

Old Spanish Resultatives as Low Depictives

Abstract

In this paper we propose an analysis of a construction found in Old Spanish corpora (12th-16th c.) that can be identified with an adjectival resultative construction (cf. John shot him dead): Old Sp. *lo abatió a tierra muerto*, lit. ‘they knocked him down dead’. The alleged existence of adjectival resultative constructions in Old Romance varieties is puzzling, since they are absent in earlier varieties (Latin) or Modern Romance varieties. We provide evidence that these constructions are not true adjectival resultative constructions. Our main claim is that these constructions are a type of low depictive attached to the resultative layer within the VP, adopting the framework of transitions developed in Acedo-Matellán (2016), and a modified version of depictives, as put forth in Pylkkänen (2008). In doing so, we account for the emergence of a new type of construction in old varieties of Spanish, and its disappearance later on. All in all, the distribution of the constructions studied here depends on a different set of conditions, crucially not related to the satellite/verb-framed parameter. In addition, this study contributes to the understanding of secondary predication from a diachronic perspective.

Keywords: Old Spanish, resultative constructions, depictive constructions, satellite-framed languages, verb-framed languages, secondary predication.

1. Introduction

In the present paper, we draw on data from Old Spanish corpora (12th-16th centuries)¹ and show that there is a construction that can be identified with an adjectival resultative construction of the English sort *John shot him dead* or *John wiped the table clean*. Such data, illustrated in (1), is empirically relevant insofar as Modern Spanish, and Romance in general,

¹ Data extracted from the historical corpus developed in Sánchez-Marco et al. 2009 (SM), Corpus del Español (CES) and Corpus Diacrónico del Español (CORDE).

(1) a. Et lo firio de vna lança por el uentre
and ACC.3SG.M hurt.3SG.PFV of a spear through the stomach
en tal manera que lo derroco muerto
in such way that ACC.3SG.M knock-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M
del cauallo
of-the horse

b. Non la despoje desnuda e la
No ACC.3SG.F strip.3SG.SBJV naked.PTCP.3SG.F and ACC.3SG
dexede como el dia en que nasçio.
leave.3SG.SBJV like the day in that born.3SG.PFV

Building on Acedo-Matellán's (2010, 2016) reappraisal of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typological classification, we distinguish two main classes of languages depending on how they express the change of location/state subevent that we label as Path (following Acedo-Matellán, 2010, 2016; Acedo-Matellán and Mateu, 2013): satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. In satellite-framed languages, Path can receive exponence through a non-verbal element (2), while in verb-framed ones, Path is obligatorily expressed through the verb.

b. La botella entró en la cueva flotando (Spanish)
The bottle enter.PST.3SG in the cave floating
'The bottle got into the cave floating'

Interestingly, in Latin, strong and weak adjectival resultatives (cf. *The joggers ran the pavement thin* and *John wiped the table clean* respectively) are nonexistent (Acedo-Matellán, 2010, 2016). This is something commonly found in weak satellite-framed languages that have agreeing adjectives (Acedo-Matellán, 2016). Lastly, Modern Romance constitutes a pure verb-framed language in which adjectival resultatives are absent (cf. Spanish: *Juan fregó la mesa brillante* ‘Juan wiped the table shiny’ (^{OK}Depictive/[#]Resultative), although there exists a type that is briefly discussed in Section 3 (e.g., *fregar la mesa bien fregada* lit. ‘wipe the table well wiped’; Armstrong, 2012; Espinal and Mateu, 2018). In this context, the alleged existence of adjectival resultative constructions in Old Romance varieties is puzzling since, if these varieties have true adjectival resultatives, they show a construction typical of strong satellite-framed languages (e.g. English). Therefore, if we assume that diachronic change is gradual, this pattern is unexpected because we should expect a gradual change from a weak satellite-framed type to a verb-framed type, with mixed stages in between. By contrast, we find that Old Spanish has an innovation in a construction that is not present neither in previous or posterior stages, Latin or in Modern Romance languages, respectively. Our main claim is that the adjectival resultative constructions found in Old Spanish are not true resultative constructions but a type of depictive secondary predication that was available in Old Romance. We adopt a modified version of the Complex Predicate analysis of depictives put forth in Pylkkänen (2008), in which depictives are introduced by a type of low applicative head, that we label as Dep_s, that introduces a state and temporally links it with the result state entailed by the main verbal predicate.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we provide an overview of the constructions in Old Spanish that resemble adjectival resultative constructions of the English sort and argue that they are not true adjectival resultatives of the type found in satellite-framed languages. In Section 3, we briefly review similar constructions attested in another

Old Romance variety, i.e. Old French. Besides, we compare the constructions in Old Spanish with a type of constructions found in Modern Romance, which we call *cognate resultatives*. In Section 4, we develop our present analysis of the Old Spanish constructions. We adopt a neoconstructionist approach to argument/event structure and argue that Old Spanish constructions are not true cases of adjectival resultatives but are better analyzed as what we call low depictives. In Section 6, we briefly sketched the diachronic path that lead to the appearance and disappearance of this type of depictives in Spanish. Last, Section 7 concludes the paper

2. Adjectival Resultatives in Old Spanish

In this section, we provide evidence that the examples of the sort in (1) are not true adjectival resultative constructions of the type found in satellite-framed languages (English).

The first piece of evidence comes from the fact the adjective in these constructions is an adjunct, as it can appear with other modifiers expressing other results, e.g. *a tierra* ‘to the ground’, *a los pies* ‘to the feet’ or *en tierra* ‘in ground’.

