

Four Faces of *Up* as a Functional Particle

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The main claim of this paper is that the particle *up* in an English two-word verb is a function word compensating for or equivalent to a portion of a cognitively synonymous verb phrase to which the two-word verb corresponds. This portion may be a (direct-object) noun phrase, an adverbial phrase, a derivational marker, a verb-internal element or a combination of two or more of these. The particle thus often turns out to be anything but adverbial, which runs counter to its traditional characterization as an adverbial. Another major byproduct of this paper is the light it apparently sheds on the underlying meaning of the particle under discussion.

0. Introduction

One of the main thrusts of this paper is to show that the particle *up* in a two-word verb is often a compensatory fill-in for a portion of a verb phrase (or its derivative) which is a (semantic) equivalent of the two-word verb. Let us begin our discussion here by examining the following paraphrase pairs, focusing on the portions in italics.

- (1) a. Turn it *up*.
b. Turn it *to a higher level*.
- (2) a. Prices are constantly going *up*.
b. Prices are constantly going *to a higher level*.
- (3) a. Traders were *bidding up* crude oil prices in anticipation of shortages in heating oil.
b. Traders were *bidding* crude oil prices *to a higher level* in anticipation of shortages in heating oil.

Note that the particle *up* here is a functional equivalent of the

(verb-phrase-internal) adverbial phrase *to a higher level* and that the former may be thought of as a function word standing in for the latter. Note further that this is much as the shorter pronoun *he*, for one, is a functional substitute for a longer noun phrase such as *The old man*, as in *The old man says he's okay*, where *The old man* and *he* are coreferential. We may thus say that the particle *up* in (1), (2) and (3) above is a pro-form filling in for *to a higher level*. We may observe in this connection that the particle *up* here serves to help lexicalize a phrase into a word, e.g. by turning the phrase (*to turn*) *to a higher level* into the word (*to turn*) *up* in (1) above.

Another main thrust of the current paper is that the particle *up* in question here may not always be adverbial, which is contrary to popular perception. In the course of our discussion, we will be presenting plenty of apparently non-adverbial tokens of the particle *up*. In Section 1, for example, we will see that the particle is more nominal than adverbial in that it is equivalent to a (direct-object) noun phrase, rather than to an adverbial phrase. In Section 3, we will see that the particle is more a derivational marker of conversion than an adverbial. In Section 4, we will see that the particle *up* is more (intra)verbal than adverbial in that it is equivalent to a verb-internal element, rather than to a (verb-external) adverbial. In fact, ((1), (2) and (3) above aside,) it is only in Section 2 that we will have anything to do with the particle as a functional substitute for underlying adverbial phrases.

Thus of the four faces (or uses) of the particle *up* that this paper focuses on, only one is clearly adverbial with the remaining three being anything but. Admittedly, however, the particle under discussion here may be called adverbial in all its uses only if we can somehow re-define an adverbial as "an expression added to (or incorporated into) a verb within a verb phrase." The problem here is that this would entail a radical departure from the traditional definition of an adverbial as "a modifier of verbs, adjectives or adverbs."

Still another contribution of this paper is that it affords an interesting explanation for the meaning of the particle *up* that figures in two-word verbs. This is done by assuming that there is an equivalent or source form for the particle, which normally shows its underlying signification in highly specific terms. Given that the particle in question figures in two-word verbs, most of which are idiomatic, our discussion here should be of some interest to the study of idiomatic language with special reference to the

semantics of two-word verbs in English.

Incidentally, the present paper is in the mold of data-oriented traditional grammar, so that it makes a point of offering an abundance of supportive examples. The majority of the examples cited in support of our thesis here were culled and adapted from thousands of articles that appeared from March 2000 through February 2001 in the mass-circulation American daily *USA TODAY*. Most of these supportive examples were also checked against authoritative English-language dictionaries such as those listed in the references, especially against *Longman Advanced American Dictionary*.

1. Fill-in for Direct-Object Noun Phrases

Let us lead off our discussion here with the following paraphrase pairs, in each of which the first member involves a two-word verb terminating with the particle *up*.

- (4) a. *Open up*.
b. *Open the door*.

- (5) a. *Shut up*.
b. *Shut your mouth*.

- (6) a. Where can I *wash up*?
b. Where can I *wash my (face and) hands*?

- (7) a. *Pay up* or get out.
b. *Pay your money* or get out.

The particle *up* in the first member of each paraphrase pair here is apparently used as an equivalent of the direct object of the verb in the second member of the same pair. Assuming that the second member here is ontogenetically prior to the first member, which does not seem too implausible, we may say that the particle in the latter originates in something like the direct-object in the former. Alternatively, the particle arguably serves as a fill-in designed to help resolve the surface disparity between the two semantically equivalent verb phrases that would otherwise result.

We may observe in passing that the direct-object here for which the particle *up* supposedly compensates should in theory be situationally recoverable in all instances. Out of context, however, it may sometimes not be thus recoverable, uniquely at least. Given other contexts, for example, the particle *up* in (4)–(7) may fill in for other noun phrases than those posited here. *Open up*, for one, may be associated with *Open your mouth* or *Open fire* (rather than with *Open the door*), in which case the particle would have to be regarded a compensation for *your mouth* or *fire*, rather than *the door*.

Note parenthetically that the examples thus far cited appear to fly in the face of the popular traditional notion that the particle *up* is adverbial. For the particle *up* here is equivalent more to a nominal than to an adverbial, not just in the examples just cited but also in numerous additional examples of a similar nature such as those that will be cited in the remainder of this section.

It is interesting to note that our account here apparently helps provide a rather neat explanation for the meaning of the particle *up* in numerous two-word verbs such as those already cited as well as those to be cited in the remainder of this paper. Confining our attention to the current section, we can see that the meaning of the particle *up* is quite clearly specified in the direct-object noun phrase to which it corresponds. Let us take, for example, the particle *up* in the two-word verbs exemplified in such paraphrase pairs as the following.

- (8) a. Law should be updated to *keep up* with new technology.
 b. Law should be updated to *keep pace* with new technology.
- (9) a. How do you *break up* with a friend without hurting him?
 b. How do you *break your relations(hip)* with a friend without hurting him?
- (10) a. She has never been afraid to *speak up*.
 b. She has never been afraid to *speak her mind*.
- (11) a. I *signed up* for English 101.
 b. I *signed my name* for English 101.
- (12) a. My son *held up* through all his troubles.
 b. My son *held his own/ground* through all his troubles.

- (13) a. I'd better *measure up* before I start laying the carpet.
 b. I'd better *measure the floor* before I start laying the carpet.
- (14) a. The pitcher's reputation *bears up* statistically.
 b. (?)The pitcher's reputation *bears the test of time* statistically.

Note that the particle *up* in the first member of each paraphrase pair above is semantically more opaque than is the corresponding direct-object noun phrase in the second member of the same pair. The particle *up* in *keep up* in (8a), for one, is apparently less transparent semantically than *pace* in *keep pace* in (8b), so that *pace* arguably reveals the meaning of *up* in quite transparent and clear-cut terms.

The particle *up* in the idiomatic verb phrase *to show up*, *to stuff up* and *to fill up* may be accounted for along similar lines, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pairs.

