Strategies for encoding secondary resultative predication in the languages of Europe

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Primary vs. secondary
Depictive vs. resultative

	Primary predication	Secondary predication
Depictive	John **ate** the fish (**raw**).	
Resultative	John **painted** the car (**red**).	

Object

Secondary resultative predicates
(resultatives)

John painted <u>the house</u> **red**.

John wiped <u>the table</u> **clean**.

John hammered <u>the metal</u> **flat**.

John shot <u>Mary</u> **dead**.

etc.

Goals

1. To present languages which encode secondary resultative predication by adjectives

2. To show what strategies are employed in the languages that do not use adjectives

3. To give the explanation why languages use different strategies

Language sample

- Indo-European:

GERMANIC: Danish, Dutch, Flemish, English, German, Norwegian, Swedish

ROMANCE: Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish

SLAVIC: Belarusian, Croatian, Macedonian, Russian, Polish

CELTIC: Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Welsh

BALTIC: Latvian, Lithuanian

ALBANIAN

- Afro-Asiatic, SEMITIC: Maltese
- Basque

PART I

Adjectival resultatives

1. Adjective as the main strategy for encoding SRP:

Germanic and Celtic languages

Syntactic environments

	S	DO		
		Subcat.	Non-subc.	
			FR	N
Transitive		+	+	+
Optionally transitive		+	+	+
Intransitive	+		+	+

Transitive verb
Subcategorized object

Swedish:

De målade hus-et **röt-t**.

they painted house-DEF.SG.N red-SG.N

'They painted the house red.'

Irish (Dónall P. Ó Baoill):

Thuargain Seán an miotal **cothrom**.

hammered John the metal flat

'John hammered the metal flat.'

Transitive verb
Non-subcategorized object: Noun

Only **Norwegian** (Snorre K. Svensson):

Lærer-en skremte romm-et **tom-t**.

teacher-DEF frightened room-DEF.N empty-IND.N

'*The teacher frightened the room empty.'

but *Læreren skremte rommet. '*The teacher frightened the room.'

Transitive verb
Non-subcategorized object: FR

Only Germanic languages.

Danish (Stefan G. Anbro):

John   hamrede   sig   selv **dum**.
John   hammered   him   self silly
'John hammered himself silly.'
but *John hamrede sig selv.

N.B. Possible, but quite creative!

Optionally transitive verb
Subcategorized object

English:

Mary cooked   the   egg   **hard**.

German:

Er   trinkt   den   Maßkrug   **leer**.

he   drinks   DEF.SG.ACC   mug   empty

'He drinks the mug empty.'

Optionally transitive verb
Non-subcategorized object: NP and FR

Norwegian:

Dei   drakk   han   **full**.

they   drank   him   full

'They drank him drunk.'

Flemish (Daniël Van Olmen):

Jan at   zich(zelf) **ziek** /   **dood**.

John ate   him(self)   sick /   dead

'John ate himself sick / dead'.

Intransitive verb
Subject

- Unaccusative verb: many languages

Scottish Gaelic (Roibeard O Maolalaigh):

Reoth   an   t-uisge   **cruaidh**.

froze   the   water   hard

'The water froze hard.'

- Unergative verb: very few

English:

Mary   blushed / flushed   **red**.

Intransitive verb
Non-subcategorized object: FR

English:

John   laughed   himself   **silly**.

Flemish (Daniël Van Olmen):

Jan riep   zich(zelf)   **hees**.
John cried   him(self)   hoarse
'John shouted himself hoarse.'

Intransitive verb
Non-subcategorized object: Noun

Very restricted cross-linguistically but not inter-
linguistically.

English:

John always runs his shoes **threadbare**.

John ran the pavement **thin**.

The clock ticked the baby **awake**.

Overview

	S	DO		
		Subcat.	Non-subc.	
			FR	N
Transitive		+	(+)	(+)
Optionally transitive		+	+	+
Unergative Unacc.	(+) +		+	(+)

2. Adjective as a complementary strategy for encoding SRP:

Latvian

Latvian

Result is encoded by the perfective aspect while the adjunct only specifies a new property of the object.

Latvian (Gunta Nešpore):

Džons **no**-slaucīja gald-u (**tīr-u**).

John PERF-wiped table-ACC clean-ACC

'John wiped the table (clean).'

3. Adjective as a peripheral strategy for encoding SRP:

Albanian, Basque, Maltese, Lithuanian

Albanian, Basque, Maltese:

- Subcategorized DO of the verb 'paint'

Maltese (Antoinette Camilleri Grima):

Ġanni	żebagħ	il-ħitan	ħodor.
John	painted	the-wall.PL	green.PL

'John painted the walls green.'

PART II

Other strategies for encoding resultative predication

Strategies for encoding result

- **Verb**: Romance languages, Basque

2. Perfective aspect + PP / PA: Slavic languages

3. Perfective aspect + Adv: Lithuanian

Result encoded in the verb

Portuguese (José Pedro Ferreira):

A Maria **matou** o João
the Mary killed the John

(com um tiro).
(with a shot)

'Mary killed John (with a shot).'

Result encoded by perfective aspect + PA / PP

Polish (Paweł Rutkowski):

Jan **wy**-tarł stół **do czysta**.

John PERF-wiped table to clean

'John wiped the table clean.'

Russian (Nadezhda Rikkonen):

Джон **по**-красил машин-у

John PERF-painted car-ACC

в зелёный цвет.

in green.ACC colour.ACC

'John painted the car green.'

Result encoded by perfective aspect + Adv

Lithuanian:

Jonas	**nu**-dažė	mašin-ą	**žaliai**.
John	PERF-painted	car-ACC	greenly

'John painted the car green.'

Marytė	**nu**-šluostė	stal-ą	**švariai**.
Mary	PERF-wiped	table-ACC	cleanly

'Mary wiped the table clean.'

Semantic restrictions

Belarusian (Anzhalika Dubasava):

*Мэры **за**-стрэліла Джон-а
Mary PERF-shot John-ACC
да смерці.
to death

Lithuanian:

*Marytė **nu**-šovė Jon-ą **negyvai**.
Mary PERF-shot John-ACC deadly
'Mary shot John dead.'

Overview

Languages	Main strategy
Germanic, Celtic	Adjective
Latvian	Perfective aspect + adjective
Lithuanian	Perfective aspect + adverb
Slavic	Perfective aspect + PP / PA
Romance, Basque	Verb

PART III

Why there are different strategies across and in the languages?

Questions to answer

2. Why do some languages tend to have resultative phrases (Germanic, Slavic, Baltic) and others do not (Romance)?

2. Why are there different resultative phrases across languages?

1. Why do some languages tend to have resultative phrases and others do not?

- **English**: two possibilities

John hammered the metal FLAT.

John FLATTENED the metal with a hammer.

- **Basque, Romance**: one possibility

John FLATTENED the metal with a hammer.

2. Why are there different resultative phrases across languages?

- Adjective – denotes a property of a participant (in this case it gives additional information about the new state of the object)
- Adverb, PP, PA – denote a property of a verb (in this case they give additional information about the event of the result encoded in the verb)

Thank you!