(4) a. lo abatió a tierra muerto

ACC.3SG.M knock-down.3SG.PFV to earth dead.PTCP.3SG.M

Lit. ‘He was knocked dead to the ground.’ (14th c., SM)

b. la derribó muerta a los pies

ACC.3SG.F knock-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.F to the.3PL.M foot.PL.M

de Flosarán

of Flosarán

Lit. ‘She was knocked down dead to Flosarán’s feet.’ (16th c., CES)

c. derrocolo muerto en tierra

knock-down.3SG.PFV=ACC.3SG.M dead.PTCP.3SG.M in ground

del cauallo

from-the horse

Lit. '[He] knocked him down dead on the ground off the horse.' (14th c., CORDE)

Second, these constructions diverge from weak adjectival resultatives (Washio, 1997) in permitting adjectives that introduce a distinct result state than the one encoded by the verb. English weak adjectival resultative constructions only permit adjectives that further specify the result state encoded by the verb (cf. *John froze the soup hard/solid* vs. **John froze the soup valueless/small*) (Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010; Beavers, 2011, *i.a.*). In contrast, in Old Spanish constructions the adjective introduces a distinct result state than the one encoded by the verb: whereas *derribar* 'knock-down' encodes a change along a location scale (i.e. a change of location), *muerto* 'dead' denotes a change along a property scale (Beavers, 2011), namely a change of state.

(5) a. los derriba mortalmente feridos

ACC.3PL.M knock-down.3SG.PRS deadly hurt.PTCP.3PL.M

Lit. '[He] knocks them down deadly injured.' (13th c., CES)

b. tollidos los derribó de los

crippled.PTCP.3PL.M ACC.3PL.M knock-down.3SG.PFV of the.3PL.M

cavallos en el campo

horses in the field

Lit. '[He] knocked them down crippled off the horses in the field.' (15th c., CORDE)

c. Et dieron al rey en el scudo dos pedraras et otra

and hit.3PL.PFV to-the king on the shield two stones and another

en el arçon et en las ancas de su cauallo et firieron

on the saddle and on the legs of his horse and hurt.3PL.PFV

muertos de los que eran con el

dead.PTCP.3PL.M of the.3PL.M that be.3PL.IPFV with him

Lit. ‘And [they] hit the king on his shield with two stones and another one on the saddle and on the horse’s legs and hurt dead those who were with him’ (14th c., CORDE)

Third, all the adjectives in these constructions found in the corpora can also appear in passives showing that they display participial properties (see Bosque, 1990), which contrasts with Modern Spanish since this possibility is absent (cf. **Fue muerto por su hermano* lit. ‘He was dead by his brother’).

(6) a. Fueron muertos por su hermano de asdrubal

be.3PL.PFV dead.3PL.M.PTCP by his brother of asdrubal

‘They were killed by Asdrubal’s brother’ (Lit. Were dead by his brother) (14th c., SM)

b. Fue desnuda y mal herida con escorpiones

be.3SG.PFV naked.3SG.F.PTCP and bad hurt.3SG.F.PTCP with scorpions

‘She was undressed and badly hurt with scorpions’ (Lit. Was naked) (14th c., SM)

(7) a. mi primo, me ha vengado, que amos los cavalleros

my cousin ACC.1SG has avenged.PTCP that both the.3PL.M knights

derribó malamente feridos

knocked-down.3SG.PFV badly injured

Lit. ‘My cousin has avenged me as he has knocked down both knights badly injured.’

(16th c., CORDE)

b. los derriba mortalmente feridos

ACC.3PL.M knock-down.3SG.PRS deadly hurt.PTCP.3PL.M

Lit. ‘[He] knocks them down deadly injured’ (13th c., CES)

Crucially, participles denoting a resultative event cannot appear in true resultative secondary predications, as shown in the well-known contrast in English between the example *kick the door open* and **kick the door opened* (Embick 2004).

Concomitantly, if Old Spanish adjectival constructions were true adjectival resultative constructions, it would suppose a problem for the general restriction that two distinct result states (cf. **John broke the vase valueless/small/off the table*) cannot be predicated of the same entity within a single clause (Goldberg 1991; Tenny 1994; Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Tortora 1998; Rappaport Hovav 2008; Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2017; Ausensi 2019; since the adjective (e.g. *muerto* ‘dead’) denotes a result state that is distinct from the one encoded by the verb (e.g. *derribar* ‘knock down’). Note, however, that English equivalent translations of Old Spanish constructions are not possible combinations, thus showing that Old Spanish constructions are broadly different.

- (8) a. **The knight knocked him down dead to the ground.*
b. **The knight knocked them down crippled to the ground.*
c. **The queen knocked them down badly hurt to the ground.*

To be fair, although the data provided so far reveal striking differences between Old Spanish adjectival constructions and canonical strong and weak resultatives, Old Spanish adjectival constructions have some semantic similarities with them. That is, although the verbs that appear in adjectival constructions in Old Spanish are (mostly) restricted to verbs encoding a change of location, the context in which they are used imply some sort of contact (e.g. a fight between two knights and one beats the other one and knocks him down the horse by throwing a spear to him, for example) (cf. Troberg and Burnett, 2014). Moreover, the types of result phrases that appear in these constructions are also restricted to a scale describing a change of state that is likely to result from the physical contact implied by the main verbs (e.g. *muerto* ‘dead’, *herido* ‘hurt’ or *tullido* ‘crippled’) (cf. Wechsler 2005).

(9) a. dio en la cabeça de su mismo cavallo, assí que lo
 hit.3SG.PFV on the head of his own horse, so that ACC.3SG.M
 derribó muerto
 knock-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M

Lit. '[He] hit on the head of his own horse, therefore he knocked him down dead.'

