

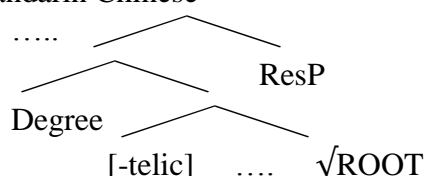
RESULTATIVE STRATEGIES

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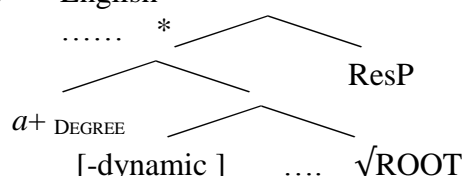
Two convergent lines of reasoning constitute the foundation of investigations into the nature of resultative secondary predicates (ResSP), of the type in (1a). On the one hand, there is the classic Dowtian (1979) account of resultatives as derived accomplishments (1b). On the other hand, syntactically-oriented perspectives see resultative interpretations as obtained via a dedicated process of conflation, parametrized cross-linguistically. Building on Talmy's (1991, 2000) *co-event conflation* pattern, recent syntactic incarnations (Mateu 2002, 2011, Snyder 2001, McIntyre 2004, Embick 2004, Folli 2005, Haugen 2009, Zubizarreta and Oh 2007, etc.) define conflation as a process of direct/external Merge of a root which gives the supporting event (the *manner* component) with a null light verb expressing {causation/motion} (3b). These theoretical implementations predict an important characteristic of ResSPs, namely their clash with *stative/non-dynamic* manner roots. In Dowty's (1979) framework this absence is due to a restriction in the ontology of events: there are no such aspectual types as telic states (see also Levin and Rappaport's (1995)). The specification of the null verb as having the semantics of {causation/motion} in the syntactic analyses, if taken verbatim, will also prohibit stative roots from functioning as the manner component. This conclusion is apparently well-supported in English, a satellite-framed language where examples like those in (2) are impossible. Note that conceptually it makes sense to get bored as result of (too much) sitting/staying/laying, for example. However, what is almost ignored in the literature is that this restriction is not exceptionless cross-linguistically. In Mandarin Chinese sentences like (4) which contain V/Adj-V serial compounds with resultative semantics where the main predicate is a stative root are well-formed. Several further observations are in order: a) 'stative' ResSPs are not a quirk of Mandarin; similar examples have been reported across other families (Talmy 2000); b) roots like *e* 'hungry' are inherently stative in Chinese, as they i) can't take progressive markers (see also Li 2008), ii) behave differently from dynamic predicates when the perfective marker *-le* is added, and iii) accept overt morphology marking degree semantics (indicating an underlying adjectival nature). Moreover, hints that such compounds are true resultatives come from the existence of both restitutive and repetitive readings (4c), as well as from the impossibility of temporal adjuncts indicating atelicity (5). The questions are then: a) which process(es) can construct ResSPs from stative/non-dynamic roots? b) what accounts for the difference between English and Mandarin, and the less common presence of stative-based ResSPs? This paper makes two proposals: 1. The restriction against statives with ResSPs is to be lessened: if in the language there are independent means by which statives can be made dynamic/eventive, then ResSPs *can* be constructed from statives roots. 2. Stative ResSPs are more marked because their composition does not involve a perfect featural match between the aktionsart ([- dynamic]) of the stative root and the null {cause/motion} dynamic verb with which it conflates by Direct Merge (3b). Resolving this conflict requires specific structural constraints which are not available to all languages as non-trivial factors, among which ways in lexical categories are constructed might take precedence. What is needed for an explanation of the Mandarin Chinese examples is an understanding of the ways in stative roots can be turned into dynamic predicates. Under Rothstein's (2004) analysis, type-shifting rules can map activities to telic eventualities by adding an unspecified endpoint (see also Li 1993, Sybesma 1992 for similar analyses). This account can be extended to statives under the assumption that as long as there is a *potential for change* (Beavers 2012), eventivity/telicity can be introduced with statives. With adjectival stative roots, the potential for change is provided by the presence of the degree component. Stative roots can acquire the feature [+dynamic] once their degree specification is set to superlativity, indicating

that a characteristic has the potential for (inducing) change by holding to the highest degree. Hence the difference between English and Mandarin Chinese reduces to the availability of the degree component to serve as a potential for a change/static telicity ingredient. However, adjectives in English do allow the construction of degrees; the obvious question is why they cannot be employed in the formation of ResSPs. Another important difference between Mandarin Chinese and English is that in the former language overt degree morphology is possible in the construction of ResSPs (6). This indicates that, as opposed to English, the degree head is in a visible position when the directional bounded Res projection is added. In English the addition of the adjectival lexical category forming head *a* blocks not only the access to the degree projection, but also stativizes the structure. In Mandarin Chinese the Deg head is merged above the lexical category forming head (if any), or other projections responsible for introducing the semantics of atelicity

(i) Mandarin Chinese



(ii) English



(1) RESULTATIVES AS DERIVED ACCOMPLISHMENTS

a) John wiped the floor clean; b) [wipe'(j,f) CAUSE BECOME (clean'(f))]

(Dowty 1979)

(2) ENGLISH: NO RESP FROM STATES/NON-DYNAMIC ACTIVITIES

a) *Medusa saw the hero into a stone. (Simpson 1983, p. 146, ex. 24)

b) *John stayed/sat/lay/was sick bored. (under a resultative reading; OK as a depictive)

(3) CONFLATION

a) They hammered the metal flat. b) [They [_v [_v √HAMMER CAUSE] [_{sc} the metal flat]]]

(4) MANDARIN CHINESE

a) Zhangsan *e-bing* le. (Li 2008, ex.14b)

Zhangsan hungry-sick PERF.

'As a result of Zhangsan's being hungry, he became sick.'

b) Tā *zuò/dāi* *lèi/nì* le.

He sit/stay tired/bored PERF.

'As a result of his sitting/staying he became tired/bored.'

c) Tā (you) *zuò/dāi* *lèi/nì* le. b) Tā (you) *kàn* *lèi/nì* le.

He again sit/stay tired/bored PERF. He again see tired/bored PERF.

'He sat/stayed (until) tired/bored.' 'He saw (until) tired/bored.'

RESTITUTIVE READING (with 'again'): the state of boredom is restored

REPETITIVE READING (with 'again'): the eventuality of sitting/seeing till bored is repeated

(5) MANDARIN - ATELIC STATIVE/NON-DYNAMIC ROOTS DERIVE TELIC RESULTATIVES

a) Tā *kàn* *yige* *xiaoshi* le.

He see one hour PERF.

'He saw for one hour.'

b) Tā *yige* *xiaoshi* *jiu* *kàn* *lèi* **yige* *xiaoshi* le.

He one hour right after see tired one hour PERF.

'He saw tired in one hour/'*He saw tired for one hour.'

(6) Zhangsan *hen* *e-bing* le.

Zhangsan very hungry-sick PERF.

'As a result of Zhangsan's being (very) hungry, he became sick.'