I Incorporate Nouns of Various Structural Positions and Thematic Roles, Therefore I Am (The Verb)

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The aim of this article is to present an overview of noun-incorporating verbs in Romanian, and to test whether incorporation applies not only to Themes and complements, but to nouns bearing a variety of theta-roles and occupying various structural positions, including the specifier position. In our attempt to test this, we will look at examples with noun-incorporating verbs from English and Romanian, showing that, although the data supports the idea that a variety of theta-roles can get incorporated, it does not seem to equally support the idea that nouns occupying any structural position can be incorporated.

Keywords: *incorporation, noun-incorporating verbs, theta-roles, structural positions, incorporated nouns*

1   Aim

The aim of this paper is to exemplify the concept of 'incorporation' in the context of noun-incorporating verbs in Romanian, and to discuss it in the light of the incorporation theory proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002).

Its main point is to examine whether it is the case in Romanian that noun-incorporating verbs 'incorporate' not only nouns that are themes from a thematic point of view, and complements from a structural point of view, but also non-themes, and non-complements, i.e. specifiers/adjuncts. When considering specifiers, we will look at the specifiers of v (agentive subjects), as well as the specifiers of the complement of v, trying to see whether it is the case that both the first and the latter can incorporate, or only the latter.

The structure of the paper is as follows: first, we present the incorporation theory of Hale & Keyser (2002), then, we look at the relation between incorporation and theta-roles, and then, at the relation between incorporation and structural positions. Datawise, the verbs we take into account are basically the corresponding Romanian noun-incorporating verbs of the English noun-incorporating verbs.

2   The Incorporation Theory of Hale & Keyser (2002)

We will start by looking at the incorporation theory proposed by Hale and Keyser (2002). According to the authors, incorporation is defined as a syntactic process that takes place in the lexicon, at l-syntax (lexical syntax), by means of which a lexical category becomes the sister of another category that is phonologically (though not semantically) empty, and the two categories are spelled out as a new item (through the phonological process of conflation).

Hale & Keyser (2002) distinguish between **incorporation** and **conflation**: while incorporation is a syntactic phenomenon, "conflation is a term we use to refer to the phonological instantiation of light verbs in denominal verb constructions. Specifically,

conflation has to do with the problem of how the verb ends up carrying the phonological matrix of its nominal complement." (Hale & Keyser 2002: 21).

On Haugen's view (2009), it is not the case that **incorporation** is syntactic, and **conflation** is phonological, both **incorporation** and **conflation** are syntactic phenomena: **incorporation** involves **head-movement** (where move is understood to mean copy), while **conflation** is simply the equivalent of compounding (< **merge**)". Incorporation explains denominal verbs like *sing*, while conflation explains verbs like *hammer[1]*.

A verb like *to dance* is, for example, the result of incorporating the noun (root) *dance* into a phonologically empty verb that has a meaning similar to *to do* (we can even have the cognate object possibility *to dance a dance*), just like *a dansa* 'to dance' is the result of incorporating the noun 'dans' ('dance') into silent *a face (*'to do'). The sister items are not of the same lexical category (this would be a case of compounding), but belong to different lexical categories, namely, the first item (the incorporating item) is a V or a P (i.e. complement-taking elements), while the second item (the incorporated item) is an N or an A.[2]

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* This paper ows a great deal to the reviewer's suggestions, which have led to rethinking what is meant by the notion of incorporation of a specifier. Also, the editor(Balázs Surányi)'s suggestions proved to be very useful.

[1] While Haugen (2009) seems to suggest that, in the same language, we can have verbs that result from conflation, and verbs that do not, Talmy (1985) explores this idea even further, arguing that there are different types of conflation, and that certain languages present one type, while others present another type. Talmy classifies languages with respect to how semantic components (like Figure, Motion, Path, Manner, or Cause) are conflated onto the verb (as quoted in Mateu 2002: 153). The 'lexicalization pattern' typically found in Romance languages involves conflation of Motion with Path (i), whereas the 'lexicalization pattern' typically found in Germanic languages like English involves conflation of Motion with Manner (ii):

(i) *Copilașul   a intrat   in cameră   țopăind.* (Romanian)
    Little child-the   has entered in room   hopping.
    'The little child has hopped into the room.'
(ii) The little child hopped into the room.

While Romanian is satellite-framed, expressing the manner by means of a satellite, English is verb-framed, expressing the manner through the verb.

[2] An interesting issue that might draw our attention is the status of the incorporated noun: is it a bare noun, an NP, a DP, or a KIP? Interestingly, whenever we paraphrase, we also add an article or a plural form: 'He put the books on the shelves.', 'He did a dance.' , but these forms as such might be argued not to be able to undergo incorporation, given the fact that they are phrases, and not heads.

According to Hale & Keyser (2002), the incorporated noun is a bare noun, and evidence for this comes from the verbs that lack a direct object, and which have the same form as the incorporated noun (*I dance everyday.*). However, sometimes, the verb can incorporate a kind noun (a KIP, in Zamparelli (2002)'s terms), a case which has received the name 'classificatory incorporation' (Damonte 2004: 141). In sentences like (i) and (ii):

(i)   He fished FISH trout.

(ii)   She danced DANCE tango.

In the theory proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), incorporation is actually head-to-head incorporation. There are two cases:

(a) a complement incorporates into a head:

(1) a.   The lady dressed in green did a dance for us.

     b.   The lady dressed in green danced for us.

This case is exemplified by **synthetic verbs**, "verbs derived from nouns": *belch, burp, cough, crawl, cry, dance, gallop, gleam, glitter, glow, jump laugh, leap, limp, nap, run, scream, shout, skip, sleep, sneeze, snob, somersault, sparkle, speak, stagger, sweat, talk, trot, twinkle, walk, yell*, to which we can assign the following representation:

(2)
```
        V
       / \
      V   N
          |
        dance
```
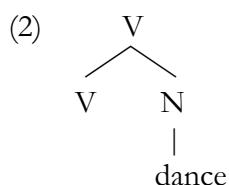
(b) an (obligatory) adjunct (an argument) incorporates into a head, as in (3) and (4):

(3) a.   Luke put the books **on** the shelves.