(15th c., CORDE)

b. E tan gran ferida con su lança le dio, que
 and such big injury with his spear ACC.3SG.M give.3SG.PFV that
 lo derribó medio muerto
 ACC.3SG.M knock-down.3SG.PFV half dead.PTCP.3SG.M

Lit. '[He] caused such a big injury with his spear that he knocked him down half dead'

15th c., CORDE)

c. e diol Eneas tan gran lançada, que lo
 and give.3SG.PFV=DAT.3SG Eneas such big spear-thrust that ACC.3SG.M
 batio muerto del cauallo a tierra.
 take-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M of-the horse to ground

Lit. 'And he gave Eneas such a big spear-thrust that he took him down dead off the horse to the ground.' (13th c., CORDE)

In this sense, these Old Spanish adjectival resultatives are semantically alike to those resultatives involving contact/impact predicates (Boas, 2003), present in satellite-framed languages like English (Washio, 1997; Beavers, 2011).

(10) a. The knight beat the king dead.

b. John hit Tom unconscious.

c. The blacksmith pounded the metal flat.

Nevertheless, despite these similarities, which we believe superficial, Old Spanish constructions show different syntactic properties, as expressed above, namely that Old Spanish constructions feature a change of location verbal predicate (not a contact predicate), that Old Spanish constructions allow for two distinct result phrases in the same clause, and crucially that the type of category involved in the result phrase is a participle, not an adjective. Moreover, the fact that there is a coincidence between the non-literal meaning of these expressions in Old Spanish and strong resultatives of the English type could be an extralinguistic factor playing a part in the paradigm.²

Lastly, there are some outliers to the pattern depicted above in that we also find change of color resultatives (*teñir* ‘dye’) and predicates that do not seem to involve contact/impact, like *vencer* ‘defeat’.

- (12) a. E preguntaron le por vn omne que tiñia su cabello
 and ask.3PL.PFV DAT.3SG for a man that dye.3SG.IPFV his hair
 negro and porque lo fazia E dixo porque no
 black and because ACC.3SG.M do.3SG.IPV and say.3SG.PFV because no
 le demanden sabiduria de los viejos.
 DAT.3SG ask.3PL.IPFV wisdom of the.3PL.M old.3PL.M

“And they asked him about a man that dyed his hair black and why he did that and he said that in this way they did not ask him about the knowledge that the elderly were supposed to have” (13th c., SM)

- b. dieron batalla a los faliscos et los
 give.3PL.PFV battle to the.3PL.M faliscos and ACC.3PL.M
 uencieron muertos.

² A possible explanation for that could be the introduction of a stylistic construction in medieval manuscripts taking as a model a Germanic language of the strong satellite-framed type. We leave this hypothesis, which we consider worth exploring, for future research. What is important for our purposes in this paper is that if this was indeed the case in Old Spanish, the alleged resultative Romance construction would be built within a verb-framed system, yielding completely different syntactic properties.

defeat.3PL.PFV dead.PTCP.3PM.

Lit. “They fought the Faliscos and they defeated them dead” (14th c., SM)

The case of *vencer* predicates could be a case of spurious resultative since the adjectival result state cannot be understood as resulting from the event denoted by the main predicate, but rather as the manner with which the event of winning took place (cf. *John cut the meat thin*). We will leave out of the analysis of the case of *teñir* ‘dye’ since it has different properties (it features an adjective of color), it is not widely attested (only one case in our corpus), and we can find examples of this type of resultative in Modern Romance, accepted by some speakers.

(13) ¡Pinta la pared blanca!

Paint the wall white

‘Paint the wall white!’

3. Resultative constructions in Old French and Modern Romance

A considerable amount of research has been devoted to the expression of resultativity in Old French. The first studies were mostly dedicated to the productive use of verbal prefixes to convert activity predicates into telic predicates (Buridant 1995, 2000; Dufresne, Dupuis and Longtin 2001; Dufresne, Dupuis and Tremblay 2003, Kopecka 2009):

(14) Old French; From Dufresne, Dupuis and Tremblay (2003)

a. *pens-er* ‘to think’ *s’a-pens-er* ‘to realize’

think-INF REFL=at-think-INF

b. *am-er* ‘to love’ *en-am-er* ‘to fall in love’

love-INF in-love-INF

c. *piss-er* ‘to piss’ *con-piss-er* ‘to cover with piss’

piss-INF with-piss-INF

Beyond the expression of resultativity through verbal prefixes, Troberg and Burnett (2014, 2017) argue for a characterization of Old French as a chronolect showing unprefixated resultative constructions involving PPs/ particles (15) and adjectives (16):

(15) Old French; de La Vigne, La Ressource de la Chrestienté, 1494, 133; DMF, apud Troberg and Burnett (2017:112)

Et puyz après nous troterons **en guerre**

and then after we will.trot in war

‘And then after we will trot into war.’

(16) Old French; Roland, c.1100, 285.3930; MCVF; apud Troberg and Burnett (2017:114)

que **mort** ne l’acrauentet.

that dead not him=crush

‘that it didn’t crush him dead’

Importantly, Modern French does not feature any of the three types of resultative constructions illustrated above, as had otherwise been shown by and Poulin (1998), among other authors:

(17) Modern French; apud Troberg and Burnett (2017:115)

a. *Ils **a**-volèrent en France.

theyto-flew in France

b. *Seigneur Gauvain est allé **hors** de son logement.

Sir Gawain AUX gone out of his lodgings

c. *L’oiseau vole **sur** les branches.

the=bird flies on the branches

d. *battre le metal **plat**

to.beat the metal flat

In the light of evidence such as the above, and taking into account the results of Acedo-Matellán (2010) for Early and Classical Latin, Troberg and Burnett (2014) provide a punctuated model of the diachronic variation from Latin to Modern French in three stages, each of which display a different resultative system:

1. The Latin stage with resultatives involving prefixes and, optionally, also a PP (Talmy 2000),
2. The Old Romance stage with prefixed and unprefixed resultatives admitting PPs or APs,
3. The final stage in which secondary predication resultatives, either prepositional and adjectival, are absent.