- (15) a. Did he *show up*?
 b. Did he *show his face*? / ?Did he *show himself*?
- (16) a. The politician was caught *stuffing up*.
 b. The politician was caught *stuffing his face/pockets*. / The politician was caught *stuffing himself*.
- (17) a. I *filled up* on junk food.
 b. I *filled my stomach* on junk food. / I *filled myself* on junk food.

Incidentally, the direct-object noun phrase in question here often seems to take the form of a reflexive pronoun, as can be seen from the three paraphrase pairs above as well as many other paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (18) a. The roads quickly began *filling up* with snow and ice.
 b. The roads quickly began *filling itself* with snow and ice.
- (19) a. The paper napkins *folded up* into festive caps.
 b. The paper napkins *folded themselves* into festive caps.
- (20) a. We then decided to *put up* at a small hotel.
 b. (?)We soon decided to *put ourselves* at a small hotel.

It goes without saying that a fundamentally identical explanation is applicable to the particle *up* in *to lock up*, as used in the first member of the following paraphrase pair.

- (21) a. The two wrestlers were required to *lock up* in bear hugs.
 b. The two wrestlers were required to *lock each other* in bear hugs. /
 The two wrestlers were required to *lock themselves* in bear hugs.

What we have said concerning paraphrase pairs such as (15)–(20) is also applicable to (21) except that a reciprocal pronoun may take the place of a reflexive pronoun in the the second member of (21). It may be pointed out in this connection that a reciprocal pronoun is actually a kind of reflexive pronoun.

A basically identical explanation is evidently applicable to the particle *up* exemplified in the paraphrase pair below.

- (22) a. *Cheer up*.
 b. *Cheer yourself*.

Note that *to cheer up* may also be said to be equivalent to *to be of good cheer* so that the particle *up* may be viewed as a compensatory fill-in for *to be of good*. In that case, the particle here may be thought of as serving to mark the conversion of *cheer* from noun to verb. Incidentally, we will be discussing in great detail the particle *up* as a derivational marker of conversion in Section 3.

In some instances, the particle *up* appears to play the dual role of not just filling in for a direct object but also serving to mark noun-to-verb conversion. This is evident from the parenthesized alternative analysis for the first member of each paraphrase pair below.

- (23) a. *Buckle up*.
 b. *Buckle your seatbelt*. / (*Fasten your seatbelt with the buckle*.)

- (24) a. *Brace up*.
 b. *Brace yourself*. / (*Steady yourself (as if) with a brace*.)

- (25) a. *Button up*.
 b. *Button your lip/mouth*. / (*Fasten your lip/mouth (as if) with buttons*.)

The parenthesized analysis for the particle *up* in *to buckle up* in (23), for one, shows that it evidently fills in for not just *your seatbelt* but also for *to fasten with* so that it clearly plays the dual role referred to above. In fact, the particle *up* in *to lock up* in (21a) above may also be analyzed as having the same dual function, as (21a) can just as plausibly be equivalent to “The two wrestlers were required *to fasten each other in a lock as in bear hugs*.”

Subject to a dual analysis of a similar nature are the tokens of the particle *up* illustrated by the following paraphrase pairs.

- (26) a. He *lit up* at once.
 b. He *lit a cigar(ette)* at once. / (He *put a light to a cigar(ette)* at once.)
- (27) a. I *messed up* on the math test.
 b. (?I *messed things* on the math test. (I *made things a mess* on the math test. / I *made a mess of things* on the math test.)
- (28) a. She *curled up* on a bench.
 b. She *curled herself* on a bench. / (She *morphed herself into a curl* on the bench.)
- (29) a. They *packed up* and went home.
 b. They *packed their things* and went home. / (They *put their things in a pack* and went home.)
- (30) a. The Democratic Convention is *loading up* with star power.
 b. The Democratic Convention is *loading itself* with star power. / (The Democratic Convention is *filling itself with a load of* star power.)

Note incidentally that *to light up* in (26a) is ambiguous as it can also be equivalent to something like “*to ‘light’ his face with pleasure or excitement*” or, alternatively, “*to fill his face with the ‘light’ of pleasure or excitement*.”

The same dual role of the particle *up* may be illustrated with paraphrase pairs such as the following, except that here it figures in adjective-to-verb conversion, rather than in noun-to-verb conversion.

- (31) a. We used a wood-burning stove to *warm up*.
 b. We used a wood-burning stove to *warm ourselves*. / (We used a wood-burning stove to *make ourselves warm*.)
- (32) a. She *cleaned up* after them without minding.
 b. She *cleaned the place* after them without minding. / (She *made the place clean* after them without minding.)
- (33) a. The children were taught to *tidy up* after every meal.
 b. The children were taught to *tidy things* after every meal. / (The children were taught to *make things tidy* after every meal.)
- (34) a. We *squared up* with the cashier and checked out of the hotel.
 b. We *squared our account* with the cashier and checked out of the hotel. / (We *made our account square* with the cashier and checked out of the hotel).
- (35) a. Top Web Sites *Spruce Up* for Summer
 b. Top Web Sites *Spruce Their Images* for Summer / Top Web Sites *Spruce Themselves* for Summer / (Top Web Sites *Make Their Images Spruce* for Summer / Top Web Sites *Make Themselves Spruce* for Summer)

The parenthesized analysis for the particle *up* in *to warm up* in (31), for one, evidently shows that it fills in for not just *ourselves* but also *to make* so that it clearly plays the dual role under discussion here.

The dual role of the particle *up* under discussion here may also be illustrated by paraphrase pairs such as the following, except that here the particle works in tandem with the verb-forming suffix *-en*.

- (36) a. We *freshened up* after the long trip.
 b. We *freshened ourselves* after the long trip. / (We *made ourselves fresh(er)* after the long trip.)
- (37) a. The students *straightened up* in their seats.
 b. The students *straightened their postures* in their seats. / (The students *made their postures straight* in their seats.)

- (38) a. You'll have to reign in your spending and *tighten up*.
 b. You'll have to reign in your spending and *tighten your belt*. /
 (?You'll have to reign in your spending and *make your belt tight(er)*.)
- (39) a. *Smarten up*.
 b. *Smarten yourself*. / (*Make yourself smart(er)*.)
- (40) a. *Lighten up*, dude! Let's not argue about this.
 b. *Lighten your attitude*, Dude. Let's not argue about this. / (?*Make your attitude light(er)*, Dude. Let's not argue about this.)

In connection with the role of the particle *up* as a fill-in for the direct object, it is interesting to note that *up* in the noun *changeup* is of an essentially identical nature, as can be seen from an examination of the paraphrase pair below.

- (41) a. The pitcher's *changeup* was impeccable.
 b. The pitcher's *change-of-pace* was impeccable.

Note that the noun *change-of-pace* derives from the verb phrase *to change pace* so that *(-of-)pace* in *change-of-pace* is underlyingly the direct object of *to change*. If this is correct, then the particle *up* in *changeup* here is no different than *up* in (4)-(40), i.e. in that it is arguably a compensatory fill-in for the direct object in the underlying verb phrase.

Apparently identical in nature is the particle *up* in *wind-up* and *toss-up*, whose derivations may be illustrated by the following paraphrase pairs.

