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### Positional variability of particles

An example

*She put down the knife:* 'joined' construction  
*She put the knife down:* 'split' construction  
 (Lohse et al. 2004)

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### Variability is widespread

Combination is...	... literal	... idiomatic
... established	<i>throw {away} the wrapper {away}</i>	<i>(can't) make {out} the words {out}</i>
... new	<i>medevac {out} the injured {out}</i>	<i>sex {down} the dossier {down}</i>

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### Theoretical importance (1)

Lexical units can be split up

- hard in Chomskyan grammar: Lexical Integrity Principle treats X<sup>0</sup> items as atoms in syntax
- easy in Construction Grammar: Lexical units can be phrasal, often with open slots

... idiomatic
<i>(can't) make {out} the words {out}</i>
<i>sex {down} the dossier {down}</i>

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### Theoretical importance (1)

Cappelle (2006):  
the joined and the split construction are two 'allostructions'

```

    graph TD
      A["[VP, trans make out]"] --> B["[VP, trans make out NP_Object]"]
      A --> C["[VP, trans make NP_Object out]"]
  
```

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### Theoretical importance (2)

New combinations alternate effortlessly  
 Therefore: positional variability is a 'pattern', transcending individual V-Prt combinations

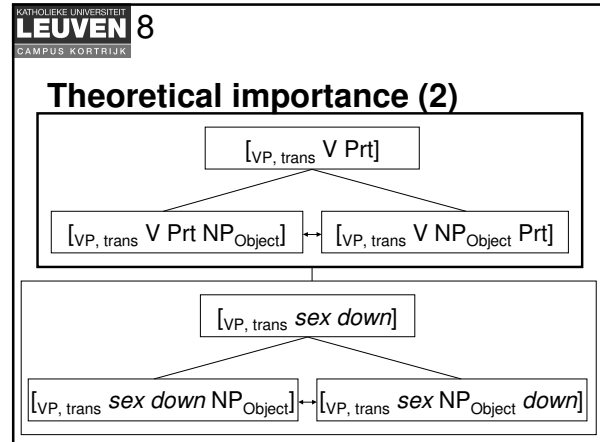
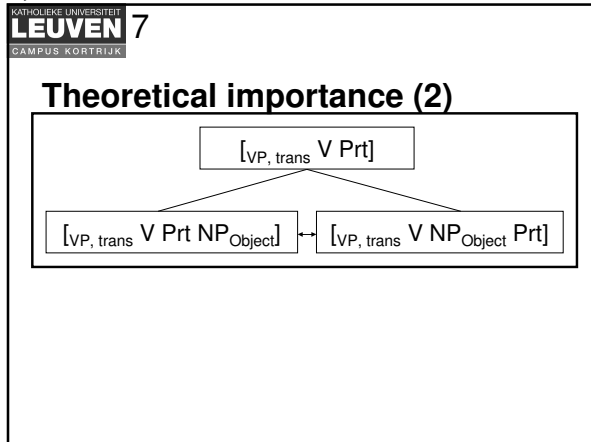
... new	<i>medevac {out} the injured {out}</i>	<i>sex {down} the dossier {down}</i>
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### Theoretical importance (2)

```

    graph TD
      A["[VP, trans V Prt]"] --> B["[VP, trans V Prt NP_Object]"]
      A --> C["[VP, trans V NP_Object Prt]"]
      B <--> C
      D["[VP, trans make out]"] --> E["[VP, trans make out NP_Object]"]
      D --> F["[VP, trans make NP_Object out]"]
  
```



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### Relevance of literal vs. idiomatic

Split order is easier with literal combinations (e.g. Dehé 2002; Gries 2003)

But what is literal, what is idiomatic?

- Verb and particle mutually independent, e.g. *throw away*
- Verb depends on particle, e.g. *pick up*
- Particle depends on verb, e.g. *kill off*
- Verb and particle mutually dependent, e.g. *make out*

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### Relevance of literal vs. idiomatic

The (in)dependence of the particle matters (Lohse et al. 2004)

So:

*pick up a few of them*  
is easier to split than  
*kill off a few of them*

Compare:

*pick a few of them up*  
and  
*kill a few of them off*

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### Relevance of established vs. new?

Split order is easier with new combinations (Cappelle 2005: 271-272)

Phrasal verbs in ICE-GB	established	new
Joined (V Prt NP)	1,234	40
Split (V NP Prt)	1,044	100

Chi-square = 34.7, p ≤ 0.001

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### Relevance of established vs. new?