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one can postulate the presence of certain kind nouns which have been incorporated into the verb. The kind noun becomes visible when it is modified by an adjective:

(iii)   *Maria a dansat   un dans frumos.* (Romanian)

       Maria has danced-PRT a dance beautiful.
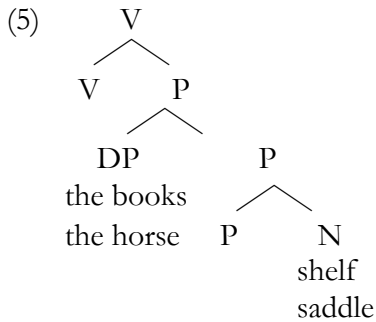
       'Maria danced a beautiful dance.'

With this in mind, one can establish the following structural representation:

(iv)
```
        V
       / \
      V   KIP
          / \
            KI'
           /  \
         KI⁰    N
         DANS  tango
         'dance'
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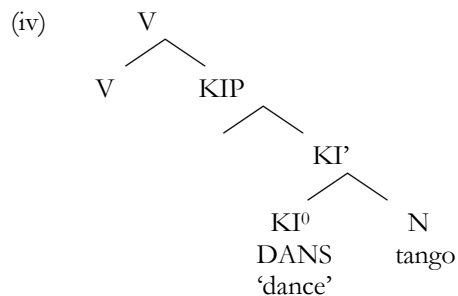
In this case, it is the Kind Noun that gets incorporated, and not the noun following it.

      b.   Luke shelved the books.

(4)   a.   Matilda fitted the horse **with** a saddle.
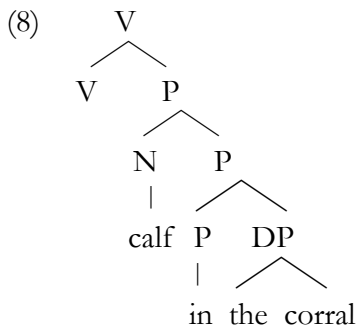
      b.   Matilda saddled the horse.

The representation assigned to these sentences is:

(5)
```
              V
            /   \
          V       P
                /   \
             DP       P
          the books  / \
          the horse P    N
                        shelf
                        saddle
```

Both (3,4 a) and (3,4 b) are examples of head-to-head incorporation. As we can see in (5), the direct object *the books,* a DP, sits in a specifier position, in the tradition of Larson (1988), for whom some direct objects can sit in a specifier position, and, it does not undergo incorporation. Meanwhile, the root N *shelf, saddle* appears as a complement of a null P and gets incorporated into the P, then the P which has incorporated N gets incorporated into V. We thus encounter two cases of head-to-head movement.

"Despite the obvious similarity, conflation is different from syntactic incorporation" (50); conflation of a specifier (the specifier of the complement) is evidently impossible, although incorporation under government would presumably permit this' (51).

(6)   Leecil corralled the calves. (cf. put the calves in the corral.)

(7)   *Leecil calved in the corral.

(8)
```
            V
          /   \
        V       P
              /   \
            N       P
            |      /  \
          calf   P     DP
                 |    /  \
                in  the  corral
```

The Uto-Aztecan language Hopi has a number of 'incoporating verbs' that permit the adjunction of a bare nominal to a governing verb:

(9)   *Nu' pu-t*   *ki-'yta.* (Hale & Keyser (2002): 58 [25b])

I that-ACC house-HAVE
'I have that as a home.'

According to Hale & Keyser (2002), incorporation of the type attributed to Hopi can be distinguished from conflation, in that the latter never leaves 'a residue' of stranded modifiers. The crucial difference between incorporation and conflation lies, according to their view, in the strict complementation requirement: unlike incorporation, conflation cannot occur if there is an intervening maximal projection, it is a concomitant of Merge. If it is under DP, a noun can incorporate, but not conflate, it can only conflate if it is under an NP.

From a phonological point of view:

(10)   Conflation consists in the process of copying the p-signature of the complement into the p-signature of the head, where the latter is defective.

There are two cases in which a p-signature is 'defective':

(i) the case where the p-signature is entirely empty, containing no phonological features (zero derivation in English)

(ii) the head is an affix: the p-signature is partially defective, being bipartite (English, Romanian etc.)

On the view proposed by Hale & Keyser (2002), specifiers (of the phrases occupying the complement position) can incorporate in English, but they cannot conflate. This is why, in a very general sense, we say that incorporation of specifiers (by which we mean the specifiers of the phrases in the complement position) is not possible in English, although it is possible in other languages. It would, however, be more correct to say that conflation of specifiers is not possible in English, and that only conflation of complements is. For the sake of simplicity, we will use the term 'incorporation' throughout the whole paper to deal with both incorporation and conflation in the Hale & Keyser sense, resorting to the concept of conflation as merge in the Haugean sense only when dealing with instrument verbs.

3   Is Noun Incorporation Sensitive to the Theta-Role of the Noun?

An important question we would like to address in this paper is what theta-roles the incorporated nouns have. Although theta-roles do not exist in the theory of Hale & Kayser (2002), being defined on a structural basis, we will nonetheless address this question from a descriptive perspective. According to the traditional view (Baker (1988a, 1996), incorporation is restricted to nouns in the complement position of the verb. As expressed in the Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH):

(11)   *The Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (*UTAH)

Identical thematic relationships are assigned in identical D-structure configurations within and across languages.

Since the UTAH makes sure that theta roles are uniformly mapped onto syntactic structures, in Baker's framework, **noun incorporation is restricted to themes**, since only themes can appear in the complement position of verbs.

3.1   Incorporation of Themes

The most frequent case of noun incorporation is Theme-incorporation. We find this with activity verbs (verb classification taken from Ciutescu (2010)). Under the label 'activity verbs', there are several classes of verbs.

3.1.1 Manner of Motion Verbs

A first class contains manner-of-motion verbs (*gallop, run, circulate, jump, hop, trot, limp, hobble, march, sway, somersault, crawl, jog, wander, ramble, promenade, leap, roam, climb, rotate, stagger*), which can be decomposed into a null light verb and a noun:

(12)   a.   Mary Sunshine promenaded in the park yesterday evening.
       b.   Mary Sunshine took a promenade in the park yesterday evening.