- (42) a. The rookie pitcher's *wind-up* gave him away.
 b. The rookie pitcher's *winding of his arms* gave him away.
- (43) a. I didn't agree to the *toss-up*.
 b. I didn't agree to *the coin toss*. / I didn't agree to *the tossing of a coin*.

What we are suggesting is that the particle *up* here is arguably a surface manifestation for the underlying direct object, which is *his arms* in (42) and *(a) coin* in (43).

The particle *up* in the first member of the following paraphrase pair also is evidently a similar compensatory fill-in.

- (44) a. I prefer a *wind-up* watch.
 b. I prefer a *stem-winding* watch.

Note that *stem* is underlyingly the direct object of the verb *wind(ing)* here so that the particle *up* is arguably a compensatory trace for this underlying direct object, i.e. *stem*.

A basically identical interpretation may apply to the particle *up* in *chinup*, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pair.

- (45) a. How many *chinups* can you do?
 b. How many times can you *chin yourself*?

The particle *up* in *chinup* here is arguably a compensation for the direct object of the verb *to chin*, i.e. *yourself*. An identical account is evidently applicable to the particle *up* in *a foldup chair*, i.e. *a chair that folds itself*.

2. Fill-in for Adverbials

The particle *up* often serves as a compensation for an adverbial (internal to a verb phrase), which does corroborate at least in part the widespread traditional perception that the particle is adverbial. Let us begin our discussion here by examining the following passage from *The New American Bible (Mark 6, 14-16)* with special reference to the two verb phrases in italics.

- (46) King Herod heard about it, for his fame had become widespread and people were saying, "John the Baptist has been *raised from the dead*; that is why mighty powers are at work in him. Others were saying, "He is Elijah"; still others, "He is a prophet like any of the prophets." But when Herod learned of it, he said, "It's John whom I beheaded. He has been *raised up*."

Note that in the context of this passage *raised from the dead* has the same meaning as does *raised up* and that the latter follows the former. Thus we

may say that the particle *up* here is a function word filling in for the adverbial phrase *from the dead*, which is arguably its antecedent.

Apparently construable along identical lines is the particle *up* that figures in the following quote from *The New American Bible (Acts 2, 24)*.

- (47) But God *raised him up*, releasing him from the throes of death, because it was impossible for him to be held by it.

What we are suggesting here is that *raised him up* in (47) is underlyingly equivalent to *raised him from the dead* with *up* arguably filling in for something like *from the dead*.

In the following sentence taken from *The New American Bible (John 3,14)*, the two tokens of the particle *up* also arguably stand in for *from the dead*, so that an essentially identical account is apparently applicable here as well.

- (48) And just as Moses *lifted up* the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of Man be *lifted up*.

It is interesting to note that our discussion here seems to throw serendipitous light on the likely underlying source for the idiomatic verb phrase *be fed up (with)* and *fill up*, which can be illustrated by the following paraphrase pairs.

- (49) a. He *was fed up with* her complaints.
 b. He *was fed to the teeth with* her complaints. / He *was fed to the gills with* her complaints

- (50) a. *Fill it up*.
 b. *Fill it to the brim*.

We may contend that the particle *up* here is an abbreviatory fill-in for *to the teeth* or for *to the gills* in (49) and for *to the brim* in (50). It may be observed at this point that the use of the particle *up* as a compensatory trace in *to be raised up*, *to lift up*, *to be fed up*, *to fill up* and in many other similar examples is arguably reinforced by its positive locational signification, i.e. "to a higher position," "away from the ground" or the like. This appears to be especially the case when the particle *up* is underlyingly

equivalent to an adverbial phrase.

We may be justified in offering a similar analysis for the particle *up* that figures in the first member of the paraphrase pair below.

- (51) a. We decided to *call* him *up*.
 b. We decided to *call* him *on the phone*.

The particle *up* here may in our terms be a compensatory fill-in for the adverbial *on the phone*.

It is interesting to observe at this point that the particle *up* sometimes seems to fill in for a combination of a direct object and an adverbial, not just for an adverbial, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pair.

- (52) a. Don't *hang up*.
 b. Don't *hang the receiver on the hook*.

Alternatively, however, we may analyze Don't *hang up* as equivalent to "Don't *hang the receiver*," rather than "Don't *hang the receiver on the hook*." In that case, the particle *up* here is a fill-in just for the direct object *the receiver*, the discussion of which would then properly belong in the preceding section.

A similar adverbial genesis is arguably involved in the particle *up* that figures in *to serve up*, as used in the first member of the following paraphrase pair.

- (53) a. Rice was *served up* for the entire congregation.
 b. Rice was *served on plates/dishes* for the entire congregation.

Incidentally, the use of the particle *up* here may be influenced by the expression *to dish up* ("to serve on a dish/place"), which we will be discussing in Section 3.

Of similar adverbial genesis may be the particle *up* that figures in the first member of the paraphrase pair below.

- (54) a. She was dressed *up* for the party.
 b. She was dressed *to the nines* for the party.

Admittedly, *to the nines* is sometimes interchangeable with *up to the nines*,

especially in British English, in which case *up* in (54a) may not really be compensatory in our sense. It may very well be the case, however, that *to dress to the nines*, which is arguably the ultimate underlying form here, may first have given rise to *to dress up* with *up* filling in for *to the nines*. This then may have helped optionally add the particle *up* to the original verb phrase, i.e. to *to dress to the nines*, giving rise to the mostly British expression *to dress up to the nines*.

It goes without saying that our discussion here can also make available a principled construal for the function of the particle *up* in the first member of each paraphrase pair below.

- (55) a. The bridge was *blown up*.
b. The bridge was *blown to bits*.
- (56) a. Miles of railroad track have been *torn up*.
b. Miles of railroad track have been *torn to pieces*.
- (57) a. Halve the tomatoes, then *cut* them *up*.
b. Halve the tomatoes, then *cut* them *into pieces*.
- (58) a. He wanted to go into the street and *carve* someone's face *up*.
b. He wanted to go into the street and *carve* someone's face *into pieces*.
- (59) a. Three fresh tomatoes were *chopped up*.
b. Three fresh tomatoes were *chopped into (small) pieces*.
- (60) a. Civil war can come if the country *breaks up*.
b. Civil war can come if the country *breaks (itself) into (smaller) parts*.
- (61) a. The group was so big that we soon decided to *split* it *up*.
b. The group was so big that we soon decided to *split* it *into (smaller) parts*.
- (62) a. The explosion *cracked up* the boat.
b. The explosion *cracked* the boat *into (small) pieces*.

3. Derivational Marker of Conversion

The particle *up* often functions like a derivational suffix of sorts in that it serves to mark derivational change, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pairs.

- (63) a. I just *goofed up*.
 b. I just *acted like a goof*. / I just *made a silly mistake like a goof*.
- (64) a. If anybody asks you, just *dummy up*.
 b. If anybody asks you, just *act like a dummy*. / If anybody asks you, just *keep silent like a dummy*.
- (65) a. The victim *clammed up* for fear of reprisal.
 b. ?The victim "*acted like a clam*" for fear of reprisal. / The victim *closed his mouth like a clam* for fear of reprisal.

The particle *up* here apparently serves to convert *goof*, *dummy* and *clam* from nouns to corresponding agentive verbs, so that it is arguably a functional marker of conversion compensating for something like *to act like a*.

