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題目

**Resultative Constructions in English and Japanese**

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浅井良策

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## List of errata

- P.3: 10 million→\$10million
- P.7: be accounted→be accounted for
- P.12: a general liking rule→a general linking rule
- P.13: 3.3 Proposal→2.3 Proposal
- P.18: do not mainly exhibit→does not mainly exhibit
- P.19: The verbs like *sniff* and *smoke*→The verbs like *sniff* and *smoke*
- P.20: be accounted along the same lines→be accounted for along the same lines
- P.22: Oxford Dictionary of English→*Oxford Dictionary of English*
- P.23: As noted in 3.3,→As noted in 2.3
- P.27: He sank to { \*to a coma/into a coma }.→He sank { \*to a coma/into a coma }
- P.28: punctual verbs “two-stage transition”  
→punctual verbs with “two-stage transition”
- P.43: a difference interpretation→a different interpretation
- P.47: three definitions of negotiate→three definitions of *negotiate*
- P.47: OALD8→OALD<sup>8</sup>
- P.50: can be accounted if →can be accounted for if
- P.53: non-temporally dependence→non-temporal dependence
- P.71: evoked by the these verbs→evoked by these verbs
- P.72: resultative phrases which cannot be construed  
→resultative phrases which cannot be construed as denoting a “location”
- P.73: bare XP patterns with into/out of trouble  
→bare XP patterns with *into/out of trouble*
- P.75: resultative phrases in Japanese denotes  
→resultative phrases in Japanese denote
- P.88: kezukri-o→ikezukri-o, tunmaramaku→tumaranaku
- P.89: 6.4.5. Adjective-ku forms in which a “thing-oriented” function  
→6.4.5. Adjective-ku forms in which a “process-oriented” function
- P.93: neither of them fails to account for the above examples.  
→neither of them succeeds in accounting for the above examples.

- P.97: no sharp distinction between both constructions
  - no sharp distinction between these constructions
- P.97: utukushi-ku nat-ta (=4a)→ utukushi-ku nat-ta (=4b)
- P.105: as the unavailability of the adverbial ukkari in (25).
  - as the unavailability of the adverbial *ukkari* in (25) shows.
- P.109: mocha sannsou no→ mochi sannsou no
- P.119: the sentence becomes incapable of occurring with the durative adverbial
  - the sentence becomes unacceptable with the durative adverbial
- P.122: JRCs requires the verb which implies a state change.
  - JRCs require the verb which implies a state change.
- P.125: relative salience among the these three notions
  - relative salience among these three notions
- P.128: It might be appear that→ It might appear that
- P.133: Talmy (2000) calls the verbs like wash in (32c)
  - Talmy (2000) calls verbs like *wash* in (32c)
- P.141: as observed in section 8.2.3.,→ as observed in section 8.2.4.,
- P.142: this abstracted similarity motivates the extension of (B) to (A)
  - this abstracted similarity motivates the extension of [A] to (B)
- P.143: Y's negative state (Z) are evaluated→ Y's negative state (Z) is evaluated
- P.143: draw a sharp distinction ERCs and JRCs
  - draw a sharp distinction between ERCs and JRCs

(日本語要旨)

本研究では英語と日本語の結果構文について考察し、それぞれの結果構文が成立する仕組みについて分析した。本論文の前半では英語の結果構文について議論した。これまでの先行研究では結果構文の成立に関して、項構造構文 (Goldberg 1995)の役割や百科事典的意味を含めた動詞の役割 (Boas 2003)が注目されてきた。しかしながら、項構造構文と本研究では、扱いきれないタイプの結果構文が存在することが指摘され、これらを適切に扱うためには、結果句の役割に焦点を当てる必要があることを主張した。

まず、2章では結果構文の成立が事実上、個々の動詞の語彙特性のみによって規定されると主張する Boas (2003) を批判的に検討し、以下の二点を示した。

- (1) a. 英語の結果構文([NP1 V NP2 AP]タイプ)の成立に関して、必ずしも全て、個々の動詞の語彙指定に頼る必要はなく、Boas (2003)の想定する個々の動詞の意味を超えたレベルで一般化及び予測可能な部分が存在する
- b. さらに、個々の動詞の語彙指定に頼るべきではない部分も存在する。

この主張を行う際、結果構文を動詞自体に状態変化の意味が含まれる Verb-based タイプと Goldberg(1995)の項構造構文分析で扱える ASC (argument structure construction)-basedタイプとに区別する Iwata(2008)の分析を採用した。前者のタイプの成立は Boas (2003)が主張するように個々の動詞の語彙指定に頼らなければならないと言えるが、後者のタイプの成立は動詞が構文の表す事象をもたらす様態を指定し、またそれが継続的な循環的(cyclic)事態を表すという条件のもとで一般化可能であった。また、結果句として *asleep* を取る結果構文を用いて(1b)を証明した。この結果句は、使役関係を表さない結果構文を生み出すという点で他の結果句と異なる性質を持っていることを指摘した。

- (2) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. [COCA]
- b. John sang the baby asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

(2)のペアのように同一の動詞で使役関係を表す文と表さない文を生み出され

得るという事実は結果構文の全体の解釈が最終的に結果句で決定づけられる場合も存在することを示唆しているものであった。(2b)のように使役関係を表さず単なる時間的推移を表す結果構文は、用法基盤モデルの考え方を援用すると、ASC-based タイプと Verb-based タイプの共通性を捉えた上位スキーマによって認可されるものとして分析可能であった。

3章では、to exhaustion と into exhaustion を結果句にとる結果構文が使用される文脈の相違について調査し、前者が行為者の意図が関わる肯定的な文脈で用いられる傾向がある一方で後者は行為者の意図が関わらない否定的な文脈で用いられる傾向があることを示した。この相違は to 句と into 句の一般的な相違に帰属させることができると主張したが、このことはさらに、結果構文の全体的な解釈には個々の結果句の意味に注目する必要があるという主張を例証するものであった。

4章と5章では、結果構文が Reflexive パターンと Bare XP パターンのいずれを取るかについての条件を両パターンを許す事例の観察を通して考察した。4章では、この選択に関して Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001)が主張する時間的依存性ではなく動詞が喚起する百科事典的知識が重要であることを示した。より具体的には結果句が動詞の喚起する百科事典的意味からの予測かどうかという観点から Reflexive パターンと Bare XP パターンが区別すべきであると主張した。この特徴づけによって、(3a)と(3b)の容認性の相違が説明される。

- (3) a. Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of \$ 10 million per album. (USA TODAY, 11/12, 1996)
- b. \*The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate out of power.
- cf. The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate himself out of power.  
(Christian Science Monitor, 9/4, 1990)

両事例とも動詞と結果句がそれぞれ表す下位事象間に時間的依存性が認められない点では同じであるが、世界知識に照らし合わせた場合、negotiate という行為から通常喚起される結果は out of power ではなく out of contract という状態であることは明らかである。というのも out of contract は negotiate という行為

の目的として理解されるものだからである。この観察は個々の動詞の百科事典的意味を問題にする Boas (2003)のアプローチと整合するものと言える。しかしその一方で、5章では動詞の百科事典的意味のみでは説明できない結果句の喚起する百科事典的知識を参照して初めて捉えられる Bare XP パターンも存在することを指摘した。

(4) a. \*Bob ran into a frenzy. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 207)

b Stark was the recipient of possession in some space which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to run *crossfield* into trouble. [BNC]

(4)に見られる Bare XP パターンの結果句は両者とも run という行為から通常想定されない結果状態を表している。それにも関わらず(4b)が成立することを Langacker (1987, 1991)が提案する Conceptual Dependence と Croft (1993)が指摘する Domain highlighting という概念によって説明した。結果構文を Conceptual Dependence の観点から分析すると、結果句が動詞の表す行為の結果状態を精緻化する点において動詞が結果句に依存していることになる。(4a)が容認されないのは結果句の意味が動詞の意味内容を精緻化できるほどに、両者の間で下位構造の共通性が見出されないためである。一方で、(4b)では結果句 into trouble は状態変化だけではなく位置変化の経路も喚起し得るので、動詞 run が依存の対象となる結果句 into trouble の空間経路ドメインを際立たせることで、動詞と結果句の意味的結束性が保証されることになる。

それ以後の章からは、日本語の結果構文について考察を行った。6章では、日本語の結果句の形容詞-ク形自体について考察し、従来の研究の見方とは異なり、それが副詞的な性質だけでなく形容詞的な性質をより積極的に認める必要があることを主張した。7章では、これまでの日本語の結果構文の研究では指摘されてこなかった「汚く」という結果句が生起する事例について分析した。

(5) a. ジョンがうっかり壁を汚く塗った。

b. 誰かが会社のトイレをうっかり汚く使った。

c. 息子が焼き魚をうっかり汚く食べた。

「汚い」結果構文は(5a)のように、動詞の意味に含意されない結果状態を表したり、(5b,c)のように、そもそも変化結果自体を含意しない行為動詞であっても結果構文を形成したりする点において「通常の」結果構文とは異なる特異な振る舞いを示すことを観察した。これらの結果構文も Langacker (1987, 1991)が提案する **Conceptual Dependence** を援用することで適切に扱えることを示した。**Conceptual Dependence** のアプローチでは、二種類の構成表現が統合して複合的な表現を形成する際、潜在的に両者の要素が互いに精緻化し合うことは普通のことである。従って、このアプローチに基づく、「通常の」結果構文に見られるような結果句が動詞によってすでに含意された下位構造を精緻化する関係だけでなく動詞が結果句に内在する下位構造を精緻化する関係も自然な形で想定可能となる。そして「汚い」結果構文の分析には後者の精緻化関係を認める必要があることを主張した。この主張によって、日本語においても結果句の喚起する百科事典的知識が重要な役割を果たすことが確認された。

最後に、8章では、英語と日本の結果構文を比較・対照しその相違点について論じた。

(6) a. The lecturer talked himself hoarse.

b. \*講師は自分の声をカラカラにしゃべった。

(7) a. ジョンが壁を美しく塗った。

b. \*John painted the wall beautiful. (草山・一戸 2005 : 182)

草山・一戸(2005)や Murao(2009)では、例えば(6)の対比と(7)の対比から、英語の結果構文が「因果関係」という概念を基に拡張する一方で、日本語の結果構文は「目的」という概念を基に拡張すると主張している。

(8) a. ...their new Czech manager, Jozef Venglos, who is making so many nice noises about English football these days that he'll talk himself out of a job if he isn't careful. (*The Sunday Times*, 9/30, 1990)

b. IS Andre Villas-Boas trying to talk himself out of a job and into a big pay-off? (*Daily Star Sunday*, 3/4, 2012)

(9) a. The wise dog barked his master awake to warn him of the fire.

b. \*A stray dog in the distance barked the sleeping child awake.

(影山 2007:39)

しかしながら、英語の結果構文の中には(8)のように、同一の動詞と結果句の組み合わせにおいて、結果句が動詞の表す行為の偶発的な結果(8a)だけでなく意図された結果(8b)をあらわす場合があり、また(9)に示されるように、意図された結果の解釈が要求される場合もある。日本語においても(5)のように「目的」とは解釈され得ない偶発的な結果を表す結果構文が成立する。そこで、本論文では英語の結果構文と日本語の結果構文の相違は「因果関係」と「主観的評価」の対立という観点からの方がより適切に捉えられることを示唆した。また、Talmy (2000)によるサテライト枠付け言語(Satellite-framed language)と動詞枠付け言語(Verb-framed language)の区別を取り入れることで、i)(6)のように、英語の結果構文の方が日本語の結果構文より結果状態を含意しない行為動詞が生起するタイプが生産的であることや ii)英語の結果構文が「目的」という概念を基に拡張し得ることを説明した。さらに、動詞枠付け言語に分類される言語であっても、原因事象と結果事象間の意味的統合性が高い状況タイプはサテライト枠付けパターンでコード化される傾向にあるという Croft et.al (2010)の観察に基づき、日本語において、(5)のような「汚い」結果構文が成立することを論じた。最後に、(10)に見られるような事例を指摘し、これらが否定的な結果状態という「汚い」結果構文との共通性を捉えた上位スキーマによって認可された日本語結果構文のさらなる拡張事例であることを示唆した。

(10) a. 弟は買ったばかりの新車を趣味悪く改造した。

b. お母さんがうっかりご飯をまずく炊いた

以上、本研究では英語と日本語の結果構文における結果句の役割に焦点を当てることでより広範囲の言語事例を扱えることを示した。

(English Abstract)

The present study has been concerned with explicating the conditions under which resultative constructions in English and in Japanese are formed. In the early part of this dissertation, we have discussed English resultative constructions. In accounting for the formation of resultative constructions, the previous studies have emphasized the role of argument structure constructions (Goldberg 1995), on the one hand, and the role of the encyclopedic meaning of verbs (Boas 2003), on the other. However, it has been pointed out that some resultative constructions cannot be properly handled by either of these approaches. In order to deal with such cases, we have proposed to focus on the role of resultative phrases.

In chapter 2, after critically reviewing Boas' (2003) view, according to which the formation of resultative constructions are virtually determined by the encyclopedic meaning of verbs alone, the following two points have been made:

- (1) a. At a level beyond what Boas (2003) assumes as the sense of each verb, it is possible to make a prediction or generalization on the acceptability of English resultative constructions to a large extent.
- b. The formation of some resultative constructions involves a part where one should not rely on the lexical specification alone of the individual verbs.

In making these proposals, we have adopted the distinction by Iwata (2008b) between verb-based resultatives and argument structure construction (ASC)-based resultatives. We have to admit that the formation of the former type is specified in semantic representation of individual verbs, as Boas claims. However, it has been shown that we can establish a significant generalization about the formation of the latter type: In addition to specifying the manner that brings about the event designated by the

construction, the verb must denote a continuous and cyclic event. Moreover, we have cited the resultative construction involving the resultative phrase, *asleep* to illustrate the claim stated in (1b).

- (2) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. [COCA]  
b. John sang the baby asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

In (2), one and the same verb yields two different types of resultative constructions (i.e. the one which represents a causal relation and the one which does not), depending on the resultative phrase they combine with. That is, it is a resultative phrase, rather than a verb, that determines whether a resultative construction represents a causal relation or not. It has been claimed that the cases like (2b), which do not represent a causal relation, are sanctioned by a higher-order schema which captures the commonality between verb-based resultatives and ASC-based resultatives.

In chapter 3, we have examined and compared the contexts where “*to* exhaustion” and “*into* exhaustion” are used, showing that the former tends to be observed in a positive context involving the actor’s intention, while the latter tends to be observed in a negative context without the actor’s intention. This difference has been argued to be attributable to the difference between the preposition *to* and *into*, which in turn substantiates our claim that the description of the whole event denoted by some resultative constructions requires making reference to the meaning of individual resultative phrases.

In chapter 4 and 5, we have examined the conditions under which resultative constructions exhibit either bare XP patterns or reflexive patterns. In chapter 4, it has been argued that these patterns are distinguished from each other in terms of not whether temporal dependence between the subevents is recognized (RH and L 1999, 2001), but whether the result state denoted by the resultative phrase is normally predictable from

the verbal semantic information including encyclopedic knowledge. In chapter 5, it has been pointed out that some resultative constructions cannot be handled by the encyclopedic meaning of verbs alone.

(3) a. \*Bob ran into a frenzy. (L and RH 1995: 207)

b Stark was the recipient of possession in some space  
which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to  
run *crossfield* into trouble. [BNC]

While the resultative phrases in both bare XP patterns in (3) denote a result state not conventionally expected from the action of running, only the sentence in (3b) is well-formed. It has been proposed that the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases is responsible for the contrast in (3). In order to make this point, we have employed the notion of Conceptual dependence (Langacker 1987, 1991) and Domain highlighting (Croft 1993). When resultative constructions are analyzed on the basis of Conceptual dependence, it follows that a verb is dependent on a resultative phrase in that the latter elaborates a substructure of the concept evoked by the former. The unacceptability of (3a) is due to the fact that the resultative phrases are incompatible with the verbs: the commonality between their substructures is not recognized to the extent that the former can elaborate a concept evoked by the latter. By contrast, the resultative phrase in (3b), *into trouble* can evoke ‘spatial path’ as well as ‘property path’. Thus, the verb *run* highlighting the concept of ‘spatial path’ evoked by *into trouble* warrants the semantic coherence of the composition of the both components.

In subsequent chapters, we have examined Japanese resultative constructions. In chapter 6, we have considered the function of adjective-*ku* forms, which are employed as resultative phrases in Japanese resultative constructions; it has been suggested that more attention should be paid to their “thing-oriented” function in the sense of being predicated of the noun

phrase instead of paying exclusive attention to their function as adverbials modifying a verbal meaning. In chapter 7, we have analyzed Japanese “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions (henceforth, DU resultatives). It has been observed that some DU resultatives behave differently from the ordinary resultatives discussed in the literature, in that they can (i) express the result state which is not implied in the verbal meaning, and (ii) allow for the occurrence of verbs which does not imply a state change. It has been shown that these DU resultatives can be also handled by means of the conceptual dependence analysis, in which nothing prevents each element from elaborating substructures of the other. Thus, the idiosyncratic properties of DU resultatives stated immediately above are accounted for by recognizing that the concept evoked by a resultative phrase can be elaborated by a verbal meaning. This indicates that our view that the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases plays a crucial role in some resultative constructions applies to the Japanese data, as well.

In Chapter 8, we have discussed the difference between English resultative constructions (ERCs) and Japanese resultative constructions (JRCs). In recent years, it has been claimed that ERCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Causality’, while JRCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Purpose’ (Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005; Murao 2009).

(4) a. ...their new Czech manager, Jozef Venglos, who is making so many nice noises about English football these days that he'll talk himself out of a job if he isn't careful.      (*The Sunday Times*, 9/30, 1990)

b. IS Andre Villas-Boas trying to talk himself out of a job and into a big pay-off?      (*Daily Star Sunday*, 3/4, 2012)

(5) a. The wise dog barked his master awake to warn him of the fire.

b.\*A stray dog in the distance barked the sleeping child awake.

(Kageyama 2007:39)

However, it has been pointed out that one and the same verb-resultative phrase combination can describe not only an accidental result as in (4a) but also an intended result as in (4b), and some ERCs even requires their resultative phrase to denote an intended result as in (5). Additionally, some DU resultatives allow their resultative phrase to denote an accidental result. In order to accommodate these data, we have suggested that the extension of ERCs and JRCs should be characterized in terms of ‘Causality’ and ‘Subjective evaluation’. Furthermore, we have incorporated the distinction by Talmy (2000) between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed ones to account for the fact that (i) compared with JRC, ERCs are much more likely to allow for action verbs which do not imply a state change, as shown in (6) and that (ii) ERCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Purpose’. On the other hand, the formation of DU resultatives in Japanese have been accounted for by drawing on Croft et.al’s (2010) observation that even in verb-framed languages, the situation types which exhibit a higher degree of semantic integration between the causing event and the result event can be expressed by means of satellite-framing. Finally, we have discussed further extended instances of JRCs like (6). It has been suggested that they are sanctioned by a higher-order schema which captures the commonality between these instances and DU resultatives.

- (6) a. Otouto-wa      katta bakari no sinsha-o      syumiwaru-ku      kaizousi-ta.  
          brother-TOP      brand new car-ACC      tasteless      customize-PAST
- b. Okasan-ga      gohan-o      mazu-ku      tai-ta.  
          Mother-NOM      rice-ACC      bad taste      cook-PAST

Although there are still many things left to be resolved, we hope to have shown that putting a spotlight on the role of resultative phrases will help provide a deeper understanding and insight into resultative constructions in English and Japanese.

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## Chapter1 Introduction

This dissertation presents an analysis of resultative constructions in English and Japanese by employing the notions proposed in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008). It examines the conditions under which Resultative constructions in both languages are formed and compares difference between them. Resultative constructions can be defined as single clauses which express a result state brought about by an action denoted by the verb. The result state is expressed by an adjective phrase or a prepositional phrase in English; and by an adjective-*ku* form or a nominal adjective-*ni* form in Japanese:

(1) a. John painted the wall red.

b. They broke the window to pieces.

(2) a. John-ga kabe-o aka-ku nut-ta.

John-NOM wall-ACC red paint-PAST

b. Karera-wa mado-o konagona-ni wat-ta.

They-TOP window-ACC to pieces break-PAST

Resultative constructions have provided interesting linguistic phenomena for many researchers, regardless of which framework they adopt (Rivière 1982; Simpson 1983; Hoekstra 1988; Jakendoff 1990; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Carrier and Randall 1992; Goldberg 1995; Kageyama 1996, Washio 1997; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001; Boas 2003; Iwata 2008b, among others). For example, on the syntactic side, some English resultative constructions allow for the noun phrase (NP) in the postverbal position of inherently intransitive verbs, as in (3). (RH and L is an abbreviation for Rappaport Hovav and Levin.)

- (3) a. He laughed himself sick. (Rivière 1982: 686)  
 b. The dog barked my mother awake. (RH and L 1999: 10)

This type of NP is called a “fake reflexive” (Simpson 1983) or a, “fake object”, which is not semantically selected by verbs.

- (4) a. \*He laughed himself. (Rivière 1982: 686)  
 b. \*The dog barked my mother. (RH and L 1999: 10)

In this connection, Carrier and Randall (1992) distinguish between “*transitive* resultatives” and “*intransitive* resultatives”, arguing that the postverbal NP is not an argument of the verb in the latter. Besides, the “fake object” cases have often been cited in the context of the Direct Object Restriction (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995 (L and RH, hereafter), cf. Simpson 1983). According to the Direct Object Restriction (DOR), “a resultative phrase may be predicated of the immediately postverbal NP, but may not be predicated of a subject or of an oblique complement.” (L and RH 1995: 34). Thus, this restriction would account for not only the contrast in (5), but also the contrast in (6).

- (5) a. I broke the vase into pieces.  
 b. \*I melt the steel hot.

(This cannot mean : I melted the steel until I was hot.)

(Simpson 1983: 143, 144)

- (6) a. Dora shouted herself hoarse.  
 b. \*Dora shouted hoarse. (L and RH 1995: 35)

That is, within the syntactic approach, the fake object NP would be regarded as a syntactic device for conforming to the DOR.

However, there are a number of counterexamples to the DOR. Thus, the

syntactic approach based on the DOR fails to explain why (7b), unlike (6b), is well-formed despite the lack of the postverbal fake reflexive; and (8b), unlike (8a), is well-formed.

(7) a. “Call it foolish, stupid or silly, but he obviously negotiated himself out of a contract at Williams last year which I am sure he now regrets...” (Sunday Mirror, 8/24, 1997)

b. Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of 10 million per album. (USA TODAY, 11/12, 1996)

(8) a. \*Bob ran into a frenzy. (L and RH 1995: 207)

b Stark was the recipient of possession in some space which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to run crossfield into trouble. [BNC]

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001), instead of appealing to the DOR, propose an alternative event structure account in order to handle the cases like (7), in which both the pattern with a fake reflexive and the pattern without it are available. Still, the data in (7) and (8) pose a serious problem to such an account. We will discuss the distinction between both patterns in (7) and the contrast in (8) in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively, and show that our proposed approach can accommodate the data.

Turning to the semantic side of resultative constructions, one must not overlook the constructional approach proposed by Goldberg (1995). Goldberg, in order to account for the cases like (9a), poses a “Resultative construction” shown in (9b) as an argument structure construction with its own syntax and semantics independently of particular verbs.

(9) a. He talked himself blue in the face. (Goldberg 1995: 189)

b. Resultative : Subj V Obj X comp / X causes Y to become Z

(Goldberg 1995:3)

According to Goldberg (1995), this approach has the advantage of accounting for the causal interpretation of the sentence (9a) without positing an implausible sense of *talk*. Besides, the fake object and resultative phrase are respectively analyzed as the patient argument and the result-goal argument contributed by a Resultative construction.

On the other hand, in recent years, it has been suggested that in Goldberg's (1995) constructional approach, the role of argument structure constructions tend to be overemphasized and that much more attention needs to be paid to individual verbs (Nemoto 1998; Matsumoto 2002; Croft 2003; Boas 2003; Iwata 2006, 2008a, among others). For example, by citing the following contrast, Boas (2003) points out that relying too much on argument structure constructions makes it impossible to account for the idiosyncratic distributions of a given verb in resultative constructions.

(10) He talked himself blue in the face. (= (9a))

(11) a.\*He spoke himself blue in the face.

b.\*He whispered himself blue in the face.

c.\*He grumbled himself blue in the face.

d.\*He grouched himself blue in the face. (Boas 2003:105)

This leads Boas (2003) to posit an “event-frame”, which represents individual sense of particular verbs associated with world knowledge and a syntactic specification of them. The information in an event-frame is recruited to license the formation of resultative constructions, but the event frame of all the verbs in (11) is lacking in such a lexical specification.