The counterparts of these verbs in Romanian are: *a galopa*[3] ('to gallop'), a alerga ('to run), a circula ('to circulate'), a sări ('to jump'), a țopăi ('to hop'), a tropăi ('to trot'), *a șchiopăta* ('to limp, to hobble''), *a mărșălui* ('to march'), *a se legăna* ('to sway'), a face tumbe ('to do somersaults/ to somersault'), a se târî ('to crawl'), a face jogging (lit. 'to do jogging') , a rătăci ('to wander, to ramble'), a se plimba ('to promenade'), a face un salt (lit. 'to make a leap', meaning 'to take a leap'/ 'to leap'), *a hoinări* ('to roam'), a urca ('to climb'), a se roti ('to rotate'), a se clătina ('to stagger')[4]:

(13)   a.   *Maria s-a plimbat   prin parc   ieri   seară.* (Romanian)
            Maria cl-has promenaded in   park   yesterday   evening.
            'Mary promenaded in the park yesterday evening.'

       b.   *Maria a   făcut o plimbare   prin parc ieri   seară.* (Romanian)
            Maria has   made a promenade in   park yesterday   evening.

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[3] The italics in this case indicate that the verb is formed from a noun, i.e. it has incorporated a noun.

[4] Romanian might be thought to pose a problem for Hale & Keyser's theory: given the fact that it has a rich morphology, verbs are never identical in form to nouns. Moreover, there are many verbs which do not seem to be derived from nouns. This might lead us to the idea that a distributional morphology account (Marantz 1997) might be more suitable to deal with verbs in Romanian, with incorporation affecting roots rather than lexical categories. However, for purposes of discussing issues related to theta-marking and structural positions, we have opted for a lexical-syntactic approach.

'Mary took a promenade in the park yesterday evening.'

Interestingly, not all the noun-incorporating verbs in English have a noun-incorporating counterpart in Romanian: only the underlined verbs contain a noun in Romanian (*a hoinări* > *hoinar-*Agent), some add the verbal suffix to an interjection, or some simply do not exist, but what we encounter instead are verbal expressions made up of verbs and nouns.

3.1.2 Verbs of volitional acts

Another class of activity verbs incorporating Themes is represented by verbs of volitional acts (*meditate, ruminate, study, think, cogitate, daydream, agree, disagree, frown, grimace, pray, play, fight, box, sing, sleep, swim*):

(14)   a.   Julia smiled beautifully.
         b.   Julia gave a beautiful smile.

(15)   a.   *Iulia a   zâmbit   frumos.* (Romanian)
            Julia has smiled   beautifully.
            'Julia smiled beautifully.'

         b.   *Iulia a   schiţat   un zâmbet   frumos.* (Romanian)
            Julia has sketched   a   smile   beautiful.
            'Julia smiled beautifully.'

We find these verbs in Romanian: a medita ('to meditate'), *a cugeta* ('to ruminate'), *a studia* ('to study'), *a (se) gândi* ('to think'), a cogita ('to cogitate'), *a visa cu ochii deschişi* ('to dream with eyes open', i.e. 'to daydream'), a fi de acord (lit. 'to be of agreement', 'to agree'), a nu fi de acord (lit. 'to not be of agreement', 'to disagree'), a se încrunta ('to frown'), a face o grimasă ('to make a grimace'/ 'to grimace'), *a se ruga* ('to pray'), *a se juca* ('to play'), *a se lupta* ('to fight'), *a boxa* ('to box'), *a cânta* ('to sing'), a dormi ('to sleep'), a înota ('to swim'). In many of the verbs, we notice the reflexive particle *se.*

3.1.3 Verbs of non-verbal expression

Another class of activity verbs incorporating Themes consists of verbs of non-verbal expression (*howl, bark, neigh, cry, laugh, weep, sob, chirp, growl, grunt, oink, quack, tweet*). Their equivalents in Romanian are: a urla ('to howl')*, a lătra* ('to bark')*, a necheza* ('to neigh')*, a plânge* ('to cry')*, a râde* ('to laugh')*, a plânge ('*to weep, to sob')*, a ciripi* ('to chirp')*, a mârâi* ('to growl')*, a mormăi* ('to grunt')*, a grohăi* ('to oink')*, a măcăi* ('to quack'*) , a piui* ('to tweet').
     These verbs can be analyzed as made up of a null light verb and a noun:a guiţa 'to oink'/a scoate (give) un guiţat/a face (make) guiţ, a mârâi 'to growl '/a scoate (to give) mârâituri/a face (to make) mâr', a piui 'to cheep/tweet'/a scoate piuituri*:*

(16)   a.   The little chicken tweeted.
         b.   The little chicken let out/gave a tweet.

(17)   a.   *Puiuţul   a   piuit.* (Romanian)
            Chicken-the   has   tweeted.

'The chicken tweeted.'

    b.   *Puiuţul   a   scos   piuituri.* (Romanian)
        Chicken-the   has   given tweets.
        'The chicken gave tweets.'

3.1.4 *Verbs of manner-of-speaking*

Verbs of manner of speaking (*mumble, grumble, scream, shout, yell, sob, whisper, speak, talk, babble, prattle, chatter*) form another class of verbs incorporating Themes. In Romanian, we have: *a murmura* ('to mumble'), a mormăi ('to grumble'), a ţipa ('to scream'), a urla ('to shout, yell'), a şopti ('to whisper'), a vorbi ('to speak, talk'), a bolborisi ('to babble'), a trăncăni ('to prattle'), a pălăvrăgi ('to chatter'). These verbs can be decomposed: a urla 'to howl'-a scoate urlete, lit. 'to give howls', a ţipa 'to scream'-a scoate ţipete, lit. 'to give screams', a răcni 'to bellow'-a scoate răcnete, lit. 'to give shouts'. Some examples are:

    (18) a.   The woman screamed.
          b.   The woman gave a scream.

    (19) a.   *Femeia   a   ţipat.* (Romanian)
             Woman-the   has   screamed.
             'The woman screamed.
          b.   *Femeia   a   scos   un ţipăt.* (Romanian)
             Woman-the   has   given   a   scream.
             'The woman gave a scream.'

3.1.5 *Waltz verbs*

An interesting class is represented by the *waltz* verbs (*to dance, tango, waltz, foxtrot, jive, samba*). The corresponding verbs in Romanian are: *a dansa* ('to dance'), a dansa tango ('to dance tango'), a dansa vals/a valsa ('to dance waltz/ to waltz'), a dansa foxtrot ('to dance foxtrot'), a dansa jive ('to dance jive'), a dansa samba ('to dance samba'). As we can easily notice, there are no single verbs for the *waltz* verbs in English. Instead, we have the verb *a dan*sa (*'to dance*'), followed by a noun:

    (20) a.   The couple waltzed in the room for one hour.

          b.   *Cuplul   a   valsat   in camera   o   oră.*
(Romanian)

             Couple-the-N,sg has   waltzed in room-the   ART-FEM, sg hour.
             'The couple waltzed in the room for one hour.'

3.1.6 *Verbs of light emission*

Then, we have verbs of light emission (*to glow, glimmer, sparkle, twinkle, glisten, glitter, shine*), with the corresponding verbs in Romanian: a străluci ('to glow'), *a licări* ('to glimmer'), *a scânteia* ('to sparkle'), a sclipi ('to twinkle'), a străluci (''to glisten'), a sclipi ('to glitter'), a străluci ('to shine'):

(21)　a.　The star twinkled far away.

　　　b.　*Steaua　　　a　　　scânteiat în depărtare.*　(Romanian)
　　　　　Star-the-F., sg. has　　twinkled in distance.
　　　　　'The star twinkled far away.'

3.1.7. Verbs of smell emission

Verbs of smell emission (*smell, stink, reek*) represent another class of activity verbs incorporating Themes. The corresponding Romanian verbs are *a mirosi,* a mirosi urât, a puţi. These verbs can be analyzed as formed at l-syntax from a null light verb and a noun. *A mirosi* ('to smell'), for example, can be decomposed as *a răspândi/ emite miros (*'to give/ emit smell'):

(22)　a.　The meal smelled wonderful.
　　　b.　The meal gave out a wonderful smell.

(23)　a.　*Mâncarea　　mirosea　　minunat.* (Romanian)
　　　　　Food-the　　smelled　wonderful.
　　　　　'The food smelled wonderful.'

　　　b.　*Mâncarea　　răspândea　　un miros minunat.* (Romanian)
　　　　　Food-the　　gave　　　　a　smell wonderful.
　　　　　'The food gave a wonderful smell.'

3.1.8 Verbs of sound emission

Apart from these verbs, there are verbs of sound emission (*to rattle, rumble, ring, toll, clatter, clink, crackle, jingle*). The corresponding verbs in Romanian are: *a zornăi* ('to rattle'), *a bubui/ a hurui* ('to rumble'), *a suna* ('to ring'), *a bate (about bells)* ('to toll'), *a zdrăngăni* ('to clatter'), *a zăngăni* ('to clink'), *a pocni/ a trosni* ('to crackle'):

(24)　a.　The bells on the sleigh have been ringing all evening. How come Santa Claus has not arrived yet?

　　　b.　*Clopoţeii de la sanie au　　sunat toată seara.*
　　　　　Bells　　from sleigh have　rung　all　　evening.
　　　　　Cum de Moş Crăciun nu　　a　　ajuns　încă? (Romanian)
　　　　　How of Santa Claus not　　has　arrived　yet?
　　　　　'The bells on the sleigh have been ringing all evening. How come Santa Claus has not arrived yet?'

　　　In this case, we don't seem to come up with an adequate paraphrase using a null light verb and a noun, although, except for the verb *ring,* there are corresponding nouns. In a sense, the verbs above are 'manner of sound' verbs. On Haugen's view (2009), this means

that they are not formed by incorporation, but by conflation/ merge of the 'manner' element directly onto the v.

3.1.9 Verbs of involuntary bodily expression
Activity verbs also include verbs of involuntary bodily expression like *sneeze, cough, hiccough, belch, burp, vomit, tremble, vibrate, sweat, totter, throb),* etc. The corresponding Romanian verbs are *a strănuta (*'to sneeze') *, a tuşi* ('to cough')*, a sughiţa* ('to hiccough')*, a râgâi* ('to belch', 'to burp*'), a vomita* ('to vomit')*, a tremura* ('to tremble/to throb')*, a vibra* ('to vibrate')*, a transpira* ('to sweat')*, a se clătina* ('to totter'). If we take an example such as *to cough,* we notice that we can analyze it as the result of the incorporation of a noun into a verb:

(25) The student gave a series of nervous coughs before starting his presentation.

However, in this case, given the fact that the verb is a semelfactive, the noun that gets incorporated does not have a singular form. However, in the case of Romanian, we do not seem to be able to create such paraphrases. Given that the verbs seem to indicate 'manner' of body motion, we might be tempted to adopt the same view, and argue that, in this case, just like in the previous one, we are actually dealing with conflation/ merge rather than incorporation.

Nevertheless, most verbs from the activity class can be analyzed as being formed from the incorporation of a Theme noun into a silent light verb.

3.1.10 Verbs of Animal-Birth Giving

Another class of verbs significant for Theme-Incorporation is represented by Verbs of Animal-Birth Giving: *foal, whelp, calve, spawn, pup, lamb, fawn,* etc.:

(26) a.   Betty foaled (the sweetest creature ever) yesterday.

        b.   Betty gave birth to the sweetest foal yesterday.

We do have a corresponding verb in Romanian for the verb *foal*, namely, *a mânzi.* However, we do not have exact corresponding verbs for the others: *a făta,* a da naştere (to give birth), a depune ouă (spawn), a face (pui) ('to make babies') (for the other verbs). The difference would be that, while in English, we have Theme-incorporation, in Romanian, incorporation does not take place.

3.1.11 Verbs of Dining
Another interesting class of verbs consists of the verbs of 'Dining', such as *lunch/have lunch, dine/have dinner, breakfast/have breakfast, picnic/have a picnic, etc.* All of these verbs have paraphrases consisting of the verb *have* and a noun expressing the 'eating' event:

(27) a.   The mysterious lady dined in the morning.

        b.   The mysterious lady had dinner in the morning.

We have corresponding verbs in Romanian: *a prânzi* ('to lunch')/a lua prânzul *('*to take lunch-the'*), a cina* ('to dine')/a lua cina ('to take dinner'), a lua micul dejun ('to take breakast') etc. Unlike English, however, the verbs in Romanian are not paraphrased by the verb *have*, but by the verb *a lua* ('to take'):

(28) a.   *Doamna misterioasă   a   cinat dimineața.* (Romanian)
           Lady-the mysterious has   dined morning-the
           'The mysterious lady dined in the morning.'

      b.   *Doamna misterioasă   a   luat cina   dimineața.* (Romanian)
           Lady   mysterious has   taken dinner-the morning-the.
           'The mysterious lady had diner in the morning.'

3.1.12   *Verbs of Harvesting*
Verbs of Harvesting such as *hay, berry, mushroom/get mushrooms, fish/get fish, whale*, etc. represent another category of verbs that incorporate Themes:

(29) a.   My grandpa mushroomed in the forest all day lon

      b.   My grandpa collected/ picked mushrooms in the forest all day long.

We do not have corresponding verbs in Romanian, we have combinations of verbs and nouns, such as: a aduna fânul ('to collect hay'), a aduna ciuperci ('to collect/ pick mushrooms'), a prinde pește ('to catch fish'), a vâna balene ('to hunt whales')*,* etc.:

(30)   *Copilul   vrea   să adune ciuperci.* (Romanian)
       Kid-the wants to pick   mushrooms.
       'The kid wants to pick mushrooms.'

As in the previous case, English allows incorporation of the Theme into the verb, while Romanian does not.

3.1.13 Weather verbs
An interesting class is represented by weather verbs: *to rain, to snow, to hail, to sleet, to thunder, to lighten, to snow etc.,* with the corresponding Romanian verbs: a ploua ('to rain'), a ninge ('to snow'), a da grindină ('to hail'), a da lapoviță ('to sleet'), a tuna ('to thunder'), *a fulgera* ('to lighten'), a cerne ('to snow').
   Weather verbs represent an interesting class, because they sometimes behave like unaccusatives and sometimes like unergatives across languages and even within the same language (the case of Italian, where they can take both auxiliaries, as argued in Benincà & Cinque (1992)). The debate would be whether the raining simply occurs, or whether it is the sky or divinity doing the raining. From an l-syntactic perspective, this would translate in the question whether we also project a CAUSE predicate apart from FALL, or just FALL.
   Irrespective of how many predicates we project in the structure, the noun *rain* gets incorporated (as a Theme).

3.2   Incorporation of Locatums

It seems that, indeed, Theme-incorporation is very frequent. Apart from the classic cases of Themes, we also find special cases of Themes, such as 'Locatums', a particular instance of Theme, more exactly, displaced Theme. Under the label 'locatum verbs', we find verbs such as:

(31)   to bandage, bar, bell, blindfold, bread, butter, clothe, curtain, dress, fund, gas, grease, harness, hook, house, ink, oil, paint, paper, powder, saddle, salt, seed, shoe, spice, water, word

Not all have a corresponding verb in Romanian:

(32) *a bandaja*, 'to bandage', *a bara*, 'to bar', a purta un clopoţel (lit. to wear a bell), 'to bell', a lega la ochi pe cineva (lit. to tie to eyes on somebody), 'to blindfold', a găti cu pesmet/pâine (lit. to cook with biscuit/bread), 'to bread', a îmbrăca, 'to clothe', a pune perdele la ferestre (lit. to put curtains at windows), 'to clothe', a îmbrăca/a decora, 'to decorate', a prepara, 'to prepare', a consolida/ a finanţa, 'to fund', a gaza, 'to gas', a unge cu unsoare (lit. to smear with grease), 'to oil', a picta, 'to paint', a înhăma, 'to harness', a prinde în cârlig (lit. to catch in hook), *a găzdui* (lit. to shelter), 'to shelter'*, a locui*, 'to live', a scrie cu cerneală (lit. to write with ink), 'to ink', a unge, 'to oil', a picta, 'to paint', a împacheta în hârtie (lit. to wrap in paper)/a pune pe hârtie (lit. to put on paper), 'to paper', *a pudra*, 'to powder', a înşeua 'to saddle'*, a săra* 'to salt', a semăna 'to sow', *a potcovi*/a încălţa 'to shoe', *a condimenta* 'to spice', a uda 'to water', a exprima prin cuvinte/a formula 'to express/formulate'.

'To butter', for example, paraphrased as 'to put butter on…" in English, does not have a corresponding verb in Romanian. Instead, we have 'a pune unt pe…'('to put butter on…'). We have, nonetheless, verbs like *a bandaja* ('to bandage'), *a săra* ('to salt'), or *a înşeua* ('to saddle').

3.3   Incorporation of Location

However, incorporation is not restricted to Themes or Locatums, but extends to nouns bearing other theta-roles as well.
The most obvious case is represented by Location nouns which, by incorporating into a null light verb, give rise to Location verbs such as:

(33) to bag, bank, bottle, box, cage, can, corral, crate, floor (opponent), garage, jail, package, pasture, pen, photograph, pocket, pot, shelve, ship (the oars), shoulder, tree

(34) a pune în sac (lit. to put in bag) 'to bag', a îndigui/a depune la bancă (lit. to put at bank), 'to bank', a pune într-o sticlă (lit. to put in a bottle), 'to bottle', a pune într-o cutie (lit. to put in a box), 'to box', a băga într-o colivie (lit. to put in a cage), 'to cage', a pune în conservă (lit. to put in can), 'to can', a îngrădi/a înconjura, 'to corral', a pune într-un coş sau ladă (lit. to put in a basket or a case/chest), 'to crate', a pune la pământ (lit. to put to earth),

'to floor', a duce în garaj (lit. to carry in garage), 'to garage', a arunca pe cineva la închisoare (lit. to throw on somebody to prison), 'to jail', *a împacheta*, 'to package', a pune pe o pășune (lit. to put on a pasture), 'to pasture', a închide într-un țarc (lit. to close/ shut in a pen), 'to pen', *a fotografia* 'to photograph", a pune în buzunar (lit. to put in pocket), 'to pocket', a pune în oală (lit. to put in pot), 'to pot', a pune pe rafturi (lit. to put on shelves), 'to shelve', a transporta pe vas (lit. to transport on ship), 'to ship', a pune pe umăr (lit. to put on shoulder), 'to shoulder', a face pe cineva să se urce în copac (lit. to make on somebody CONJ climb in tree), 'to tree'

What we can easily notice is that most of these verbs do not have a corresponding verb in Romanian: instead, we find combinations of verbs and nouns, such as 'a pune pe raft' ('to put on the shelf'/*to shelve*), 'a pune în buzunar' ('to put in pocket'/*to pocket*), 'a pune în cutie' (' to put in box'/*to box*), or 'a băga la închisoare' ('to put in jail'/*to jail*).

However, Romanian does not lack verbs which incorporate Location. It is possible, for example, to say something like:

(35)   *Mama   a   îndosariat   documentele.* (Romanian)
         Mother-the has   put-in-files documents-the.
         'Mother has filed the documents.' (?), or like:

(36)   *Copilașul a   îngropat ursulețul   și   a   început   să plângă.*
         Kid-the   has   buried teddy-bear-the   and has started   to cry.