Sometimes the particle *up* may combine with the pronoun *it* to mark the conversion of a noun to its agentive-verb counterpart, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pair.

- (66) a. Dad put on his Santa suit and *hammed it up* for the kids.
 b. Dad put on his Santa suit and "*(over)acted like a ham*" for the kids.

The combination *it up* here is arguably a functional device marking the conversion of *ham* ("an actor who overacts") from noun to verb.

The particle *up* as a marker of conversion also figures, fairly productively, in "locative" two-word verbs like those illustrated by paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (67) a. His books were *boxed up* and put away.
 b. His books were *put in boxes* and put away.

- (68) a. Do you want me to *dish up* some rice for you?
 b. Do you want me to *put* some rice *on(to) the dish* for you?
- (69) a. Guns should always be *locked up*.
 b. Guns should always be *put in a lock(ed place)*. (=Guns should always be *put under lock and key*.)

The particle *up* here is apparently a functional substitute for something like *to put in* in (67) and (69) and for *to put on(to)* in (68). To generalize, the particle *up* here is arguably a marker of noun-to-verb conversion with the rough signification “*to put somewhere*.”

An essentially identical interpretation should evidently be applicable to the role of the particle *up* illustrated by the following paraphrase pairs.

- (70) a. He often *holes up* in his cottage with the phone off the hook.
 b. (?)He often *stays* in his cottage, *as if (hiding (himself)) in a hole*, with the phone off the hook.
- (71) a. I'm *shacking up* with them till I find a place of my own.
 b. (?)I'm *staying* with them, *as if (living) in a shack*, till I find a place of my own.

We may provide a fundamentally identical analysis for the particle *up* that figures in paraphrase pairs such as those below, in which it is a highly productive functional particle marking the conversion of nouns to corresponding “instrumental” verbs.

- (72) a. A waiter *mopped up* the mess.
 b. A waiter *cleaned* the mess *with a mop*.
- (73) a. He *tied up* the bag and took it out.
 b. He *fastened* the bag *with a tie* and took it out.
- (74) a. He *wired* the CD player *up* to the cigarette lighter in his car.
 b. He *connected* the CD player *with wires* to the cigarette lighter in his car.

- (75) a. She *stitched up* the tear.
 b. She *mended* the tear *with stitches*.
- (76) a. They *jacked* the car *up* to change a flat tire.
 b. They *lifted* the car *with a jack* to change a flat tire.
- (77) a. The wall had to be *shored up*.
 b. The wall had to be *supported as if by/with a shore*.
- (78) a. This start-up is artificially *propped up* by venture dollars.
 b. This start-up is artificially *supported, as if with a prop*, by venture dollars.

It is interesting to note at this point that the noun-to-verb conversion under discussion here may sometimes occur without the particle *up*. There seems to be a semantic division of labor between the two types of cognate conversion involved here. For example, *to mop up* seems to require an "effected" object of sorts, as in (72b), whereas *to mop* seems to require an affected object, as in "*The waiter mopped the floor*." Also, the particle *up* often seems to "figurativize" the meaning of the verb in question, as in "*The army is mopping up the last of the rebel forces*." The particle *up* may sometimes serve to add intensity to the meaning of the denominal verb in question, as in (73b) above. If our observations here are on the right track, then we may speculate that the particle *up* is not just a marker of conversion but also a marker of a meaning derived from or added to that of the stem verb i.e. the two-word verb minus the particle.

The particle *up* marking denominal instrumental verbs under discussion here may also be illustrated by numerous additional paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (79) a. Use both hands to *scoop up* the leaves.
 b. Use both hands to *gather* the leaves *as if with a scoop*.
- (80) a. *Lace* your shoes *up*.
 b. *Tie* your shoes *with the laces*. / *Tie the laces of* your shoes. / *Tie* your shoelaces.

- (81) a. The house hasn't been *hooked up* to the city's water system yet.
 b. The house hasn't been *connected* to the city's water system, *as if with a hook*.
- (82) a. The hostages were *chained up* and kept in a dark room.
 b. The hostages were *fastened with a chain* and kept in a dark room.
- (83) a. They are *boarding up* derelict buildings.
 b. They are *closing* derelict buildings *with boards*.
- (84) a. I *patched up* the tear in my jeans.
 b. I *mended* the tear in my jeans (*as if with a patch*).
- (85) a. How did this lock get so *gummed up*?
 b. How did this lock get so *covered with (a sticky substance like) gum* (that it doesn't work)?
- (86) a. C. J. Hunter was probably *doped up* at the time.
 b. C. J. Hunter was probably *affected/treated with dope* at the time.

Incidentally, it is tempting to think that some instrumental verbs in question here may just as well be treated as locative verbs. For example, *to scoop up* may seem to bear treating as equivalent to "*to gather (as if) in a scoop*." This may indicate that there is sometimes only a fuzzy line of demarcation between instrumentality and locativity or that despite appearances to the contrary *in a scoop* is underlyingly just as much an instrumental as is *with a scoop*.

Note also that *laces* in the second and third paraphrases in (80) above appears to be more objectival than instrumental. Again, this may indicate that the distinction between instrumentality and objectivity is often blurred and that despite appearances to the contrary *laces* here is underlyingly instrumental and only superficially objectival.

Incidentally, the particle *up* used in marking the conversion of a noun to its instrumental-verb counterpart occasionally doubles as a fill-in for an additional adverbial, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pair.

- (87) a. We *sawed up* all those logs.
 b. We *cut* all those logs *to pieces with a saw*.

The particle *up* here not just is a derivational marker of conversion for a denominal instrumental verb with the signification “*to cut with a*,” but also stands in for the additional adverbial *to pieces*.

The particle *up* often marks the conversion of nouns to their “formative”-verb counterparts, as can be seen from paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (88) a. The two musicians *teamed up* for a concert.
 b. The two musicians *formed a team* for a concert.
- (89) a. They *paired up* for the tournament.
 b. They *formed a pair* for the tournament.
- (90) a. They *linked up* with an anti-nuclear group.
 b. They *formed a link* with an anti-nuclear group.

To team up, *to pair up*, and *to link up* here are equivalent to *to form a team*, *to form a pair*, and *to form a link* respectively. Thus the particle *up* in the two-word verbs in question here may be regarded as a function word filling in for *to form a*. If this is correct, then the particle here has as its main function the conversion of *line*, *team*, *pair* and *link* from noun to verb.

Apparently amenable to a similar construal is the particle *up* that figures in such paraphrase pairs as the following.

- (91) a. Mail was *piling up* at the office.
 b. (?)Mail was *forming a pile* at the office.
- (92) a. They watched the sand *heaping up*.
 b. (?)They watched the sand *forming a heap*.
- (93) a. Troubles are *stacking up* for the new CEO.
 b. ?Troubles are *forming a stack* for the new CEO.
- (94) a. The pillow cover can *match up* with the sheets.
 b. (?)The pillow cover can *form/make a match* with the sheets.

At this point, we may observe that such nouns as *link-up* and *pile-up*

may be derived from their respective verbal forms, i.e. *to link up* and *to pile up*. Needless to say, the particle *up* in these *up*-final nominal forms should also be explainable along basically identical lines.