Boas' (2003) approach, which draws on concrete verbal semantics rather than abstract meaningful constructions, is based on usage-based view of language (Langacker 1987, 2000, 2008; Croft 2001; Taylor 2002; Tomasello

2003, among others). According to this view, “all linguistic generalizations arise via schematization from more specific structures” (Langacker 2008: 57) and “Schematization can be carried to any degree”(ibid.:24). Thus, everything from abstract syntactic constructions such as passives to concrete lexical items can count as constructions as long as we regard them as form-meaning pairings as can be seen in (12) (A similar view is found in Goldberg (2006:5)).

(12) “A construction grammar consists of a large number of constructions of all types, from schematic syntactic constructions to substantive lexical items.” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 256)

Moreover, the usage-based view attaches more importance to more concrete constructions in that they capture the idiosyncratic distribution of linguistic expressions.

(13) “Lower-level schemas, expressing regularities of only limited scope, may on balance be more essential to language structure than high-level schemas representing the broadest generalizations.” (Langacker 2000: 3)

Boas’ (2003) work on resultatives is taken as an attempt to demonstrate this claim by positing lower-level, more concrete constructions which have specific lexical content for the verb (i.e. event-frame representation of individual verbs).

We take the same stance with Boas (2003) in following the usage-based view. This means that we recognize the crucial role of more concrete verb-specific constructions posited by Boas (2003). However, we will show that Boas’ (2003) approach is still insufficient to account for a wider range of resultative constructions. As will be discussed in detail in chapter 2 and

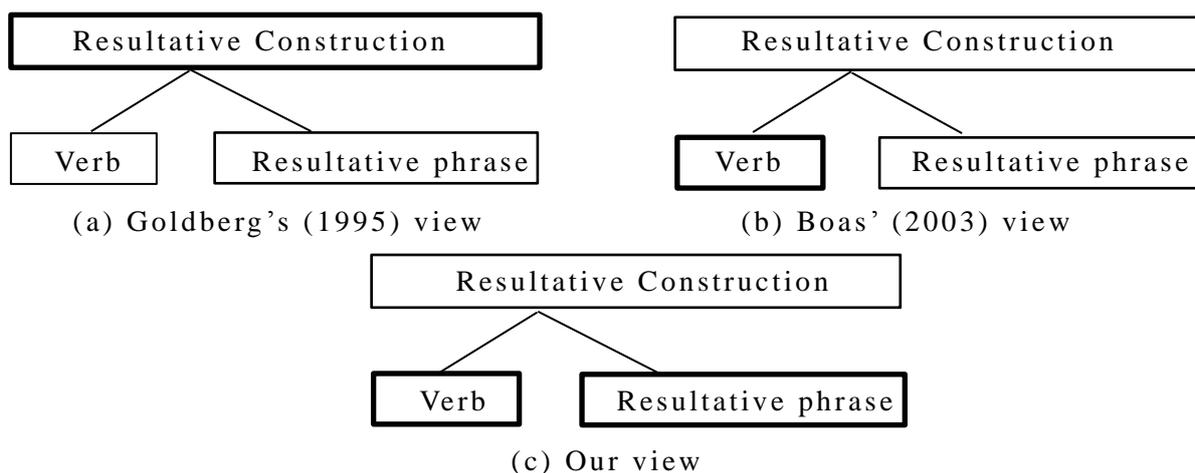
chapter 3, there are resultative constructions whose whole meaning is not determined by the verbal sense alone, even in the sense of Boas (2003):

- (14) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. [COCA]  
 b. John sang the baby asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

- (8) a. \*Bob ran into a frenzy. (L and RH 1995: 207)  
 b Stark was the recipient of possession in some space which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to run crossfield into trouble. [BNC]

We will argue that in order to handle these cases, it is necessary to regard resultative phrases per se as lower-level constructions and focus on their role as well as the role of verbs in the formation of resultative constructions. This point can be made clearer by comparing the three ways of analyzing resultative constructions, as described below:

Figure 1. three different views of Resultative Constructions



As already noted, Goldberg (1995) puts more emphasis on abstract meaningful constructions, while Boas (2003) pays more attention to the role of verbs. This study does not completely reject either of these approaches.

Rather, our main goal is to show that some resultative constructions should be handled by focusing on the role of resultative phrases.

This dissertation is organized as follows. After critically reviewing Boas' (2003) event-frame analysis of resultative constructions, chapter 2 points out that some resultative constructions pose a problem to his approach which depend too much on lexical specification of individual verbs and discusses how to deal with them. Chapter 3 reinforces our claim that the property of event type denoted by some resultative construction should not be determined solely by the meaning of the verb by showing that the resultative phrases, 'to exhaustion' and 'into exhaustion' are actually used in the different contexts. Chapter 4 and 5 examine the conditions under which resultative constructions have either a fake reflexive NP (the reflexive pattern) or not (the bare XP pattern). In chapter 4, it is argued that the distinction between both patterns should be characterized in the light of the encyclopedic meaning of verbs rather than "temporal dependence" presented by RH and L (1999, 2001). While this supports Boas' (2003) argument, in chapter 5 it is claimed that the formation of some resultative constructions requires making reference to the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases as well as that of verbs. In subsequent chapters, we shift our attention to the Japanese data. Chapter 6 considers the function of adjective-*ku* forms, which are employed as resultative phrases in Japanese resultative constructions; it is suggested that more attention should be paid to their "thing-oriented" function in the sense of being predicated of the noun phrase instead of paying exclusive attention to their function as adverbials modifying a verbal meaning. Chapter 7 analyzes Japanese "dirty (and untidy)" resultative constructions, which involve the resultative phrase, *kitana-ku*; it is shown that they can be accounted for only when the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases are taken into account, as with some of English resultative constructions. Chapter 8 provides a contrastive analysis of resultative constructions in English and Japanese.

## Chapter 2 The Role of Verbs and Constructions

### 2.1. A Resultative Construction as an Argument Structure Construction

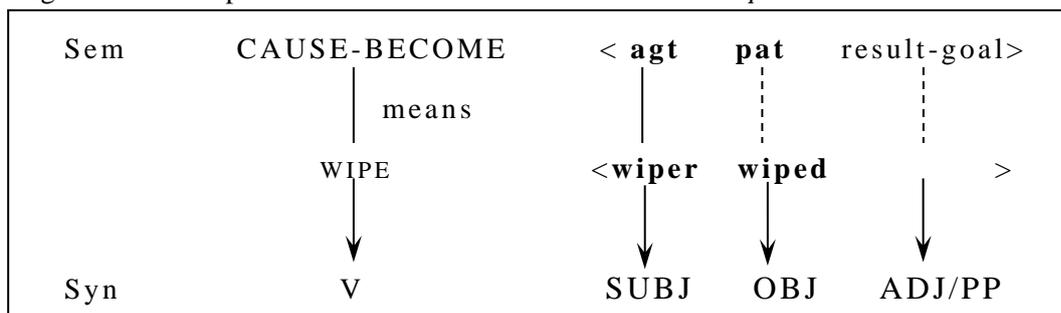
In this chapter, we critically examine Boas' (2003) analysis of resultative constructions and point out several problems with this. Before doing so, we have to review Goldberg's (1995) constructional approach to resultative constructions.

(1) a. He wiped the table clean.

b. He talked himself blue in the face. (Goldberg 1995:189)

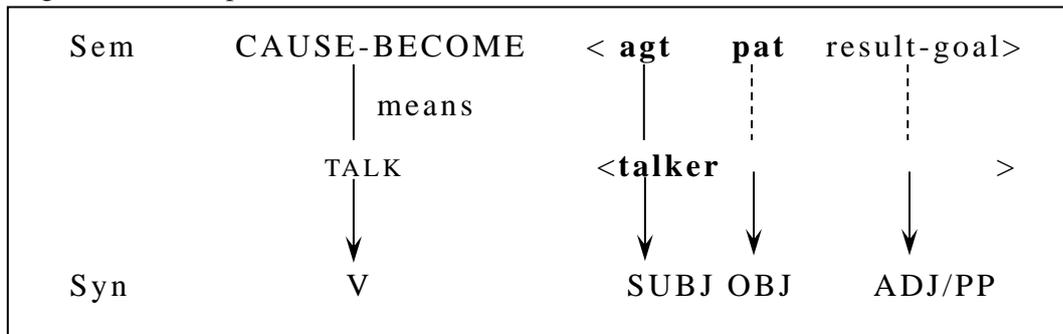
The interpretation of sentences cannot be compositionally derived from the component elements in them: that the postverbal NP referent undergoes a change of state as a result of the action denoted by the verb is not strictly predictable from the meaning of a verb alone. This is more apparent especially in (1b), where the verb *talk* takes the direct object followed by a resultative phrase in the postverbal position despite the fact that *talk* normally behaves intransitively. In order to deal with these cases, Goldberg (1995) posits a resultative construction associated with the semantics of 'X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z', independently of particular verbs which instantiate it. According to this analysis, when a verb fuses with a resultative construction, the construction can add its argument role to the verb, yielding the causal meaning as a whole.

Figure 1. Composite Structure : Resultative + *wipe*



In the case of (1a), as shown in Figure 1, the resultative construction adds a result-goal argument to wipe, which accounts for the interpretation ‘He CAUSES the table to BECOME clean by wiping’.

Figure 2. Composite Structure : Resultative + *talk*



In the case of (1b), as shown in Figure 2, the resultative construction adds both a patient argument and a result-goal argument to *talk*, which accounts for a “special” sense of *talk* : ‘He CAUSES himself to BECOME blue in the face by talking’.

## 2.2. A Resultative Construction as an Event Frame Representation

Goldberg’s analysis is insightful in that it can handle the sentences with “fake object” like (1b), along the same lines of the one with regular object like (1a) in terms of the patient argument contributed by the resultative construction. However, this constructional analysis is not without a problem. Boas (2003, 2005) gives the following examples, arguing that Goldberg’s (1995) is insufficient when it comes to explaining the full distributions of resultatives.

- (2) a. ?He wiped the table dirty.
- b.\*He {spoke / whispered /grumbled /grouched} himself blue in the face.
- c. Erin {ate /?swallowed /\*devoured} her plate empty.

(2a,b from Boas (2003:105); 2c from (ibid.162))

These sentences show that “one verb or resultative phrase of resultative construction by another verb or resultative phrase render the construction unacceptable” (Boas 2003: 105). Therefore, Goldberg’s approach fails to predict exactly the distributions of elements occurring in resultative constructions, because she merely associates their formal pattern with the abstract meaning, ‘X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z’. More specifically, she cannot account for why *wipe* can fuse with the resultative construction in (1a) but cannot in (2a), and *talk* can fuse with the resultative construction but the verbs that are closely related to *talk* in meaning cannot.

In order to solve this kind of problem, Boas (2003) proposes the notion of ‘event-frame’, which represents each sense of a verb including two types of frame semantic (Fillmore1982) information: ‘on-stage’ information and ‘off-stage’ information. ‘On-stage’ information consists of linguistically immediately relevant information such as the prototypical event participants of an event frame (e.g. agent, patient). ‘Off-stage’ information, on the other hand, is concerned with general world knowledge, which is why it can be made linguistically relevant only under certain circumstances. For example, the prototypical sense of *paint* can be represented as follows:

Figure 3. Event-frame for the prototypical *paint*

GOAL	Ag: Entity applying paint to a surface
Ag (W P2)	Pt: Surface or object that is construed as exhibiting a surface
Pt (p3)	P3: Syn: AP or NP  Sem: denoting a color or a property associated with the prototypically intended end result of applying paint to a surface

(Boas 2005: 452)



The event-frame analysis by Boas can also account for the contrast between (5) and (6).

(5) a. Carol ran her legs sore.

b. Carol ran her shoes threadbare.

c. Carol ran the pavement thin.

(6) a.\*Chip returned his legs sore.

b.\*Julia entered her shoes threadbare.

c.\*Nick roamed the pavement thin.

(Boas2003: 251, 252)

That is, the event-frame of the prototypical sense of *run* allows overt realization of general world knowledge about what it means to run: legs, shoes, and the pavement can be directly affected by moving actions. On the other hand, the event-frame of verbs such as *return*, *enter*, and *roam* blocks the recruitment of this kind of ‘off-stage’ information for overt linguistic expression.

Although Boas’ (2003) approach, unlike Goldberg’s (1995), can capture the idiosyncratic distributions of verbs and resultative phrases in resultative constructions, there are some problems with his event-frame analysis. First, Boas makes little effort to explore what kind of generalization can be made on the formation of resultative constructions and how productive they are. His observation of more than 6,000 resultative sentences collected from the British National Corpus (BNC) has led him to the conclusion that it is very difficult to predict the full distribution of resultatives on the basis of abstract compositional mechanisms and general semantic constraints. As a result, Boas appeals to the lexical specification in the event-frame of the individual verbs. Thus, following his argumentation, it could be a matter of stipulation whether a verb can appear in a resultative construction or not. However, before drawing such a

conclusion, it is (at least) of great worth seeking some generalizations on the formation of resultative constructions (See also Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004, Suzuki 2006).

Second, one and the same verb, depending on the resultative phrase it occurs with, can form two types of resultative constructions which differ from each other in the way the result state is brought about.

- (7) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. [COCA]  
b. John sang the baby asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

As argued in detail later, the resultative phrase in (7a) denotes the end result state based on a causal relationship with the main verb, while the same is not necessarily true of the one in (7b). Boas' approach fails to capture this subtle difference between them, because *hoarse* in (7a) and *asleep* in (7b) would be uniformly analyzed as denoting a possible end result state of non-prototypical event participant.

### 3.3 Proposal

Then, we would like to make the following two points :

- (8) (i) At a level beyond what Boas (2003) assumes as the sense of each verb, it is possible to make a prediction or generalization on the acceptability of English resultative constructions to a large extent.  
(ii) The formation of some resultative constructions involves a part where one should not rely on the lexical specification alone of the individual verbs.

In making these proposals, we adopt the distinction by Iwata (2008b) between verb-based resultatives and ASC (argument structure construction)-based resultatives. In verb-based resultatives, the state

change is already entailed in the verb. The resultative phrase further specifies the result state as in (9) and may be omitted without resulting in unacceptability as in (10) and (11).

- (9) a. The ice cream froze solid.  
b. The butter melted to a liquid.  
c. The vase broke into little pieces. (Simpson 1983: 143)

- (10) a. Jackie painted the barn red. (= (3a))  
b. Jackie painted the barn.

- (11) a. The river froze solid.  
b. The river froze. (Iwata 2008b: 1070)

In contrast, ASC-based resultatives “are characterized by the fact that the resultative semantics is necessarily accompanied by particular syntactic frames”(Iwata 2008b: 1071). Thus, the state change is not entailed in the verb meaning and, at times, the resultative phrase cannot be omitted without affecting grammaticality as in (12) and (13).

- (12) a. The joggers ran the pavement thin.  
b.\*The joggers ran the pavement.  
(13) a. They yelled themselves hoarse.  
b.\*They yelled themselves. (Iwata 2008b: 1066)

We admit that the analysis of verb-based resultatives should focus on the lexical specification of the individual verbs. However, we propose that the ASC-based resultatives can be handled without relying on the verb’s lexical specification. This is a more specific statement of the proposal (8i), the point which we will demonstrate in sections 2.4 and 2.5. The issue with respect to (8ii) will be discussed in section 2.6.

## 2.4. Manner specification

ASC-based resultatives correspond to the ‘resultative constructions’ posited by Goldberg (1995) which have their own semantics independently of the particular verbs. Thus, if we can generalize the relation between ASC-based resultatives and verbs that appear in them, it will prove that we do not necessarily have to rely on the verbs’ lexical specification. It has been suggested in Goldberg (1995: 189; Fig 8.1) as to the formation of resultatives that the event type designated by a verb specifies the ‘means’ of the event type of the construction.

- (14) a. He wiped the table clean. (=1a)  
b. John polished the vase shiny. (Neeleman and van de Koot 2002:50)  
c. Anabel washed her sweater clean. (Boas 2003:226)
- (15) a. He talked himself blue in the face. (=1b)  
b. John polished himself dirty. (Neeleman and van de Koot 2002:50)  
c. I ran weeping to the stream..., where I washed myself raw. [COCA]

While the notion of ‘means’ captures the relationship between the verbs and constructions in (14), it does not seem appropriate to characterize the one in (15) in a similar way. Since the resultative phrases in (15) denote an unfavorable result state, it would be difficult to regard the verbal action as a ‘means’ which brings about such a state. Then, we present the following condition.

(16) Licensing condition on ASC-based resultatives :

The event type designated by the verb must specify the manner that brings about the event designated by the construction.

The notion ‘manner’ here is closely related to manner verbs in the sense of

the distinction by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (thereafter, RH and L) (1998, 2010) between manner and result verbs. Manners verbs “lexicalize the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out” (RH and L 1998: 100), but the result state is not lexically encoded. They contrast with result verbs, “which lexicalize a particular result, but more often than not are vague as to how the result is achieved” (ibid.101).

- (17) a. Pat ran herself ragged. (RH and L 1998:98)  
 b.\*The jetsetters went themselves ragged. (ibid.103)
- (18) a. Kim scrubbed her fingers raw.  
 b.\*The toddler broke his hands bloody. (RH and L 2010:21,22)

Thus, according to their analysis, each of the contrasts in (17) and (18) derives from the difference as to whether the verb is a manner or a result verb. From the perspective of our analysis, the acceptability of (17a) and (18a) is due to the fact that the verbs specify the ‘manner’ that brings about the event designated by the construction. On the other hand, the unacceptability of (17b) and (18b) reflects non-specificity with respect to the manner of action denoted by the verb. The same account applies to the following examples ((20) is the repetition of (6)).

- (19) a.\*I arrived myself sick. (Rapoport 1993: 170)  
 b.\*Mary ascended herself tired. (Kaga 2007: 83)  
 c.\*John fell his knees sore. (ibid.)
- (20) a.\*Chip returned his legs sore.  
 b.\*Julia entered her shoes threadbare.  
 c.\*Nick roamed the pavement thin.
- (21) Bery {painted/?colored/\*stained/\*dyed} the brush to pieces.  
 (Boas 2003:121)

The data above suggest that the licensing condition stated in (16) makes it

possible to fully predict the formation of resultative constructions without recourse to the lexical specification of the individual verbs.

Another evidence in support of our ‘manner’ analysis comes from the contrasts in (22)-(24).

- (22) a.\*The rice slowly cooked the pot black. (RH and L 1995: 39)  
b. Clyde cooked the pot black. (Jackendoff 2002: 175)
- (23) a.\*The hammer pounded the metal flat. (Goldberg 1995: 193)  
b. Harry pounded the metal flat. (Jackendoff 1990: 226)
- (24) a.\*A bullet shot the bear dead.  
b. John shot the bear dead. (Kaga 2007: 93)

Although each pair of these sentences shares the same verb, a careful examination of them will reveal that they differ in whether or not an animate entity occurs in the subject position. It is difficult to recognize the ‘manner’ of action in the inanimate entity, hence the unacceptability of the (a) sentences.

## 2.5 Manner specification + continuous cyclicality

However, the condition in (16) is not sufficient for accounting for the contrast observed between the sentences below.

- (25) a. He talked himself blue in the face. (=1b)  
b.\*He {spoke / whispered / grumbled / grouched} himself blue in the face. (=2b)  
c. Erin {ate /?swallowed /\*devoured} her plate empty. (=2c)

All the sentences in (25) specify the manner of action, so we have difficulty predicting the unacceptability of (25b) and the contrast in (25c) by

employing the condition (16) alone. This leads us to propose the following as a sub-condition of (16) for the fake-object cases like (25).

(26) Sub-Licensing condition on ASC-based resultatives :

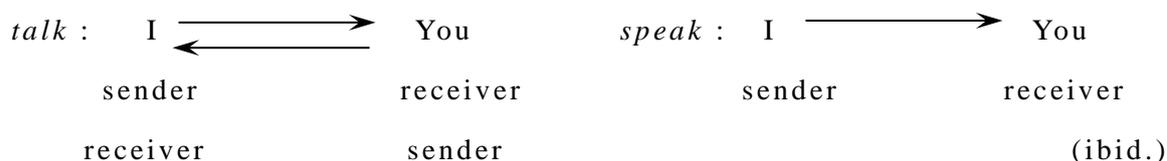
In addition to specifying the manner that brings about the event designated by the construction, the verb must denote a continuous and cyclic event

This condition can be used to account for the contrasts in (25). To start with, it would be helpful to pay attention to Dirven’s (1982) remark and the figure below to illustrate his point:

“...talk is a verb which in one of its essential meanings denotes the **linguistic interaction between the participants of a discourse**...speak sees linguistic action from **mainly from the point of view of the speaker**.”

(Dirven 1982: 56; emphasis, mine)

Figure 5. *talk* vs. *speak*



That is, the verb *talk* can be seen as denoting a durative and cyclic event by virtue of its interactional property. On the other hand, the verb *speak*, including the rest of the verbs in (25b), do not mainly exhibit such a property and thus the combination of these verbs and the resultative construction results in the unacceptable sentences.

This additional characterization in (26) also allows us to predict other extended resultative constructions.

(27) a. ...I **pedalled** myself blue in the face on the Exercise Machine. [BNC]

- b. You can **argue** yourself blue in the face, and you're not going to **change** each other's minds. [COCA]
- c. Georgie **sniffed** himself blue in the face... .[COCA]
- d. ...most men will eat their own weight in fry-ups, piss away a river of lager and **smoke** themselves blue in the face!

(*The Guardian*, 8/21, 2000)

The verb *pedal* in (27a) denotes the action of moving one leg after another continuously. The verb *argue* in (27b) presupposes someone to talk with and thus involves an interactional component. The verbs like *sniff* and *smoke* in (27c,d) are also associated with the notion of continuous cyclicity, since they involve breathing.

Let us turn to the verbs in (25), repeated here as (28).

(28) Erin {ate /?swallowed /\*devoured} her plate empty.

Pustejvosky (1995:11) notes that “although *devour* is generally considered a manner specification of the verb *eat*, it carries a completive implicature that is absent from *eat*.” Moreover, Van Valin (2004) suggests that *eat* and *devour* will yield a different aspectual interpretation when they occur with a mass noun.

(29) a. Chris ate spaghetti for an hour.

b. Sandy devoured spaghetti (over and over again) for an hour.

(adapted from Van Valin 2004:18)

The sentence in (29a) is compatible with a non-iterative interpretation, in which Chris keeps on eating a single plate of spaghetti without finishing it. In (29b), on the other hand, such an interpretation is unavailable and the iterative one is required: “Sandy eats plate after plate of spaghetti, and the

eating of each plateful constitutes a distinct event in the sequence”(ibid.19). On the basis of this difference, Van Valin (2004) argues that *devour* is lexically telic, while *eat* is lexically atelic. Similarly, the verb *swallow* belongs to the class of what Levin (1993) calls Gobble Verbs (e.g. *gobble*, *gulp*, *swig*), whose meaning “involves the complete, and usually speedy, consumption of something.” (ibid.215). From these data, we can say that the reason why verbs like *devour* and *swallow* are inconsistent with the resultative construction is that they show little or no continuous cyclicality. The contrast below can be accounted along the same lines.

(30) Tom {drank /?sipped /\*gulped} himself to sleep. (Boas 2003:162)

## 2.6. Causal Resultatives and Non-causal Resultatives

So far, it has been argued that it is possible to make a certain generalization with respect to a verb’s ability to occur in resultatives at a level beyond what Boas (2003) assumes as the sense of each verb. However, it does not follow from this that we can present a sufficient counterargument against Boas’ (2003) approach, because it is merely suggested that we do not have to depend on the lexical specification of individual verbs. Therefore, for the sake of complete discussion, we would like to show that the formation of some resultative constructions involve a part where one should not rely on a verb’s lexical specification alone.

First, let us consider the following examples.

(31) a. Every night the neighbour’s dog barks me asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

b. John sang the baby asleep. (=7b)

According to Rothstein (2004), resultative constructions like (31) do not represent a causal relation between the verbal action and the state change denoted by the resultative phrase, which is merely used to mark the

endpoint of an event denoted by the verb. In (31a), this is an apparent interpretation: a dog's barking does not cause a person to fall asleep. With even the case like (31b), Rothstein (2004) supposes that it carries the meaning that "the baby was asleep at the culmination of the singing event, and not that the one caused the other" (ibid.131), though she does not deny a strong causal implication. In connection with this, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) offer some of the logic associated with causation:

- (32) a. The occurrence of the cause precedes or accompanies the change of state.  
 b. The change of state would not have occurred without a cause.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1999:185, cf. Shibatani 1976:1-2)

This pattern of logic also tells us that the sentences in (31) are not instances of causation, because they do not meet the condition in (32b): the state denoted by *asleep* can arise even if there is not any external cause for it. Recall that human beings cannot stay awake for many days and they can end up falling asleep over the passage of time even without doing anything. In contrast, the sentences in (33) can be seen as representing causation in the light of (32). The state of hoarseness cannot be obtained without overusing your throat.

- (33) a. ...most of the dogs were unhappy and would bark themselves hoarse.[BNC]  
 b. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. (=7a)

Besides, the difference between *asleep* and *hoarse* as to causal relation is found in a dictionary definition.

