RESULTATIVES WITH STATIVE PREDICATES: FROM ROMANIAN TO MANDARIN CHINESE
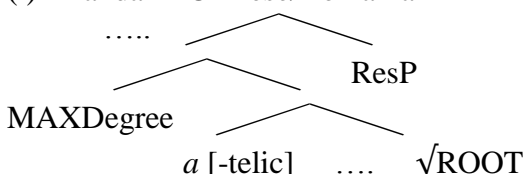*Monica Alexandrina Irimia, University of Toronto*

The puzzle. Two convergent accounts support 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 implementations see resultative interpretations as obtained via a dedicated process of conflation, parametrized cross-linguistically (e.g., Talmy's 1991, 2000 *co-event conflation*, Mateu 2011, Snyder 2001, McIntyre 2004, Embick 2004, Folli 2005, Haugen 2009, Zubizaretta and Oh 2007, etc.). These accounts predict an important property of ResSPs, namely their clash with *stative/non-dynamic* manner roots. 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 1995). 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/being sick, for example. However, what is almost ignored in the literature is that this restriction is not exceptionless cross-linguistically. **The data**. *Romanian.* Farkas (2011) and Irimia (2011) discuss an unexpected (lexicalized) bare noun ResSP construction (as in 4) in Romanian, a verb framed language which does not allow robust canonical ResSP of the type in (1). As such ResSP have not been subject to extensive analysis, many aspects are still underexplored or not fully understood; among these is the novel observation that the bare noun ResSP *is* possible with *static* adjectival roots (4b). Romanian bare noun ResSP are hence not only surprising within the Romance domain, but also predicted to be impossible, theory internally. This abstract shows that what Romanian illustrates is a second strategy for building ResSPs. Outside the Romance and the Indo-European domain, similar ResSPs with stative main predicates are possible in Mandarin Chinese, although such examples are also understudied. *Mandarin Chinese*. In Mandarin Chinese sentences like (5) 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) roots like *e* 'hungry' are inherently stative in Chinese, as they can't take progressive markers (see also Li 2008); b) they also behave differently from dynamic predicates when the perfective marker *–le* is added. Moreover, hints that such compounds are true resultatives come from the existence of both restitutive and repetitive readings (5b), as well as from the impossibility of temporal adjuncts indicating atelicity (5a). **Analysis**. 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 distribution 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 appear to be 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 which lexical categories are constructed might take precedence. What is needed for an explanation of the Romanian and Mandarin Chinese examples is an understanding of the means by which stative roots (can) act as dynamic predicates. Following and extending Beavers (2012) it is assumed here that as long as there is a *potential for change*, 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 maximalized 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/Romanian reduces to the availability of the degree component to serve as a potential for a change/static telicity ingredient. 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 and Romanian, on the other hand, the Deg head is merged above the lexical category forming head (if any), or other projections responsible for introducing the semantics of atelicity. The intuition that the Romanian and Mandarin Chinese constructions involve the presence of a Maximalized degree component is supported not only by their intensification readings, but also by the impossibility of overt degree morphology with the stative roots which introduce the ResSP (4c and 6).

(i) Mandarin Chinese/Romanian   (ii) English

…..   ResP   …… *   ResP

MAXDegree $a_{STATE + DEGREE}$

   a [-telic]   ….   √ROOT   [-dynamic]   ….   √ROOT
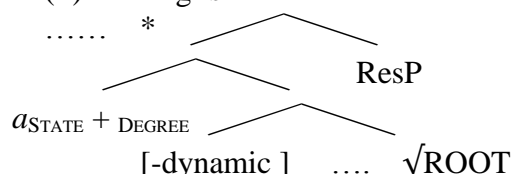
(1) RESULTATIVES AS DERIVED ACCOMPLISHMENTS   (Dowty 1979)
   a) John wiped the floor *clean*;   b) [**wipe´(j,f)** CAUSE BECOME (clean´(**f**))]
(2) ENGLISH: NO RESSP FROM STATES/NON-DYNAMIC ACTIVITIES
   *John was sick/stayed/sat/lay bored. (under a resultative reading; OK as a depictive)
(3) CONFLATION
   a) They hammered the metal flat.   b) [They [$_v$ [$_v$ √HAMMER CAUSE] [$_{SC}$ the metal flat]]]
(4) ROMANIAN
   a) A   curăța   (casa)   lună/*luna/*luni/*lunile.
      To   clean   (house.the)   moon/moon.the/moon.pl/moon.pl.the.
      'To clean the house as shiny as the moon'.
   b) Curat/$^{??/*}$curățat   lună.   c)   *foarte curat   lună
      Clean (static)/ cleaned (eventive Adj.) moon.   very   clean   moon.
(5) MANDARIN CHINESE   (Li 2008, ex.14b, adapted)
   a) Zhangsan   yige   xiaoshi   jiu   *e-bing*   *yige xiaoshi   le.
      Zhangsan   one   hour   after hungry-sick   one   hour   PERF.
      'As a result of Zhangsan's being hungry, he became sick.' (in an hour/*for an hour)
   b) Tā (you) zuò/dāi lèi/nì   le.
      He again sit/stay tired/bored PERF.
      'He sat/stayed (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
(6) MANDARIN – NO OVERT DEGREE MARKERS
      Zhangsan   *hen *e-bing*   le.
      Zhangsan   very   hungry-sick   PERF.
      'As a result of Zhangsan's being very hungry, he became sick.'

SELECT REFERENCES: Farkas, Imola. 2011. Resultative expressions in Romanian. *Ianua*. Irimia, Monica A. 2011. How to turn into a resultative. *Proceedings of NELS*. Li, C. 2008. *Mandarin Resultative verb compounds.*LINCOM Europa. Beavers, John. 2012. Resultative constructions. In *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect.* Oxford University Press.