Basing on Acedo-Matellán (In progress), we would like to qualify Troberg and Burnett's characterization of the second stage, i.e., that of Old Romance. The overarching idea is that in the vast majority of the cases presented by Troberg and Burnett (2014, 2017) as illustrating an satellite-framed pattern, the verb can be argued to already encode directionality/resultativity. First, as regards unprefixed directed motion constructions with PPs (see 15), Troberg and Burnett (2017: fn. 20) themselves remark the following:

“This system should allow robust occurrences of goal-of-motion constructions with strictly manner of motion verbs as we see in English (i.e. *wiggle*, *spin*, etc.); however, we have only been able to identify goal-of-motion with manner verbs that themselves imply translative movement. A potential problem with this proposal, therefore, is that it is not constrained enough.”

Rather, we add, the kind of verbs used in PP and particle directed motion constructions in Old French can be argued to fit Nichols's (2008) characterization as manner verbs encoding “forward motion” (see Real-Puigdollers 2010 for examples from different modern Romance languages; see also Acedo-Matellán and Mateu 2015). As regards the kind of adjectival resultative constructions that we find in Old French, the verbs appearing in these

constructions seem to already be interpreted as changes of state themselves. Thus, for instance, Troberg and Burnett (2014) point out that while prefixed *abattre* ‘beat down’ readily appears with resultant state adjectives such as *plat* ‘flat’ in 45 cases, its unprefixed, atelic counterpart *battre* ‘beat’ is not attested at all in the same constructions. This leads the authors to claim that Old French featured weak adjectival resultative constructions, in Washio’s (1997) terminology, rather than strong adjectival resultative constructions as we find in English (cf. *beat the metal flat*).

In conclusion, a close examination of Old French does not support, for Old Romance in general, the scenario in which a completely new system different from Modern French: in both stages of the language, directionality/resultativity are encoded in the verb *qua* word. This result converges with our findings for Old Spanish. Concomitantly, Troberg and Burnett (2014) provide the following distribution of resultatives in Latin, Old Romance and Modern Romance:

Resultatives Adjectival	Latin	Old Romance	Modern Romance
Strong	No	No	No
Weak	No	Yes	No
Prepositional	Yes (prefixed)	Yes	No

Table 1: Troberg and Burnett (2014)

We believe that the picture presented in the table above is not completely accurate, since Modern Romance displays some sort of (extremely) weak resultatives, although, crucially, with very different properties as the ones discussed in section 1 and 2:

(18) Omplir l’ampolla ben plena. (Catalan: Espinal and Mateu 2018)

fill the=bottle well full

‘To fill the bottle well/really filled/full.’

(19) Lavó la camisa bien lavadita. (Spanish: Demonte 1991, *apud* Armstrong 2012)

washed the shirt well washed.DIM

‘She washed the shirt well washed.’

(20) Ho stirato la camicia piatta piatta (Italian: Napoli 1992)

have ironed the shirt flat flat

‘I ironed the shirt [very flat].’

The properties of these type of resultative constructions in Modern Romance, which we label *cognate resultatives* (see also Whelpton 2006, Mateu 2012) can be summarized as follows:

1. They require Verb-Adjective Root Identity (although this is not completely accurate for Catalan, cf. Espinal and Mateu 2018 or Italian, cf. Napoli 1992). The restriction lies basically in the nature of the scale introduced by the resultative predicate: it has to coincide with the one entailed by the main predicate.
2. They appear with either manner or change of state predicates (quantized and non-quantized scales (Beavers 2011)) and predicates of contact. See (Espinal and Mateu, 2018) for a detailed list in Catalan.
3. They require that the secondary predicate presents the result state as different in degree or manner from the one that would be entailed by the mere verb. This involves either the use of a *bien* ‘well’ adverb or diminutive morphology on the secondary predicate, or both strategies simultaneously (see (18)-(20))

It is evident that the kind of constructions found in Old Spanish and Old French are different from the cognate ones illustrated in examples (18) through (20). In the next section we provide a formal analysis of the former type. In section 5 we adopt the analysis put forth in Arsmstrong (2012) based on Haugen’s (2009) account of cognate objects, and we point out the differences with respect to the adjectival Old Spanish constructions discussed here.

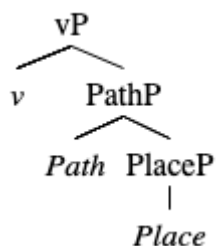
4. Building resultatives in Old Romance

In this section we propose an analysis of Old Spanish resultative constructions of the *derribar muerto* ‘knock down’ type as low depictive constructions. In section 4.1, we introduce the theory of argument and event structure entertained. In section 4.2 we combine this theory with a version of the complex predicate approach to depictives in Geuder (2000) and Pylkkänen (2008). We show that the properties described in Section 2 for Old Spanish, and even those described in section 3 for Old French, are derived from our approach.

4.1. A neoconstructionist approach to argument-/event-structure

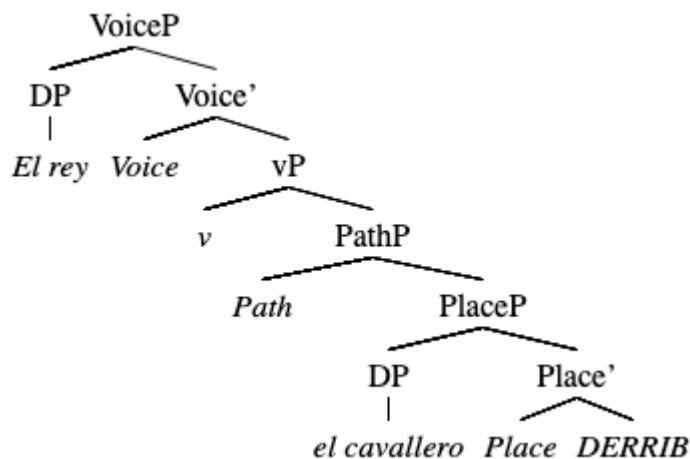
Our approach to the structure of events is based on the syntactic, neo-constructionist theory of argument and event structure in Acedo-Matellán (2016), in turn heir to a tradition from Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) and Mateu (2002). The basic functional heads that build argument/event-structures are *v*, denoting an eventuality, and *p*, denoting a spatial relation. Little *p* comes in two varieties: Place, encoding a location/state, and Path, encoding a change of location/state. Little *p* is thus underspecified for the expression of state/location, following Mateu’s (2002) novel reduction of the A(djectival) category to the P(repositional) category, and also a tradition assuming the so-called localist hypothesis (see Gruber 1965; Jackendoff 1983, among others). Of interest for this study are constructions encoding a transition. Their skeleton is as follows (a Voice projection introducing the external argument has been omitted):