- (34) a. hoarse (=sounding rough and harsh, typically **as the result of** a sore throat or of shouting)  
 b. asleep (=in or into a state of sleep) [ODE<sup>2</sup>; emphasis, mine]

The descriptions in Oxford Dictionary of English indicate that *hoarse* is a state which is caused by some external factors, while *asleep* is not. This is also reflected in the acceptability of the *make*-causative construction.

- (35) a. ...when I notice the flu is making me hoarse,... [COCA]  
b. ??The {medicine/movie} made me asleep.

In general, an adjective that appears in resultative constructions can also function as a complement of *make*-causative construction. Thus, from the unacceptability of (35b), it can be confirmed that *asleep* is not connected with causal relation. From what has been observed, we can see that the resultative constructions in (36) represent a causal relation between the verbal action and the state change denoted by the resultative phrase, while the ones in (37) do not.

- (36) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. (=7a)  
b. ...most of the dogs were unhappy and would bark themselves hoarse. (=33a)  
(37) a. John sang the baby asleep. (=7b)  
b. Every night the neighbour's dog barks me asleep. (=31a)

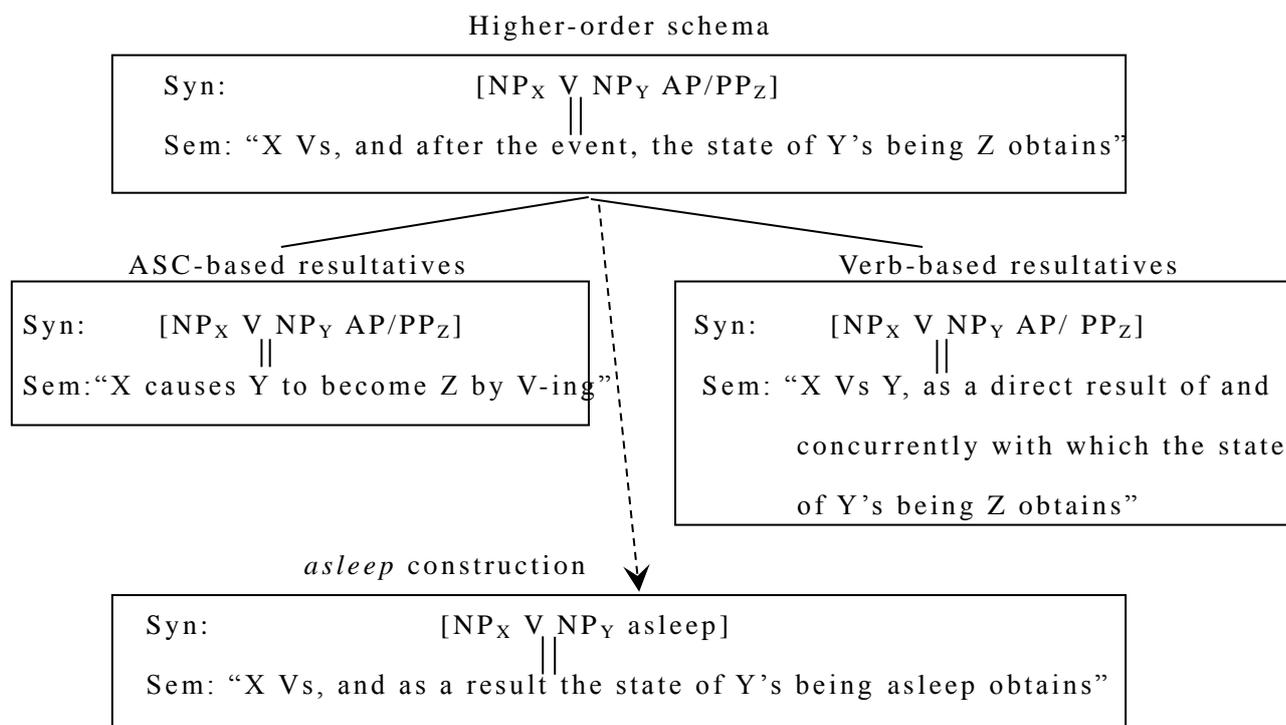
Furthermore, what is more important here is that the same verb (i.e. *sing*, *bark*) is used in each of the (a) sentences and of the (b) sentences. It seems that these cases are difficult to handle within Boas' (2003) approach. According to his analysis, in resultative constructions with a fake object such as (36) and (37), the resultative phrase can denote nonconventional but possible end-result states through the recruitment of more off-stage information (i.e. general world knowledge). However, this specification alone fails to capture the subtle difference between (36) and (37) with respect to the result state being brought about. As the discussion above

suggests, it is a resultative phrase, rather than a verb, that determines whether a resultative construction represents a causal relation or not.

By contrast, our approach makes it possible to deal with both types of resultative constructions in a more natural way. As noted in 3.3, we have adopted Iwata’s (2008b) two-way distinction between ASC-based resultatives and verb-based ones. Resultatives like (37) do not belong to either type, not only because a causal relation is not represented but also because a state change is not entailed in the verb. However, these non-causal resultatives will turn out not to be “special” or “peculiar” constructions at all, if we take the perspective of the usage-based model (Langacker 1987, 2000, 2008; Croft 2003, etc). In this model, “usage events are the source of all linguistic units” (Langacker 2008: 220) and “schemas emerge from expressions through reinforcement of the commonalities they exhibit at some level of abstraction” (ibid.219).

Figure 6. A network of resultative constructions

(based on Iwata 2008b: 1065, 1073)



Thus, as Iwata (2008b) suggests, by abstracting away from the difference between ASC-based resultatives and verb-based ones, “we can easily extract a higher-order schema that generalizes over the two types” (ibid.1073), as shown in Figure 6. It can be argued, then, that non-causal resultatives like (37) are sanctioned by this extracted schema. Other attested instances of *asleep* constructions are given below.

- (38) a. Emma has cried herself asleep. [COCA]  
 b. And there she lulled me asleep. [COCA]  
 c. I would get into bed and read myself asleep.  
 ([http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/columns.php?sub\\_id=19&page=2](http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/columns.php?sub_id=19&page=2))  
 d. ...they caught their bus southward. And caught as well some decent shut-eye, with the big rolling wheels humming them asleep. [COCA]

Of course, it should be added that non-causal resultatives are not limited to the *asleep* case:

- (39) a. At the opening of the new Parliament building, the crowd cheered the huge gate open. (Rothstein (2004: 131)  
 b. Reluctant to let him go, the audience clapped the singer off the stage. (Rothstein (2004: 104)  
 c. We sat around in the sling chairs and talked the dusk into night. (Rivière 1981, cited by Broccias 2003: 202)  
 d. Recovery Chief Ed Blakely does not want to consider whether he should stay in New Orleans past 2010. He hopes instead to have worked himself out of a job by then. (New Orleans CityBusiness, 5/15, 2008)

These data also remind us that there are resultative constructions for which we need to recruit a higher-order schema instead of a lexical specification

of the individual verbs.

## 2.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, adopting the distinction by Iwata (2008b) between verb-based resultatives and ASC-based ones, we have shown that it is possible to make a generalization on the formation of the latter to a large extent without appealing to the lexical specification of the individual verbs as Boas (2003) does. Moreover, it has also been noted that the formation of some resultative constructions involves a part where one should *not* rely on verbs' lexical specification alone. More specifically, one and the same verb yields two different types of resultative constructions (i.e. ASC-based ones and non-causal resultatives), depending on the resultative phrase they combine with. This indicates that the property of event type denoted by some resultative constructions should not be determined solely by the meaning of the verb, in which case more attention needs to be paid to the role of resultative phrases. Throughout this dissertation, we will show that resultative phrases can have some influence on the formation of resultative constructions in many different ways. For this purpose, the difference between *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion* as resultative phrases is examined in chapter 3, and the condition under which reflexive pronouns are used is considered in chapters 4 and 5. Furthermore, it is shown that focusing on the role of resultative phrases allows us to deal with the Japanese resultative constructions which cannot be captured by the characterizations of them presented in the previous studies in chapter 7, and to reconsider the typological difference between Japanese resultative constructions and English resultative ones in chapter 8.

## Chapter 3 Positive tiredness and negative tiredness: on the differences and similarities between *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion* as resultative phrases

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter considers the resultative phrases, ‘*to exhaustion*’ and ‘*into exhaustion*’, which occur in resultative constructions (RCs, below) as seen in (1) and examine the differences (and similarities) between them through the observation of how they are actually used.

(1) a. Now you can ski yourself to exhaustion any day of our season.

(*The Globe and Mail*, 11/13, 1982)

b...you can literally ski yourself into exhaustion without realizing it.

(*Edmonton Sun*, 2/11, 1999)

Before starting the discussion, let me emphasize the importance of the present chapter. It is well known that English RCs select AP or PP as resultative phrases and there are certain differences between them. (Morita 1998, Tsuzuki 2004, etc.). Little research, however, has been done to find out the difference between PP resultative phrases such as *to* phrases in (2b) and *into* phrases in (2c). In this respect, this chapter constitutes a case study to explore whatever subtle difference there is between PP resultative phrases.

(2) a. Claudia walked her shoes threadbare. (Boas 2003: 250)

b. Amy walked her feet to pieces. (Jackendoff 1990: 227)

c. Bill walked himself into a coma. (Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004: 549)

Moreover, if a subtle difference is actually found, it suggests that the property of an event type denoted by English RCs should not be determined

solely by the meaning of the verb. In the preceding chapter, we saw that Boas (2003) appeals to the lexical specification in the event-frame of the individual verbs in order to account for the distribution of English RCs. Contrary to Boas’s (2003) analysis, however, we have proposed that the formation of some resultative constructions involves a part where one should not rely on the lexical specification alone of the individual verbs. In this chapter, therefore, we will confirm this proposal by clarifying the difference between *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion*.

### 3.2. Iwata (2009a)

Iwata (2009a) makes the distinction between the two types of change of state represented by *to* resultative and *into* resultative phrases and characterizes the former as “change along a scale” and the latter as “two-stage transition” as illustrated in Figure.1. This characterization makes it possible to account for the contrast in (3).



Figure 1. Two types of change of state

- (3) a. Bob shot him {to death/\*into death}.
- b. The victory threw him {\*to a frenzy/into a frenzy}
- c. His voice sank {to a whisper/?into a whisper}.
- d. He sank to {\*to a coma/into a coma}.

Since the death can be metaphorically understood as the final destination of life, the change leading to that state is construed as a gradual one, which explains why *to* is chosen in (3a). In contrast, a state of frenzy is not brought about gradually but instantaneously enough to draw a clear line

between before and after the change. Thus, *into* is chosen in (3b). The same can be said of (3c) and (3d).

However, Iwata's (2009a) analysis is restricted to the case where only either *to* or *into* is chosen; there remains a question as to whether we can directly apply his characterization to RCs such as in (1) where both options (i.e. *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion*) are available.

### 3.3. Beavers (2002, 2008)

Beavers (2002, 2008) analyzes the differences between *to* and *into* phrases in terms of their aspectual interpretation. He makes the following generalization:

- (4) *To* XPs require durative readings and only combine with verbs that have durative readings. *Into* XPs do not require durative readings and may combine with both punctual and durative verbs. (Beavers 2002:17)

Thus, in (5), where the verbs occur which have punctual readings, only *into* XP is allowed. On the other hand, since activity verbs (Vendler 1967) have durative readings, they are found with *to* XP as shown in (6).

- (5) a. I ducked{\*to/into}the cave.  
b. The balloon suddenly burst{\*to/into}useless shreds.  
c. Georgina was surprised {??to/into} cordiality.

- (6) a. The gray sky dimmed{to/into}dusk and the snow started up again.  
b. Kim polished the shoes{to/into}a somber, unscuffed shine.

Beavers' analysis is similar to Iwata's : the combination of *to* phrases and durative verbs has much to do with "change along a scale" and the combination of *into* phrases and punctual verbs "two-stage transition".

However, they are different in that the former notices that *into* phrases can also combine with durative verbs. Note that in (6) not only *to* phrases but also *into* phrases can appear. This leads Beavers to assume that “*into* XPs entail no predictions about durativity and instead **context, pragmatics,** and semantics determine the aspectual classification of *into* resultatives” (Beavers 2002:16, bold is mine). This suggests that one cannot find out a more subtle difference between the two kinds of phrases without a detailed observation of what kinds of context they are used in. In the following sections, then, we would like to explore how they differ through a contrastive analysis of “*to exhaustion*” and “*into exhaustion*” collected from major newspaper articles in the database, LexisNexis Academic.

### 3.4. *To exhaustion*

We will first examine the case of *to exhaustion*. A close look at the data will reveal that it is used in a “positive” context. What we mean by the term “positive” here is based on the concept of Intention, Purpose, and Benefit. Let us consider the sentences in (7).

< Positive > [+Intention /+Purpose /+Benefit]

- (7) a. She paddled herself to exhaustion in a kayak and punished her body in a new weight room she built, **all the toil designed to strengthen her upper body.** (*The Toronto Star*, 2/24, 1994)
- b. In a classic 19-17 upset in front of a baying crowd at Mt Maunganui, the Bay players tackled themselves to exhaustion **to upset the defending champions.** (*The Southland Times*, 9/7, 2009)
- c. Jordan ran himself to exhaustion **trying to keep the Redskins' season going,** finishing with game-highs of 40 points and seven assists. (*The News-Sentinel*, 3/4, 2009)
- d. "The no-pain, no-gain attitude that permeates the fitness mystique today actually does more harm than good, because people assume you have to run yourself to exhaustion **in order to be fit,"** he says.

(*Calgary Herald*, 1/13, 1996)

- e. And during one joy-filled event deep in rural Mozambique, mothers and grandmothers danced and sang themselves to exhaustion **for our benefit.**

(*Ottawa Citizen*, 8/12, 2006)

In each sentence, the actor's intention or purpose is expressed, which is clear from the part indicated by boldface print. For example, the first part of (7a) says that she paddles in a kayak to the extent that she becomes exhausted, while the second part says that such an action is intended as exercise for her upper body. Likewise, what is described in (7b) is not just that in an American football game the Bay players tackled their opponents and as a result became exhausted. Rather, as can be seen from the *to* infinitive, the players tackled for the purpose of winning the game. The rest of the examples can also be characterized along the same lines.

Other examples can be observed in (8) and (9).

- (8) a. Gateshead, in the high-unemployment area of the North East, may seem an odd place to attract high spending customers **willing to eat, entertain and shop themselves to exhaustion.** (*The Guardian*, 9/18, 1987)

- b. At Priscilla's first game the next night, Daphne clapped, chanted, stomped, pumped her fists and cheered herself to exhaustion. **"My kids make me nervous," she said. "I don't want them to mess up."**

(*St. Petersburg Times*, 9/8, 2002)

- (9) a. You overlooked the efforts of a Greg Nesbitt, who in Saturday's first game pitched himself to exhaustion **allowing his team to make the finals.**

(*SUNDAY NEWS*, 8/8, 1999)

- b. Few women would consider it a **privilege** to run, swim and paddle themselves to exhaustion simply to be able to rub shoulders with Australia's champion surf lifesavers.

(*The Daily Telegraph*, 10/30, 1987)

Unlike in (7), these do not provide an apparent clue as to the actor's intention or purpose. However, in (8a), the phrase *willing to* serves to show that high spending customers have volition to perform their action in question (i.e. eating or shopping). In (8b), the quotation clearly shows the mother's volition to cheer her son. We do not distinguish between the cases of (7) and (8), and thus assume that a concept like volition expressed in (8) is subsumed under the concept of intention. Although it may seem a little difficult to analyze the sentences in (9) in terms of intention, we can at least find some benefit brought about from the actors' performing the action denoted by the verb in the underlined part to the extent that they become exhausted.

### 3.5. *Into exhaustion*

Next, let us turn to the case of *into exhaustion*. *Into exhaustion*, as opposed to the case of *to exhaustion*, is found in a "negative" context. We will assume that this kind of context consists of the concept of '– Intention', '– Purpose', and 'Damage'.

< Negative > [ – Intention / – Purpose / Damage ]

(10) a. She wrote so intensely that she whipped herself into exhaustion **and illness**, even though most of her ailments bore more than a trace of hypochondriacal origin. (*The Washington Post*, 9/10, 2000)

b. "We had toured ourselves into exhaustion **and really burned out on the whole thing**," Johnson said. "That's one significant change we've made this time. We refuse to go out on these three-month runs ever again. It's just not healthy, man. People have families. (*Intelligencer Journal*, 7/24, 1998)

c. "The best scene for me was the last one, when they'd all yelled themselves into exhaustion **and were no longer on speaking terms** anyway." (*The Guardian*, 4/23, 2003)

In (10), as shown in boldface print, after performing an action to the extent

that they became exhausted, the actors ended up becoming ill, burned out, or breaking off a relationship. That is, each action denoted by the underline part gives rise to a situation where the actor is adversely affected, which is of course an unintended negative consequence.

As related examples, let us also consider the following:

- (11) a. Ali leaned back on the ropes, covered up, waited for Foreman to punch himself into exhaustion, then in the eighth round delivered the **knockout boom**.  
*(The Dallas Morning News, 1/13, 2003)*
- b. The wild game featured yet another Rangers replay victory, eight Blackhawk power plays, and a strategy best described as **hockey's version of rope-a-dope**. Basically, the Rangers allowed Chicago to shoot themselves into exhaustion in the first two periods, scoring four times on counter-attacks that caught the Blackhawks napping.  
*(The New York Times, 1/3, 1992)*

(11a) describes the situation where Ali uses his legendary killer technique "rope-a-dope" to beat his opponent, Foreman. Ali lets Foreman punch him all he wants and gives him (Foreman) a killer blow when he (Foreman) becomes exhausted. Foreman continued to punch in order to beat Ali, but he eventually suffered unintended damage. Similarly, this notion of "rope-a-dope" is employed to describe an ice hockey game as illustrated in (11b), where Chicago Blackhawks continued to shoot in order to beat their opponent, New York Rangers; but Blackhawks got a counterattack from Rangers four times.

- (12) a. Brock told investigators that he used to hit his son's head in a similar manner when the **toddler** would cry himself into exhaustion, according to court documents.  
*(The San Francisco Chronicle, 9/20, 1995)*
- b. We usually replace our **polyanthus and primroses** each year, as they seem to flower themselves into exhaustion and seldom reflower satisfactorily,

- though they continue to grow. (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8/16, 1990)
- c. But for dogs with small mouths, such as pugs and bull dogs, the panting process is not very efficient, Douglas said. And **dogs** can pant themselves into exhaustion in extreme heat. (*The Roanoke Times*, 7/27, 2005)

In addition, in (12), the actions denoted by the verbs are, in themselves, not even based on the actors' volition because the subject referents in question are not seen as capable of exerting their own will. (Note that in (11), the result is not intended, but the action denoted by the verb is based on the actor's volition.) So far we have seen that "to exhaustion" and "into exhaustion" are used in a positive and negative contexts, respectively. To confirm whether this characterization is valid, we will next examine the case where one and the same verb occurs with both "to exhaustion" and "into exhaustion" below.

### 3.6. *Ski*

The following examples nicely illustrate the contrast in the context where "to exhaustion" and "into exhaustion" are used.

- (13) Early season liftlines were a problem with the chairlift up the south side, but, says instructor Steve Lantz, "**we got rid of the liftlines by replacing the old double chairlift with a high speed triple chairlift last year.** Now you can ski yourself to exhaustion any day of our season." (cf. (1a))  
(*The Globe and Mail*, 11/13, 1982)
- (14) With high-speed chairs whisking you to the top of the mountain in a matter of minutes, you can literally ski yourself into exhaustion without realizing it. **Because you are skiing three times as much as you would have even a decade ago, you can be completely worn out after even a few hours.** (cf. (1b)) (*Edmonton Sun*, 2/11, 1999)

(13) states that skiers can enjoy skiing anytime to the extent that they become exhausted with the introduction of a new high-performance chairlift. It is in this sense that we can say that *to exhaustion* in (13) is in a positive context. On the other hand, getting a chance to ski many times can also mean that you are likely to become exhausted sooner. Such a negative situation is described in (14), where *into exhaustion* is used.

### 3.7. Work

Furthermore, examining the data collected from LexisNexis *Academic*, we conducted quantitative research on the case of *work*, which occurs with *to/into exhaustion* with a relatively high frequency. The results are presented in Table 1. Although only the pattern *work oneself to/into exhaustion* is listed in the table, our research includes any combination of *works*, *worked*, and *working* as verbal forms and all reflexive forms.

Table 1.

	Work oneself to exhaustion	Work oneself into exhaustion
Total 307	251	56
[+Intention]	192 (76.5%)	27 (48.2%)
explicit	78 (31.1%)	7 (12.5%)
implicit	114 (45.4%)	20 (35.7%)
[- Intention]	59 (23.5%)	29 (51.8%)

As for *to exhaustion*, 192 cases, which account for 76.5% of all the occurrences, are observed in the situations involving the actors' intentions. Some representative examples include: *to* infinitive phrases in (15), present participles in (16), or some other forms expressing volition, means, or purpose in (17).

- (15) a. Parents worked themselves to exhaustion **to give their children the educational advantages they never had.** (*Sunday Star-News*, 1/16, 2000)
- b. ...the housekeeper's salary was pounds 5,000 - working themselves to exhaustion in order to satisfy the demands of pampered, capricious masters and mistresses who have probably never washed a dish or boiled an egg in their lives. (*The Guardian*, 10/4, 2000)

- (16) a. I remember that he just seemed to work himself to exhaustion **trying to help the church grow.** (*Valley Morning Star*, 7/15, 2006)
- b. In practice, they work themselves to exhaustion **improving themselves,** as well as the starters they guard. (*The Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5/26, 2001)

- (17) a. The lad loved his duties and **happily** worked himself to exhaustion ... (*East Bay Express*, 5/31, 2006)
- b. **The only way** he could maintain his sanity was **by** working himself to exhaustion at the emergency shelter – keeping his mind off his house. (*Hamilton Spectator*, 1/20, 1998)

To be sure, *to exhaustion* appears even in situations where the actor's intention is not involved as exemplified in (18). Still, such cases take up only 23.5% of all the occurrences as shown in Table 1. Thus, we may say that *to exhaustion* is more likely to be associated with situations involving the actor's intention.

- (18) a. Reed had worked himself to exhaustion **and died of typhus** in the Soviet capital in 1920, a few days short of his 33rd birthday. (*The Columbian*, 10/23, 1997)
- b. Dorsey became so engrossed in the task of winning last year's game against Florida State that he **failed to notice** he had worked himself to exhaustion and dehydration. (*The Washington Post*, 10/13, 2001)

Similarly, *into* exhaustion is found in the situation with or without the actor's intention as illustrated in (19) and (20), respectively.

(19) a. This is an athlete who has suffered a serious injury and has worked himself into exhaustion over the past months **to get himself ready to play again.**

(*The Toronto Star*, 3/13, 2001)

b. In a year when his team was devastated by injuries, Gibbs worked himself into exhaustion **trying to keep the defending Super Bowl champions on track for the playoffs.**

(*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 3/7, 1993)

(20) a. You are motivated now but you will need to set a schedule for yourself so you don't work yourself into exhaustion and illness.

(*Staten Island Advance*, 7/7, 2007)

b. **Falling into a pattern** of working themselves into exhaustion and then sleeping, rescuers had little if any time to watch news coverage of the events.

(*The Patriot Ledger*, 9/9, 2001)

But it does not follow that this undermines the validity of our analysis of *into exhaustion* in terms of a negative context, if we take the search result shown in Table 1 into consideration: the occurrences of *into exhaustion* in the situation without the actor's intention constitute 51.8%, while those of *to exhaustion* 23.5%. Therefore, *into exhaustion* can be seen to be relatively more associated with a negative context than *to exhaustion*. In the final section, we will examine where these differences between *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion* with respect to their contexts are found by focusing on the differences between the preposition *to* and *into* from a more general perspective.

### 3.8. Analysis

As defined in *Longman Advanced American Dictionary* ([LAAD]),

the preposition *to* has a sense of “Direction”

(21) “toward or in the direction of a place or person” [*LAAD*]

This is confirmed by the fact that *to* phrases allow an unattained goal interpretation as in (22).

- (22) a. We launched the rocket to the moon, but it blew up before it got there.  
b. I threw the ball to Julian, but it fell short of him.  
c. Lewis sent/shipped a bicycle to Sam, but it never arrived.

(Rapaport Hovav and Levin 2008:145)

However, when “the event lexicalized in the verb, on the one hand, and the traversal of the path, on the other, are constrained to be temporally dependent” (ibid.:146), the attainment of a goal is entailed, resulting in a contradiction in (23).

- (23) a.#Mark went to the store, but didn’t get there.  
b.#The cup fell to the floor, but landed on the stool.  
c.#I pulled/dragged the box to the door, but stopped before I got there.

(Rapaport Hovav and Levin 2008:145)

Thus we posit two senses of the preposition *to*: “Direction” and “Goal”. These two senses are reflected in the use of *to* phrases which denote a resultant state.

- (24) a. ‘My father ruled us with an iron fist and he hit us with an iron fist too,’  
Joe recalls. ‘But he loved us and he worked himself to death for us. [BNC]  
b. He'll hire children and work them to death. [COCA]  
c. Yoobie has a lot of resources, which they obtain by taxing everyone to death.