         Crezuse   că   a   murit.
         Thought that   has   died.
         'The kid buried the teddy-bear, and started to cry. He thought it had died.'

In the examples above, we notice the presence of two verbs: *a îndosaria* and *a îngropa*, both containing the prefix *în-*. *A îndosaria* can be paraphrased as *'a pune în dosare'* (lit. o put in files), and *'a îngropa'* can be paraphrased as 'to put in the hole/ground', i.e. *to bury*.

What we notice, therefore, is that, while in English, the verbs incorporating the Location and the Location are identical to the nouns they incorporate, in Romanian, either there is no corresponding verb (instead, we have a paraphrase), or the verb containing the noun contains a prefix, in addition to the infinitival termination, like the prefix *în-*. Of course, in Romanian, there are also verbs that are almost identical to the nouns incorporated: Locatum verbs such as *a bandaja* ('to bandage'), *a sufixa* ('to suffix'), *a prefixa* ('to prefix'), *a prăfui* ('to dust'), *a săra* ('to salt'), *a tapeta* ('to wallpaper'), or Location verbs such as *a pășuna* ('to graze'), *a zări* ('to see'), *a fabrica* ('to fabricate').[5]

3.4   Incorporation of Instruments

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[5] I have selected these verbs from a bilingual dictionary (a Romanian-Norwegian dictionary) by Halvorsen (2007), through which I looked so as to find all the noun-incorporating verbs incorporating various theta-roles.

Apart from Themes, verbs can also incorporate instruments, as it happens in the case of *hammer* verbs:

(37) 'If I had a hammer,/I'd hammer in the morning,/I'd hammer in the evening/All over this land.' (*If I Had a Hammer (The Hammer Song), Lee Hays and Pete Seeger*)

(38) *Maria a   periat   hainele   ca   să fie frumoase.* (Romanian)
Mary has   brushed clothes-the that   to be beautiful
'Mary brushed her clothes to make them beautiful.'

(39) *Femeia   a   pieptănat căţeluşul.* (Romanian)
Woman-the   has   combed   puppy-the.
'The woman has combed the puppy.'

Apart from these, there are Instrument-incorporating verbs like *a biciui* ('to whip'), *a ciomăgi* ('to club'), *a fluiera* ('to whistle'), *a mânui* ('to handle'), *a săpa* ('to spade/burrow/dig'), *a vâsli* ('to oar'), *a pistona* ('to push or extract liquid with a piston'), *a claxona* ('to honk'), *a cârmi* ('to steer').[6]

Actually, in this case, in order to avoid the problem of the instrument being an adjunct, Haugen (2009) argues that we are not dealing with incorporation, but with conflation, and that the 'instrument' is simply merged onto the v.

3.5   Incorporation of Agents

It has been argued that Agents never incorporate. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. As argued in Damonte (2004), in a language like Chuckchee (isolate, Siberia), it is possible to incorporate the Agent into the verb ('child-came'):

(40) *ǝtlon ŋinqe-etǝ-lʔet- gʔe*   (Chuckchee, Polinsky (1995, 350))
he-abs child-int-come-3sg.Aor
(lit) 'Many children came to him.' *i.e.* 'He got many children.'

According to Baker (1988), Agents do not incorporate into verbs. However, in Romanian, we notice that there is, for example, a verb like 'a asasina' (*to assassinate*), where one might speculate that the near-identity of form between the verb (*a asasina*) and the noun (*asasin*) is the result of the incorporatin of the Agent into the null light verb, something unexplainable under a theory which disallows incorporation of Specifiers. Moreover, if we look at Romanian, we notice that there are other verbs that seem to incorporate Agents, like *a spiona* ('to spy'), *a arbitra* ('to arbitrate'), *a găzdui* ('to shelter'), *a hoinări* ('to roam'), *a meşteri* ('to

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[6] These verbs have again been picked from the same bilingual dictionary (a Romanian-Norwegian dictionary) by Halvorsen (2007).

tinker'), *a slugări* ('to slave around'), containing the noun *slugă* ('slave'), *a guverna* ('to govern'), *a măcelări (*'to butcher'), *a patrula* ('to patrol'), *a (se) bărbieri* ('to shave (oneself)'.[7]

In the next section, we will look deeper into this issue, trying to see whether it is really the case that an Agent can incorporate.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that we have not looked at all theta-roles, from the data we have looked at so far, one can gather that noun-incorporation seems to apply to a variety of theta-roles, nonetheless.

4   Is Noun Incorporation Sensitive to the Structural Position of the Noun?

Another important question we would like to answer is whether noun incorporation is sensitive to the structural position of the noun. In short, while noun incorporating verbs incorporate complements, it is not so clear whether they can incorporate specifiers. On the view put forth by Hale & Keyser (2002), they cannot incorporate specifiers, neither specifiers that are c-commanded by the incorporating head, nor specifiers that are placed higher in the tree (like agentive subjects). However, on Damonte (2004)'s view, specifiers that are c-commanded by the incorporating head can be incorporated.

According to Baker (1988: 81ff, 244ff), there are certain descriptive generalizations which can be made with respect to incorporation. For one thing (i), not everything can incorporate: external arguments (agentive subjects) or adjuncts are precluded from incorporation, while internal arguments like Theme/Patient objects, Theme/Patient, subjects (of unaccusatives), as well as Goal are possible incorporees. Secondly (ii), there is a locality/minimality constraint, which says that a syntactic constituent that is (or is contained in) an argument of a direct argument of the verb cannot be incorporated, unless the direct argument of the verb is itself incorporated. Thirdly (iii), the incorporee has to have a certain syntactic structural status: only simplex elements (syntactic heads) may incorporate, syntactic phrases (multi-word units) cannot. According to Baker, there is a condition on incorporation:

  (41)   Incorporation is available to lexical items which, when in their un-incorporated basic positions, are governed by the host of incorporation.

Baker's condition, in turn, is derived from the Empty Category Principle (ECP), a general condition requiring the trace position of any movement to be properly governed.

According to Damonte (2004), the only necessary syntactic constraint on incorporation is that there be a c-command relation between the head being incorporated to and the head that incorporates. This allows the incorporation of the specifiers of the complement of v, while disallowing the incorporation of the specifiers of v. Actually, this view is not so different from the one put forth by Hale & Keyser (2002), who argue that incorporation of the specifiers of the complement of v is possible in English, but not the

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[7] The verbs have again been picked from the same Romanian-Norwegian dictionary by Halvorsen (2007).

conflation of specifiers. On Damonte's view, no distinction is made between conflation and incorporation; his claim is that it is possible for a head to incorporate into another head from a specifier position that is c-commanded by the incorporating head:

(42)　*Incorporation out of a specifier position*
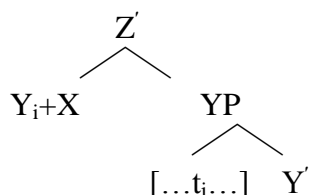
$$Z'$$
$$Y_i+X \qquad YP$$
$$[…t_i…] \quad Y'$$

Actually, this view is not so different from the one put forth by Hale & Keyser (2002), who argue that incorporation of specifiers is possible in English, but not conflation of specifiers.

Assuming X to be the verb, which has moved to the head of the functional projection ZP, incorporation of a head out of [Spec, YP] into the verb is possible, since X c-commands all the heads in [Spec, YP]:

(43)　*Gin-waya-sgowt-hi*
　　　neck-knife-cut-he/them
　　　'He cut their heads off with his knife.'
　　　　　　　　Takelma, Mithun (1984, 875)) (as quoted in Damonte 2004: 129)

On Damonte's view, (40) is a case of multiple incorporation:

(44)
$$W'$$
$$Z_j+Y_i+X_k \qquad ZP$$
$$[...t_j…] \quad Z'$$
$$t_k \qquad YP$$
$$[…t_i...] \quad Y' \text{ (Damonte 2004: 130)}$$
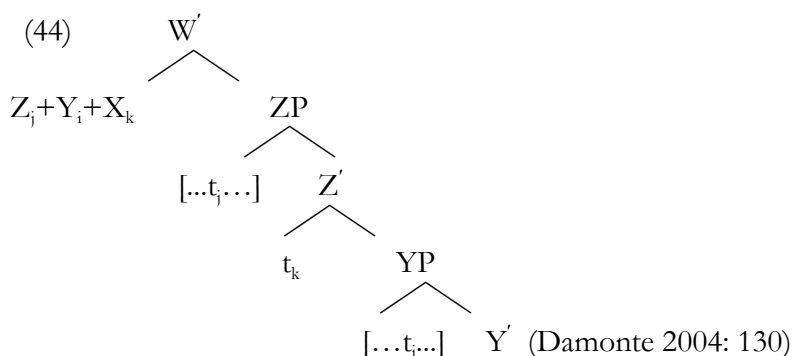
According to Damonte (2004), in this case, both nouns are specifiers, and get incorporated into the verb, with 'neck' occupying the higher specifier, and 'knife'occupting the lower specifier.

A Theme occupying a specifier position might strike us as odd if we look at it from a bakerian perspective. However, even Hale and Keyser (2002) put forth an analysis in which the above is the case: the 'direct object' in 'put the books on the shelves' occupies the specifier position of the PP selected by the verb 'put'. Instrument verbs like 'to hammer'

may behave differently, however. It may be the case that 'to hit something with a hammer' and 'to cut something with a knife' receive a different structural analysis from location and locatum verbs. This intuition was exploited by Haugen (2009), who argued that instrument verbs are cases in which the instrument 'hammer' gets merged directly onto the verb.

However, a question arises: if we adopt Damonte's proposal, if it is true that specifiers do incorporate, then why doesn't the direct object 'books' get incorporated in 'Mary PUT the books ON the shelves.' , where 'the books' is in the specifier of the PP selected by the null light verb? A possible explanation for this could be the fact that the direct object is more important (syntactically, semantically, pragmatically). Moreover, in English, the incorporation of location seems to block the incorporation of the theme ('* He shelved-books').

Although the conflation of specifiers seems to be possible in other languages, it does not seem to be the case in English, or Romanian for that matter, where (40) is not possible. One can thus distinguish between languages where conflation of specifiers is possible, and languages where it is not.

As for the incorporation of the specifiers that are not c-commanded by the noun-incorporating verbal head, like agentive subjects, a solution is needed to cope with verbs like *a spiona* ('to spy'), *a arbitra* ('to arbitrate'), *a hoinări* ('to roam'), *a meșteri* ('to tinker'), *a slugări* ('to slave around'), containing the noun *slugă* ('slave'), *a guverna* ('to govern'), *a măcelări* ('to butcher'), *a patrula* ('to patrol'), *a (se) bărbieri* ('to shave (oneself)'.

A possible way out of Agent incorporation would be to argue that, in these cases, it is not the case that the verb incorporates the noun, but, actually, it is the other way round, we are dealing with regressive derivation: the noun is derived regressively from the verb. However, the dictionary entries do not indicate backformation in the case of the nouns corresponding to the verbs, thus, we are forced to abandon this alternative.

Another way out would be to say that, even though we are dealing with incorporation, it is not Agent incorporation that we are coping with, but, rather, what gets incorporated is the predicate of Small Clause copula phrase, i.e. a complement:

(45)　　Tom is a spy.

(46)　　Tom spies.

Although the nouns in themselves denote Agents, they are not Agents in the underlying l-syntactic representation. A null light verb, possibly *be* (or perhaps *act,* with the meaning *fulfill the obligations of a spy, in this case)* incorporates the complement noun *spy*, giving rise to the verb *to spy*:

(47)　　　　　　V
　　　　　　　　⋀
　　　　　V　　　N
　　　　fi　　*spion*
　　　　be　　　spy
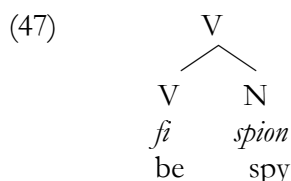
By adopting this point of view, Agent incorporation is eschewed. This is a desirable move, given the fact that, if we accept the idea that external arguments can be incorporated,