(21)



Functional heads are combined with non-relational elements like NP/DP or bare roots:

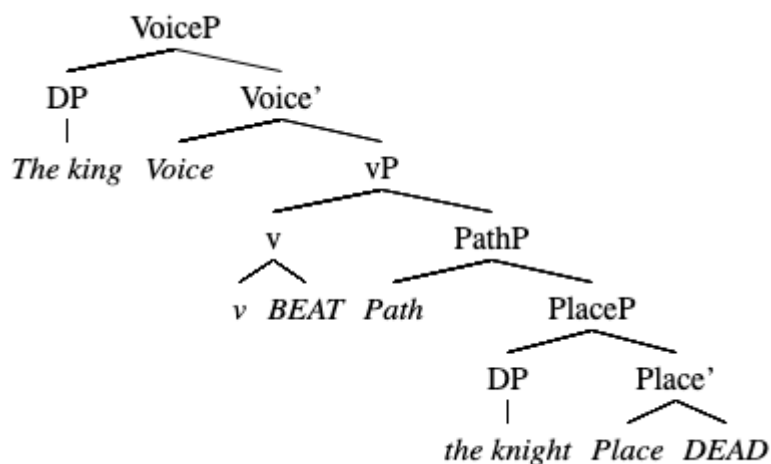
(22)



The DP *el cavallero* is the specifier of PlaceP, which hosts the root *DERRIB* as complement. As such, it is interpreted as the holder of the state of being “toppled down”. Since PlaceP is complement to Path, which introduces a transition, the state is interpreted as the result of a change, i.e., a resultant state. Acedo-Matellán (2016) analyzes strong resultative constructions of the English type via the adjunction of a root to the eventive head *v*:

(23) a. The king beat the knight dead.

b.



The root adjoined to *v* (cf. also Embick 2004, McIntyre 2004, Harley 2005) specifies the manner of the event, here the way in which the origination of death is carried out (i.e., by beating). As we have seen in previous sections, the types of resultatives attested in Romance, either old or modern, are crucially not of the strong type analyzed above. Several explanations

have been put forward to account for this fact. The one entertained in a tradition since at least Klipple (1997) and encompassing Mateu and Rigau (2002), Acedo-Matellán (2016), and Real Puigdollers (2013) is that in languages like Romance the result of the eventuality (here implemented as “dead”) has to be encoded in the verb, thereby precluding in one way or another the use of a manner root.

4.2. Old Spanish resultatives as low depictives

The main properties of Old Spanish resultative constructions of the *derribar muerto* type can be summarized as follows: (a) Reliance on change of state verbs, (b) not obligatory dependence of the scales introduced by the main verb and the secondary predicate and (c) non-iterability. These properties are suspiciously similar to those shown by depictive constructions, in which a secondary predicate identifies not a resultant state of the argument, but a state that holds of the argument for the whole duration of the event:

(24) Miguel congeló cruda la verdura.

Miguel froze raw the vegetables

‘Miguel froze the vegetables raw’

The above sentence entails that the greens were raw when the freezing event started and finished. Depictive constructions show the properties pointed out above. First, they seem to require a change of state verb (cf. Rapoport 1993, Mateu 2002). Thus, for instance, in the next examples based on the Catalan ones in Mateu (2002:17), the depictive secondary predicate *preñadas* is felicitous with a change of state verb like *herrar* ‘shoe’ but not with an activity verb like *empujar* ‘push’:

(25) a. Miguel, las yeguas las herró preñadas.

Miguel the mares ACC.F.PL shoed pregnant.F.PL

‘Miguel shoed the mares pregnant.’

b. ??Miguel, las yeguas las empujó preñadas.

Miguel the mares ACC.F.PL pushed pregnant.F.PL

‘Miguel pushed the mares pregnant.’

It is also the case that the scales introduced by the verb and the depictive predicate are of different sorts. For instance, in (24) we have two different scales, one related to “frozenness” and another one related to “rawness”. Finally, only one (object-oriented) depictive predicate is allowed per sentence:

(26) #Miguel congeló la verdura cruda troceada³.

Miguel froze the vegetables raw chopped

In the above example it is not possible to interpret both *cruda* ‘raw’ and *troceada* ‘chopped up’ as depictive predicates, i.e., as encoding states that hold of the greens while they are being frozen. Rather, the only possible interpretation of this sentence is one whereby *cruda* ‘raw’ is an attributive adjective informing about which greens Miguel froze, i.e., contributing to the greens’ reference. As expected, if we want to pronominalize the object we cannot strand *cruda* ‘raw’, since it is merged within that DP:

(27) a. Miguel la congeló troceada.

Miguel ^{FEM,SG}=froze chopped up

‘Miguel froze it chopped’

b. * Miguel la congeló cruda troceada.

Miguel ^{FEM,SG}=froze raw chopped up

In spite of these similarities, it is evident that the Old Romance resultative constructions concentrated on here are not depictive constructions as the ones above, since the secondary predicate does not hold for the whole duration of the event encoded by the verb:

³ Depictive int. of *cruda* ‘raw’ and *troceada* ‘chopped up’ intended.

