C-7

A micro-parametric approach to the cross-linguistic variations in resultative constructions

Yi Linya

Many studies focus on the cross-linguistic variation of resultative constructions from a parametric view (Washio 1999). They investigate why resultatives are available in some languages, but not fully productive in others. Few studies focus on resultatives constructions from a micro-parametric approach which illustrates the differences in the possible range of the resultative constructions available across languages (Son & Svenonius 2008). I follow Son and Svenonius' s (2008) analysis in claiming that the variation in resultatives is better explained by differences in the properties of individual lexical items and there exists a language-specific null morpheme or morphemes to lexicalize Res and Pred.

1 Introduction

➢ Resultative constructions

Strong resultatives refer to resultatives in which the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are completely independent of each other. It is impossible to predict from the semantics of the verb what kind of state the patient comes to be in as a result of the action named by the verb (Washio 1997). Transitive/intransitive distinction do not coincide with the strong/weak distinction. In (1a)*, the metal* is the subcategorized object of the verb *hammer*; in (1b), the *pavement* is the unsubcategorized object of the verb *run*. (1a) and (1b) both belong to strong resultatives.

(1) a. John hammered the metal flat.

b. The joggers ran the pavement thin.

In weak resultatives, the adjective is not completely independent of the verb; rather, it is further specifying (or even modifying) the notion that is already contained in the verb (Washio 1997).

(2) Mary dyed the dress pink.

Son and Svenonius (2008) revealed the differences in the possible range of the resultative constructions available across languages. In Japanese, resultatives are possible only when the verbs lexically specify a change of state. In Korean and English, resultatives are possible with verbs that do not lexically specify a change of state and verbs that lexically do.

(3) Japanese (Washio 1997; Snyder 2001)

a. Taro-ga pan kiji-o usu-ku nobashita.
Taro-NOM bread dough-ACC thin-KU spread.PAST
'Taro spread the dough thin'

b. *Taro-ga kinzoku-o usu-ku tataita.
Taro-NOM metal-ACC thin-KU pound.PAST

'Taro pounded the metal thin'

(4) Korean (Son and Svenonius 2008)

a. Inho-ka kkangthong-ul napcakha-key twutulki-ess-ta.
Inho-NOM can-ACC flat-KEY pound-PAST-DC
'Inho pounded the can flat'

b. Yenghi-ka sikthak-ul kkaykkusha-key takk-ass-ta.
Yenghi-NOM table-ACC clean-KEY wipe-PAST - DC
'Yenghi wiped the table clean'

➢ Analyze resultative constructions from a macro-parametric approach

Snyder (1995; 2001) argues that complex predicate constructions in English depend on a single, parametric property of the grammar, namely the compounding parameter that makes morphological/syntactic compounding possible in a given language. Snyder (2001) proposes a Compounding parameter which is stated as:

(5) Compounding Parameter (Snyder 2001): The grammar {disallows*, allows} formation of endocentric compounds during the syntactic derivation [*unmarked value].

There is a strong correlation between the availability of complex predicates and the availability of N-N compounding.

- Beck and Snyder (2001) argue that languages that allow adjectival resultatives also allow directed motion with goal PP (or telic Path PP).

➢ Analyze resultative constructions from a micro-parametric approach

Son (2007) and Son & Svenonius (2008) argued, unlike Snyder (2001), that there is no necessary correlation between directed motion (i.e., goal PP) constructions and the availability of resultative.

(6) Fragmentation of parameter

	No DMMC	DMMC Directed manner of motion constructions
No Resultatives	Spanish, Hindi	Hebrew, Indonesian, Javanese, Malayalam, Kannada
Resultatives	Japanese, Korean	English, German

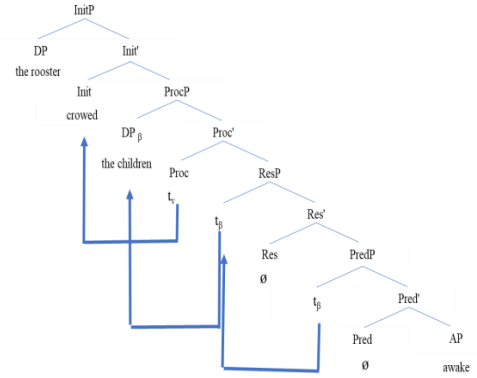
When individual languages are investigated in detail, the variation in resultatives is not just a matter of whether a language allows N-N compounds or not (Snyder 2001). Following a micro-parametric trend (e.g., Borer 1984, 2005), Son and Svenonius (2008) argued that the variation in resultatives across languages is better explained in the specifications of individual lexical items.

2. The framework by Son & Svenonius (2008)

- Son & Svenonius (2008) locate cross-linguistic variations in the specifications of vocabulary items.

