of heels*; *make tracks*; *to cut and run*; *to take the midnight express*;
grm. *die Beine in die Hand nehmen* (*to carry one's legs in one's hands); *die Hufe schwingen* ("swing one's hoofs"); *Fersengeld geben* (*give money to the heels); *den Adler machen* (*to make the eagle); *die Flattern machen* (*to make the flapping); *das Weite suchen* (*to look for space); *den Sittich machen* (*to make the parrot); *einen langen Schuh machen* (*to make a long shoe); *sich aus dem Staub machen* (*to make oneself from the dust);
sp. *poner pies en polvorosa* (*put [one's] feet in dusty); *tomar las [calzas] de Villadiego* (*to take Villadiego's [hose]); *darse el bote* (*to give+oneself the jump); *darse a la fuga* (*to give+oneself to the fleeing);
fr. *prendre ses jambes à son cou* (*to take one's legs around one's neck); *prendre la poudre d'escampette* (*take the clear+up powder); *foutre le camp* (*fuck the camp); *se sauver à toutes jambes* (*to save oneself at all legs); *se faire la malle* (*to make [one's] trunk); *se faire la belle* (*to make oneself the beautiful [one]); *plier bagage* (*to fold [one's] luggage); *tirer ses grègues* (*to pull+up one's hose); *prendre la clé des champs* (*take the key of+the fields); *se déguiser en courant d'air* (*to disguise oneself as an airstream);
it. *darsela a gambe* (*to give it oneself to legs); *tagliare la corda* (*to cut the rope); *alzare i tacchi* (*to lift the heels); *mostrare le calcagne* (*to show the heels); *mettersi le gambe in spalla* (*to put one's legs on one's shoulder); *mettersi le ali ai piedi* (*to put+oneself wings to one's feet); *filare a rotta di collo* (*to fray at breakneck); *prendere la direttissima* (*to take the very+straight); *darsi alla fuga* (*to give+oneself to the fleeing);
rs. *не чуя ног под собой* (*not to feel paws under oneself); *взять ноги в руки* (*to carry [one's] feet in hands); *мчаться со всех ног* (*to gallop with all legs); *смотать удочки* (*to put+away the rods); *одна нога здесь другая там* (*[be with] one leg here, the other+one there);
pol. *wziąć nogi za pas* (*to take the legs to one's belt); *dać nogę* (*to give leg); *dać drapaka* (*to give broom); *zmyć się* (*to wash oneself); *pokazać pięty* (*to show heels);
cz. *vzít nohy na ramena* (*to carry [one's] legs on shoulders); *prásknout do bot* (*to burst even [one's] boots); *vzít roha* (*to carry a horn).

Source: own research.

Naturally, "simple" words with metaphorical meanings can also merge both kinds of information in a synthetic way. E.g., to mean "running away", we find esp. *esfumarse* (*become smoke: "disappear"); fr. *détaler* (*pack one's goods: "escape"); *déguerpir* (*abandon one's possessions: "flee"), although, etymologically, these words were also analyzable as preceded by a locative preverb.

Of course, if, instead of verbal expressions, we observe adverbial idioms, the types will coincide with Talmy's classification, because adverbial idioms express only the concrete form of the movement, not including the path, that still needs a satellite in Germanic and Slavonic languages, whereas it is embedded in the verbal meaning in Romance languages.

Table 7. Verbs + adverbial idioms

[DIRECTIVE VERB] + ADVERBIAL IDIOM	[CONCRETE VERB & *SATELLITE*] + ADVERBIAL IDIOM
sp. *Pablo salió de la escuela **a toda hostia*** fr. *Paul est sorti de l'école **à toutes jambes*** (*Paul is exited from the+school at all legs); pt. *Paulo saiu da escola **pé na tábua*** (*Paul exited from school foot on áîàðä); it. *Paolo è uscito dalla scuola **a gambe levate*** (*Paul is exited from+the school at raised legs); cat. *en Pau ha sortit de l'escola **a correcuita*** (*Paul has exited from the+ school at run-boiled).	eng. *Paul ran out of the school **at breakneck speed*** grm. *Paul rannte aus der Schule **wie aus der Pistole geschossen*** (*Paul ran out+ of the school as shot by a pistol) rs. *Павел выбежал из школы **сломя голову*** (*Paul out+ran from school breaking head); pol. *Paweł **wybiegł** ze szkoły **jak błyskawica*** (*Paul out+ran from school like lightning).

Source: own research.

6. Provisional conclusions

The typological opposition between the *verb-framed* and *satellite-framed* languages is more quantitative than qualitative, since the same models are in fact available in Slavic, Romance and Germanic languages. Only their proportions and frequencies differ in each family. Besides, the selection between both kinds of mechanisms completely changes when the movement is metaphorical. The porosity of the boundaries between these categories is related with the impossibility of exclusion between the syntactic and lexical

domains, because of the in-between of phraseology, which was traditionally ignored. As John Sinclair (2008: 407) observed:

> Phrases have never had a proper status in linguistic theory, and, as a consequence, are *anomalous* in descriptions. The reason for their omission from theory is that received theories require grammar and lexis to be separated from the outset, and they are then described without reference to each other.

As far as verbal predicates are concerned, phraseology occupies a large and central space in the lexico-grammatical continuum, including different areas, some of them, traditionally attributed to syntactic structures (light verb collocations and phrasal verbs) or to lexicon (compound verbs). Given that these constructions fulfill all the defining features of the phraseological unit (multi-lexemic sequences with different degrees of fixedness and lexicalization), some metalinguistic boundaries must be displaced, if not blurred.

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Les verbes composés, l'idiomaticité et continuum de figement

Résumé

Leonard Talmy assigne les *phrasal verbs* à un groupe typologique qu'il appelle *langues à satellite*, dont le prototype seraient les langues germaniques, cependant cette construction existe aussi dans les langues romanes et slaves (en moindre quantité). Par ailleurs, ces structures ont beaucoup plus de traits en commun avec les phrasèmes qu'avec les combinaisons syntaxiques, et la fonction jouée par ces verbes est assez similaire à celle d'un nombre proportionnel de verbes préfixés romans et slaves. Ce travail analyse les deux mécanismes dans un continuum de constructions prédicatives avec différents degrés de figement et d'idiomaticité, allant des combinaisons syntaxiques régulières aux verbes complètement lexicalisés, avec une zone intermédiaire occupée par plusieurs structures idiomatiques: collocations à verbe-support, locutions verbales, verbes syntagmatiques séparables, verbes syntagmatiques inséparables et verbes composés.