(27) y derribó muerto Héctor al cruel Anpimaco.
 and knock-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M Héctor to=the cruel Anpimaco
 Lit. ‘And Héctor knocked the cruel Anpimaco down dead.’ (15th c., CORDE)

This sentence and the other ones showing the same predicates entail that the referent of the internal argument is dead only when the event encoded by *derribó* is over, i.e. Amphimachus is not dead when Hector initiates the event of toppling him down. What is true is that the secondary predicate *muerto* ‘dead’ encodes a state holding simultaneously with that encoded by the verb *derribó* ‘toppled down’. This is the fact that we capitalize on to develop our analysis, which is based on the one for depictive secondary predicates proposed by Pylkkänen (2008).

Pylkkänen (2008) argues against small clause analyses of depictive secondary predicates (Williams 1980). Instead, she proposes a complex predicate account thereof, i.e., an account where a functional head combines with both the secondary predicate and the main predicate to yield the desired semantics: the entailment that a state overlaps with the event encoded by the main predicate. Pylkkänen (2008) adopts Geuder’s (2000) semantics for this functional head, *Dep*, which we define in (28).

(28) $\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} . \lambda x . \lambda e . (\exists s) f(s, x) \ \& \ e \circ s$

Dep takes three arguments: a predicate of states, an entity, and an event. It involves the existential binding of the state such that it holds of the entity, and the overlapping (encoded via the $\circ$ operator) of the event and the state.

Dep combines with the secondary predicate (*tired*, in this case) yielding by Functional Application a predicate that denotes a state temporally associated with the event described by the main verb. Afterwards, the constituent *DepP* combines with the main predicate (*see*) via Predicate Modification. This is possible since they have the same type ($\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$). The last step is the merger of the internal argument, which saturates the entity argument. The

overlapping function ensures that the “the state of being tired” overlaps with the event of “seeing”. Importantly, Pylkkänen shows how some languages like Finnish have dedicated morphology for depictive adjectives, providing empirical evidence for this complex predicate approach and for the existence of a Dep functional projection:

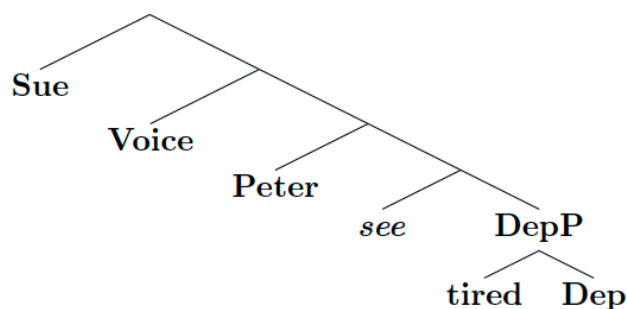
(28) From Pylkkänen (2008:24):

- a. Sö-i-n raa'a-n tomaati-n.
 eat-past-1sg raw-acc tomato-acc
 ‘I ate a raw tomato.’
- b. Sö-i-n tomaati-n raaka-na.
 eat-past-1sg tomato-acc raw-ess
 ‘I ate a tomato raw.’

The derivation of a depictive in English following Pylkkänen’s (2008) would be as follows:

(28) a. [[Sue saw Peter tired]]= $\lambda x.\lambda e.$ seeing (e) & agent (e, Sue) & theme (e, Peter) & ($\exists s$) tired (s) & in(Peter,s) & $e \circ s$

b. Syntactic analysis



In order to adapt Pylkkänen’s (2008) analysis to the resultative constructions encountered in Old Romance we need to minimally tweak the semantics of Dep. We need a DepP that can combine with a state-denoting rather than an event-denoting projection, and, in particular, with the one that denotes the result state. This we carry out substituting a variable over states

(s) for the variable over events (e) and introducing subindices to distinguish the two states.

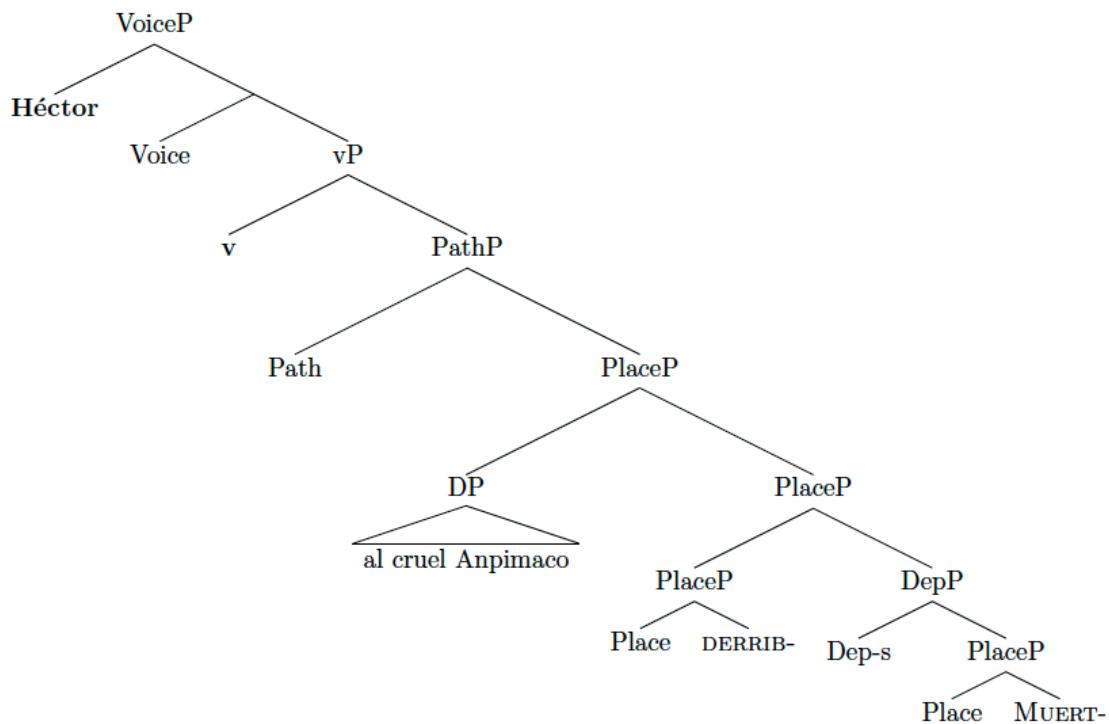
Let us call this modified version of Dep, Dep_s:

$$(29) \lambda f_{\langle s, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda s_1. (\exists s_2) f(s_2, x) \ \& \ s_1 \circ s_2$$