It may be noted here that the main verb in the second member of each paraphrase pair from (88) through (94) does not always have to be posited as *to form* or *to make*. It can just as well be *to stand in*, say, in (95b) and (96b) below or *to rise like* in (97b) below.

- (95) a. We all had to *queue up* for our ration books.
 b. We all had to *form a queue* for our ration books. / We all had to *stand in a queue* for our ration books.
- (96) a. Not all the troops *lined up*.
 b. Not all the troops *formed a line*. / Not all the troops *stood in a line*.
- (97) a. Tears *welled up* in his eyes.
 b. Tears *formed a well* in his eyes. / Tears *rose like a well* in his eyes.

The particle *up* in the first member of either paraphrase pair below also apparently marks the conversion of a noun to its formative-verb counterpart.

- (98) a. She made it possible for the two companies to *partner up*.
 b. She made it possible for the two companies to *become partners*. / She made it possible for the two companies to *form a partnership*.
- (99) a. Our team *matches up* with theirs pretty well.
 b. ?Our team *makes/is a pretty good match* for theirs.

An essentially identical role may be attributed to the particle *up* that figures in the first member of the following paraphrase pair, in which it is apparently compensatory for *to take* or *to assume a (specific)*.

- (100) a. The plan is beginning to *shape up*.
 b. The plan is beginning to *take shape*. / The plan is beginning to *assume its (specific) shape*.

The particle *up* in the first member of the following paraphrase pair is also apparently a function word marking the conversion of the noun *dice* to its formative-verb counterpart.

- (101) a. She was *dicing up* the radish.
 b. She was *cutting* the radish *into dice(-shaped pieces)*. / She was *causing* the radish *to become dice(-shaped pieces)*.

Our discussion here also seems to shed light on the particle *up* in the first member of each paraphrase pair below, which apparently marks the conversion of a noun to its “outfit”-verb counterpart.

- (102) a. The hikers *geared up* for the long trek down the mountain.
 b. The hikers *put on gear* for the long trek down the mountain.

- (103) a. We’d better *bundle up*.
 b. We’d better *put on a bundle (of clothes)*.

- (104) a. He *suitied up* for the occasion.
 b. He *put on a suit* for the occasion.

- (105) a. She *dressed up* for the party.
 b. She *put on very formal dress* for the party.

We may argue that the particle *up* here is basically a compensatory fill-in for *to put on*. As such, it is evidently a functional particle serving to mark the conversion of *gear, bundle, suit* and *dress* from noun to verb.

The particle *up* in (105a) may alternatively be a fill-in for either an adverbial or a direct-object/adverbial combination. Thus *to dress up* may be regarded as equivalent to either *to dress very formally* or *to dress herself very formally* here. If this is the case, then the discussion of the particle *up* with reference to (105a) above would properly belong in either or both of the preceding two sections. This seems to make historical sense since the verb *to dress* apparently predates the noun *dress* by about 300 years.

Recall at this point our discussion in Section 2 of the particle *up* (in *to be dressed up*) as an equivalent of *to the nines* (in *to be dressed to the nines*). In keeping with that discussion, we may propose treating “*She dressed up for the party*” in (105a) as originating in something like “*She*

dressed (herself) to the nines for the party." However, it does not seem clear which of the two alternative analyses is preferable. It may turn out that *to the nines* means essentially the same thing as *very formally* here, in which case we may somehow be able to find a way to collapse the two into one and the same source for *up* in *to dress up*.

The particle *up* that figures in the first member of the paraphrase pair below also marks noun-to-verb conversion, where the resulting verb is an outfit verb.

- (106) a. The wives were all *dolled up* in fancy cocktail dresses.
 b. The wives all *put on dresses like dolls* in fancy cocktail dresses.

The particle *up* here, arguably a compensatory fill-in for *to put on dresses like*, serves to mark the conversion of *doll* from noun to verb.

We may offer a basically identical account for the particle *up* that figures in the first member of the following paraphrase pair.

- (107) a. She *tarts herself up*.
 b. She *puts on a dress like a tart*. / She *dresses (herself (up)) like a tart*. / She often *makes herself up as a tart*.

The particle *up* figures quite productively as a marker of conversion in the derivation of certain verbs of "accretion/inception" from their respective nominal sources, as can be seen from an examination of paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (108) a. Both sides are still *beefing up* their military strength.
 b. Both sides are still *adding "beef" to* their military strength.
- (109) a. The Internet is also *juicing up* the marker.
 b. The Internet is also *adding "juice" to* the marker.
- (110) a. The actor's appearance *souped up* the rally.
 b. The actor's appearance *added "soup" to* the rally.
- (111) a. She *spiced up* her stories with sex.
 b. She *added "spice" to* her stories with sex.

- (112) a. They *jazzed up* the living area with beaded curtains.
 b. They *added "jazz" to* the living area with beaded curtains.
- (113) a. Several teams have *muscled up* in an effort to beat the L.A. Lakers.
 b. Several teams have *added "muscle"* in an effort to beat the L.A. Lakers.
- (114) a. All of a sudden, John Lennon *fired up* his guitar.
 b. All of a sudden, John Lennon *added "fire" to* his guitar.

Note that the verb of accretion/inception in question in each pair here is expressive of an increment or improvement in an attribute or quality expressed by the noun from which the verb derives.

For good measure, we may cite additional paraphrase pairs such as the following to make our point here that the particle *up* often marks the conversion of "attribute/quality" nouns to corresponding verbs of accretion/inception.

- (115) a. The L.A. Lakers got a new shooting guard to bolster their scoring and *punch up* their perimeter defence.
 b. The L.A. Lakers got a new shooting guard to bolster their scoring and *add "punch" to* their perimeter defence.
- (116) a. Adding four chapters will *bulk up* the book.
 b. Adding four chapters will *increase the bulk of* the book.
- (117) a. He pushed a lever that *speeded up* the car.
 b. He pushed a lever that *increased the speed of* the car.
- (118) a. Simply *scaling up* a size 10 garment often leads to disaster.
 b. Simply *enlarging the scale of* a size 10 garment often leads to disaster.
- (119) a. Exercise *tones up* your body.
 b. Exercise *improves the tone of* your body. / Exercise *fills* your body *with tone*.

- (120) a. An innocent smile *lit up* the baby's face.
 b. An innocent smile *gave "light" to* the baby's face. / An innocent smile *filled* the baby's face *with "light."*

The particle *up* is especially productive as a functional particle marking the conversion of adjectives to corresponding verbs of accretion/inception, as is attested to by paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (121) a. The weather is *warming up*.
 b. The weather is *becoming warm(er)*.
- (122) a. The weather will soon *clear up*.
 b. The weather will soon *become clear(er)*.
- (123) a. Prices will soon *firm up*.
 b. Prices will soon *become firm(er)*.
- (124) a. Shaquille O'Neil *tenses up* when he has to shoot free throws.
 b. Shaquille O'Neil *becomes tense* when he has to shoot free throws.
- (125) a. It's about time you began to *sober up*.
 b. It's about time you began to *become sober*.
- (126) a. She never *wised up* to the fact that the joke was on her.
 b. She never *got wise* to the fact that the joke was on her.
- (127) a. The well soon *dried up*.
 b. The well soon *became dry*.