[COCA]

- d. "Chelsea probably have ten times the money that Coventry do but, on the other hand, Coventry players will run themselves to death to get the result they want.... (Coventry Evening Telegraph, 2/26, 2009)

- (25) a. The outlaw shot/ knocked/beat/battered the miller to death. (Beavers 2002:2)  
b. The stranger choked /stabbed him to death. (Talmy 2000:269)  
c. Clara rocked the baby to sleep. (Rapaport Hovav and Levin 2001:793)  
d. She sang the baby to sleep. [LAAD]

In (24), the attainment of a result state denoted by *to death* is not entailed. Rather, the *to* phrase here is normally interpreted as a kind of degree phrase modifying the action where the actor's intention is emphasized. This interpretation can thus be attributed to the sense of "Direction". In (25), the sense of "Goal" is involved in that the *to* phrase receives an attained change-of-state interpretation, while, at the same time, the result state can be construed as a purpose for the action. Again, we find a close connection between *to* phrases and an actor's intention.

Turning now to *into*, we posit as its sense "Direction+Location". This characterization is based on the definition in *LAAD* in (26a). This sense is instantiated in (26b) and (26c).

- (26) a. "from the outside to the inside of a container, substance, place, area etc."  
b. The child had fallen into the water.  
c. I've got to go into town this morning and do some shopping. [LAAD]

With this in mind, let us further look at the examples of RC in which *into* phrases denote a result state.

(27) a. poor Sam...had coughed himself into a haemorrhage.

(Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001:768)

b. You gonna think yourself into a nervous breakdown if you keep this up. (ibid.)

c. Bill walked himself into a coma. (=2c)

d. Harry coughed himself into insensibility. (Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004:537)

e. The feather excited her into a frenzy. (Verspoor 1997:134)

f. The kids laughed themselves into a frenzy. (Carrier and Randall 1992:173)

g. The professor lectured the class into a stupor. (Carrier and Randall 1992:215)

h. The boy cried himself into a stupor. (Napoli 1992:60)

In all the sentences in (27), *into* phrases denote the result states which are uncontrollable for the actor, suggesting that these situations are not brought about intentionally. Therefore, as a component structure of the event represented in (27), we can recognize a combination of “the direction of change+the resultant state” more or less independent of the actor’s intention. It is this component structure that corresponds to the structure of “Direction+Location”, which we posited above as a sense of *into*.

### 3.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined and compared the contexts where “*to exhaustion*” and “*into exhaustion*” are used, showing that the former tends to be observed in a positive context involving the actor’s intention, while the latter tends to be observed in a negative context without the actor’s intention. This difference is claimed to be attributable to the difference between the preposition *to* and *into*.

(28) a. Bob shot him {to death/\*into death}. (=3a)

b. The victory threw him {\*to a frenzy/into a frenzy}. (=3b)

Thus, in our account, the fact that in (28) only one or the other of the

prepositional phrases is allowed is also accounted for in terms of whether or not the result state can be brought about intentionally. At the same time, the reason why *exhaustion* occurs with both *to* and *into* may be that the state of exhaustion can be construed either as controllable or as uncontrollable. In this respect, *to exhaustion* and *into exhaustion* share certain similarities, but at the same time, it has been shown that there indeed exists a subtle difference between the two phrases. Moreover, because one and the same verb (e.g. *ski* and *work*) occurs with both phrases, this difference seems to present another piece of evidence illustrating that the description of the whole event denoted by some resultative constructions requires making reference to the meaning of individual resultative phrases.

## Chapter 4 Reflexive patterns vs. Bare XP patterns

### 4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, we have claimed that for the formation of some resultative constructions, the role of resultative phrases should not be downplayed. This is not to say that the role verbs assume has accordingly diminished. In fact, verbs still play an important role in the formation of resultative constructions. This point can be confirmed by considering the conditions under which reflexive pronouns are used in them, which is the topic of this chapter.

Some resultative constructions do not allow a reflexive pronoun in their direct object position, while others require one, as seen in (1) and (2).

(1) a. \*John swam himself to the shore.

b. John swam to the shore. (Tsuzuki 2003: 751, 752)

(2) a. Sheila yelled herself hoarse.

b. \*Sheila yelled hoarse. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005: 221)

On the other hand, there are a number of cases where resultative constructions allow both options:

(3) a. “Call it foolish, stupid or silly, but he obviously negotiated himself out of a contract at Williams last year which I am sure he now regrets...”

(*Sunday Mirror*, 8/24, 1997)

b. Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of \$ 10 million per album.

(*USA TODAY*, 11/12, 1996)

(4) a. Shaver pitched himself out of trouble three times with a fastball

that left the Mounders flailing. (*St. Paul Pioneer Press*, 5/12, 2008)

- b. Williams [7-11] pitched out of trouble early as Milwaukee went 0 for 8 with runners in scoring position in the first four innings.

In the literature on resultatives, few studies have been made on this type of pair. In this and the next chapter, then, focusing on data like (3) and (4), we will examine the conditions under which reflexive pronouns are used or are not required in English resultative constructions. Following Rappaport Hovav and Levin (henceforth, RH and L) (2001), we will refer to variants like (3a, 4a) and others like (3b, 4b) as ‘reflexive pattern’ and ‘bare XP pattern’, respectively.

#### **4.2. Temporal dependence : Simple vs. Complex event**

RH and L (1999, 2001) attribute the difference between bare XP patterns and reflexive patterns to the difference in the event complexity they exhibit, proposing the former are associated with a simple event structure; while the latter a complex event structure. The analysis of bare XP patterns in terms of a simple event structure is due to an observation that subevents of those patterns are temporally dependent on each other. For instance, in (5a), the event of Robin’s dancing and the event of Robin going out of the room must unfold at the same rate; in (5b), the rate adverbial *quickly* is understood as modifying both the temporal progress of running and going to the library. That is, in bare XP patterns, even two potentially conceptually distinct events can count as a single event.

(5) a. Robin danced out of the room. (RH and L 1999: 51)

b. Tracy quickly ran to the library. (RH and L 2001: 776)

In reflexive patterns, on the other hand, the progress of the event denoted by the verb and the progress toward the achievement of the state represented by the result XP are *not* necessarily temporally dependent:

- (6) a. Robin danced herself stiff. (RH and L 1999: 51)  
 b. Peter quickly read himself into an inferiority complex. (RH and L 1999: 22)  
 c. Peter quickly read himself into an inferiority complex with a few slow, deliberate reading of his classmates' theses. (ibid.)

A possible interpretation of (6a), according to RH and L (1999:19), is that “Robin danced enthusiastically one evening and woke up stiff the following morning.” In (6b), *quickly* is required to modify the progress of developing an inferiority complex, but not the manner of reading, as can be seen without contradiction in (6c). This non-temporally dependent relation observed between the verb and the result phrase suggests that reflexive patterns have a complex event structure with two distinct subevents. In contrast, the same situations as (6) cannot be expressed by bare XP patterns.

- (7) a. \*Robin danced stiff.  
 b. \*Peter read into an inferiority complex. (RH and L 1999: 24)

Within RH and L's (1999, 2001) approach, the unacceptability of (7) stems from the fact that the subevents are so temporally unrelated to each other that they cannot count as a single event.

Furthermore, RH and L (2001) note that even when both types of resultatives share the same verb and the same resultative phrase, a difference interpretation will arise consistent with the difference in each event structure they are assumed to have.

- (8) a. One woman gets up to leave, but Red-Eyes grabs her roughly by the arm and pulls her into his lap. She wiggles free, but remains seated obediently beside him.  
 b. ‘Mr Duggan became alarmed about being caught in the door of a lift which was about to begin its descent and wiggled himself free.’

(RH and L 2001:777; underline, mine)

That is, the bare XP pattern in (8a) requires temporal dependence between the verb and the resultative phrase: the wriggling and the becoming free unfold together. On the other hand, in the reflexive pattern case of (8b), where Mr.Duggan got caught in the door of a lift, temporally independent interpretation obtains: the wiggling continues for some time before the achievement of becoming free even starts.

#### 4.3. Problems with RH and L

Having reviewed the main points of RH and L's event structure analysis, we would like to show that their account encounters two problems when we attempt to deal with a wider range of resultative data. First, there are some instances of reflexive patterns which represent temporal dependence between the verb and the resultative phrase. Let us look at (9), as an example.

(9) A man walked himself to the Montfort Hospital after he was stabbed outside the Burger King near Montreal Road and Hannah Street about 5:30 last night...

*(Ottawa Citizen, 1/8, 2003)*

It is obvious that the action of walking and the progress of going to the Montfort Hospital unfold together.

Another (more crucial) problem with RH and L's analysis is, in contrast to the preceding one, that there are a number of instances of bare XP patterns where one cannot recognize temporal dependence. Let us first consider (3), repeated here as (10).

(10) a. "Call it foolish, stupid or silly, but he obviously negotiated himself out of a contract at Williams last year which I am sure he now regrets..."

- b. Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of \$10 million per album.

In both (10a) and (10b), a person gets out of a contract as a result of negotiating. A closer look at this situation will reveal that both events cannot unfold at the same rate. The event of negotiating progresses continuously through time, while the event of getting out of a contract, or a change from possessing to not possessing it, takes place instantaneously. Thus, while RH and L's event structure analysis can correctly predict the recruitment of a reflexive pattern in (10a); it fails to account for why the recruitment of a bare XP pattern does not render the sentence (10b) unacceptable. If temporal dependence between subevents is a valid characterization of bare XP patterns, (10b) should be ruled out in the same way as (2) and (7).

The same holds for the following bare XP patterns.

- (11) a. Brown was at home with her daughter, having begged out of a party so they could spend time together. (*New Hampshire Sunday News*, 12/24, 2000)  
b. Williams [7-11] pitched out of trouble early as Milwaukee went 0 for 8 *with runners in scoring position* in the first four innings. (=4b)

The sentence (11a) describes the situation where Brown declined to attend a party by begging; the action of begging and the progress toward getting permission for missing a party do not go hand in hand. In (11b), as indicated by the italicized part, Williams was in the most dangerous situation right before getting out of trouble, so it could be that while the pitcher was pitching for some time, the attainment of getting out of trouble had not even started.

These data suggest that the difference between bare XP patterns and reflexive patterns cannot be handled well only in terms of the notion of

temporal dependence. What is, then, a more appropriate characterization responsible for the difference between them? In order to address this question, we will, in the next section, examine the difference between both patterns more closely through a case study of resultative constructions with the verb *negotiate*.

#### 4.4. *Negotiate out of X* vs. *Negotiate oneself out of X*

The verb *negotiate* can occur with various kinds of resultative phrases, yielding both bare XP patterns and reflexive ones, which is illustrated not only in (3), but also in (12).

- (12) a. They have three basic options: try to throw Sinn Fein out of government, suspend local rule and negotiate out of the crisis, or let the unionist resignations go ahead... . (Belfast Telegraph, 10/9, 2002)
- b. As the MDC, we want to cooperate with the South African president to negotiate ourselves out of the crisis.

(BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, 12/10, 2004)

We investigated the distribution of resultative phrases in *negotiate* resultative constructions by utilizing the corpus data of LexisNexis Academic, which is a licensed database available online in Osaka University. Our examination of what kinds of resultative phrases can occur with a *negotiate out of X* pattern reveals that there are 271 hits, and the state they denote can be classified roughly into four types of semantic categories. A semantic category [SETTLE], which is listed uppermost, refers to the situation denoted by the resultative phrase, out of court. A second category [CANCEL] here refers to a situation where one person breaks some agreement with another. Similarly, the other categories, [OVERCOME, AVOID] and [ESCAPE] are set up as cover terms intended for capturing the commonality of situations that *out of X* phrases denote.

Table 1. the state denoted by *out of X* in *negotiate out of X* pattern (271)

• [SETTLE] : out of court (58)
• [CANCEL]: out of contract (69), out of lease (37), out of deal (16), out of agreement(2), out of game (1), ...etc.
• [OVERCOME, AVOID]: out of obligation (4), out of impasse (4), out of crisis (3), out of problem (2), out of mess (2), out of trouble (1), out of penalty (1), out of possible accidents (1), out of violations (1), ... etc.
• [ESCAPE]: out of traffic (2), out of port (1), out of road (1), out of awkward junction (1),...etc.

Here it will be useful to note the definition of *negotiate* found in a dictionary.

*negotiate*

1. to try to reach an agreement by formal discussion
2. to arrange or agree sth by formal discussion
3. to successfully get over or past a difficult part on a path or route (OALD<sup>8</sup>)

*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* offers three definitions of *negotiate*. We give a number to each definition and represent them with their examples below.

*negotiate* 1: The government will not negotiate with terrorists. (OALD8)

*negotiate* 2: He negotiated a new contract with the sellers. (ODE2)

*negotiate* 3: The climbers had to negotiate a steep rock face. (OALD8)

With these in mind, considering the relationship between the meanings of *negotiate* and those of *out of X* phrases, it will turn out that *out of X* phrases represent result states predictable from the meanings of *negotiate* in one way or another.

Let us see exactly what this is like, going over particular examples.

- (13) a. Agreement is a rare commodity when it comes to Measure 37, but most claimants and government officials prefer to negotiate out of court.  
 (The Oregonian, 6/9, 2005)  
 < [SETTLE] ← *negotiate 1* (to try to reach an agreement by formal discussion) >
- b. ...she and a co-worker had to help push the car of two elderly women who could not negotiate out of traffic. (St. Petersburg Times, 5/7, 1995)  
 < [ESCAPE] ← *negotiate 3* (to successfully get over or past a difficult part on a path or route) >
- c. They have three basic options: try to throw Sinn Fein out of government, suspend local rule and negotiate out of the crisis,... (=12a)  
 < [OVERCOME] ← *negotiate 3* (to successfully get over or past a difficult part on a path or route) >

In (13a), *out of court* represents a meaning associated with [SETTLE], and thus is precisely compatible with the meaning of '*negotiate 1*'. In (13b), *out of traffic* represents a meaning classified as [ESCAPE], which is predictable from the meaning of '*negotiate 3*'. This verbal meaning is listed in the dictionary as a spatial sense. However, if it is understood metaphorically to encompass a sense of getting over a difficult situation (rather than a difficult place), it follows that *out of the crisis* in (13c), which belongs to [OVERCOME], is predictable also from the meaning of '*negotiate 3*'.

- (14) Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of \$10 million per album. (=3b)  
 < [CANCEL] ← a purpose of *negotiate* (world knowledge) >

In (14), on the other hand, it appears that from the meaning of *negotiate*, we cannot draw a semantic category [CANCEL], represented by *out of a*

*contract*. Indeed, this meaning does not correspond to the meaning of ‘*negotiate 1*’ or ‘*negotiate 3*’. Moreover, it sharply contrasts with the meaning of ‘*negotiate 2*’: if you cancel a contract, it will disappear; while if you arrange or agree to something, (e.g. contract, deal, treaty...etc.), it will be created. Part of what we know about negotiating, however, is that the action is often performed for the purpose of canceling an agreement, as well. Recognizing the encyclopedic aspect including the notion of ‘purpose’ of an action makes it possible to suppose that the meaning of *negotiate* incorporates the notion of [CANCEL] as part of its semantic component.

Let us now turn to *negotiate oneself out of X* patterns, represented in table 2. The most important point to note here is that a set of result states which belong to a semantic category [GIVE UP, LOSE] is observed at the highest ratio (106 out of 221 occurrences). This category is hardly seen in *negotiate out of X* patterns. Why is it that this difference arises? We must answer this question to elucidate the difference between both patterns.

Table 2. the state denoted by *out of X* in *negotiate oneself out of X* (221)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [GIVE UP, LOSE]: out of power (49), out of job /work/ business/ office (45), out of existence (12)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [CANCEL]: out of contract (11), out of deal (7), out of lease (4), out of fight (4), out of agreement (3),...etc.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [OVERCOME, AVOID]: out of crisis (4), out of danger (2), out of obligation (2), out of problem (2), out of impasse (2), out of penalty (2), out of predicament (2), out of troublesome situations (1), out of prison (1), ...etc.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• [ESCAPE] : out of the league (2), out of the Soviet Union (1), out of the federation (1), ...etc.</li> </ul>

We argue that a close association of [GIVE UP, LOSE] with *negotiate oneself out of X* patterns have much to do with the fact that the states denoted by [GIVE UP, LOSE] are not normally predictable from the

meaning of *negotiate*.

(15) a. The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate himself out of power.

(*Christian Science Monitor*, 9/4, 1990)

b. Morrison's invitation came when his predecessor negotiated himself out of the job by demanding a raise from his meagre \$1.3-million wage.

(*The Globe and Mail*, 2/22, 1986)

(15a) states that Saddam Hussein will never give up his power as a result of negotiating. Of course, negotiating to lose power is hard to imagine, not only for Saddam Hussein but also for most people. Likewise, in (15b), a man lost his job as a result of negotiating. As indicated by the italicized part, his original purpose was to demand a raise, not to lose his job.

(16) a.\*The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate out of power.

b.\*Morrison's invitation came when his predecessor negotiated out of the job by demanding a raise from his meagre \$1.3-million wage.

By contrast, these situations cannot be expressed in *negotiate out of X* patterns as expected, as there are no attested instances of them. The unacceptability of (16) can be accounted if we assume that *negotiate out of X* patterns require that the state denoted by *out of X* be predictable from the meaning of *negotiate*. The notion of 'predictable state' here is broad enough to cover not only the meaning listed in dictionaries, but also the purpose of action denoted by the verb. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, the result states in (16) do not even count as the purpose of action. In fact, an informant judges the sentences in (16) unacceptable, because they give the impression that it is not clear who suffers the result of losing power or their job. This intuition is related to the fact that losing power or a job is not normally regarded as a purpose of negotiating. Since it is difficult to

imagine that a negotiator himself is willing to lose power or a job, someone who is not identified with the negotiator and suffers such a result needs to be referred to so that (16) will be acceptable. Actually, some resultative constructions with *negotiate* make such a person (or people) explicit, as shown in the bold part in (17).

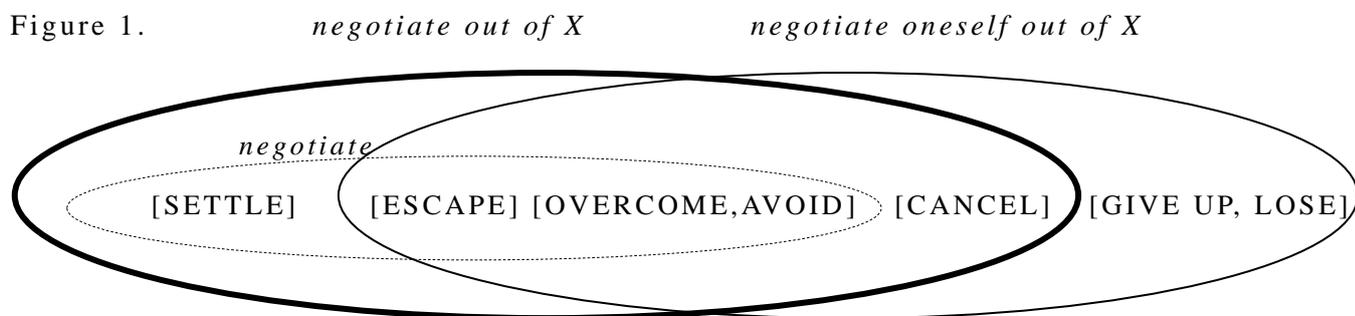
(17) a. The power of Mandela is his extraordinary living example as a leader who, ... , talked to his enemies and then negotiated **them out of power**.  
 (Christian Science Monitor, 9/4, 1990)

b. And unfortunately, as a result, the union negotiated **their members out of a job** by overpricing their services.

([http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2011/03/toll\\_collectors\\_file\\_suit\\_agai.html](http://www.nj.com/news/index.ssf/2011/03/toll_collectors_file_suit_agai.html))

When these things are taken into account, a motivation behind the use of reflexive pronouns in (15) will become clearer. That is, when an unexpected result brought about by an action is expressed, a reflexive pronoun needs to be employed to convey that it is the actor himself rather than other person(s) who suffers the result.

Summarizing what types of result states are respectively expressed in *negotiate out of X* patterns and *negotiate oneself out of X* patterns, the distribution of the semantic categories can be represented as follows:



The semantic categories [SETTLE], [ESCAPE], and [OVERCOME, AVOID],

which are incorporated in the dictionary definition of *negotiate*, are located in the dashed-line ellipse in the figure that indicates a semantic range represented by the verb *negotiate* itself. On the other hand, [CANCEL] is not necessarily implied in the dictionary definition of *negotiate* and thus is outside of the part just seen above. Furthermore, since [GIVE UP, LOSE] is not expressed in *negotiate out of X* patterns, it is not located in the bold-line ellipse; it is found only in the ellipse that indicates a semantic range represented by *negotiate oneself out of X* patterns.

#### 4.5 Temporal dependence vs. Predictability from the verb meaning

The observations thus far have shown that *negotiate out of X* patterns are acceptable to the extent that the result state is predictable from the semantics of the verb, while *negotiate oneself out of X* patterns can be used when a result is expressed which is not normally expected in light of world knowledge. This characterization allows us to capture the difference between both patterns without suffering from the problems created by RH and L's (1999, 2001) analysis.

- (18) Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract that had granted him advances of \$10 million per album. (=14)
- (19) a.\*The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate out of power. (=16a)  
 b. The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate himself out of power. (=15a)

As already seen, RH and L (1999, 2001) argue that the distinction between bare XP and reflexive patterns should be made on the basis of the presence or absence of temporal dependence between the subevents. More specifically, it is claimed that bare XP patterns require temporal dependence between the sub-event represented by the verb and the one represented by the resultative phrase, while reflexive patterns do not. This

analysis, however, fails to account for the acceptability of the bare XP patterns in (18), where temporal dependence between the subevents is not recognized. On the other hand, on our account, the difference in acceptability between (18) and (19a) results from our world knowledge that ‘out of a contract’ can be a purpose of negotiating, but ‘out of power’ cannot. In this respect, as opposed to ‘out of a contract’, ‘out of power’ is not a result state predictable from the meaning of *negotiate*. Thus, such an unexpected result needs to be expressed in reflexive patterns as in (19b).

Moreover, our analysis can be extended to handle other examples, as well. Let us look at (8b), repeated here as (20).

(20) ‘Mr Duggan became alarmed about being caught in the door of a lift which was about to begin its descent and wiggled himself free.’

RH and L (2001) cite this as evidence that reflexive patterns represent non-temporally dependence between the subevents: a natural interpretation of (20) is that the wiggling continues for some time before the achievement of becoming free even starts. However, from another perspective, one cannot predict whether Mr Duggan will end up getting free during the act of wiggling, because of the nature of the situation described. Therefore, the use of reflexive patterns in (20) can be accounted for not only by non-temporal dependence but also by the difficulty of predicting a result state from the verb meaning. But, the following examples should be dealt with by our analysis, not RH and L’s one.

(21) a. \*You must jump yourself clear of the vehicle.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995:187)

b. Idowu *had the gold all but sewn up* in the second round when he hop, skipped and jumped himself to a distance of 17.75 metres ... .

(*Birmingham Evening Mail*, 3/10, 2008)

(22) a.\*John swam himself to the shore. (=1a)

b. Once we had retrieved everything..., we swam ourselves back to shore  
*dragging the canoe.* (Richmond Register, 6/22, 2012)

(23) A man walked himself to the Montfort Hospital *after he was stabbed* outside the  
Burger King near Montreal Road and Hannah Street about 5:30 last night...(=9)

Given RH and L's analysis, it follows that (21a) and (22a) are unacceptable, because reflexive patterns are employed despite temporal dependence holding between the subevents. However, their analysis fails to account for the acceptability of (21b), (22b), and (23).

Within our approach, the use of reflexive patterns in (21b) and (22b) reflects the difficulty of predicting a result state from the verb meaning. In (21b), Phillips Idowu, a triple jumper, jumped 17.75 meters. This distance is not merely a result of jumping but also the one which ensures his winning a gold medal in the World Indoor Championships, as indicated in the italicized part. Achieving such a result, of course, is not normally predictable from the act of jumping. In (22b) and (23), as can be seen from the italicized part, some difficulty of motion is implied: both swimming dragging a canoe and walking with a stab wound require much more effort compared with each of the counterpart normal motions. It is in this sense that the result state of being at the destination (i.e. shore, the hospital) become less predictable from the verb meaning. In contrast, the reason for unacceptability of (21a) and (22a) is that the resultative phrases, respectively denote an 'all too common result' of motion.

#### 4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the conditions under which resultative constructions exhibit either bare XP patterns or reflexive patterns. Accordingly, it has turned out that this distinction can be properly captured

in terms of whether the result state denoted by the result phrase is predictable from the verbal semantic information including encyclopedic knowledge. More specifically, bare XP patterns are acceptable to the extent that the result state is predictable from the meaning of the verb, while reflexive patterns are used when the result is expressed which is not normally expected in light of encyclopedic knowledge. This seems to support Boas' (2003) event-frame analysis, where the lexical specification of individual verbs is responsible for the distribution of elements occurring in resultative constructions. However, there are certain cases where the choice between both patterns is not necessarily determined by the verbal meaning alone. We will discuss such cases in the next chapter.