In turn, the syntactic theory of event structure presented in section 4.1 allows us to model the result state as a projection of its own, able to combine with DepP. That projection will be a PlaceP, in our terms. We show this with the analysis of the next example:

(30) y derribó muerto Héctor al cruel Anpimaco.

y knocked dead Héctor at.the cruel Anpimaco



The secondary predicate *muerto* ‘dead’, encoded by PlaceP, which comprises Place and the root *MUERT*, is the first argument taken by Dep_s. The second is the result state of the eventuality, namely that entailed by *derribó* and encoded as the PlaceP that has the root *DERRIB* as complement. The specifier of PlaceP is merged thereafter, satisfying the final argument of Dep_s. The semantics up to now involves a state (encoded in [PlaceP Place

DERRIB] holding of the entity Amphimachus (*al cruel Anpimaco*) and overlapping in time with another state, (encoded in [PlaceP Place *MUERT*]). Merger of Path on top of PlaceP introduces a transition, and [PlaceP Place *DERRIB*] is automatically interpreted as a result state, and, crucially, so is [PlaceP Place *MUERT*], i.e., *muerto*, by inference. Thus, resultative secondary predicates in Old Romance receive this interpretation indirectly, by being temporally associated, via the overlapping function, with the real result predicate.

The analysis put forward here accounts for the properties pointed out at the beginning of this subsection. First, only transition verbs, i.e., those verbs encoding a result state accept resultative predicates in Old Romance. This derives naturally from the semantic specification of Dep_s: it requires a state to be combined with the whole phrase Dep_sP. Second, the scales introduced by the transition verb (e.g., *derribar*) and the resultative predicate (e.g., *muerto*) need not be of the same type, since there is no derivative connection between the roots, although by all means the state encoded in the secondary predicate is expected to be pragmatically compatible with that encoded by the verb. Finally, we also predict a lack of iterability in resultative predicates. Indeed if another Dep_sP were introduced above PlaceP, it would still require to saturate both an entity and a state argument positions, where there is only just internal argument and one result state available per transition predicate. This prediction is borne out by the Old Spanish data. In fact none of the examples of our corpus shows two adjectives (outside, of course, of coordination cf. *derribaron muchos cavalleros muertos y llagados a tierra* '[They] knocked many down dead and soled to the ground'), which would be perhaps expected under an adjunction approach. The attentive reader should recall, however, that what the examples do show is the coexistence of the resultative adjective with a PP encoding a goal or source location for the transition event, as seen in the next example:

(31) lo echo muerto a tierra
 ACC.3SG.M throw.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M to ground

‘[s/he] threw him dead to the ground.’ (14th c., SM)

Does this PP jeopardize the prediction that only one secondary predicate is allowed in these constructions? The first thing to notice to answer this question is that the AP and the PP by no means occur in a random order. Rather, what can be observed in the data is that the AP occurs almost systematically closer to the verb than the PP.⁴ We take this as a first indication that the PP is a real adjunct to PlaceP, and merged higher than Dep_sP. The second indication is that, while we do not find iteration of APs, we do find iteration of PPs, one interpreted as a source of motion and the other as a goal of motion and, quite crucially, with no apparent fixed relative order; and one type of PP may appear without the other:

(32) a. lo derribó malferido de su
 ACC.3Sg.M knock-down.3SG.PFV badly-hurt.PTCP.3SG.M of his
 caballo a tierra
 horse to ground

Lit. ‘[s/he] knocked him down badly hurt from his horse to the ground.’ (15th c., CORDE)

b. derrocolo muerto en tierra del cauallo
 knock-down.3SG.PFV dead.PTCP.3SG.M to ground of-the horse

Lit. ‘[s/he] knocked him down dead to the ground from his horse.’ (14th c., CORDE)

⁴ An exception to this general state of affairs in fact involves a coordination of two adjectives, which could suggest a heavy XP shift of sorts:

(i) su golpe que lo no derribase a tierra muerto
 his blow that ACC.3SG.M no knock-down.3SG.PRS.SBJV to ground dead.PTCP.3SG.M
 o tollido
 or cripple.PTCP.3SG.M
 ‘He almost was knocked down to the ground dead or crippled due to his blow.’ (15th c., CORDE)

There is another exception that we cannot explain (leftward scrambling?)