- Following Borer (2005a, b) and Ramchand (2008), Son & Svenonius (2008) assume that the semantic structure of the clause is provided by a fine-grained functional structure. Each node in the functional structure must be licensed by the insertion of an appropriate vocabulary item ('Exhaustive Lexicalization' in Fabregas 2007).
- A single vocabulary item or morpheme may 'span' more than one functional head is based on the 'nanosyntax' framework developed by Starke (2005**). Nanosyntax** is an approach to syntax where terminal nodes of syntactic parse trees may be reduced to units smaller than a morpheme. Morphemes and words are composed by several terminals. Morphemes have their own sub-morphemic structures and terminals represent sub-morphemic information. Morphemes are able to lexicalize multiple syntactic tree terminals.

(7)



Son & Svenonius's (2008) represent the notion of causation, affectedness, and state in Ramchand's (2008) semantic model and assume that an agentive activity verb can lexicalize both Init and Proc as shown in (7), and there exist a language-specific null morpheme or morphemes to lexicalize Res and Pred.

3. The Lexical entries that license Pred and Res in Chinese

The resultative meaning in Chinese is realized by a resultative V-V compound in which the two verbs are adjacent to each other. There is a causal relation between the event represented by the first verb of such a compound and the event/state represented by the second verb (Li 1990, Cheng and Huang 1994, Huang et al. 2010). The following sentences come from Cheng and Huang (1994).

(8) a. wo qi-lei-le liang-pi ma.
I ride-tired-asp two-cl horse
'I rode and make two horses tired.'

b. ta ku-shi-le shoupa.
he cry-wet-asp handkerchief
'He cried the handkerchief wet.'

Besides being able to be used as stative predicates, adjectival items can also be used as dynamic predicates (Sybesma 1997, Liu 2010, Zhang 2006). (9) come from Basciano (2011). (11a) and (12a) come from Sybesma (1997: 230).

(9) a. Hua hong le / mei hong
flower red PFV not red

(10) a.?? hua hong / *mei hong le
flower red not red le

'The flower got red/did not get red.'

b. Shui re le.

water hot PFV

'The water got hot.'

'The flower got red/did not get red.'

b.?? shui re.

water hot

'The water got hot'.

The adjectival predicate *hong* 'red' can be used to denote the meaning *get red*; *re* 'hot' means *got hot*.

(11) a. ta neng gao.

he can tall

'He can become tall.'

b. ta neng gao (*le).

(12) a. ta hui pang.

he can fat

'He can become fat.'

b. ta hui pang (*le).

Moreover, Basciano argues that these items can be considered as roots endowed with [proc, Adj]/ [proc, res, Adj] features. In Chinese resultative compounds, the result is a lexical root able to express change of state and V_2 itself is able to lexicalize *res*.

However, as shown in (10), the adjective predicate by itself cannot be used as a dynamic predicate. They can be used as dynamic predicates only with the help of *le*. In order to express the dynamic event, *le* must co-occur with *hong* 'red', and *re* 'hot'. The reason *mei* in (9a) cannot co-occur with *le* is that *mei* 'has not' and *le* 'has become' are contradictory in meaning. Likewise, the reason that *le* cannot follow *tall* and *fat* in (11b) and (12b) is that *le* cannot co-occur with *neng/hui* 'can'. *Le* 'has become' are contradictory with *hui*/*neng* '*can*' which suggests possibility. Therefore, I argue against Basciano's claim that *le* is not the cause of rendering a stative predicate into a dynamic one.

The perfective aspect '*-le*' indicates that a situation is viewed in its entirety or as a whole (Comrie, 1976). The perfective '*-le*' is characterized by three semantic features (Jian, 2019):

(13) A. The first type '*-Le*' views a situation as a single whole, or 'complete' and 'unanalysable'

Zhe ben xiaoshuo wo du-wan le.

'I finished reading this novel.'

B. The second type '*-Le*' indicates the actualization of a situation

Yeye qu sanbu le.

'Grandpa went to take a walk.'

C. The third type '*-Le*' entails a dynamic 'change'

Xia le ji tian yu, jintian tian qing le.

'After raining a few days, it became clear today. '

Le in (9) is a change of state marker as in (13c). It signals a change of state and the new state will continue for some time. *Le* of this type converts a state predicate into an achievement predicate. *Le* in (8) is also the same as (13c). It is *le* which enables the stative predicate to express the change of state meaning. Without the occurrence of *le* after the V-V compounds, the sentences become less natural than before.

