Strong Resultative as a PathP Construction:
PathPP Structure and Parametrized Path Head Movement
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Washio (1997) argues that resultatives are divided into strong and weak types. S(tong)-Res(ultative) is present in Germanic but missing in Japanese and Romance languages (1). This has revealed an interesting correlation between S-Res and path-related constructions like intransitive manner-of-motion verb-path PP constructions, which are also present in Germanic (2) but not in Romance (Talmy 1985) and Japanese. There are more constructions correlated in the same way: transitive directed motion verb-path PP constructions (3) (PathPC including the intransitive version) (Goldberg 1995) and verb-(DP-)particle constructions (PrtC) (4) (Levin and Rapoport 1988). Why does S-Res pattern with PathPC/PrtC? I propose a structural analysis in which S-Res is a PathPC.

(1) a. The horses dragged the logs smooth.
      horse-NOM log-ACC smooth drag-PAST

(2) The ball rolled down the hill.

(3) Peter hit the ball to the other end of the pitch./*Pierre a tape le ballon a l’autre bout du terrain. Charles hammered the nail into the wall./*Charles a martele le clou dans le mur.

(4) Pat put the gabbage out./*The soldiers went down.

Koopman (2010) argues that path PPs/particles syntactically contain a covert P-head, [PathE], roughly as in (5a). Extending this, I propose that in S-Res, AP/PlacePP is a complement of PathP; even if PathP is not overt, [PathE] takes an AP/PlacePP complement, providing the change-of-state meaning, as in (5b). I further assume (cf. Noonan 2010) that [PathE] is licensed by incorporating to the main V and that [PathE] movement is available in Germanic (5c) but not in Japanese/Romance languages. I also claim that a complex V formed by the movement selects PathPP-internal AP/PlacePP (Baker’s 1988 Government Transparency Corollary). [PathE] is ‘framed’ in V in Germanic, implying that Path is V-framed universally.

(5) a. The ball rolled [PathP[PathE][PlaceP] down [the hill]]/*The soldiers went [PathP[PathE][Prt] down]
   b. The horses dragged the logs [PathP[PathE][AP smooth]]
   c. The horses [PathE]-dragged the logs [PathE][AP smooth]

This analysis has a number of consequences. First, with [PathE] underlying PathPC, PrtC, and S-Res, the presence/absence of its licensing movement derives their cooccurrence/absence respectively in a given language. Second, some PPs lose a directional reading when displaced, as in (6).

(6) In the goal John kicked the ball./*In the wall Charles hammered the nail.

This follows from the lack of licensing [PathE] in the preposed position, with [PathE]-to-V movement impossible. This implies that [PathE] needs to be licensed locally by V (selection by V is insufficient). Third, our analysis correctly predicts a property parallel to (6) for S-Res, as in (7).

(7) *Smooth the horses dragged the logs.

Fourth, another parallelism is seen in DP (8), in which PP is only locative while AP is only stative.
(8) the road in the forest / the logs smooth enough to sell

The parallelism is actually more general. Adjectives like flat/smooth can be interpreted as the change of state only in limited contexts (S-Res), just in the way that PlacePs like in/on/under are interpreted as paths only in limited contexts (with a limited set of verbs). This follows from their common property of [path] licensed only by V. Fifth, the telicity of S-Res in (9) follows from the telic nature of goal-taking/delimiting [path] (Wechsler 2001).

(9) The horses dragged the logs smooth in/*for an hour.

This also gives an account of adjective’s limitation to delimiting ones in S-Res (Wechsler), as a sixth consequence. See (10).

(10) hammer the metal flat/smooth/*beautiful/*safe/*tubular

Crucial here is the delimitation of an event, implied in the semantics of [path]. It selects a place or a property which can provide a goal or a final state. Flat/smooth are such properties while beautiful/safe are not. Compare (10) with a well-formed Japanese example (11), which is weak Res, not PathPC.

(11) Mary-ga utusikku sodat-ta.
M.-NOM beautiful grow-PAST
‘Mary grew beautiful.’

Seventh, since derived Vs take a complement, some may select PlacePP but not AP in a language. This can derive finer-grained language differences (Indonesian/Javanese: PlacePP/no AP) (Son and Svenonius 2008: their (7, 8, 15)) as the lexical variation of selection, which can be further varied among verbs in a language like Malayalam, where directed-motion-path verbs select PlacePP but general activity verbs (like ‘dance’) don’t. See (12), where a markedness relation is observed between PlacePP and AP, which can be reduced to the unmarked PlacePP-selecting property of PathP, an eighth consequence.

(12) [path]-V selects PlacePP
no AP Indonesian/Javanese/Malayalam
AP Germanic

Word count: 738

References
(http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~wechsler/papers.html).