The derivational particle *up* in the above examples is apparently shorthand for something like *to become* *-(er)*,

A similar derivational function may be attributed to the particle *up* that figures in the paraphrase pairs below.

- (128) a. In the summer, this mobile home *heats up* like an oven.
 b. In the summer, this mobile home *becomes heated* like an oven.

- (129) a. His arteries *clogged up*.
 b. His arteries *became clogged*.
- (130) a. With this disease the veins in the liver can *block up*.
 b. With this disease the veins in the liver can *become blocked*.
- (131) a. The car windows *fogged up*.
 b. The car windows *became fogged*.

Assuming that *to heat up*, for one, derives from *to become heated*, we may say that the particle *up* here is a derivational marker with the signification *to become -ed*, where *-ed* is a suffix for denominal adjectives.

Incidentally, *to fog up*, for one, may arguably derive ultimately from *to become covered with fog*, in which case *to fog up* would be de-nominal, rather than de-adjectival, with *up* compensating for *to get covered with*. Analyzable either way along the lines of *to fog up* are *to frost up*, *to mist up* and *to ice up*, as can be seen from the paraphrase pairs below.

- (132) a. The windowpanes *frosted up*.
 b. The windowpanes *got frosted*. / The windowpanes *got covered with frost*.
- (133) a. Her eyes *misted up*.
 b. Her eyes *got misted*. / Her eyes *got covered with mist*.
- (134) a. The roads *iced up* in no time.
 b. The roads *got iced* in no time. / The roads *got covered with ice* in no time.

The particle *up* under discussion here may also be thought of as underlyingly equivalent to a combination of a causative verb and its direct-object in the form of a reflexive pronoun. For example, the first member of either paraphrase pair below may arguably derive from the second member of the same pair.

- (135) a. The weather is *warming up*.
 b. ?The weather is *warming itself*. (?The weather is *making itself warm*.)

- (136) a. The weather will soon *clear up*.
 b. ?The weather will soon *clear itself*. (?The weather will soon *make itself clear*.)

The derivation of the type suggested in (135)–(136) here might make less sense than that suggested in (121)–(134). Note that the underlying combination of a causative verb and direct-object in reflexive form here seems to necessarily attribute intentionality of one degree or another to the referent of the subject, which is apparently counter-intuitive. Admittedly, however, this argument is far from convincing so that we must leave open the possibility of the particle *up* here originating in a causative-reflexive combination of the sort suggested above.

Although all the *up*-final two-word verbs we have discussed in connection with (121)–(136) have been intransitive, their transitive counterparts are by no means uncommon, as can be seen from an abundance of paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (137) a. *Tense up* the muscles in both of your legs.
 b. *Make* the muscles *tense* in both of your legs.
- (138) a. Did he *clear up* his position?
 b. Did he *make* his position *clear*?
- (139) a. The government promised to *clean up* the beaches.
 b. The government promised to *make* the beaches *clean*.
- (140) a. I must start *tidying* the place *up*.
 b. I must start *making* the place *tidy*.
- (141) a. They plan to *spruce up* the building.
 b. They plan to *make* the building *spruce*.
- (142) a. Don't *rough up* my hair --- I have just combed it.
 b. Don't *make* my hair *rough* --- I have just combed it.
- (143) a. The rain *fouled up* our plans for the afternoon.
 b. (?)The rain *made foul* our plans for the afternoon.

- (144) a. We have made important strides to *even up* our balance of trade.
 b. We have made important strides to *make* our balance of trade *even*.
- (145) a. Earth Day advocates were busy *greening up* the city's parks.
 b. Earth Day advocates were busy *making* the city's parks "*green*." /
 Earth Day advocates were busy *filling* the city's parks with
 "*greens*."

Note that the particle *up* in the first member of each paraphrase pair here is arguably a compensation for the transitive verb *to make* in the second member of the same pair.

Many of the *up*-final two-word verbs here are two-faced in that they may be either transitive or intransitive. For example, *to tense up* may be either transitive as in (136a) or intransitive as in (124a). Similarly two-faced are numerous denominal two-word verbs terminating with the particle *up*. *To mess up*, for one, may be either transitive or intransitive, as can be seen from the two paraphrase pairs below.

- (146) a. Don't *mess up* the test.
 b. Don't *make* the test *a mess*. / Don't *make a mess of* the test.
- (147) a. Don't *mess up* on the test.
 b. Don't *make* things *a mess* on the test. / Don't *make a mess of* things on the test.

Sometimes the verbal suffix *-en* combines with the particle *up* here, as can be seen from paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (148) a. After a couple of drinks, the guests *loosened up*.
 b. After a couple of drinks, the guests *made themselves loose* (*i.e. became loose*) / After a couple of drinks, the guests *loosened themselves*.
- (149) a. If you don't *smarten up*, you're going to be out of a job.
 b. If you don't *make yourself smart* (*i.e. become smart*), you're going to be out of a job. / If you don't *smarten yourself*, you're going to be out of a job.

- (150) a. They *fattened* their horses *up*.
 b. They *made* their horses *fat*.

The derivation suggested here involves the particle *up* working in tandem with the verbal suffix *-en*. We may also note in passing that the direct object of the verb in the second member of each paraphrase pair here is often a reflexive pronoun. Thus the combination of *-en* and *up* here often may also be regarded as filling in for the direct object, which often takes the form of a reflexive pronoun. If so, paraphrase pairs such as (148) and (149) above may just as well be discussed in Section 1, rather than in this section. It may very well turn out to be the case that their discussion belongs in both sections.

We can account for the particle *up* in the first member of either paraphrase pair below in fundamentally the same way, except that the adjective base here is tampered with through shortening prior to its conversion to the corresponding verb of inception/accretion.

- (151) a. They recently *spiffed up* the old storefront.
 b. They recently *made* the old storefront (*more*) *spiffy*.
- (152) a. The duo *livened up* the party.
 b. The duo *made* the party (*more*) *lively*.

Let us conclude this section by noting that we may cite almost ad infinitum paraphrase pairs such as those we have already considered and such as the following in illustration of the particle *up* as a functional marker of conversion.

- (153) a. Laser sensors *size up* the logs.
 b. Laser sensors *measure the size of* the logs.
- (154) a. We need to have our piano *tuned up*.
 b. We need to have our piano *put in tune*.
- (155) a. We *totaled up* 1,173 vulgarities.
 b. We *found a total of* 1,173 vulgarities.

- (156) a. We *tanked up* for the long journey.
 b. We *filled our (gas) tank* for the long journey.
- (157) a. Is the car *gassed up* and ready?
 b. Is the car *filled with gas* and ready?
- (158) a. Stop *mucking up* the water.
 b. Stop “*making the water messy with muck.*”

Parenthetically, we may speculate here that the use of the particle *up* in *to tank up* in (156a), *to gas up* in (157a) and *to muck up* in (158a) may have been reinforced or influenced by the same particle in *to fill up*, as in “*The tank (was) filled up.*”

4. Fill-in for Verb-internal Elements

The particle *up* occasionally seems to serve as a compensation for a part deleted from within a verb, as can be seen from the paraphrase pair below.

- (159) a. Why don't you *fess up*?
 b. Why don't you *confess*?