## Chapter 5 Resultative phrases that denote both change of state and change of location

### 5.1. Introduction

In chapter 4, we pointed out that RH and L's (2001) event structure analysis in terms of temporal dependence between the two subevents does not always capture the distinction between reflexive patterns and bare XP patterns. Instead, it has been claimed that the distinction should be made by making reference to the verbal semantic information including encyclopedic knowledge: bare XP patterns are acceptable to the extent that the result state is predictable from such a verbal meaning, while reflexive patterns are used when the result state is expressed which is not normally expected from the verbal meaning. This characterization, for example, accounts for the contrast in (1).

- (1) a. \*We walked into a state of exhaustion.  
b. We walked ourselves into a state of exhaustion. (Levin 1993: 266)

However, at first sight, it might appear that our account is not applicable to the bare XP pattern in (2), where the result state denoted by the resultative phrase *into trouble* is not normally expected from the verbal meaning.

- (2) Insects in the forests of Malaysia visiting the elegant white flowers of an orchid, may **walk** straight into trouble....*The orchid mantis's disguise is near-perfect.* [BNC]

In this chapter, we show that cases like (2) are just apparent counterexamples to our analysis of bare XP patterns based on the verbal meaning. At the same time, we argue that cases like (2) support our claim that resultative phrases can have some influence on the formation of

resultative constructions.

## 5.2. Previous studies

We have argued that the choice of bare XP pattern over reflexive patterns is determined by whether the result state is predictable from the verbal meaning. As a matter of fact, however, there are some previous studies which share this view of ours in some way. In this section, then, we briefly review two of them, pointing out that both fail to handle cases like (2) and their related ones properly.

### 5.2.1. Wechsler (1997)

Wechsler (1997) divides resultative constructions into two types: control resultatives and ECM resultatives. The two types differ in whether the result phrase is predicated of a semantic argument of the main verb or not, as shown below.

- (3) a. control resultative: resultative phrase whose predication subject is a semantic argument of the matrix verb  
b. ECM resultative: resultative phrase whose predication subject is NOT a semantic argument of the matrix verb

(ibid.: 309)

- (4) a. Sally painted the door red.  
b. We yelled ourselves hoarse.

Thus, the sentences in (4a) and (4b) are an instance of control resultatives and ECM resultatives, respectively. Wechsler observes that a semantic restriction is imposed on the resultative phrases of control resultatives and calls it canonical result restriction.

(5) Canonical Result Restriction :

A control resultative must represent a ‘canonical’ or ‘normal’ result state of an action of the type denoted by the verb. (ibid.: 311)

(6) a. Sally painted the door {?*sticky*/ \**beautiful*/ \**noticeable*}.

b. \*We yelled *hoarse*.

c. Robert ran *clear of the fire/free of the car*/\**exhausted*. (ibid.: 310)

This restriction accounts for the contrast between (4a) and (6a). That is, changing in color can be a ‘canonical’ or ‘normal’ result of painting, while becoming states like *sticky*, *beautiful* and *noticeable* cannot. The unacceptability of (6b) is claimed to result from the fact that there is inherently no canonical result of yelling. In this case, any other resultative phrase fails to be predicated of the subject *we*, yielding the control resultative. Accordingly, the intended situation in (6b) must be expressed in ECM resultatives, where the resultative phrase is predicated of a non-semantic argument (i.e. so called “fake object”) of the main verb as in (4b). This is because ECM resultatives are not subject to the canonical result restriction. As for (6c), the canonical result of running is being in a new location, not getting into exhaustion; hence the unacceptability of the resultative phrase *exhausted*.

### 5.2.2. Boas (2003)

Similar analysis is made in Boas (2003), who claims that when motion verbs like *run* are followed not by a locative phrase as in (7a) but by a resultative phrase denoting a state change, a radically different perspective of a running event is taken.

(7) a. Kim ran to the store.

b. Kim ran herself to exhaustion.

c. \*Kim ran to exhaustion. (Boas 2003: 246)

This means that the change of location as a typical result of running is backgrounded, while, at the same time, a special result of getting exhausted is highlighted. Boas (2003: 247) argues that “For this perspective shift to be realized, it is necessary not only to conceptualize the agent as two event participants and to express this conceptualization linguistically,...”. That is, it is argued that such a perspective shift requires explicit mentioning of the agent as both a mover and a patient who undergoes a change of state as in (7b). Boas goes on to say that the “fake object” cases like (7b) involve a non-conventionally expected result:

- (8)...the result state expressed by fake object resultatives involves non-prototypical event participants and as such does not denote conventionally expected results...  
(ibid.: 259, underline mine)

It follows, then, that when a resultative phrase does not denote a conventionally expected result, the verb cannot combine directly with the resultative phrase, as shown in (7c).

Therefore, from the viewpoint of previous studies, bare XP patterns require their resultative phrase to denote a canonical result or a conventionally expected result (note that bare XP patterns correspond to control resultatives).

### 5.2.3. Problems with Wechsler (1997) and Boas (2003)

However, there are two problems with the notion of canonical result and conventionally expected result. First, both notions fail to predict the acceptability of some bare XP patterns. To see this, let us consider the following examples.

- (9) a. He had brushes with the police on four occasions but **talked** himself out of trouble. (*The Independent*, 2/17, 1992)

b.\*He had brushes with the police on four occasions but **talked** out of trouble.

According to Wechsler's (1997) and Boas' (2003) analyses, the unacceptability of (9b) is due to the fact that *out of trouble* does not denote a canonical result or a conventionally expected result of talking, for talking is an activity which inherently does not imply any state change.

(10) a. Olsen **pitched** himself out of trouble early, striking out five of the six batters he faced when Omaha had runners in scoring position through three innings.

(*Omaha World-Herald*, 4/12, 2006)

b. Olsen **pitched** out of trouble early, striking out five of the six batters he faced when Omaha had runners in scoring position through three innings.

On the other hand, as illustrated in (10b), the verb *pitch* can combine with *out of trouble* without intervention by the “fake object” *himself*. Thus, although pitching, like talking, does not imply any state change; in order to account for (10b), both Wechsler and Boas would have to claim that *out of trouble* can be construed as denoting a canonical result or a conventionally expected result of pitching. However, appealing to this line of reasoning makes it very difficult to account for the fact that *buy* cannot combine directly with *out of trouble*, as in (11b).

(11) a. Jackson **bought** himself out of trouble when he was accused of sexual abuse.

(*Hamilton Spectator*, 11/22, 2002)

b.\*Jackson **bought** out of trouble when he was accused of sexual abuse.

Since the *buy* here means bribing, *out of trouble* could also be construed as a canonical result or a conventionally expected result of such an action. Nevertheless, (11b) is judged unacceptable.

Second, the resultative phrase *into trouble*, which does *not* denote a

canonical result or a conventionally expected result, can appear not only in reflexive patterns but also in bare XP patterns:

- (12) a. Mark Roberts **ran** himself into trouble on the edge of the United box, and the ball fell to Nevin with one defender between him and goalkeeper Sieb Dykstra. (DAILY MAIL, 8/3, 1998)
- b. Stark was the recipient of possession in some space which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to **run** *crossfield* into trouble. [BNC]

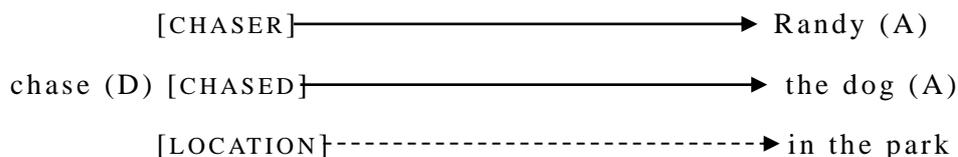
Both Wechsler's analysis and Boas' one thus would incorrectly predict that (12b) is unacceptable. This seems to suggest that a canonical result or a conventionally expected result is not a sufficient condition for bare XP patterns to be used. In this chapter, we examine the condition under which the bare XP patterns with *into/out of trouble* are formed. Before turning to a detailed analysis of them, some of the theoretical assumptions we adopt will be presented in the next section.

### 5.3. Theoretical Assumptions

First, we introduce the notion of conceptual dependence proposed by Langacker (1987, 1988, 1991). According to Langacker, when an element combines with another element to form a more complex expression, we can mostly observe an asymmetrical relationship where one element is conceptually dependent on another. This relationship is defined as follows:

- (13) One structure, D, is dependent on another, A, to the extent that A elaborates a salient substructure of D. (Langacker 1991: 547)

(14) Randy chased the dog in the park. (Croft 2001: 272)



In (14), for example, the verb *chase* includes as its salient substructure the concept of ‘chaser’ and that of ‘chased’, which are respectively elaborated by *Randy* and *the dog*. In light of the above definition, *chase* is dependent on both *Mara* and *the dog*. Thus, a dependent element (D), for its manifestation, necessarily makes reference to another supporting autonomous one (A) which specifies it in finer detail. Additionally, since the concept of ‘location’ is also evoked, though to a lesser degree, by *chase*; *chase* can be said to be dependent on *in the park*, which elaborates the substructure of it. This can be confirmed by comparing (14) with (15a,b).

(15) a.\*Randy was widowed in the park.

b.\*Randy inherited a million dollars in the park. (Croft 2001 : 274)

The unacceptability of (15a,b) is due to the fact that *be widowed* and *inherit*, unlike *chase*, do not include the concept of ‘location’ in their semantic substructures and thus *in the park* cannot elaborate it. That is, the contrast between (14) and (15a,b) follows from the general constraint on semantic composition:

(16) “It is only by virtue of having certain substructures in common that two component expressions can be integrated to form a coherent composite expression.” (Langacker 1987: 278).

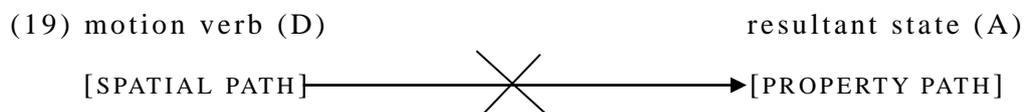
Thus, if the notion of conceptual dependence is incorporated in the analysis of resultative constructions, one can say that a verb is dependent on a

resultative phrase in that the latter elaborates a substructure of the concept evoked by the former.

- (17) a. Sally painted the door *red*. (= (4a))  
 b. Sally painted the door {*?sticky/ \*beautiful/ \*noticeable*}. (= (6a))

It follows, then, that the selectional restriction observed in (17) can be accounted for in terms of the commonality between a substructure of verb and that of a resultative phrase. Consequently, of the resultative phrases in (17), only *red* is compatible with *paint* by virtue of their shared substructure, namely the concept of ‘color’.

- (18) a. \*Bob ran into a frenzy. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 207)  
 b. \*We walked into a state of exhaustion. (= (1b))  
 c. \*Don’t expect to swim sober. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 7)



Similarly, in (18), the resultative phrases are incompatible with the verbs, because the commonality between their substructures is not recognized to the extent that the former can elaborate a concept evoked by the latter. More specifically, the concept of ‘property path’ cannot elaborate the concept of ‘spatial path’, which is radically different from the foregoing one, as indicated in (19).

Furthermore, from the standpoint of the encyclopedic view of linguistic semantics, we assume that the lexical meaning is defined by “domain” (Langacker 1987, 2008), which is “any knowledge configuration that is relevant to the characterization of meaning” (Taylor 2002:439). Besides, Langacker (1987) notes that a concept evoked by a linguistic expression

involves multiple domains in most cases:

- (20) “Most concepts require specifications in more than one domain for their characterization.” (Langacker 1987:154)

With these points in mind, we need to draw attention to the phenomenon termed “domain highlighting” by Croft (1993). Croft observes that “the dependent predication can induce domain highlighting in the autonomous one...”(ibid.: 359). A case in point is (16), one from Croft (1993: 349).

- (21) a. This *book* is heavy. [PHYSICAL OBJECT][SEMANTIC CONTENT]  
b. This *book* is a history of Iraq. [PHYSICAL OBJECT] [SEMANTIC CONTENT]

In (21), each predicate functioning as a dependent element highlights a different domain of an autonomous one it is dependent on, *book* : in (21a), the predicate *heavy* highlights the ‘physical object domain’ of *book*, while in (21b), the predicate *is a history of Iraq* highlights the ‘semantic content domain’ of *book*. Croft argues that the domain highlighting is motivated by the requirement that a dependent element and an autonomous one it is dependent on must be interpreted in a single domain for the purpose of achieving the semantic coherence of a composite expression. That the domains of the component elements are thus adjusted is more evident in the following examples:

- (22) a. I opened the *wine* carefully. (Pustejovsky and Jezek 2008: 203)  
open (D) [CONTAINER] → the wine (A) [LIQUID] ([CONTAINER])  
b. Mary arrived at the *talk*. (Pustejovsky and Rumshisky 2010: 14)  
arrive (D) [LOCATION] → at the talk (A) [EVENT] ([LOCATION])

The noun *wine* normally evokes the ‘liquid’ domain. However, when *wine*

combines with the verb *open* as in (22a), the ‘container’ domain of *wine* is highlighted by *open* for the semantic coherence between them. In (22b), the verb *arrive* highlights the ‘location’ domain of *talk* in *at the talk* on which it is dependent. This is how the incoherent semantic interpretation, “Mary arrived at an event” is avoided

#### 5.4. Into trouble

Now, let us employ the notions introduced in section 6.3 to examine the condition under which the bare XP patterns with *into trouble* are formed. Consider the examples in (23).

- (23) a. Stark was the recipient of possession in some space which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to **run** *crossfield* into trouble.  
 (= (12b))
- b. Insects in the forests of Malaysia visiting the elegant white flowers of an orchid, may **walk** straight into trouble... *The orchid mantis's disguise is near-perfect.* (= (2))
- c. The 30-year-old blonde **swam** into trouble while skinny-dipping with a boyfriend after midnight. (*The Mirror*, 8/21, 1997)

As already noted, in the analysis of previous studies, these resultative constructions are predicted to be unacceptable in that the motion verbs are followed by the resultative phrase *into trouble*, which does *not* denote a canonical result or a conventionally expected result of the verbal event. At this point, in order to explore the basis for the acceptability of the resultative constructions in (23), it is necessary to look more closely at the situations described there. In (23a), Stark, an American footballer, was once able to fend off an attack from defender of the other team, but ended up getting into trouble, being surrounded by defenders as a result of continually running into the enemy territory. In (23b), a scene is described



In (25), *into trouble* denotes pure state changes: one get criticized or punished as a result of doing something illegal or bad. In (26), on the other hand, *into trouble* denotes state changes which arise as a direct consequence of a motion: one get lost in a mountain or the ocean. Note that this situation is expressed by the form *get into trouble*, which does not explicitly refer to the motion leading to the state changes. Thus, *into trouble* can be said to potentially evoke the ‘spatial path’ domain as well as the ‘property path’ one, independently of the verbal meaning it combines with. Recall here that in Chapter 2 we have critically reviewed Boas’ (2003) approach to resultative constructions that appeals to the lexical specification in the event-frame, which represent the sense of the individual verbs. According to this approach, it follows that the formation of resultative constructions is defined by general linking rules that regulate the mapping of information in each event frame onto its syntactic form. The linking rules are given below:

#### Linking Rules

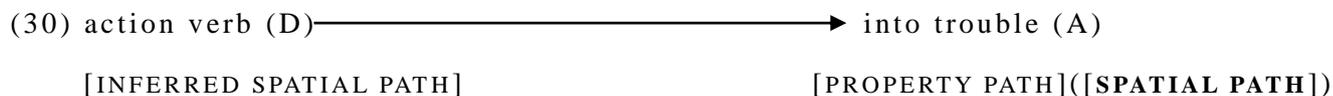
- (1) Prototypical agents are mapped as NPs to the subject position.
- (2) Prototypical patients are mapped as NPs to the postverbal position.
- (3) **Resultative phrases specifying the prototypical end result state of the prototypical agent are linked to immediate post-verbal position.**
- (4) Resultative phrases specifying the prototypical end result state of the patient are linked to immediate post-patient position.

(Boas 2003: 190, emphasis mine)

Most relevant to the issue here is rule (3). This rule would account for the contrast between (27a) and (27b,c), but incorrectly predicts that (28) is judged unacceptable on a par with (27b,c), on the grounds that *into trouble* does not denote a prototypical end result state of the runner.



verbs highlighting a ‘spatial path’ domain of *into trouble* warrants the commonality in substructure between the both components.

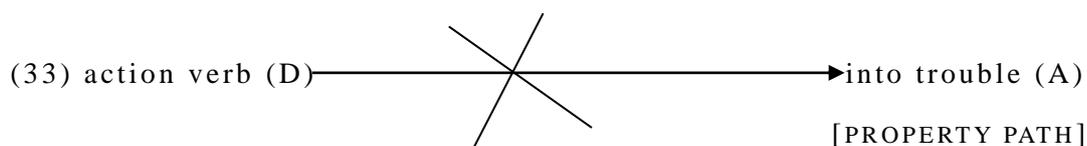


By contrast, when the verbs which do not even imply a change of location yield a resultative construction with the resultative phrase *into trouble*, they need a “fake” reflexive in the immediate post verbal position:

- (31) a. They heard how he **talked** himself into trouble in the early hours. [BNC]  
 b. It was party night, and they **drank** themselves into trouble.  
 (Evening Star, 12/17, 2000)

- (32) a.\*They heard how he **talked** into trouble in the early hours.  
 b.\*It was party night, and they **drank** into trouble.

Since this type of verb does not evoke a ‘spatial path’ domain, it cannot highlight a ‘spatial path’ domain of *into trouble*, either. Consequently, the commonality between their substructures is not recognized to the extent that *into trouble* can elaborate a concept evoked by this type of verb.



### 5.5. Out of trouble

Let us now look at *out of trouble*, which can be analyzed in a way parallel to *into trouble*.

- (34) a. The boy was out of his depth and unable to **swim** out of trouble.  
 (Evening News, 5/21, 2011)



Recall the earlier examples in which *out of trouble* cannot immediately follow the verb:

- (38) a.\*He had brushes with the police on four occasions but **talked** out of trouble. (= (9b))  
 b.\*Jackson **bought** out of trouble when he was accused of sexual abuse. (= (11b))

We have already seen that while the notion of canonical results and conventionally expected results would account for the ill-formedness of (38a), they have difficulty properly predicting the ill-formedness of (38b). In contrast, in our analysis, the ill-formedness of (38a,b) can be attributed to the fact that neither of these verbs denotes an action implying a subsequent change of location. That is, these verbs cannot highlight a ‘spatial path’ domain of *out of trouble* so that *out of trouble* can elaborate a concept evoked by the these verbs.

Furthermore, our analysis can handle examples involving *pitch* like (10a), repeated here as (39), along the same lines. It might appear that the meaning of this verb does not include the sense of change of location.

- (39) Olsen **pitched** out of trouble early, striking out five of the six batters he faced when Omaha had *runners in scoring position* through three innings.

Notice, however, that what ‘getting out of trouble’ means to the pitcher is ‘escaping from the danger of giving up a run’ and, at the same time, ‘getting away from the runner(s) on base’, as expressed in the italicized part.

- (40) pitch (D)  $\longrightarrow$  out of trouble (A)  
 [INFERRED SPATIAL PATH] [PROPERTY PATH]([SPATIAL PATH])

Viewed in this light, the verb *pitch* can be said to evoke a concept of

‘spatial path’ in a sense. It follows, then, that *out of trouble* elaborates some kind of ‘spatial path’ evoked by virtue of knowledge about an outcome of pitching in the baseball game scenario. This is why the co-occurrence of *pitch* and *out of trouble* is allowed. Moreover, similar expressions involving *pitch* are also found with different resultative phrases.

- (41) a. Wyand **pitched** out of a bases-loaded jam by striking out Dalton Larabee looking to end the threat (The Berkshire Eagle, 4/21, 2007)
- b. The right-hander **pitched** out of a bases-loaded threat in the seventh, retiring Posada on a groundout to preserve a 4-1 lead. (The Capital, 6/23, 2011)
- c. Savannah Nierintz **pitched** out of a bases-loaded, no-out, situation in the fourth inning by striking out the side to help preserve Upper Darby's 1-0 win at Radnor. (The Philadelphia Inquirer, 5/3, 2011)

In these bare XP patterns, the resultative phrase can be regarded as describing a situation of escaping from the danger of giving up a run as getting away from a “location” loaded with runners.

On the other hand, resultative phrases which cannot be construed in any sense are possible with reflexive patterns but not with bare XP patterns, as can be seen below:

- (42) a. Jones **pitched** himself out of the closer's role in Detroit by blowing several ninth-inning leads. (The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 7/15, 2001)
- b.\*Jones **pitched** out of the closer's role in Detroit by blowing several ninth-inning leads.
- (43) a. Chicago's Carlos Zambrano **pitched** himself out of an extended slump with one of his best starts of the season,... (The Salt Lake Tribune, 9/16, 2007)
- b.\*Chicago's Carlos Zambrano **pitched** out of an extended slump with one of his best starts of the season,...

This is because the concept these resultative phrases can evoke would fail to elaborate some kind of ‘spatial path’ evoked by *pitch*.

## 5.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that bare XP patterns with *into/out of trouble* cannot be properly handled in terms of the notion of a canonical result or a conventionally expected result, which is presented in previous studies. Instead, we have shown that a shared semantic substructure between a verb and a resultative phrase at the more abstract level is just what is needed for the formation of bare XP patterns, regardless of whether or not they can be characterized by the notions mentioned above. It is true that a number of bare XP patterns are accounted for by these notions. However, this is only a typical, but not necessary, manifestation of the requirement that the commonality between a substructure of verb and that of a resultative phrase be recognized. More importantly, it has further been shown that the formation of bare XP patterns with *into/out of trouble* depends largely on whether the resultative phrase can be construed as evoking a ‘spatial path’ domain. This strengthens our claim that the role of resultative phrases cannot be downplayed for the formation of some resultative constructions. As we have argued in Chapter 4, bare XP patterns are acceptable to the extent that the result state is predictable from the verbal semantic information including encyclopedic knowledge. Thus, by defining what “being predictable from a verbal meaning” means in terms of the level at which the meaning of the verb is compatible with that of the resultative phrase in some way, a wider range of resultative constructions can be dealt with. In chapter 7, we will show this holds for Japanese resultative constructions, as well.

## Chapter 6 The function of adjective-*ku* forms

### 6.1. Introduction

Japanese resultative constructions employ two types of resultative phrases: an inflected form of adjectives (i.e. adjective-*ku*) and that of nominal adjectives (i.e. nominal adjective-*ni*), which are exemplified in (A) and (B), respectively.

- (A) kami-o    kuro-ku    someru       /    kiji-o       usu-ku       nobasu  
hair-ACC    black       dye           /    dough-ACC    thin           roll
- (B) kabin-o    konagona-ni    waru       /    kuruma-o    pikapika-ni    migaku  
vase-ACC    into pieces    break      /    car-ACC       shiny           polish

These resultative phrases have been traditionally analyzed as special kinds of manner adverbial phrases (e.g. Nitta 1983, Nakakita 1996), and there are still a number of studies which place an emphasis on their function of modifying the action denoted by the verb (Kato 2007, Miyakoshi 2007, Murao 2009). However, considering that resultative phrases actually denote a resultant state of the participant described in resultative constructions, it remains controversial whether their function of predicating may be neglected. Then, this chapter, going against the current trend, argues that their function of predicating should be reassessed. In the following discussion, we will be concerned solely with the function of adjective-*ku* forms such as (A). See Mihara (2008) for a detailed analysis of nominal adjective-*ni* forms.

### 6.2. Previous studies

#### 6.2.1. Kato (2007)

Kato (2007) claims that adjective-*ku* forms function only as manner adverbials on the grounds that they are not directly predicated of the

argument of a verb, but rather modify a substructure of the verbal meaning.

- (1) a. Taro-wa kawai-ku / shiorashi-ku haitteki-ta.  
 Taro-TOP pretty / modest enter-PAST
- b. Karaa taimaa-ga aka-ku tenmetsusuru.  
 Karaa taimaa-NOM red flash

Both *kawai-ku* and *shiorashi-ku* in (1a) are not predicated of the subject *Taro* per se; they modify the way of *Taro* entering. Similarly, what *aka-ku* in (1b) is predicated of is not the color timer (of Ultraman) per se, but the light emitted from it. The notion of light is included in the meaning of the verb *tenmetsusuru*. It follows that the phrase *aka-ku* modifies the verbal meaning.