(14) a. wo qi-lei-*(le) liang-pi ma. (cf. (8a))

b. ta ku-shi-*(le) shoupa. (cf. (8b))

Contrary to what Basciano claims, I propose that the second predicate *lei* 'tired' in (8a) and *shi* 'wet' in (8b) in Chinese resultatives cannot function as dynamic predicate on its own and that *le* lexicalizes the Pred head.

4. The null Res head in Chinese resultatives

(15) Ramchand (2008) [$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ Undergoer$_j$ Proc $_{tv}$[$_{ResP}$ <Resultee$_j$> Res(∅) AP]]](hammer)

[$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ Undergoer$_j$ Proc $_{tv}$ [$_{ResP}$ <Resultee$_j$> Res$_v$ AP]]] (break)

Son & Svenonius [$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ Undergoer$_j$ Proc $_{tv}$ [$_{ResP}$<Resultee$_j$> Res(∅) [$_{PredP}$<Resultee$_j$> Pred(∅) AP]]]]

(2008) (crow)

Basciano (2011) English strong resultatives [$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ Undergoer$_j$ Proc $_{tv}$[$_{ResP}$ <Resultee$_j$ > Res(∅) AP]]]

Chinese strong resultatives [$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ <Undergoer$_i$≥ Proc $_{tv}$[$_{ResP}$ Resultee$_j$ Res(AP) XP]]]

My analysis [$_{InitP}$ Agent$_i$ Init$_v$ [$_{ProcP}$ <Undergoer$_i$> Proc $_{tv}$ [$_{ResP}$ <Resultee$_j$> Res(∅) [$_{PredP}$ AP Pred(le) Resultee$_i$]]]]

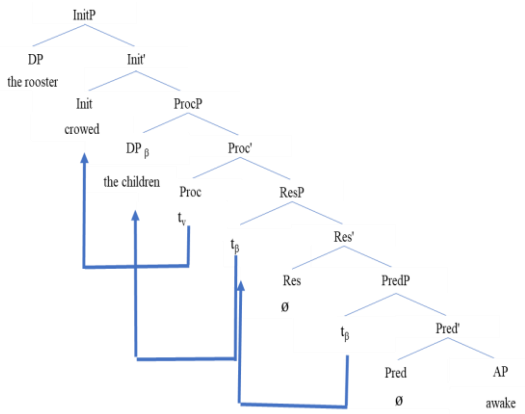
Son & Svenonius/ den Dikken (2006)

There is no PredP in Ramchand's (2008) and Basciano's (2011) analyses of resultatives, whereas there is such a phrase head in Son & Svenonius's (2008) analysis of resultatives. There exists a null Res head in Ramchand (2008) analysis of English resultatives; however, the V_2 itself can occupy the Res head in Basciano's (2011) analysis of Chinese resultatives.

I adopt Son & Svenonius (2008)'s analysis and claim that there is a PredP below ResP.

There is a difference between Chinese and English in terms of where a resultee generates. I propose that in English, the resultee generates in [Spec, Pred] and the AP generates at the complement position of the Pred head, whereas in Chinese, AP generates at [Spec, Pred] and the subject of Pred (= a Theme argument) occurs at the complement of the Pred head, using assumptions made in den Dikken (2006: 13).

(16)



(17)

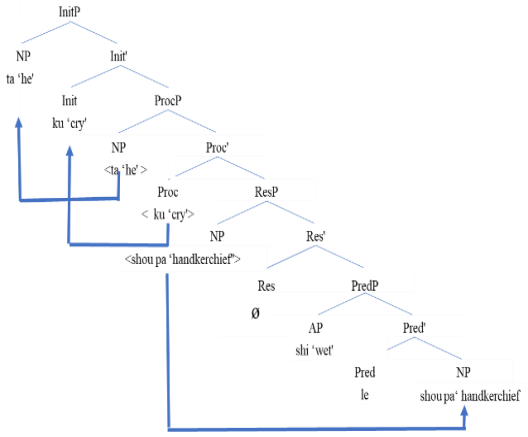


Table 1 The different patterns of lexicalization in the resultative constructions in various languages

	The languages dealt with	the pattern of lexicalization				
		example	Init	Procs	Res	Pred
Ramchand (2008)	English	(1) action V	V	V	∅	
		(2) accomplishment V	V	V	V	
Son & Svenonius (2008)	Cross-linguistics	(1) Spanish	V	V	V	V
		(2) Japanese	V	V	V	*-ku*
		(3) English	V	V	∅	∅
Basciano (2011)	English vs Chinese	(1) English	V	V	∅	
		(2) Chinese	V_1	V_1	V_2	
My analysis	English vs Chinese	(1) English	V	V	∅	∅
		(2) action verb in Chinese	V_1	V_1	∅	le
		(3) accomplishment verb in Chinese	V_1	V_1	∅	le

(18) Ta ting jian le shengyin.
He listen meet le noise
'He recognized the noise.'