But:

- Danger of circularity:  
Unattested combinations are often split  
When split, they are harder to spot
- Unattested combinations are often literal:  
*rationalise the dichotomy away*  
*demand their money back*  
We know that literal combinations split easily

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### Why would literalness matter?

Gries (2003) about split order:  
natural choice if spatial meaning is prominent:

"naturally underscores the spatial contribution of the Prt to the compositional meaning"

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### Why would literalness matter?

Why is split order "natural choice" then?  
→ Prt in canonical clause-final focus position

"Prt is processed more intensively than NP"  
(Gries 2003)

Likewise, if NP is stressed: put in final position

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### presumed role of focus: sum

Emphasis on Prt → Split order (V NP Prt)  
Emphasis on NP → Joined order (V Prt NP)

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### Evaluating the role of focus

It is true that:  
a focused particle always triggers split order, even if it is non-spatial...

*He always liked to light a scene down, not up. (www)*  
(cp. \*... light down a scene, not up)

*Most police are taught to talk a problem down, not up! (www)*  
(cp. \*... talk down a problem, not up)

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### Evaluating the role of focus

... but it is not true that:  
a focused NP always triggers joined order:

*'- it was that song that wound me up -'*  
*'- it would've wound Anyone up -' (Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix)*

*...quitting cold turkey is not an option. The withdraw[a]ll not only stresses the BOdy out, but stresses the BAby out as well. (www)*

*...they kept the campfire going all night to not only keep the mosQUitoes away, but to keep the wild Animals away as well. (www)*

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### Factor focus is not nicely bipolar

- NP and Prt can both be focused:  
*turn the RAdio OFF and turn the TV ON*  
*turn OFF the RAdio and turn ON the TV*  
free choice, but not in coordination pattern:

*turn the RAdio OFF and the TV ON*  
*\*turn OFF the RAdio and ON the TV*

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### Factor focus is not nicely bipolar

- V can be focused:  
*He did not wash any of the dust off. He brushed it off...* (www)  
*We are determined to ensure that we not only get inflation down but keep it down.* (www)

Split order is the only option here:  
*??He did not wash off any of the dust. He brushed it off...*  
*??We are determined to ensure that we not only get down inflation but also keep it down.*

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### Is free choice an illusion?

Not if:

- NP is unstressed pronoun
- Prt and not NP is focused
- Prt is coordinated
- there is a lexical constraint

Not if:

- NP is long and/or complex
- there is a lexical constraint

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### Is free choice an illusion? No!

Let's turn to the example used in the title:

*Clean up your room:* 52,600 hits  
*Clean your room up:* 994 hits

Apparently, joined order is used more often, but split order is definitely not ungrammatical

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### Work to be done

How prove a construction has 2 variants?  
Or:  
How reject that 2 orders aren't (very) related?

2 psycholinguistic experiments

- sorting task
- priming experiment

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### Sorting task

Two cue cards:  
(i) *She sat on the bed*    (ii) *She put her hat on*

Deck of cards to be added to cue cards:

- He flew over a range of snowy mountains*
- He threw across a bag of gold coins*
- This is the man they warned the children about*
- This is the reason he asked the neighbours around*

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### Priming experiment

- 2 kinds of primes:
  - V [Prep NP]: *turn in the wrong direction*  
*talk through your nose*
  - [V Prt] NP: *turn in the fugitive*  
*talk through the problem*
- 14 targets of the type V NP Prt  
e.g. *He made the story up*
- 14 fillers:                    \**He looked the child after*  
*He was reading a book*

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### Pilot sorting task

Two cue cards:  
(i) ... dat ze beroemd werd (ii) ... dat ze werd bekroond  
Adj Cop Aux Past-part

Deck of cards to be added to cue cards:  
(a) Ze werd benadeeld (Aux Past-part)  
(b) Ze werd benieuwd (Cop Adj)  
(c) ... dat/of ze bedreigd werd (Past-part Aux)  
(d) ... dat/of ze bedroefd werd (Adj Cop)

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### Pilot priming experiment

- 2 kinds of primes:  
(i) Adj Copula: ... dat ze benieuwd werd  
... dat ze bedroefd werd  
(ii) Past-part Aux: ... dat ze benadeeld werd  
... dat ze bedreigd werd
- 14 targets of the type Aux Past-part  
e.g. *Geen wonder dat ze werd bekroond*
- 14 fillers: \**Geen wonder dat ze werd beroemd*  
*Geen wonder dat ze spijt kreeg*

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