- (2) a. kabe-o aka-ku nuru / a' kabe-o hayaku nuru  
 wall-ACC red paint wall-ACC fast paint
- b. tamago-o kata-ku yuderu / b' tamago-o nagaku yuderu  
 egg-ACC hard boil egg-ACC long-time boil
- c. ishi-o komaka-ku kudaku / c' ishi-o umaku kudaku  
 stone-ACC into pieces break stone-ACC skillfully break

In addition, Kato (2007) notes that what the resultative phrases in (2a,b,c) are predicated of is not the object referents per se (i.e. wall, egg, stone), but the “product” which is created by the verbal event (i.e. painted wall, boiled egg, fragments of stone). In this respect, the resultative phrases can be regarded as modifying a substructure of the verbal meaning in the same way as the ordinary manner adverbials as in (2a',b',c') do.

### 6.2.2. Miyakoshi (2007)

A similar analysis is presented in Miyakoshi (2007), who argues that resultative phrases in Japanese denotes not only the resultant state of a

thing brought about by the verbal action but also the process leading to the resultant state.

- (3) a. *ichiro-ga kabe-o siro-ku nu-ta*  
 ichiro-NOM wall-ACC white paint-PAST
- b. \**kabe-ga siro-ku aru.*  
 wall-NOM white exist.

Thus, according to Miyaksohi (2007), *siroku* in (3a) denotes the “process” of the wall becoming white as well as the state of the wall being white. This point is confirmed by the incompatibility of the adjective-*ku* form with the verb which merely describes the state or the existence of a thing as in (3b). Miyaksohi attributes this property of the resultative phrase to his observation that adjective-*ku* forms in general always have “process-oriented” function.

- (4) a. *ichiro-ga booru-o karu-ku ut-ta.*  
 ichiro-NOM ball-ACC lightly hit-PAST
- b. *ichiro-ga kyouikumondai-o atsu-ku katta-ta.*  
 ichiro-NOM educational problem-ACC passionately talk-PAST
- c. \**ichiro-ga koohii-o atsu-ku non-da*  
 ichiro-NOM coffee-ACC hot drink-PAST

Note that his term “process” is intended to refer to the notion of ‘action’ or ‘change’, in contrast to the notion of ‘state’ of a thing. Thus, *karu-ku* in (4a) serves a “process-oriented” function in that it denotes the manner/degree of the verbal action. On the other hand, *atsu-ku* in (4b) denotes both the manner/degree of the verbal action and the state of the agent *ichiro* brought about by the action. This indicates that the adjective-*ku* form can serve not only a “process-oriented” function but also

“thing-oriented” function. Still, as shown in (4c), it is impossible to produce the well-formed sentence in which the adjective-*ku* form denotes only the state of a thing involved in the verbal event.

### 6.2.3. Problems with Kato (2007) and Miyakoshi (2007)

Thus far, we have seen that analyses of resultative phrases in Japanese in previous studies suggest that they are adverbials rather than predicates. This view is motivated by the observation that adjective-*ku* forms in general have an adverbial function of modifying the verbal event in some way or other. However, we should not overlook that such adjective-*ku* forms do not always function as adverbials in the sense of Kato (2007) and Miyakoshi (2007). For example, the behavior of the adjective-*ku* form in so called “small clause” constructions as in (5) casts doubt on the validity of the adverbial analysis of adjective-*ku* forms.

(5) *ichiro-ga kanemochi-o urayamashi-ku omot-ta.*  
*ichiro-NOM rich person-ACC envious think-PAST*

(Miyakoshi 2007:116)

That is, *urayamashi-ku* in (5) is predicated of the direct object referent and does not refer to “process”, contrary to both analyses by Kato (2007) and by Miyakoshi (2007). To be sure, this type of adjective-*ku* form is recognized in both of these previous studies, but it is treated as merely an exceptional case, based on the assumption that it is a predicate embedded in the complement of the “small clause”, not an adverbial phrase. Additionally, Kato (2007) acknowledges that some adjective-*ku* forms are predicated of the direct object referent when they occur with certain verbs: the subsidiary verbs *-naru* (become) and *-suru* (make); or the verbs of perception and *kanjiru* (feel). Since all of these verbs do not denote the action, they do not evoke the notion of ‘the manner of action’ as a semantic

component. Accordingly, his firm belief that adjective-*ku* forms function only as manner adverbials lead him to view that such adjective-*ku* forms are not ordinary cases but marked ones.

However, it is highly questionable whether adjective-*ku* forms occurring in “small clause” constructions like (5) really exhibit an “exceptional” or a “marked” behavior. For one thing, one and the same adjective-*ku* form can appear both in resultative constructions and in “small clause” constructions, as illustrated in each pair of the following examples.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (6) a. Hanako-no kami-o <u>kawai-ku</u> kiru<br>Hanako-GEN hair-ACC pretty cut          | b. mago-o <u>kawai-ku</u> omou<br>grandchildren-ACC pretty think                   |
| (7) a. shikenmondai-o <u>muzukashi-ku</u> tukuru<br>exam questions-ACC difficult design | b. shikenmondai-o <u>muzukashi-ku</u> kanjiru<br>exam questions-ACC difficult feel |
| (8) a. ie-o <u>chiisa-ku</u> tateru<br>house-ACC small build                            | b. heya-o <u>chiisa-ku</u> kanjiru<br>room-ACC small feel                          |
| (9) a. take-o <u>mijika-ku</u> kiru<br>bamboo-ACC short cut                             | b. kyukei jikan-o <u>mijika-ku</u> kanjiru<br>break time-ACC short feel            |
| (10) a. kiji-o <u>ao-ku</u> someru<br>cloth-ACC blue dye                                | b. rokkosan-o fudanyori <u>ao-ku</u> kanjiru<br>rokkosan-ACC than usual blue feel  |
| (11) a. oyu-o <u>atsu-ku</u> wakasu<br>hot water-ACC hot boil                           | b. ofuro-no oyu-o <u>atsu-ku</u> kanjiru<br>bath-GEN hot water-ACC hot feel        |
| (12) a. biiru-o <u>tsumeta-ku</u> hiyasu<br>beer-ACC cold chill                         | b. puuru-no mizu-o <u>tsumeta-ku</u> kanjiru<br>pool-GEN water-ACC cold feel       |

More importantly, even adjective-*ku* forms which function as a typical manner adverbial can appear in “small clause” constructions.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (13) a. byouki-o <u>haya-ku</u> naosu.<br>disease-ACC quickly cure | b. jikan-no keika-o <u>haya-ku</u> kanjiru<br>time of passage-ACC quick feel |
| (14) a. shippai-o <u>hageshi-ku</u> hinansuru                      | b. itsumoyori yure-o <u>hageshi-ku</u> kanjiru                               |

- |         |                 |                   |               |    |                        |           |                   |         |
|---------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|----|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------|
|         | failure-ACC     | violently         | accuse        |    | than usual             | quake-ACC | violent           | feel    |
| (15) a. | fusei-o         | <u>kibishi-ku</u> | torishimaru   | b. | fuyu-no                | samusa-o  | <u>kibishi-ku</u> | kanjiru |
|         | fraud-ACC       | severely          | crack down on |    | winter of coldness-ACC | severe    | feel              |         |
| (16) a. | taiko-o         | <u>tsuyo-ku</u>   | tataku        | b. | haha-no                | aijyo-o   | <u>tsuyo-ku</u>   | kanjiru |
|         | drum-ACC        | strongly          | beat          |    | mother-GEN             | love-ACC  | strong            | feel    |
| (17) a. | akuseru-o       | <u>karu-ku</u>    | fumu          | b. | nimotsu-o              | totemo    | <u>karu-ku</u>    | kanjiru |
|         | accelerator-ACC | lightly           | step on       |    | baggage-ACC            | very      | light             | feel    |

That is, there are so many examples of the adjective-*ku* forms found in “small clause” constructions that they cannot be dismissed as merely exceptional cases. Therefore, it is not correct to pay exclusive attention to the function of adjective-*ku* forms as adverbials modifying a verbal meaning; their function of being predicated of the referent of a noun phrase needs to be given at least equal status with the former function.

### 6.3. General adjunct constructions

It has been suggested from the foregoing observations that adjective-*ku* forms have dual function: a “process-oriented” function and a “thing-oriented” function. This is not an isolated phenomenon. Let us consider (18).

- (18) a. George hat die party wütend verlassen  
 b. George left the party angrily.  
 c. George left the party angry.

(Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004:60-61)

The German *wütend* in (18a) can be interpreted as referring either to the manner of George leaving or to the psychological state of George at the time that he was leaving, as indicated by the English equivalents in (18b,c). Morphosyntactic units like *wütend* which convey both process-oriented and

thing-oriented content are termed “general adjunct constructions” by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (henceforth, S and H) (2004). Examples of “process-oriented” (or “event-oriented” in their term) content include concomitance, manner, location, and time; while those of “thing-oriented” content include physical or psychological state, bodily posture, and role. For example, S and H (2004) note that instrumental-marked or locative-marked phrases function as general adjunct constructions in several languages (e.g. Russian, German, Ewe, Diyari, and Japanese). One illustration is provided by the phrase marked by the locative case marker *de* in Japanese:

- (19) a. Taro-wa sakana-o jibun-no ie-de tabe-ta.  
 Taro-TOP fish-ACC his own house-LOC eat-PAST
- b. Taro-wa sakana-o nama-de tabe-ta.  
 Taro-TOP fish-ACC raw-LOC eat-PAST

We see that the *de*-marked phrase is used for referring not only to the location where the event of eating takes place as in (19b), but also to the physical state of the entity eaten as in (19b). Seen in this light, it seems safe to analyze adjective-*ku* forms as general adjunct constructions, which potentially exhibit both a “process-oriented” and a “thing-oriented” property.

- (20) a. Taro-wa kabe-o haya-ku nut-ta.  
 Taro-TOP wall-ACC quickly paint-PAST
- b. Taro-wa kyujitsu-o tanoshi-ku sugosh-ita  
 Taro-TOP holiday-ACC happy spend-PAST

Note that the adjective-*ku* form in (20a) refers to the manner of the action; the one in (20b) refers to the psychological state of the subject referent.

## 6.4. The interaction between adjective-ku forms and syntactic constructions

We will analyze this potentially dual function of adjective-*ku* forms based on Croft's (2001:48) claim that "syntactic categories are defined in terms of the construction(s) in which they occur." That is, we assume that which of these functions adjective-*ku* forms perform is determined by the syntactic construction(s) in which they appear. In the following two subsections, we will examine the relevant syntactic environments.

### 6.4.1. "Small clause" constructions

Let us begin by considering the characteristics of "small clause" constructions. First, "small clause" constructions have a word order restriction: the adjective-*ku* forms cannot precede the direct object, as illustrated in each contrast in (21) and (22) (Masuoka 1987).

- (21) a. Taro-wa Hanako-o nikurashi-ku omot-ta  
Taro-TOP Hanako-ACC hateful think-PAST  
b.\*Taro-wa nikurashi-ku Hanako-o omot-ta  
Taro-TOP hateful Hanako-ACC think-PAST
- (22) a. Taro-wa Hanako tono wakare-o kanashi-ku kanji-ta.  
Taro-TOP Hanako from separation-ACC sad feel-PAST  
b.\*Taro-wa kanashi-ku Hanako tono wakare-o kanji-ta.  
Taro-TOP sad Hanako from separation-ACC feel-PAST

Next, the adjective-*ku* forms cannot be omitted without affecting the acceptability or changing the state of affairs described.

- (23) a.\*Taro-wa Hanako-o omot-ta  
Taro-TOP Hanako-ACC think-PAST

b. Taro-wa Hanako tonno wakare-o kanji-ta. ( $\neq$  (22a))  
 Taro-TOP Hanako from separation-ACC feel-PAST

Thus, (23a) is judged unacceptable; and the content of *Taro*'s feeling denoted in (23b) is distinct from that denoted in (22a). These behaviors of “small clause” constructions can be captured by analyzing them as argument structure constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995). The argument structure construction is defined in (24):

(24) *C* is a CONSTRUCTION iff<sub>def</sub> *C* is a form-meaning pair  $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$  such that some aspect of  $F_i$  or some aspect of  $S_i$  is not strictly predictable from *C*'s component parts or from other previously established constructions.

(Goldberg 1995:4)

Then, the word order restriction in (21) and (22) reflects the formal pattern specified by the “small clause” construction as a whole. Moreover, the difference in meaning between (22a) and (23b) is directly attributed to the difference between the “small clause” construction with its own semantics and the transitive construction.

Finally, not every verb of thinking occurs in the “small clause” construction. As shown below, the verbs are virtually restricted to *omou* (think) and *kanjiru* (feel) (Sode 1999, Sugioka 2007):

(25) Yamada san-wa jibun-no mago-o totemo kawai-ku  
 Yamada HON-TOP his own grandchildren-ACC very adorable  
 {omot-teiru / kanji-teiru /\*kangaete-iru /\*sinji-teiru /\*kanchigaishi-teiru}.  
 think-PROG / feel-PROG / consider-PROG / believe-PROG / mistake-PROG

Note also that the combination of verbs other than *omou* and *kanjiru* with the base forms of adjective-*ku* variants is not in itself problematic:

(26) Yamada san-wa jibun-no mago-o totemo kawaii-to  
 Yamada HON-TOP his own grandchildren-ACC very adorable-QUO  
 {omot-teiru / kanji-teiru / kangaete-iru / sinji-teiru / kanchigaishi-teiru}.  
 think-PROG / feel-PROG / consider-PROG / believe-PROG / mistake-PROG

Thus, “small clause” constructions correspond to what Croft (2003) calls verb-specific constructions, in which the verb meaning and the constructional meaning are close to each other. Accordingly, “small clause” constructions should be represented by the constructional schema in (27a), which will be referred to as C1 schema.

- (27) a. C1: [NP-wa (ga) [NP-o adjective-ku] omou / kanjiru]  
 b. C2: [NP-wa (ga) NP-o adjective-ku VERB]

In C1 schema, the verb slot is filled in by particular verbs and the fixed word order is indicated by the sequence of NP-o and adjective-ku being enclosed in the embedded brackets. On the other hand, as shown in (27b), a more abstract constructional schema (C2 schema) can be posited representing what is common to the (a) sentences in (13)-(17), repeated here as those in (28)-(32). This schema, by not enclosing these adjective-ku forms and the verbs with any brackets, captures the fact that unlike the case of small clause constructions, there is no constraint on the word order between them.

Compare each pair in (28)-(32):

- |                   |                   |           |                      |             |           |
|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|-----------|
| (28) a. byouki-o  | <u>haya-ku</u>    | naosu.    | b. <u>haya-ku</u>    | byouki-o    | naosu.    |
| disease-ACC       | quickly           | cure      | quickly              | disease-ACC | cure      |
| (29) a. shippai-o | <u>hageshi-ku</u> | hinansuru | b. <u>hageshi-ku</u> | shippai-o   | hinansuru |
| failure-ACC       | violently         | accuse    | violently            | failure-ACC | accuse    |

- (30) a. fusei-o      kibishi-ku    torishimaru      b. kibishi-ku    fusei-o      torishimaru  
       fraud-ACC    severely    crack down on      severely    fraud-ACC crack down on
- (31) a. taiko-o      tsuyo-ku    tataku      b. tsuyo-ku    taiko-o      tataku  
       drum-ACC    strongly    beat                    strongly    drum-ACC beat
- (32) a. akuseru-o      karu-ku    fumu      b. karu-ku    akuseru-o      fumu  
       accelerator-ACC lightly    step on                    lightly    accelerator-ACC    step on

Therefore, as noted above, following Croft’s (2001) claim that the syntactic categories are defined in terms of the construction(s) in which they occur, the dual function one and the same adjective-*ku* form serve can be attributed to each characteristic of C1 schema and of C2 schema. That is, a “process-oriented” adverbial-like behavior and a “thing-oriented” adjective-like behavior of an adjective-*ku* form are induced by the syntactic pattern which instantiates C2 schema and “small clause” constructions, respectively. This analysis accommodates a large number of adjective-*ku* forms found in “small clauses” without dismissing them as merely exceptional cases.

#### 6.4.2. Subsidiary verb *suru* constructions

In addition to “small clause” constructions, subsidiary verb *suru* constructions like (33) pose a problem to Kato’s (2007) analysis in that the occurring adjective-*ku* forms are directly predicated of the referent of the noun phrase, serving a “thing-oriented” function.

- (33) a. tekisetuna chiryou-ga                    byouki no kaifuku-o    hayaku    shi-ta.  
       proper    treatment-NOM    cure of disease-ACC    quick    make-PAST
- b. atarashii gijyutsu-ga                    kyousou-o                    hageshiku    suru  
       new    technology-NOM    competition-ACC                    severe    make
- c. iroirona keiken-ga                    hito-o                    tsuyo-ku    suru  
       various experience-NOM    human-ACC                    strong    make

d. yuujin-no kotoba-ga fuan-o karu-ku shi-ta  
 friend-GEN word-NOM anxiety-ACC light make-PAST

Note that in subsidiary verb *suru* constructions the word order between the adjective-*ku* form and the verb is fixed (cf. Kikuchi and Takahashi 1991):

- (34) a. \*tekisetuna chiryou-ga hayaku byouki no kaifuku-o shi-ta.  
 proper treatment-NOM quick cure of disease-ACC make-PAST  
 b. \*atarashii gijyutsu-ga hageshiku kyousou-o suru  
 new technology-NOM severe competition-ACC make  
 c. \*iroirona keiken-ga tsuyo-ku hito-o suru  
 various experience-NOM strong human-ACC make  
 d. \*yuujin-no kotoba-ga karu-ku fuan-o shi-ta  
 friend-GEN word-NOM light anxiety-ACC make-PAST

(35) C3: [NP-wa (ga) [NP-o adjective-*ku*] *suru*]

This characteristic is captured by positing C3 schema with the word order specification as in (35). It follows, then, that as with the adjective-*ku* forms occurring in “small clause” constructions, a “thing-oriented” behavior of the adjective-*ku* forms in (33) is induced by the syntactic pattern in which they occur (C3 schema). Thus, in our analysis, the need to unnaturally treat these adjective-*ku* forms as exceptional cases does not arise.

At this point, it is instructive to consider the semantic aspect of C2 schema and C3 schema. Muraio (2009) notes that the syntactic pattern which corresponds to C2 schema is mainly associated with the notion of ‘manner’, ‘purpose’, and ‘causality’. These notions are introduced as “cognitive domain” (Langacker 2008), a set of which are invoked with varying degrees of centrality as the basis for the semantic characterization of a linguistic expression. Thus, depending on what type of construction that instantiates

C2 schema is used, some domains are more likely to be invoked; while others are less likely to be accessed.

- (36) a. Taro-wa hata-o chiisa-ku fut-ta.  
           Taro-TOP flag-ACC little wave-PAST
- b. Kare-wa niku-o usu-ku/atsu-ku kit-ta.  
           He-TOP meat-ACC thick/thin cut-PAST
- c. John-ga kabe-o utsukushi-ku nut-ta.  
           John-NOM wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST
- d. John-ga kabe-o aka-ku nut-ta.  
           John-NOM wall-ACC red paint-PAST

In (36a), the ‘manner’ domain is invoked. In (36b), ‘purpose’ and ‘manner’ domains are likely to be invoked; while the ‘causality’ domain is not so accessible. In (36c), ‘purpose’ and ‘causality’ domains are likely to be invoked. In (36d), the ‘causality’ domain is much more likely to be invoked, compared to the foregoing cases in (36); while the ‘purpose’ domain is less likely to be accessed. On the other hand, since in subsidiary verb *suru* constructions, as seen in (33), the state of affairs involving no ‘manner’ or ‘purpose’ is described, C3 schema can be said to invoke only the ‘causality’ domain.

#### 6.4.3. Adjective-*ku* forms that have both a “process-oriented” and a “thing-oriented” function

We have argued that the functional role of adjective-*ku* forms is determined by the syntactic construction (s) in which they occur, and that this analysis has the advantage of avoiding the unnecessary exclusion of “thing-oriented” adjective-*ku* forms. Another advantage of this analysis is that it captures the fact that some adjective-*ku* forms serve both a “process-oriented” and a “thing-oriented” function in the same sentence:

(37) a. Itamae-wa ikezukuri-o kakkouyoku moritsuke-ta.  
 cook-TOP slices of raw fish-ACC nice arrange-PAST  
 (Yazawa 2000:28)

b. Ueda san-wa nanigenaikoto-o muchyakuchya omoshiroku hanasu.  
 Ueda HON-TOP trivial thing-ACC terribly interesting speak  
 (Doragana 2005: 213)

The *kakkouyoku* in (37a) can be interpreted either as modifying the manner of the cook arranging or as denoting the state of the slices of raw fish. The *omoshiroku* in (37b) can be interpreted either as the manner of *Ueda san* speaking or as representing the content of *Ueda san*'s speech. According to our analysis, it follows that these “process-oriented” and “thing-oriented” interpretations in (37) stem from C2 and C3 schema, respectively. That the “thing-oriented” interpretation is brought about by C3 schema is confirmed by Yazawa's (2000) observation that when the adjective-*ku* form precedes the direct object, a “process-oriented” interpretation will be preferred as in (38).

(38) a. Itamae-wa kakkouyoku ikezukuri-o moritsuke-ta.  
 cook-TOP nice slices of raw fish-ACC arrange-PAST  
 b. Ueda san-wa muchyakuchya omoshiroku nanigenaikoto-o hanasu.  
 Ueda HON-TOP terribly interesting trivial thing-ACC speak

Recall that C3 schema (i.e. [NP-wa (ga) [NP-o adjective-*ku*] suru]) specifies that the adjective-*ku* form follows the direct object. Thus, a change in this fixed word order means suppressing the activation of C3 schema, resulting in the suppression of the “thing-oriented” interpretation.

#### 6.4.4. Superiority of “thing-oriented” function

It must be emphasized, though, that there are a number of cases where a “thing-oriented” interpretation takes precedence over a “process-oriented” one for the adjective-*ku* form. Let us consider the following examples, which are analogous to those in (37) except for the choice of the adjective-*ku* forms and the direct object.

- (39) a. Itamae-wa                kezukuri-o                        kitanaku        moritsuke-ta.  
           cook-TOP        slices of raw fish-ACC        untidy        arrange-PAST
- b. Ueda san-wa        omoshirokoto-o        muchyakucha        tunmaramaku        hanasu.  
           Ueda HON-TOP    interesting thing-ACC    terribly        boring        speak

In (39), a normal interpretation is that both *kitanaku* and *tunmaramaku* denote the state of the direct object referent; and the interpretation of their modifying the manner of the verbal action is not available. This suggests that the sentences in (39) are sanctioned by C3 schema rather than C2 schema. Indeed, this does not mean that C2 schema, which induces a “process-oriented” behavior of adjective-*ku* forms, is not at all accessible. In fact, it is not impossible to construe these adjective-*ku* forms as specifying the means of the verbal action, as indicated by the paraphrases in (40).

- (40) a.#Itamae-wa                ikezukuri-o                        kitanaku        naru        youni  
           cook-TOP        slices of raw fish-ACC        untidy        become    so that  
           moritsuke-ta.  
           arrange-PAST
- b.#Ueda san-wa                omoshirokoto-o                        muchyakucha  
           Ueda HON-TOP    interesting thing-ACC        terribly  
           tunmaramaku        naru        youni        hanasu.  
           boring        become    so that        speak

Still, this reading is a very marginal one, and therefore the superiority in these cases of a “thing-oriented” interpretation over a “process-oriented” one is not undermined.

#### 6.4.5. Adjective-ku forms in which a “thing-oriented” function cannot be found

More noteworthy is that some adjective-*ku* forms cannot serve a “process-oriented” function, which poses a more serious problem for the previous analyses that attach more importance to their “process-oriented” function. In this connection, recall that Miyakoshi’s (2007) conception of “process-oriented” function includes not only modifying the manner or degree of the verbal action, but also denoting the transition leading to a resultant state.

- (41) a. gohan-o    oishi-ku    tabe-ta  
           rice-ACC    delicious    eat-PAST
- b. happyo-o                    kyomibuka-ku/tanoshi-ku    kii-ta  
           presentation-ACC            interesting/ enjoyable    hear-PAST
- c. natsu-no            hizashi-o    kimochiyo-ku            abi-ta  
           summer-GEN    sunshine-ACC    comfortable    receive-PAST
- d. tegami-o    ureshi-ku    yon-da  
           letter-ACC    happy    read-PAST

Miyakoshi notes that adjective-*ku* forms like those in (41) serve a “process-oriented” function in that they denote the process of a certain emotion being provoked by the verbal action. However, some adjective-*ku* forms fail to serve such a function in the same context, yielding unacceptable sentences as in (42), despite the fact that the intended interpretation is pragmatically plausible.

- (42) a. \*gohan-o    mazu-ku    tabe-ta  
           rice-ACC    tasteless    eat-PAST
- b. \*happyo-o                    tumarana-ku                    kii-ta  
           presentation-ACC            boring                    hear-PAST
- c. \*natsu-no                    hizashi-o                    kurushi-ku                    abi-ta  
           summer-GEN    sunshine-ACC    uncomfortable    receive-PAST
- d. ??tegami-o    kanashi-ku                    yon-da  
           letter-ACC            sad                    read-PAST

As a matter of fact, these adjective-*ku* forms are compatible with subsidiary verb *suru* constructions as in (43) and “small clause” constructions as in (44).