Since we derive *fess* from *confess* by deleting *con-*, the particle *up* in *fess up* is evidently a compensatory fill-in for *con-*, i.e. the part deleted from the verb *confess*.

Similarly interpretable is the particle *up* that normally follows *divvy*, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pair.

- (160) a. The thieves were about to *divvy up* the loot.
 b. The thieves were about to *divide* the loot.

We may derive *to divvy* from either the verb *to divide* or the noun *dividend*. Since *dividend* itself may be regarded as ultimately stemming from *to divide*, however, we will assume that *to divvy* derives from *to divide*. Thus the particle *up* in *to divvy up* is arguably a compensatory trace for *-de*, i.e. the part deleted from *to divide*.

Admittedly, the particle *up* may sometimes follow *to divide* in (160b)

above also, in which case the particle *up* in *to divvy up* may be anything but compensatory. However, the particle is almost always obligatory after *divvy*, while it appears to be merely optional after *to divide* here. In fact, it may very well be that *up* in *to divvy up* has kind of rubbed off on *to divide*, giving rise to *to divide up* as its allo-form. If this is correct, then we may be justified in saying that the particle *up* in *to divvy up* (often) serves as a trace making up for the part deleted from *to divide*.

The particle *up* in *to rev up* may also be accounted for along essentially identical lines, as is suggested by the following paraphrase pair.

- (161) a. The economy is beginning to *rev up*.
 b. ?The economy is beginning to *revolve* (*faster*).

The particle *up* here is apparently a compensatory trace for something like *-olve* (*faster*), i.e. the part deleted from *to revolve* (*faster*).

Apparently similar in nature is the particle *up* that figures in the first member of each of the the following paraphrase pairs.

- (162) a. 10 Great Places to *Glam* it *Up* in Los Angeles
 b. 10 Great Places to *Glamorize* it in Los Angeles

- (163) a. We've decided to *vamp up* the entire show.
 b. We've decided to *revamp* the entire show.

The particle *up* here apparently serves to compensate for *-orize* in (162), i.e. the portion deleted from *to glamorize*., and for *re-* in (163), i.e. the portion deleted from *to revamp*.

Our discussion here may be of some help in accounting for the optional use of the particle *up* in the first member of the following paraphrase pair.

- (164) a. I *phoned* (*up*) Arthur Frommer.
 b. I *telephoned* Arthur Frommer.

Although more often than not it does not materialize, the particle *up* may sometimes be used after *to phone* here arguably as a compensatory fill-in for *tele-*, i.e. the part of *to telephone* that gets deleted. This argument may not be sufficiently convincing, however, as the particle may optionally be added to *to phone* here only on the analogy of phrases like *to call up* and

to dial up, not really as a compensatory fill-in of the sort under discussion here.

We may cite the following paraphrase pair in further illustration of the point we are making here.

- (165) a. Who *summed up* the case for the prosecution?
 b. Who *summarized* the case for the prosecution?

Suppose here that the particle *up* were missing from *to sum up*, which is semantically equivalent to *to summarize*. Then there would be (excessive) formal disparity or imbalance between the two semantically equivalent verbal expressions here, with *to sum* being two syllables shorter than *to summarize*. We may thus argue that the particle *up* in *to sum up* functions as a compensatory fill-in for the *-(m)arize* of *to summarize*, thereby helping remedy the formal imbalance in question here.

An essentially identical account is apparently applicable to the particle *up* in the first member of the following paraphrase pair.

- (166) a. We had to *stock up on* firewood for the long winter months.
 b. We had to *stockpile* firewood for the long winter months.

The point is that the particle *up* in *to stock up* is arguably a compensatory fill-in for *-pile* in *stockpile*, making up for the formal disparity that might otherwise result between the two semantically equivalent verbal expressions in question here.

Interestingly, our discussion here seems to afford us some interesting insight into the apparent difference in the obligatoriness of the particle *up* between the two members of the following paraphrase pair.

- (167) a. They haven't *totted up* the exact figures.
 b. They haven't *totaled (up)* the exact figures.

The particle *up* in *to total (up)* may be regarded as a derivational marker for the conversion of *total* from noun to adjective. On the other hand, the same particle in *to tot up*, which is apparently carried over from *to total up*, seems to double as a compensation for *-al*, i.e. the portion that gets deleted from within *to total (up)*. Thus *up* is doubly required in *to tot up*, so to speak, while it is only singly required in *to total up*, which may be

why it is that much more obligatory in *to tot up* than in *to total (up)*.

Note at this point that the particle *up* in the following paraphrase pair may be construed in an essentially identical way.

- (168) a. *Ease up on* John - he's trying really hard.
 b. *Go easy on* John - he's trying really hard.

Of the two semantic equivalents in question here, *to ease (up)* is physically shorter than *to go easy*. Thus we may argue that the particle *up* in *to ease up* is a functional fill-in for *go -y* in *to go easy*. Note incidentally that we are assuming here that *to go easy* is a (two-word) verb, not a full verb phrase.

Recall at this point our discussion of (151) and (152) in the immediately preceding section, repeated below as (151') and (152') respectively.

- (151') a. They recently *spiffed up* the old storefront.
 b. They recently *made* the old storefront (*more*) *spiffy*.

- (152') a. The duo *livened up* the party.
 b. The duo *made* the party (*more*) *lively*.

We have suggested that *to spiff up* and *to liven up* originate in *to make spiffy* and *to make lively* respectively. Note that the derivation suggested here involves a shortening of the verb stem in question through the deletion of the adjectival ending *-(l)y*. What is interesting from our perspective is that the particle *up* here may be compensatory, at least in part, for this adjective-internal portion deleted from within the underlying verb (phrase). Thus the token of *up* that figures here may be basically identical in part to the other tokens of *up* that we have already discussed in the current section.

It may be worth noting at this point that the particle *up*, as dealt with in the three preceding sections of this paper, is in all instances a functional fill-in for an element internal to a verb phrase, be it nominal, adverbial or derivational-“affixal.” Since a verb is by definition internal to a verb phrase, an element that is internal to a verb is also internal to a verb phrase. Thus the particle *up* under discussion in the present section may be basically identical to the particle *up* treated in the preceding sections in that it is also a fill-in for an element internal to a verb phrase.

Incidentally, our discussion here may help explain the difference in the obligatoriness of the particle *up* between the two members of the following paraphrase pair.

- (169) a. The stock *finished (up)* in negative territory.
 b. The stock *wound/ended up* in negative territory.

Notice that the particle *up* rarely occurs after the disyllabic *to finish*, while it is obligatory after the monosyllabic *to wind* or *to end*. We may argue here that the particle *up* is obligatory after the monosyllable to make up for its formal “shortfall” relative to its disyllabic equivalent.

It is interesting to observe in this connection that the length of the verb phrase in question is apparently a factor of crucial relevance here. Other things being equal, the shorter the verb phrase (minus the particle *up*), the more likely it is to contain the particle *up*. Let us examine the following set of sentences with particular reference to their verb phrases.

- (170) a. The sink *clogged up*.
 b. Grease *clogged (up) the sink*.
 c. The sink *was clogged (up) with grease*.