then the immediate question to be answered is why it is the case that this does not happen with all external arguments, but only with some. Although we can have something like *Spionul spionează,* 'The spy spies.', where the noun is almost identical in form to the verb, we nevertheless have *Cântărețul cântă,* 'The singer sings.', with a noun that adds the agentive suffix-*er* to the verb. In this case, the agentive noun is formed from the verb, and not the other way round. Of course, in this case, one could say that a possible explanation could be the fact that subjects of transitive verbs never incorporate, as argued in Baker (1988). However, there is no cognate subject even in the case of an unergative verb like *a plânge* ('to cry'). As argued in Damonte (2004) with examples from Mohawk, only the subjects of unaccusative verbs can be incorporated (48a), while the subjects of unergative verbs cannot be incorporated (45b):

(48)　a.　*Wa'-ka-wir-a'-ne'*
　　　　　aor-Nsg-baby-fall-punc
　　　　　'The baby fell'

　　　b.　**Wa'-t- . ka-wir-ahsa'tho'*
　　　　　aor-dup-Nsg-baby-cry-punc
　　　　　'The baby cried'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Mohawk, Baker 1996: 293-4, from Damonte 2004: 136)

　　　Following this line of thought, we will adopt the view that specifiers that are c-commanded by a verb can be incorporated, whereas specifiers that are not, such as agentive subjects, cannot be.

　　　As for adjuncts, it seems to be the case that sometimes adjuncts incorporate, whereas, in other cases, they do not. This could be considered a lexical idiosyncrasy, an accident, or it could be related to the obligatory/ optional status of the element, or the structural relation between the element and the verb.

　　　The optional locative *plajă* ('beach') in (49):

(49)　　　*Maria a dormit pe plajă ieri.*
　　　　　Maria has slept on beach yesterday.
　　　　　'Maria slept on the beach yesterday.'

does not incorporate into the verb (there is no verb *a plăjui,* 'to beach', with the meaning 'to sleep on the beach'). In English, there is a verb *to beach,* but its meaning is quite different, it means 'to shipwreck, to reach the shore (in a loose sense, 'to arrive on a beach'), it is a goal locative with a very specific meaning.

　　　While, in English, the obligatory locative (i.e. argument) in a phrase like 'put the books on the shelves' may be incorporated, giving rise to a verb like 'to shelve', there is no verb *a răftui* ('to shelve') in Romanian. As a matter of fact, there are few location verbs of incorporation in Romanian: *a pășuna* ('to graze', where *pășune* means 'field'), *a zări* ('to see', where *zare* means *horizon),* *a fabrica* ('to fabricate', where *fabric* means 'factory'). Instead, we generally find full expressions (*a pune ceva pe/ în …,* 'to put something on/ in…').

We can, hence, notice, crosslinguistic differences between Romanian and English. Moreover, within the same language, sometimes locatives are incorporated, and sometimes they are not. However, it is not the case that optional locatives are never incorporated, while obligatory locatives are. The existence of verbs like *a păşuna,* 'to graze', where *păşune,* 'field' expresses the location*,* or *a fabrica*, 'to fabricate', where *fabrică* means 'factory' proves that even optional locatives can be incorporated[8]. Optional locatives seem to pose the same problem as instruments: they are adjuncts, but are, nevertheless, incorporated.

A possible solution for this problem would be to say, along the lines of Surányi (2009), that the adjuncts which undergo incorporation are c-commanded by the incorporating head. In other words, there are adjuncts that are c-commanded by the verb, and adjuncts that are not, and only those that are c-commanded by the head can undergo incorporation. In Surányi (2009), for example, Source locatives (particles) behave differently from Goal locatives, and they are unattested in preverbal position. Indeed, we do not have a verb such as *a teatra* (*to theatre*) to express the meaning 'to go to the theatre'. Adopting such a view, however, could not explain why there is not a great number of verbs incorporating optional locatives (why, for example, we do not have a verb like *a câmpui* to express the meaning 'to go to/ in the field'), given the fact that optional locatives are to be found quite often in the discourse. Then again, most English location verbs do not have a corresponding verb in Romanian.

Another solution would be to argue that, in the case of optional locatives, the process taking place is conflation in the sense of Haugen (2009) rather than incorporation,: the locative is simply merged onto the verb. This would result in the proposal that obligatory locatives are incorporated, while optional locatives are conflated, just like instruments, where *hammer,* instead of being incorporated, is simply conflated/ merged onto the verb.

5   Conclusion

In conclusion, we have shown on the basis of some Romanian data that noun-incorporation does not apply only to Themes/complements, it also applies to other

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[8] As argued by Surányi (2009) for Hungarian, unselected locative adjuncts (particles in this case) can undergo pseudo-incorporation if generated sufficiently low:

(i) *Benne   aludt   János   (a régi szekrényben)*
    in-3SG slept-3SG John-NOM (the old wardrobe-in)
    'John slept in the old wardrobe.'

According to Surányi (2009), the apparent 'incorporation' (pseudo-incorporation) of locative elements in Hungarian essentially corroborates Baker's proposal that only elements that are c-commanded by the head can undergo incorporation. The conclusion established on the basis of Hungarian data might suggest a similar line of thought for Romanian.

thematic roles (semantically), and, it can apply to Specifiers (syntactically). However, it cannot apply to those specifiers that are not c-commanded by the incorporating verb. In the case of instrument verbs, the process taking place may be taken to be conflation (merge), not incorporation, just like in the case of optional locatives. As far as agents are concerned, they can never be incorporated, as they are not c-commanded by the verb. When they are incorporated, they are not Agents in that structure, although they denote Agents from a semantic point of view, but may be argued to be the complement of a null light verb, possibly the predicate of a copular structure.

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