- (43) a. Tabako-no kemuri-ga    gohan-o    mazu-ku suru.  
           cigarette smoke-NOM    rice-ACC    tasteless make
- b. FA seido-ga                    puro yakyu-o                    tumarana-ku shi-ta.  
           FA system-NOM    professional baseball-ACC            boring    make-PAST
- c. Tabako-no    kemuri-ga    watashi no kokyuu-o    kurushi-ku    shi-ta.  
           cigarette    smoke-NOM    my    breathing-ACC    uncomfortable    make-PAST
- d. Tanoshii omoide-ga                    wakare-o                    kanashi-ku    suru.  
           pleasant memory-NOM    separation-ACC                    sad                    make

- (44) a. gohan-o                    mazu-ku    kanji-ta.  
           rice-ACC                    tasteless    feel-PAST
- b. happyo-o                    tumarana-ku    kanji-ta.  
           presentation-ACC            boring                    feel-PAST
- c. kokyuu-o                    kurushi-ku    kanji-ta..  
           breathing-ACC    uncomfortable                    feel-PAST
- d. wakare-o                    kanashi-ku    kanji-ta.  
           separation-ACC                    sad                    feel-PAST

This means that expressions with the adjective-*ku* forms in question must be sanctioned by constructional schemas like C1 and C3, which induce them to display a “thing-oriented” behavior. As we have seen, Kato (2007), assuming that adjective-*ku* forms are not predicated of the noun phrase referent and thus function only as manner adverbials, argues that the syntactic environments like (43) and (44) are marked ones for them. Similarly with Miyakoshi’s (2007) analysis. Although he does not touch on the syntactic patterns like (43), it can be predicted that the adjective-*ku* forms in (43) would be regarded as exceptional cases in the same way as those in “small clause” constructions like (44), because both of them are not adverbial phrases. It follows, then, that in order to handle these adjective-*ku* forms, both Kato (2007) and Miyakoshi (2007) would have to appeal to the syntactic environments they dismiss as exceptional ones. In contrast, the existence of such adjective-*ku* forms can be naturally accommodated in our analysis, which does not give a primary status to the “process-oriented” function of adjective-*ku* forms. Therefore, the syntactic environments which warrant the “thing-oriented” function of adjective-*ku* forms need not be treated as peculiar ones for them. Rather, they can be said to provide normal syntactic contexts for adjective-*ku* forms, given that a large number of adjective-*ku* forms occur in them, as we have observed.

## **6.5. Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have argued that more attention should be paid to a “thing-oriented” function of adjective-*ku* forms, in the sense of being predicated of the noun phrase referent. It is widely agreed in the literature that “process-oriented” function is their primary function. However, the analysis based on such conception of adjective-*ku* forms, has difficulty in accounting for the fact that (i) adjective-*ku* forms which function as typical manner adverbials occur in “small clause” constructions and that (ii) some adjective-*ku* forms occur only in the syntactic environments which warrant

their “thing-oriented” function. In order to deal with these problems, following Croft (2001), we have proposed a dual functional analysis of adjective-*ku* forms: they can potentially have both a “process-oriented” and a “thing-oriented” property, and which of these functions adjective-*ku* forms perform is determined by the syntactic construction(s) in which they appear. Accordingly, in our analysis, it is no wonder that one and the same adjective-*ku* form behave differently from construction to construction, and that there are adjective-*ku* forms with only a “thing-oriented” function as well as those with only a “process-oriented” one. Moreover, since adjective-*ku* forms function as resultative phrases, our conception of them with a balanced focus on their “thing-oriented” function has an influence on the analysis of resultative constructions. This will be appreciated in the next two chapters.

## Chapter 7 On “Dirty (and Untidy)” Resultative Constructions in Japanese

### 7.1. Introduction

We have so far emphasized the role of resultative phrases in order to deal with a wider range of English resultative constructions. In this chapter, we extend this analysis to Japanese Resultative Constructions, showing that “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions like (1), which have never been discussed in the literature, can be handled properly.

- (1) a. Sono Tosoya-wa kabe-o kitanaku nut-ta.  
the painter-TOP wall-ACC dirty paint-PAST
- b. Jugyoin-ga surippa-o kitanaku narabe-ta.  
employee-NOM slippers-ACC untidy arrange- PAST

As a first step toward achieving this goal, 7.2 overviews previous studies that propose the conditions under which Japanese Resultative Constructions (henceforth, JRCs) are sanctioned, pointing out that neither of them fails to account for the above examples. Next, sections 7.3 and 7.4 introduce the Langacker’s (1987, 1991) notion of “conceptual dependence”, which is claimed to capture an idiosyncratic relationship observed between the verb and the resultative phrase in “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions. Finally, section 7.5 discusses the characteristics of “dirty (and untidy)” resultative phrases in themselves.

### 7.2 Previous studies

#### 7.2.1 State change and realization of the implied result

It has often been observed that there are mainly two kinds of requirements on the formation of JRCs (Kageyama 1996, Washio 1997, Kageyama 2001, among others). One condition is that the verb which occurs in JRCs must imply a state change of the object referent, as exemplified in (2).

- (2) a. Sono Tosoya-wa kabe-o shiro-ku {nut-ta / \*kosut-ta}.  
the painter-TOP wall-ACC white paint / rub-PAST
- b. John-wa kinzoku-o pikapika-ni {migai-ta / \*tatai-ta}.  
John-TOP metal-ACC shiny polish / pound-PAST
- c. John-wa pankizi-o usu-ku {nobasi-ta / \*tatai-ta}.  
John-TOP dough-ACC thin roll / pound-PAST
- d. harigane-o maru-ku {mage-ru / ??tsuma-mu}.  
wire-ACC round bend / pinch-NONPAST

((2b,c) are from Washio (1997:9); and (2d) from Imoto (2009a:55))

Indeed, the verbs which make the sentences in (2) acceptable all denote an action which implies a resultant state. On the other hand, since rubbing, pounding, or pinching something does not necessarily bring about a change of state, the verbs describing such an action yield ill-formed resultatives.

The other condition is that resultative phrases must further specify a result state already entailed by the verb.

- (3) a.\*Sono Tosoya-wa kabe-o kata-ku nut-ta  
the painter-TOP wall-ACC hard paint-PAST
- b.\*John-wa kinzoku-o hoso-ku migai-ta.  
John-TOP metal-ACC shiny polish-PAST
- c.\*John-wa pankizi-o aka-ku nobasi-ta.  
John-TOP dough-ACC red roll-PAST
- d.\*Taro-wa aisu kuriimu-o yawaraka-ku koorase-ta.  
Taro-TOP ice cream-ACC soft freeze-PAST

Thus, resultative constructions in (3) are unacceptable, because the resultative phrases denote a result state not normally expected from the meaning of the verbs, despite the fact that they imply a state change. We will refer to the former condition as ‘verbal requirement’; and the latter one

as ‘result requirement’.

### 7.2.2. Resultative constructions and ‘result manner-adverbial’ constructions

Although these two requirements on JRCs apply to most of the JRCs, it has been suggested in recent studies that there are some exceptions to ‘result requirement’ (Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005, Murao 2009). The examples (4a), (4c), and (4d) are from Kusayama and Ichinohe (2005:177); from Yazawa (2000:208); and from Murao (2009:192), respectively.

- (4) a. Sono Tosoya-wa kabe-o utsukushi-ku nut-ta  
The painter-TOP wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST
- b. Hanako-ga kami-o utsukushi-ku some-ta.  
Hanako-NOM hair-ACC beautiful dye-PAST
- c. Itamae-wa ikezukuri-o kakkouyo-ku moritsuke-ta.  
cook-TOP slices of raw fish-ACC nice arrange-PAST
- d. Okasan-ga gohan-o oishi-ku tai-ta.  
mother-NOM rice-ACC delicious cook-PAST

For example, the verb *nuru* (paint) and *someru* (dye) in (4a,b) entail a state change in color, but do not entail that the object for the action becomes beautiful. Thus, the resultative phrase *utsukushiku* (beautiful) does not further specify an entailed result state (i.e. color) by the verbs. Similarly, the resultative phrase *oishiku* (delicious) does not further specify the result state entailed by the verb *taku* (cook), because cooked rice could taste bad, not good.

On the other hand, Matsui and Kageyama (2009:275-276) present the following examples, suggesting that the phrase *oukiku* (big) and *utsukushiku* (beautiful) are not resultative phrases.

- (5) a. ninjin-o ouki-ku kiru  
 carrot-ACC big cut
- b. mouhitsu-de ji-o utsukushi-ku kaku  
 ink brush-INSTR characters-ACC beautiful write-NONPAST

Instead, Matsui and Kageyama (2009) refer to this type of phrase as a ‘result manner-adverbial’, distinguishing it from a resultative phrase. They observe that the ‘result manner-adverbials’, unlike resultative phrases, do not denote a state that obtains as a direct result of the verbal event; but rather the state of a product brought about subsequent to the verbal event. Their difference from resultative phrases can be confirmed by the fact that the paraphrase that applies to resultative constructions does not hold true of ‘result manner-adverbial’ ones. Compare the relationship between the sentences in (6), on the one hand, with the relationship between (5) and (7), on the other.

- (6) a. Taro-ga kabe-o shiro-ku nut-ta  
 Taro-NOM wall-ACC white paint-PAST
- b. Taro-ga kabe-o nut-ta kekka  
 Taro-NOM wall-ACC paint as a result
- kabe-ga shiro-ku nat-ta (= (6a))  
 wall-NOM white become-PAST
- (7) a. ninjin-o kitta kekka ninjin-ga ouki-ku nat-ta. (≠ (5a))  
 carrot-ACC cut as a result carrot-NOM big become-PAST
- b. mouhitsu-de ji-o kaita kekka  
 ink brush-INSTR characters-ACC write as a result
- ji-ga utsukushiku nat-ta. (≠ (5b))  
 characters-NOM beautiful become-PAST

(adapted from Matsui and Kageyama 2009: 275, 276)

Although Matsui and Kageyama (2009) do not discuss cases like (4), they would also have to be classified as ‘result manner-adverbial’ constructions in that their “resultative phrases” do not denote a state that obtains as a direct result of the verbal event.

Here, the question arises as to whether or not it is appropriate and the only way to suppose that resultative constructions and ‘result manner-adverbial’ ones are distinct from each other. As seen above, the paraphrasability into a certain sentence serves as a diagnostic for the status of resultative constructions. However, there are some ‘result manner-adverbial’ constructions to which the same paraphrase as the one for resultative constructions applies:

- (8) a. Sono Tosoya-ga kabe-o nut-ta kekka  
 The painter-NOM wall-ACC paint as a result  
 kabe-ga utsukushi-ku nat-ta (= (4a))  
 wall-NOM beautiful become-PAST
- b. Hanako-ga kami-o some-ta kekka  
 Hanako-NOM hair-ACC dye as a result  
 kami-ga utsukushi-ku nat-ta (= (4a))  
 hair-NOM beautiful become-PAST

In fact, resultative phrases and result manner-adverbials are similar in that both describe the state of an entity that obtains at the resultant phase of the verbal event (cf. Miyakoshi 2009: 225). These suggest that there is no sharp distinction between both constructions and thus, there is no reason to believe that a result manner-adverbial should not be regarded a special case of resultative phrases. Then, JRCs can be broadly defined as follows (cf. Miyakoshi 2007, 2009).

(9) Japanese Resultative Constructions (JRCs) :

A simple sentence that includes an adjective-*ku* or adjective/noun-*ni* form, which denotes the state of an entity that obtains subsequent to the verbal event.

This definition is broad enough to cover the instances like (4) which violate the ‘result requirement’ but are acceptable.

### 7.2.3. Hyponymy relationship

Imoto (2009b) analyses the relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase in terms of an adverbial modification. Then he claims that a hyponymy relationship should hold between the verb and the resultative phrase, in the sense that the semantic category of a result state specified by the verb is narrowed down by the notion denoted by the resultative phrase. This characterization is responsible for the contrasts in (10).

- (10) a. hankachi-o                    {midori-iro-ni /\*randoserudai-ni} some-ta.  
handkerchief-ACC                    green / school bag size dye-PAST
- b. fuusen-o                        {randoserudai-ni /\*midori-iro-ni} fukuramase-ta.  
balloon-ACC                        school bag size / green                    inflate-PAST

The semantic category [color] specified by the verb *someru* (dye) can establish a hyponymy relationship with the notion [green] (*midori*), but not with the notion [school bag size]. It is the semantic category [size] specified by the verb *fukuramaseru* (inflate) that the notion [school bag size] can establish a hyponymy relationship with. This relationship can be represented as in (11), using the notation adopted by Imoto (2009b). The symbol “ > ” indicates that the notion to the left of the symbol subsumes the one to the right side.

- (11) a. [color] > [green] / \* [color] > [school bag size]  
 b. [size] > [school bag size] / \* [size] > [green]

In general, when a hyponymy relationship between a verb and a resultative phrase fails because of their incompatibility with each other, the resultative construction is judged unacceptable. However, some resultative constructions are perfectly acceptable despite seemingly having no hyponymic relationship:

- (12) a. keeki-o            ooki-ku            kit-ta  
           cake-ACC            big                    cut-PAST  
 b. bataa-o            atsuku            nu-ta  
           burtter-ACC        thick                paint-PAST            (Imoto 2009b: 286)

- (13) a. \* [disconnected] > [big] ⇒ [size] > [big]  
 b. \* [attachment] > [thick] ⇒ [size] > [thick]

Imoto (2009b) argues that such a case involves a semantic operation “coercion” (Pustejovsky 1995) so that the semantic mismatch will be avoided. Take the sentence (12a) for example. As shown on the left in (13a), the verb *kiru* (cut) specifies a result state characterized as the semantic category [disconnected], which does not subsume the notion [big], denoted by the resultative phrase. Hence no hyponymy relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase, as it stands. However, in his “coercion” analysis, by type-shifting the change of state verb *kiru* (cut) into a verb of creation, the sentence is coerced into establishing a hyponymy relationship in the pattern shown on the right in (13a). When you cut something, it will be divided into smaller parts and at the same time the slice of it will be “created”. On this interpretation, which is concerned with the physical presence of the created entity, the verb *kiru* would specify the semantic category [size], which subsumes the notion [big]. The same can be said of

(12b): the size of the coating of butter created by painting is thick.

Note that these resultative constructions violates the ‘result requirement’ which has been claimed to imposed on JRCs. Thus, Imoto’s analysis based on a hyponymic relationship can be taken as an attempt to handle JRCs in a more comprehensible way, without dismissing the notion that instances such as (12) belong to the category of resultative constructions. But, his analysis will be problematic when it comes to the case of “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions, with which we are mainly concerned in this chapter.

- (14) a. Sono tosoya-wa kabe-o kitanaku nut-ta.  
the painter-TOP wall-ACC dirty paint-PAST  
b. Kodomotachi-ga surippa-o kitanaku narabe-ta.  
children-NOM slippers-ACC untidy arrange- PAST

- (15) a. \* [color] > [dirty] (cf. (14a))  
b. \* [arrangement] > [untidy] (cf. (14b))

In (14), it is impossible to recognize a hyponymic relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase, as indicated in (15). In his analysis, then, the acceptability of the sentences in (14) would result from an application of “coercion” so as to resolve the semantic conflict.

- (16) a.\*Hahaoya-ga syatsu-o kitanaku arra-ta.  
mother-NOM shirt-ACC dirty wash-PAST  
b.\*Sono shikai-wa kare-no hanarabi-o kitanaku totonoe-ta.  
the dentist-TOP his-GEN teeth alignment-ACC untidy straighten-PAST

- (17) a. \* [removal] > [dirty] (cf. (16a))  
b. \* [well-ordered] > [untidy] (cf. (16b))

Similarly, a hyponymy relationship between the verb and the resultative

phrase does not obtain in (16), as shown in (17). As for this case, it would be argued that the “coercion” fails to function, because unlike the case of (14), the expressions themselves are unacceptable. However, this would be nothing short of an arbitrary argument. Merely posing “coercion” effects in JRCs does not guarantee that all of the JRCs which violate the ‘result requirements’ can be saved (e.g. the sentences in (3) as well as (16)). Therefore, reliance on “coercion” effects makes it necessary to specify under what condition they can be yielded. In order to address this problem, we will explore in more detail how JRCs which violates the ‘result requirements’ are sanctioned.

### 7.3. Conceptual dependence

Specifically, it will be argued that adopting the notion of conceptual dependence, which was introduced in chapter 5, allows us to deal with JRCs without suffering from the problem facing Imoto’s (2009b) approach. As we have seen, this notion concerns an asymmetrical relationship observed between the component structures of a composite expression, which is stated below:

(18) One structure, D, is dependent on another, A, to the extent that A elaborates a salient substructure of D. (Langacker 1991: 547)

Let us recall how this type of relationship is found in linguistic expressions by considering a simpler example, *Mara sings beautifully* (Croft 1993: 357). The verb *sing* includes as its salient substructure the notion of a singer, which is elaborated by *Mara*. In light of the definition in (18), *sings* is dependent on *Mara*. Conversely, with respect to the adverb *beautifully*, the verb *sing* functions as an autonomous element (A) which elaborates a salient substructure of it, namely the schematic process. In this case, *beautifully* is dependent on *sing*.

Moreover, there is one further point to note on this notion, which we have not discussed so far: ‘dependence’ is a gradient notion and “Nothing in the definition precludes a relation of mutual dependence between the two structures... .” (Langacker 1987: 300). As Croft (1993) points out, in the case of *Mara sings beautifully*, it might be said that *sings* elaborates a substructure of the semantic representation of *Mara* based on the speaker’s knowledge that Mara is the one who sings; and *beautifully* elaborates a substructure representing the manner in which the act of singing is performed. However, the substructure of *Mara* and *sing*—the knowledge about Mara and the manner of singing—are not so salient as that of *sings* which is elaborated by *Mara* and that of *beautifully* which is elaborated by *sings*, respectively. Thus, *sings* and *beautifully* are respectively more strongly dependent on *Mara* and *sings* than conversely.

A relation of mutual dependence can be recognized also in the example which has been covered in Chapter 5.

(19) Randy chased the dog in the park.

(Croft 2001: 272)

We have seen that the verb *chase* can be said to be dependent on the prepositional phrase *in the park*. This characterization is motivated by the fact that *chase*, unlike *be widowed* and *inherit* in (20), can evoke the concept of ‘location’ and thus *in the park* elaborates it.

(20) a.\*Randy was widowed in the park.

b.\*Randy inherited a million dollars in the park. (Croft 2001 : 274)

However, it should be noted that the concept of ‘location’ is not so salient a substructure of *chase* as that of ‘chaser’ and ‘chased’, which are inherent in the meaning of *chase*. Conversely, *chase* elaborates the concept of ‘event in the location’ evoked by *in the park*, which is a highly salient substructure of



was attached on it.) And the resultative phrase *midoriiro-ni* elaborates this semantic substructure of the verb. In contrast, the reason why the resultative phrase *randoserudai-ni* makes the sentence ill-formed is that it does not have a semantic structure which can elaborate this semantic structure, just as in (20) *be widowed* and *inherit* do not have a semantic substructure which *in the park* can elaborate. That is, “It is only by virtue of having certain substructures in common that two component expressions can be integrated to form a coherent composite expression.” (Langacker 1987: 278). Similarly, the result phrases in (21b,c) elaborate the notion ‘change in size’, which is essential to the meaning of the verbs. It would be contradictory to say that *\*fuusen-o fukuramase-takedo, saizu-ga kawaranakat-ta* (‘inflated a balloon, but it did not change in size’) or *\*keeki-o kitta-kedo, saizu-ga kawaranakat-ta* (‘cut a cake, but it did not change in size’). Therefore, it is clear that in these cases, the verbs are dependent on the resultative phrases.

Then, what about the type of JRCs, which are neither recognized by Matsui and Kageyama (2009) as instances of resultative constructions nor even discussed by Imoto (2009b)?

- (22) a. mouhitsu-de                      ji-o                      utsukushi-ku    kaku.                      (= (5b))  
          ink brush-INSTR    characters-ACC    beautiful            write-NONPAST
- b. Sono Tosoya-wa    kabe-o                      utsukushi-ku            nut-ta                      (= (4a))  
          The painter-TOP    wall-ACC                beautiful                paint-PAST
- c. Hanako-ga                      kami-o                      utsukushi-ku            some-ta.                      (= (4b))  
          Hanako-NOM            hair-ACC                beautiful                dye-PAST
- d. Itamae-wa                      ikezukuri-o                kakkouyo-ku            moritsuke-ta. (= (4c))  
          cook-TOP            slices of raw fish-ACC    nice                      arrange-PAST
- e. Okasan-ga                      gohan-o                      oishi-ku                tai-ta.                      (= (4d))  
          mother-NOM            rice-ACC                delicious                cook-PAST

In this type, the resultative phrase denotes an intended result achieved by the verbal action. In this respect, the resultative phrase elaborates the notion of ‘intention’ evoked by the verb. We will refer to this type as ‘Intended Resultative’, hereafter. One might argue that for some verbs the notion of ‘intention’ is not necessarily inherent in their meaning and for example, *kaku* (write), the verb in (22a), can convey an action that leads to an unintended result: the creation of misspelled words. This can also be confirmed by the availability of the adverbial *ukkari*, which denies the presence of the agent’s intention for that result.

(23) Taro-wa      ukkari                      goji-o                      kai-ta  
          Taro-TOP   accidentally      misspelled words-ACC      write-PAST

Nevertheless, together with this unintended result, another intended result can be expressed with the addition of a resultative phrase:

(24) Taro-wa                      goji-o                      sore-ga  
          Taro-TOP      misspelled words-ACC      it-NOM  
          goji-da                      to      kizuka-zu      utsukushi-ku      kai-ta  
          misspelled words-COP      COMP      without realizing      beautiful      write-PAST

Besides, the agent’s intention for this intended result cannot be cancelled, as the unavailability of the adverbial *ukkari* in (25).

(25) ??Taro-wa      ukkari                      goji-o                      sore-ga  
          Taro-TOP      accidentally      misspelled words-ACC      it-NOM  
          goji-da                      to      kizuka-zu      utsukushi-ku      kai-ta  
          misspelled words-COP      COMP      without realizing      beautiful      write-PAST

This suggests that the notion of ‘intention’ is also salient enough in the

semantic structure of the verb. Thus, we may safely say that the verb is dependent on the resultative phrase for Intended Resultatives, as well.

Note further that Intended Resultatives illustrate the advantage of our conceptual dependence analysis over Imoto (2009b)'s analysis. Recall that Imoto (2009b) argues that a hyponymy relationship should hold between the verb and the resultative phrase for the formation of JRCs. Moreover, 'coercion' is claimed to adjust a failed hyponymy relationship between a verb and a resultative phrase so that ill-formed resultative constructions will not be yielded, as repeated in (26) and (27).

- (26) a. keeki-o            ooki-ku        kit-ta  
           cake-ACC        big            cut-PAST
- b. bataa-o        atsuku        nu-ta  
           burtter-ACC    thick        paint-PAST            (Imoto 2009b: 286)

- (27) a. \* [disconnected] > [big] ⇒ [size] > [big]  
       b. \* [attachment] > [thick] ⇒ [size] > [thick]

The hyponymy relationship between notions can be characterized in terms of the relationship in which the notion denoted by a hyponym unilaterally entails the one by a superordinate of it (Cruse 1986, Taylor 2002, Ono 2005, etc.). For instance, the hyponymy relation between 'cat' and 'animal' holds because *this is a cat* unilaterally entails *this is an animal*. In the cases of (26), we have noted that the coerced hyponymy relationship represented on the right in (27) is responsible for their acceptability: *this is big and this is thick* both unilaterally entail *this has a size*. Going back to Intended Resultatives, as we have seen, they violate the 'result requirement', and consequently a hyponymy relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase fails to obtain. Therefore, Imoto (2009b) would have to appeal to coercion in order to account for the acceptability of the Intended Resultatives in (22), as well. However, even if it is assumed that coercion

actually works for the sentences in (22), we cannot possibly recognize any hyponymic relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase.

To see this, let us examine the two examples from (22).

(28) a. Sono Tosoya-wa kabe-o utsukushi-ku nut-ta. (= (22b))  
 The painter-TOP wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST

b. Itamae-wa ikezukuri-o kakkouyo-ku moritsuke-ta. (= (22d))  
 cook-TOP slices of raw fish-ACC nice arrange-PAST

(29) a. \* [color] > [beautiful] ⇒ \* [attachment of dye] > [beautiful]

b. \* [arrangement] > [nice] ⇒ \* [movement] > [nice]

As shown on the left in (29), it is clear that a hyponymic relationship between the verb and the resultative phrase does not hold in (28). And no matter how flexibly one tries to construe the notion in the semantic structure of the verb in an alternate way, it seems impossible to reach the one that can establish a hyponymic relationship with the notion denoted by the resultative phrase. For example, even the more generalized notion ‘attachment of dye’ or ‘movement’, indicated on the right in (29), cannot subsume the notion ‘beautiful’ or ‘nice’, resulting in a continued failure of the hyponymic relationship: it is not the case that *this is beautiful* unilaterally entails *this has some attachment on it* nor that *this is nice* unilaterally entails *this undergoes some displacement*. Thus, Imoto’s account incorrectly predicts that Intended Resultatives in (22) are unacceptable, on the grounds that they are not subject to the coercion intended for a hyponymic relationship. On the other hand, our approach based on conceptual dependence, can straightforwardly account for this case without recourse to a special mechanism of coercion. That is, the acceptability of the Intended Resultatives in (22) results from the fact that the notion of ‘intention’ found in the semantic structure of the verb can be elaborated by the notion denoted by the resultative phrase.