Note that the verb phrase is shorter in the first sentence here than in the other two sentences and that the particle *up* is normally obligatory in the former, but optional in the latter. It may be that the particle *up* serves to make up for the formal “inferiority” of the verb phrase in the first sentence relative to the verb phrases in the other two sentences. As a general rule, it appears that one and the same verb may be more likely to be followed by the particle *up* when it is followed by less extra material phrase-internally.

5. Closing Remarks

We have thus far discussed four major functions of the particle *up*. Our discussion has been anything but definitive or comprehensive. As a result, many of the points that have been made in the present paper need plenty of further refinement so that we have a long way to go before we can come up with a truly satisfactory account of the particle.

We may suggest following two main lines of research to help advance our understanding of the particle *up*. Firstly, we may inquire further into the nature of this particle along the lines followed in this paper. Secondly, we may direct our research toward the study of other particles. Such a two-pronged research scheme should complement and/or supplement our present research in some substantive ways. Among other things, it may bring to light points of crucial relevance that we may have missed and/or it may corroborate some of the points we have already made.

It is interesting to point out in this connection that even a cursory check is sufficient to prove that other particles such as *down* and *back* often behave very much like the particle *up*. For example, these other particles may also be used as a derivational marker of the sort discussed in Section 3 of the present paper. The particle *down*, for one, is often involved in adjective-to-verb conversion, as can be seen from the following paraphrase pairs.

- (171) a. We've got to *slow down*.
 b. We've got to *go slow(er)*.
- (172) a. Retail business *slacks down* when employment drops.
 b. Retail business *becomes slack(er)* when employment drops.
- (173) a. She's trying to *slim down*.
 b. She's trying to *become slim(mer)*.
- (174) a. Make sure that the engine has *cooled down*.
 b. Make sure that the engine has *become cool(er)*.
- (175) a. We'll go back to normal when things *calm down*.
 b. We'll go back to normal when things *become calm(er)*.

The particle *down* is arguably a compensatory fill-in for *to go/become* *-(er)* here, marking the adjective-to-verb conversion involved here. It may be observed in this connection that *to slow down* and *to slack down* may be replaced by *to slow up* and *to slack up* respectively, so that *down* is sometimes interchangeable with *up*. Incidentally, the particle *down* here tends to be used when the underlying adjective is of negative import, which seems to make sense in consideration of the fact *down* is the negative

counterpart of the inherently positive particle *up*.

Essentially identical in nature is the particle *down* that occurs in the first member of either of the following paraphrase pairs.

- (176) a. The test had to be *dumbed down*.
 b. The test had to be *made dumb(er)*.

- (177) a. To make the characters more realistic, the filmmakers *dulled* them *down*.
 b. To make the characters more realistic, the filmmakers *made* them *dull(er)*.

Note parenthetically that the two-word verb in either pair here is transitive, whereas it is intransitive in (171)–(175). The particle *down*, which may sometimes be replaced by *up* here, arguably serves as a derivational marker of conversion with the signification *to make* *-(er)*.

Similarly analyzable is the particle *down* that figures in the first member of each of the following paraphrase pairs.

- (178) a. He *toned down* his criticism.
 b. He *reduced the tone of* his criticism.

- (179) a. The factory has decided to *scale down* its workforce.
 b. The factory has decided to *reduce the scale of* its workforce.

Note incidentally that *to scale down* here may be replaced by *to scale back*, where *back* is expressive of negative import just as *down* is.

The particles *off* and *out* may also be used as derivational markers of conversion, as can be seen from the paraphrase pairs below.

- (180) a. If someone *slacks off*, Bill comes down hard.
 b. If someone *gets slack*, Bill comes down hard.

- (181) a. There is evidence that the murder rate has begun to *level off/out*.
 b. There is evidence that the murder rate has begun to *become* “*level*.”

- (182) a. Relative rates of house price inflation have *evened out* across the country.
 b. Relative rates of house price inflation have *become even* across the country.
- (183) a. The playwright *fleshed out* the characters.
 b. The playwright “*added flesh to*” the characters.
- (184) a. The stock *bottomed out* at \$24.
 b. The stock “*reached bottom*” at \$24.

Sometimes *over* is also used as a derivational marker of conversion, as can be seen from paraphrase pairs such as the following.

- (185) a. All the windowpanes had *frosted over* during the night.
 b. All the windowpanes had *gotten covered with frost* during the night.
- (186) a. The windows of my car were *iced over*.
 b. The windows of my car were *covered with ice*.
- (187) a. Dorothy’s eyes *misted over* as she spoke of the young wounded soldier.
 b. Dorothy’s eyes *got covered with mist* as she spoke of the young wounded soldier.

Incidentally, a point of relevance to our discussion here may be the meaning of “affecting the whole surface,” which is shared by *over* and *to cover*. It may be pointed out that *over* in the above paraphrase pairs may be replaced by *up* with no appreciable change in meaning, so that *over* is interchangeable with *up* here. Recall that we have already dealt with the particle *up* in *to frost up*, *to ice up* and *to mist up* in Section 3.

It is interesting to note at this point that, other things being equal, the particles under discussion here may be more obligatory after an intransitive verb than after a transitive verb, as can be seen from data such as the following.

- (188) a. The kids finally *quieted down* and read their books.
 b. The kids finally *became quiet* and read their books.
- (189) a. White *quieted (down)* the skeptics who said he couldn't do the job.
 b. White *made quiet* the skeptics who said he couldn't do the job.

Note that the verb phrase here is inherently shorter in (188a), where the main verb is intransitive, than in (189a), where the main verb is transitive. This is because a transitive verb requires a direct object noun phrase, which an intransitive verb does not. A desire to offset the formal disparity in question here may arguably help account for the fact that the particle *down* is more obligatory in (188a) than in (189a). The particle *down* may be more obligatory in the shorter intransitive verb phrase of (188a) probably because it can help compensate for its formal deficiency vis-a-vis the longer transitive verb phrase of (189a) (with or without the particle). Parenthetically, this phenomenon is identical in nature to that observed in connection with (169) in the immediately preceding section.

We have thus far discussed the particles *down*, *back*, *off* and *over*, focusing on their function as derivational markers of conversion. Evidently, these particles are also used as equivalents of (or fill-ins for) adverbial phrases, as can be seen from the use of *down* in paraphrase sentences such as the following.

- (190) a. They *burned* the church *down*.
 b. They *burned* the church *to the ground*.
- (191) a. They *tore* the building *down*.
 b. They *tore* the building *to the ground*.

Given these paraphrase pairs, we may argue quite plausibly that *down* is a compensatory pro-form for the adverbial *to the ground*.

The particle *down* sometimes appears to compensate for a deleted direct object, as can be seen from the paraphrase pair below.

- (192) a. The striking workers forced the factory to *shut down*.
 b. The striking workers forced the factory to *shut its doors*.

Admittedly, *down* is apparently not quite as productive as *up* as a compensatory fill-in for a direct object noun phrase.

Cursory as our examination here has been of other particles than *up*, it is enough to bring to our attention some interesting commonalities between *up* and other particles. Further research into the nature of *up* and other particles such as those we have just discussed here apparently promises to add quite significantly to our understanding of English particles in particular and English two-word verbs in general. Among other things, such research will hopefully bring to light aspects of *up* and other particles that we may have thus far failed to uncover.

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