(ii) Romulo uencio a Acro & lo abatio a tierra muerto.
 Romulo beat.3SG.PFV to Acro and ACC.3SG.M take-down.3SG.PFV to ground dead.PTCP.3SG.M
 ‘Romulo beat Acro and took him down to the ground dead.’ (14th c., SM)

Lit. '[s/he] knocked him down dead to his feet.' (15th c., CORDE)

Lit. '[s/he] knocked him down dead from the horse.' (14th c., CORDE)

(33) a. Lo echo muerto a tierra.

```

graph TD
    VoiceP --> pro
    VoiceP --> vP
    vP --> v
    vP --> PathP
    PathP --> Path
    PathP --> PlaceP1[PlaceP]
    PlaceP1 --> PlaceP2[PlaceP]
    PlaceP1 --> PlaceP3[PlaceP]
    PlaceP2 --> Cl[Cl]
    PlaceP2 --> PlaceP4[PlaceP]
    Cl --> lo[lo]
    PlaceP4 --> Place[Place]
    PlaceP4 --> DepP
    Place --> ECH[ECH-]
    DepP --> Dep_s[Dep-s]
    DepP --> PlaceP5[PlaceP]
    PlaceP5 --> Place_muert[Place]
    PlaceP5 --> empty[ ]
    Place_muert --> MUERT[MUERT-]
    PlaceP3 --> empty2[ ]
    empty2 --> tierra[a tierra]
  
```


5. Diachronic change in resultative constructions in Old and Modern Spanish

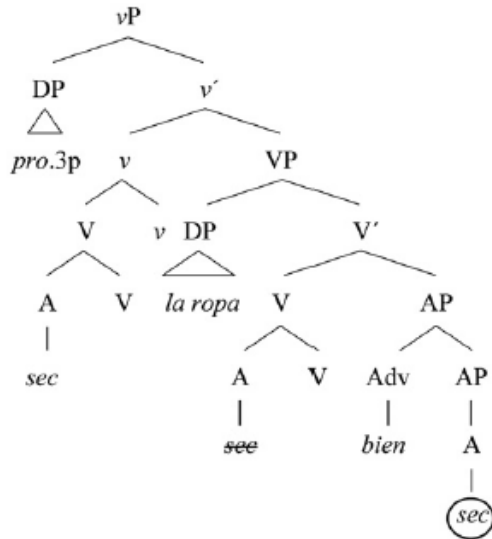
We have claimed that resultative constructions in Old Spanish are in fact only apparently so, and that they should be analyzed as low depictives, i.e., as involving a depictive secondary predicate that targets the result states entailed by the verb, rather than the whole event (as in run-of-the-mill object-oriented depictives). The analysis proposed adopts Pytkänen's (2008) approach to depictive constructions *qua* complex predicates, involving the use of a dedicated functional head, Dep. Assuming Borer's (1984) conjecture on the nature of crosslinguistic variation, whereby variation resides exclusively in the properties of functional heads, our proposal allows us to model the diachronic variation in the licensing of resultative constructions shown in Sections 2 and 3. In particular, we claim that the syntactic-semantic properties of Dep have changed in the passage from Old Romance into Modern Romance: while the former allowed two varieties of Dep, one relating states and events and the other one relating states and states, the latter only features the variety that relates states and events (i.e., Geuder's 2000 and Pytkänen's original proposal).

In Section 3 we pointed out that Modern Romance features cognate resultatives, i.e., the variety showing root identity between the verb and the adjective. Since Modern Romance does not feature the type of resultative constructions found in Old Romance, and assuming that we are correct in our low depictive approach to the latter, we conclude that the two kinds of resultative constructions must be provided with different analyses. For the cognate type we will assume that Armstrong (2012) is right in proposing that the root identity characteristic of cognate resultatives follows directly from an I-syntactic analysis (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002) whereby an abstract adjective incorporates into the verbal head, the initial and the final copies being both pronounced (Armstrong 2012: 25)⁵.

⁵ We refer the interested reader to Espinal and Mateu (2018) for an interesting analysis of this type of construction in Catalan, which goes against Armstrong's (2012) analysis of the equivalent Spanish examples. We will not discuss here the pros and cons of these competing analyses, since it would lead us far from our

- (34) a. Secaron la ropa bien seca.
 dry.3PL.PFV the clothes really dry.F.SG
 ‘They dried the clothes well dried.’

b.



As shown before, cognate resultatives do not have the same properties as the constructions found in Old Spanish, as already discussed in Section 3. Moreover, the cognate resultatives could not be analyzed as a case of low depictive of the type discussed in section 4, basically because the secondary predicate adjective does not introduce a different state that overlaps the result state denoted the main verbal predicate. Crucially, as shown by Armstrong, the adjective denotes a result state identical to the result state entailed by the verbal predicate, capturing rightfully the semantics of this construction. Thus, a sentence like *secó la ropa bien seca* lit. ‘he dried the clothes well dried’ has the same truth conditions as a sentence like *secó completamente la ropa* ‘he dried the clothes completely’, showing that the adverbial modifies the same scale entailed by the adjective and the verb. All in all, cognate resultatives in Modern Spanish are not constructions involving what we have called a low depictive adjective. The explanation for that is the unavailability of Dep-s (temporally linking states to states) in modern stages of Spanish, which only has Dep (linking states to events).

objectives in this paper. What is relevant for us is that the so-called cognate resultatives are structurally different from the Old Spanish adjectival construction analysed here.

6. Conclusion

Our study provides arguments against the analysis of these constructions as weak adjectival resultatives. Instead, we have argued that these constructions are a type of low secondary depictive predication. In doing so, we solve the puzzle raised by the fact that in the evolution from Latin to Modern French, there is an intermediate stage with a completely different construction that is not present neither in weak satellite-framed languages or verb-framed languages.

As a result, contra proponents of gradual change (Stolova, 2008; Kopecka, 2009; Iacobini and Fagard, 2011), or proponents of punctuated change *à la* Troberg and Burnett (2014) or Troberg (this volume) in three stages, we argue that Old Romance and Modern Romance do not belong to two different types with respect to the expression of resultativity. Both languages are verb-framed languages within Acedo-Matellán's (2016) typology.

In conclusion, the distribution of the constructions discussed in this paper is dependent on a particular condition involving the availability in some languages of what we have called low depictives, which is not crucially related to the satellite/verb-framed parameter. We leave for further research if this analysis can capture other cases of alleged weak adjectival resultative constructions in other verb-framed languages (Washio, 1997). If the analysis undertaken here is on the right track, this could open the way to a better understanding of the distribution of secondary predication (both depictive and resultative) across languages.

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