(19) Ta xiang qi lai le yi jian shi.
He think rise come le a cl thing
'He recalled one thing.'

(20) [$_{InitP}$ He$_i$ Init (listen $_v$) [$_{ProcP}$ <He$_i$> Proc <listen $_{tv}$> [$_{ResP}$ <noise $_j$> Res(∅) [$_{PredP}$ meet Pred(le) noise$_j$]]]]

[$_{InitP}$ He$_i$ Init (think) [$_{ProcP}$ <He$_i$> Proc (rise) [$_{ResP}$ <one thing $_j$> Res(∅) [$_{PredP}$ come Pred(le) one thing$_j$]]]]

In (18), the functional head Init and Proc are lexicalized by the same morpheme *listen*, and the specifier position of the Pred head is lexicalized by *meet*; whereas in (19) the Init head and the Proc head are lexicalized by the separate morphemes *think* and *rise*, and the specifier position of the Pred head is lexicalized by *come*.

Conclusion

Resultative constructions have different forms of realization across languages. The cross-linguistic variation should be located in the specifications of vocabulary item. There are differences within a single language about what lexical entries can lexicalize Pred and Res. In Chinese resultatives, *le* converts a state predicate into an achievement predicate and lexicalizes the Pred head. The AP generates at the specifier position of the Pred head. Moreover, subject of Pred (= a Theme argument) occurs at the complement of the Pred head. In Chinese, as in English, there is a null lexical item ∅ that lexicalizes the Res head, contra Basciano (2011).

References:

Basciano, B. 2011. Microparameters and Linguistic Variation: the Case of Mandarin Resultative Compounds. The 7th Conference of the European Association of Chinese Linguistics (EACL-7)

Beck, Sigrid and William Snyder. 2001. Complex Predicates and Goal PPs: Evidence for a Semantic Parameter. In Proceedings of the 25th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development, edited by Anna H.-J. Do, Laura Dominguez, and Aimee Johansen, vol. 1, pp. 114-122. Cascadilla Press, Somerville, Ma.

Charles N. Li, Sandra A. Thompson. 1981. Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Cheng, Lisa L.-S. and James C.-T. Huang. 1994. ‘‘On the Argument Structure of Resultative Compounds’’, in: Matthew Y. Chen & Ovid J.-L. Tzeng (eds.), *In Honour of William S-Y. Wang: Interdisciplinary Studies on Language and Language Change*, Taipei: Pyramid Press, 187-221.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fabregas, Antonio. 2007. An Exhaustive Lexicalization Account of Directional Complements. BaŠiĈ, Monika, Marina Pantcheva, Minjeong Son & Peter Svenonius (eds.), *Tromsø Working Papers on Language and Linguistics: Nordlyd 34.2*, Special issue on Space, Motion, and Result, University of Tromsø, Tromsø, pp. 165–199.

Jian, K. L. 2019. Learn to Use Chinese Aspect Particles. New York: Routledge.

Huang, C.-T. James. 2010. Between Syntax and Semantics, New York: Routledge.

Li, Yafei. 1990. ‘‘On V-V Compounds in Chinese’’, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8, 177-207.

Liu, C.S.L. 2010. The Positive Morpheme in Chinese and the Adjectival Structure. *Lingua* 120:1010-1056.

den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. Relators and Linkers: The Syntax of Predication, Predicate Inversion, and Copulas. MIT Press

Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. Verb Meaning and the Lexicon. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Snyder, William. 1995. Language Acquisition and Language Variation: The Role of Morphology. Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

Snyder, William. 2001. On the Nature of Syntactic Variation: Evidence from Complex Predicates and Complex Word-Formation. *Language* 77, pp. 324–342.

Son and Svenonius. 2008. Microparameters of Cross-Linguistic Variation: Directed Motion and Resultatives. Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, ed. Natasha Abner and Jason Bishop, 388-396. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Son, M . 2007. Directionality and Resultativity: the Cross-Linguistic Correlation Revisited. Nordlyd.

Starke, M. 2005. ‘Nanosyntax’. Seminar taught at CASTL, University of Tromsø.

Sybesma, R.P.E. 1997. Why Chinese verb-*le* is a Resultative Predicate. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6 (3):215-261.

Washio, Ryuichi. 1997. Resultatives, Compositionality and Language Variation. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6, pp.1-9

Washio, Ryuichi. 1999. Some Comparative Notes on Resultatives. In *Linguistics: In Search of the Human mind*, edited by Masatake Muraki and Iwamoto Enoch, pp. 674–707. Kaitakusha, Tokyo.

Zhang, G.Y. 2006.现代汉语形容词‘Modern Chinese Adjectives. Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan chubanshe.