#### 7.4. “Dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions

Another advantage of our account over Imoto’s (2009b) one can be found by examining “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions in Japanese, where the resultative phrase *kitana-ku* occurs. We will refer to them as DU resultatives, hereafter. Before turning to a closer examination of them, we must draw attention to the fact that the adjective *kitanai*, the basic form of the resultative phrase, is polysemous. Kindaichi (2008) classifies the meanings of *kitanai* into three senses as shown below:

(30) ① **yogoreteite fukai da** (dirty and unpleasant)

e.g. **kitanai ashi** “dirty foot”

② **chirakatteiru** (untidy)

e.g. **kitanai tsukue** “untidy desk”

③ **katachi ga midareteiru** (shapeless)

e.g. **kitanai ji** “shapeless writing”

According to the kind of results described in (31), we assign each of these three senses to the resultative phrase *kitanaku* by making the number put on the former correspond to the one on the latter.

(31) a. Ouchi ni aru ofuton o kanari **kitanaku**① yogoshi-teshimai,  
house bed-ACC quite **dirty** contaminate-PERF

(<http://singu55.sblo.jp/article/86199982.html>)

b. Ijin to sareru Beethoven ga ... heya o **kitanaku**② chirakashi tari...  
great man as regarded Beethoven-NOM room-ACC **untidy** mess up and

(<http://pia-eigaseikatsu.jp/imp/16604/237778/>)

c. Taruto kiji wa katai node, fork de **kitanaku**③ kuzusu yori  
tart pastry-TOP hard since fork with **shapeless** deform rather than  
te de kaburitsuku besi !! desu.  
hand with bite into should COP

(<http://tabelog.com/en/hiroshima/A3401/A340103/34016993/dtlrvwlst/4926831/>)

As with the resultative constructions we have observed, In the DU resultatives exemplified in (31), the meaning inherent in the verbs is elaborated by the resultative phrases and thus the verbs are dependent on the resultative phrases.

What, then, do we say about the following DU resultatives?

- (32) a. Oya-ga iraishita mocha sannsou no kabe o wazato  
parents-NOM asked their own lodge-GEN wall-ACC on purpose  
**kitanaku**<sup>①</sup> nuru syokuba-no ningen  
**dirty** paint workplace-GEN colleague  
(<http://www18.big.or.jp/~ggg/b/bbs/mbbs.cgi?mo=p&fo=kokuhatu&tn=0869>)

- b. Ekimae dewa kami-o **kitanaku**<sup>①</sup> someta chugakusei  
in front of the station hair-ACC **dirty** dye Jr. high-schooler  
(ka sotsugyousei)-ga futarinori shite sawagi ...  
(or graduates)-NOM riding in tandem make much noise

(<http://yaplog.jp/chimame/archive/226>)

- (33) a. Saikin-wa genkan-ni oitearu kutsu-o goteineini rouka-ni  
These days entrance-LOC put shoes-ACC politely hallway-LOC  
**kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> naraberu yara ...  
**untidy** arrange and (<http://ameblo.jp/iityan/entry-10135113978.html>)
- b. Salada to supearibu mo omise de annani **kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> moritsuke-nai  
salad and sparerib as well shop at so much **untidy** serve-NEG  
darou kara ...  
I think because (<http://archive.2ch-ranking.net/net/1291192429.html>)

Unlike the cases in (31), we can not necessarily say that the resultative phrase *kitanaku*<sup>①</sup> in (32) elaborates the semantic structure inherent in the verbs, since the action of painting or dyeing does not inherently involve

defacing something. Likewise, the action of arranging or serving something somewhere is not normally intended for messing up the place. In this respect, the resultative phrase *kitanaku*② in (33) does not elaborate a salient semantic structure of the verbs, either.

Note that the actions denoted by the verbs in (32) and (33) are normally performed for the purpose of bringing about states like *utsukushii* (beautiful) and *kirei* (neat). Thus, when these result states are expressed, the sentences do not allow for the modification of the verbs by the adverbial *ukkari*, which denies the presence of the agent's intention for that result.

- (34) a.??Ano tosoya-wa      ukkari      kabe-o      utsukushi-ku      nut-ta.  
           that painter-TOP    accidentally    wall-ACC      beautiful      paint-PAST
- b.??Chyugakusei-ga      ukkari      kami-o      utsukushi-ku      some-ta.  
           Jr. high-schooler-NOM    accidentally    hair-ACC      beautiful      dye-PAST
- c.??Kodomotachi-wa      ukkari      kutsu-o      kirei-ni      narabe-ta.  
           children-TOP      accidentally    shoes-ACC      neat      arrange-PAST
- d.??Ano tenin-wa      ukkari      salada-o      kirei-ni      moritsuke-ta.  
           that staff-TOP      accidentally    salad-ACC      neat      serve-PAST

This seems to suggest that the states denoted by these resultative phrases are strongly implied as part of the meaning of these verbs. In this connection, it is important that in (35), the adverbial *ukkari* can readily occur in the DU resultatives and the resultative phrase *kitanaku* denotes an accidental result state which is not normally expected from the meaning of the verb.

- (35) a. Ano tosoya-wa      ukkari      kabe-o      kitanaku      nut-ta.  
           that painter-TOP    accidentally    wall-ACC      dirty      paint-PAST

- b. Chyugakusei-ga                      ukkari                      kami-o                      kitanaku                      some-ta.  
     Jr. high-schooler-NOM      accidentally      hair-ACC      dirty                      dye-PAST
- c. Kodomotachi-wa      ukkari                      kutsu-o                      kitanaku                      narabe-ta.  
     children-TOP      accidentally      shoes-ACC                      untidy                      arrange-PAST
- d. Ano tenin-wa                      ukkari                      salada-o                      kitanaku                      moritsuke-ta.  
     that staff-TOP                      accidentally                      salad-ACC                      untidy                      serve-PAST

This fact also supports the view that some of the resultative phrases named *kitanaku* do not elaborate any salient semantic structure of the verbs they occur with. Thus, such DU resultative cases pose a challenging problem to previous analyses, which hold that in JRCs the resultative phrase must further specify a result state already entailed by the verb.

A conceptual dependence approach, however, allows us to accommodate cases like this. Under this approach, when two component expressions are integrated to form a coherent composite expression, each component expression can usually elaborate substructures evoked potentially by the other. Thus, it is not necessarily required that a resultative phrase further specifies (namely, elaborates) a result state already entailed by a verb; and it is also expected that a verb elaborates substructures denoted by a resultative phrase.

- (36) a. Sono tosoya-wa                      kabe-o                      kitanaku①                      nut-ta.                      (cf. (14a))  
     the painter-TOP      wall-ACC                      **dirty**                      paint-PAST
- b. Chyugakusei-ga                      kami-o                      kitanaku①                      some-ta.                      (cf. (35b))  
     Jr. high-schooler-NOM      hair-ACC                      **dirty**                      dye-PAST

Indeed, it seems appropriate to say that in (36) the notion of ‘the attachment of dye’, which is evoked by *nuru* and *someru*, elaborates the notion of ‘the attachment of something undesirable’, inherent in the meaning of *kitanaku* ①. It follows, therefore, that resultative phrases are dependent on the verbs.

This characterization makes it possible to overcome the problem created by Imoto's (2009b) analysis. As stated above, Imoto's account has difficulty capturing the difference in acceptability between sentences like (36) and (37).

- (37) a. \*Hahaoya-ga        syatsu-o        kitanaku①        arra-ta.        (cf. (16a))  
                                  mother-NOM        shirt-ACC        **dirty**                wash-PAST
- b. \*Sono kutsuya-ga        kutsu-o        kitanaku①        migai-ta.  
                                  the bootblack-NOM        shoes-ACC        **dirty**                polish-PAST

Both of the cases are similar to each other in that the semantic category specified by the verbs does not subsume the one denoted by the resultative phrases, resulting in the failure of a formation of hyponymic relationship. Thus, Imoto (2009b) would have to give an arbitrary account of this contrast by claiming that a semantic operation 'coercion' applies to acceptable sentences like (36), but does not apply to unacceptable ones like (37). This difficulty is due to the fact that Imoto's (2009b) analysis is based solely on the direction in which a resultative phrase elaborates the notion inherent in a verb. On the other hand, our analysis, emphasizing the direction in which a verb elaborates substructures denoted by a resultative phrase, can straightforwardly account for the contrast. That is, the notion of 'the attachment of something undesirable', inherent in the meaning of *kitanaku*① can be elaborated by the notion of 'the attachment of dye' evoked by the verbs in (36), but cannot by the notion of 'the removal of something undesirable' evoked by the verbs in (37).

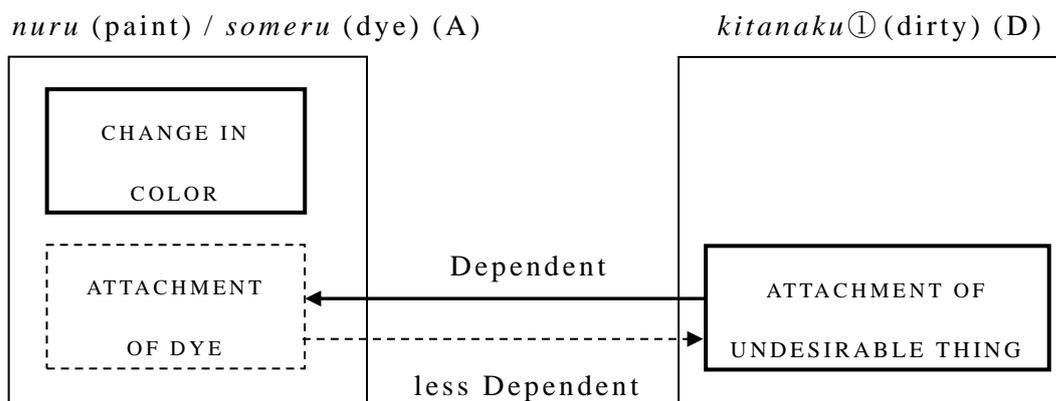
The following contrast observed between (38) and (39) can also be accounted for by drawing attention to the direction in which the verb elaborates a semantic structure of the resultative phrase.

- (38) a. Kodomotachi-ga surippa-o **kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> narabe-ta. (cf. (14b))  
 children-NOM slippers-ACC **untidy** arrange- PAST
- b. Ano tenin-wa salada-o **kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> moritsuke-ta. (cf. (35d))  
 that staff-TOP salad-ACC **untidy** serve-PAST
- (39) a.\*Sono shikai-wa kare-no hanarabi-o **kitanaku**<sup>②</sup>  
 the dentist-TOP his-GEN teeth alignment-ACC **untidy**  
 totonoe-ta. (cf.(16b))  
 straighten-PAST
- b.\*kodomotachi-ga zassou-o **kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> atsume-ta.  
 children-NOM weed-ACC **untidy** gather-PAST

The notion of ‘diffusive movement’, inherent in the meaning of *kitanaku*<sup>②</sup> can be elaborated by the notion of ‘arrangement’ evoked by the verbs in (38), but cannot by the notion of ‘centripetal movement’ evoked by the verbs in (39).

Here the question may be raised as to whether such DU resultative cases involve the direction in which the resultative phrase elaborates a semantic structure of the verb, just like other “normal” JRCs. The answer is “yes”, but this does not necessarily undermine our claim that in some DU resultatives, the resultative phrases are dependent on the verbs. In order to see why this is so, let us consider once again the case of (36) and (38), with reference to the diagrams below representing the elaborative relationship found in them. The parts given in bold indicate that they are cognitively salient.

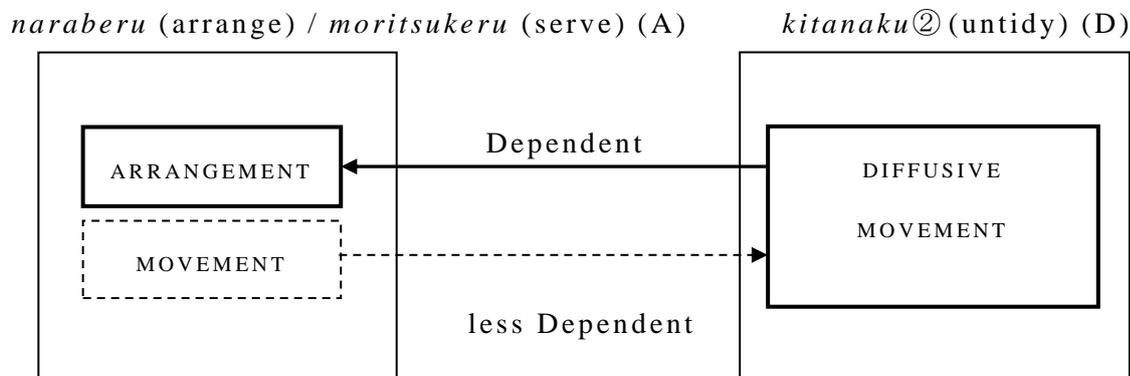
Figure 2. dependence relationship between *nuru/someru* and *kitanaku*①



Starting with the DU resultatives in (36), because the notion ‘attachment of dye’ is elaborated by the notion ‘attachment of undesirable thing’, it might be possible to claim that the verbs, *nuru* and *someru* are indeed dependent on the resultative phrase, *kitanaku*①. However, it is not the case that the notion ‘attachment of dye’ constitutes a “salient” substructure of the verbs, *nuru* and *someru*. Instead, it is the notion ‘change in color’ that counts as salient semantic component in the verbs. When you paint a wall or dye your hair, you normally pay attention to the fact that the target for the actions changes in its color, but you are little aware of the dye’s being attached to it. Recall here the definition of conceptual dependence given in (18). Given that the definition, it follows that one structure is less dependent on the one which elaborates a not very salient substructure of it. Thus, the degree of the verbs’ dependence on the resultative phrase in (36) is not so high, if not absent at all. Conversely, we can also see from figure 2 that the notion ‘attachment of dye’ elaborates the notion ‘attachment of undesirable thing’, which constitutes a salient substructure of *kitanaku*①. Consequently, in this case, the resultative phrase is dependent on the verbs much more than the latter is dependent on the former, after all.

The greater degree of resultative phrases’ dependence on verbs than conversely can also be observed in DU resultatives like (38), which are represented diagrammatically below:

Figure 3. dependence relationship between *naraberu/ moritsukeru* and *kitanaku*②



It might be argued that the verbs *naraberu* and *moritsukeru* are dependent on the resultative phrases *kitanaku*②, in that ‘diffusive movement (of physical objects)’ elaborates ‘movement (of physical objects)’. However, because moving physical objects does not entail that the objects are arranged, the notion of ‘movement (of physical objects)’ cannot be thought of as constituting a salient substructure of these verbs. Furthermore, the unacceptability of (40) makes us wonder if it is really appropriate to analyze ‘diffusive movement (of physical objects)’ as an elaboration of ‘movement (of physical objects)’.

(40) ?? kodomotachi-ga (fukusuno) isu-o kitanaku② ugokashi-ta.  
 children-NOM chairs-ACC **untidy** move- PAST

On the other hand, we can say that the notion of ‘diffusive movement (of physical objects)’ counts as a salient substructure of *kitanaku*②: the untidy state of things presupposes a diffusive movement of them. Thus, it is more appropriate to say that the resultative phrase *kitanaku*② in (38) is dependent on the verbs *naraberu* and *moritsukeru*, which elaborate a salient substructure of it.

The need to assume the direction of dependence from a resultative phrase to a verb is further confirmed by the examination of the following cases.

- (41) a. *kaisha-no toile-o **kitanaku**<sup>①</sup> tsukau hito-ga imasu.*  
 office-GEN bathroom-ACC **dirty** use person-NOM COP  
 Joshi toile nanoni benki-ga yogore-teiru kotoga arimasu.  
 women's bathroom despite toilet bowl-NOM soiled-PERF

([http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question\\_detail/q1334234768](http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q1334234768))

- b. *Watashi-no share mate-no cyugoku jin-wa itsumo kitchen-o*  
 I-GEN share mate-COP Chinese-TOP always kitchen-ACC  
**kitanaku**<sup>②</sup> tsukatte, katazuke-nai.  
**untidy** using clear up-NEG

([http://blog.livedoor.jp/jbg\\_maki/archives/cat\\_50018102.html?p=2](http://blog.livedoor.jp/jbg_maki/archives/cat_50018102.html?p=2))

Interestingly enough, although these DU resultatives involve the verbs which do not imply a state change of the object referent, they are well-formed sentences. Clearly, the verb *tsukau* (use) in (41) does not imply any state change. Nevertheless, the sentences in (41) receive a causal interpretation: “as a result of using an office bathroom, it became dirty” in (41a) and “as a result of using a kitchen, it was messed up” in (41b). Therefore, they constitute counterexamples to ‘verbal requirement’, which has been proposed in many of the previous analyses. However, these resultatives would not be exceptional cases in the conceptual dependence analysis proposed here. Note that the ‘verbal requirement’, along with the ‘result requirement’ noted above, can be taken as a reflection of the relationship in which a verb is dependent on a resultative phrase in JRCs. Since the conceptual dependence analysis allows for the relation in the reverse direction (i.e. a resultative phrase is dependent on a verb) as well, there is no need to suppose that in (41) the resultative phrase should elaborate a substructure of the verb’s meaning. In fact, it would seem

implausible to claim that the resultative phrases *kitanaku*① and *kitanaku*② elaborate a substructure of the meaning of the verb *tsukau* (use), because there is no way to specify the verbal meaning without any implication of resultant state by means of the resultative phrase which denote a state change. We see from these cases, more obviously than the ones in (36) and (38), that some DU resultatives should be analyzed in terms of a resultative phrase's dependence on a verb: the meaning of the verb elaborates a substructure of the resultative phrases. In (41a) the notion 'the use of an office bathroom' denoted by the verbal phrase elaborates the notion 'attachment of undesirable thing' in *kitanaku*① and in (41b) the notion 'the use of a kitchen' elaborates the notion of 'diffusive movement' in *kitanaku*②.

Similarly, in (42) the causal relation between the verb which does not imply a resultant state and the resultative phrase is expressed: as a result of eating a grilled fish, it was scattered.

(42) Tsuribakanisshi de Hama chan-ga yakizakana-o **kitanaku**② tabe-ta  
 Tsuribakanisshi in Hama-chan-NOM grilled fish-ACC **untidy** eat-PAST  
 Su san-ni it-ta serifu...  
 Su san-to say-PAST lines

([http://blog.livedoor.jp/dai\\_ikeike/archives/51459102.html](http://blog.livedoor.jp/dai_ikeike/archives/51459102.html))

Again, it seems dubious that a substructure of the verbal meaning is elaborated by the resultative phrase. What the DU resultative in (42), as a whole, denotes is not the event of eating but rather the event of scattering. Thus, the proper characterization is that the notion of 'diffusive movement of physical objects' in the resultative phrase *kitanaku*② is elaborated by the notion of 'movement of food' in the verbal meaning.

### 7.5. “Dirty (and untidy)” resultative phrases

The discussion of DU resultatives so far has revealed that some of them are not subject to the constraint on JRCs which was proposed in previous analyses. The characteristics of DU resultatives can thus be summarized in the following two respects:

(43) DU resultatives can

- (i) express the result state which is not implied in the verbal meaning.
- (ii) allow for the occurrence of verbs which does not imply a state change.

A natural question that arises is why DU resultatives can exhibit these properties in the first place. We claim that the answer lies in the fact that the resultative phrase *kitanaku* takes on a stronger ‘result-oriented’ property than other resultative phrase. We will present some evidence in favor of this characterization.

First, the resultative phrase *kitanaku* cannot function as a manner-adverbial.

- (44) Itamae-wa            ikezukuri-o                    kakkouyoku    moritsuke-ta.  
       cook-TOP    slices of raw fish-ACC            nice            arrange-PAST  
 a. ikezukuri-no        jyoutai-ga        kakkoyoi. (‘result’ interpretation)  
       ikezukuri-GEN    state-NOM        nice  
 b. moritsukeru        yosu-ga        kakkoyoi. (‘manner’ interpretation)  
       arrange            manner-NOM    nice

(Yazawa 2000:208)

As Yazawa (2000) points out, the phrase *kakkouyoku* in (44) can be interpreted either as denoting the resultant state brought about by the verbal action or as modifying the manner of action denoted by the verb. That is, the phrase *kakkouyoku* allows for not only a ‘result’ interpretation as in



- (47) a. John-wa {\*ichi-jikan / ichi-jikan de} kono kabe-o akaku nut-ta.  
 John-TOP one hour for / one hour in this wall-ACC red paint-PAST
- b. John-wa kabe-o akaku nut-ta ga,  
 John-TOP wall-ACC red paint-PAST but  
 #kabe zentai-ga akai wake dewanai.  
 wall the whole part-NOM red the case not

(Kishimoto 2007: 103, 104)

Second, the sentence cannot be followed by a continuation denying the completeness of the state change denoted by the resultative phrase, as in (47b).

- (48) a. John-wa {ichi-jikan / ?ichi-jikan de} kono kabe-o kitanaku nut-ta.  
 John-TOP one hour for / one hour in this wall-ACC dirty paint-PAST
- b. John-wa kabe-o kitanaku nut-ta ga,  
 John-TOP wall-ACC dirty paint-PAST but  
 kabe zentai-ga kitanai wake dewanai.  
 wall the whole part-NOM dirty the case not

Notice, however, that if *akaku* is replaced by *kitanaku*, then the verb *nuru* can be modified by the durative adverbial *ichi-jikan* and is less likely to have a telic interpretation as shown in (48a), which in turn reflects the cancellability of completeness of the state change in (48b). It follows, therefore, that with DU resultatives, the achievement of the result state does not entail that the action causing the state change be finished. In fact, the state denoted by *kitanaku* can be brought about during the progress of the verbal action. This greater degree of accessibility to a result state may not be unrelated to the fact that the adjective *kitanai*, which is the base form of *kitanaku*, corresponds to what Wechsler (2005) calls “minimal end-point adjectives”. From what has been said above, it seems reasonable to

attribute the idiosyncratic properties of DU resultatives in (43) to a ‘result-oriented’ property of the result phrase *kitanaku* per se.

## **7.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has examined DU resultatives, some of which behave differently from the ordinary resultatives discussed in the literature, in that they can (i) express the result state which is not implied in the verbal meaning and (ii) allow for the occurrence of verbs which does not imply a state change. Thus, DU resultatives pose a challenging problem to previous analyses which hold the verbal meaning alone to be responsible for the formation of JRCs. It has been argued that in order to overcome the problem created by such analyses, the notion of conceptual dependence (Langacker 1987, 1991) should be employed. As already noted, since the conceptual dependence is a gradient notion, nothing prevents each element from elaborating the other. Thus, the conceptual dependence analysis accommodates cases like DU resultatives, which requires the notion evoked by resultative phrases to be elaborated by the verbal meaning.

## Chapter 8 Resultative Constructions in English and Japanese

### 8.1. Introduction

In the final chapter, we present a contrastive analysis of English and Japanese resultative constructions.

- (1) a. John painted the wall red.  
b. They broke the window to pieces.
- (2) a. John-ga kabe-o aka-ku nut-ta.  
John-NOM wall-ACC red paint-PAST  
b. Karera-wa mado-o konagona-ni wat-ta.  
They-TOP window-ACC to pieces break-PAST

It has been suggested in previous studies that a stronger constraint is imposed on the formation of Japanese resultative constructions (henceforth, JRCs) than that of the English resultative constructions (henceforth, ERCs). That is, unlike ERCs, JRCs requires the verb which implies a state change.

- (3) a. John pounded the metal flat.  
b. The lecturer talked himself hoarse.
- (4) a. ?John-ga kinzoku-o pechanko-ni tatai-ta.  
John-NOM metal-ACC flat poud-PAST.  
b.\*Koshi-wa jibun-no koe-o karakara-ni shabet-ta.  
lecturer-TOP himself-GEN voice-ACC hoarse talk-PAST.

This is illustrated in the contrast between (3) and (4): ERCs allow for the verb which does not imply a result state, while JRCs do not (Kageyama 1996, 2001, Washio 1997). Thus, the resultative phrase in JRCs has been regarded as further specifying a result state already encoded in the verb.

However, as Kusayama and Ichinohe (2005) observe, some JRCs express a

result state which is not implied in the verbal meaning:

- (5) a. John-ga            kabe-o            utukushi-ku    nut-ta  
          John-NOM        wall-ACC        beautiful        paint-PAST  
      b. Okasan-ga        gohan-o            oishiku            tai-ta.  
          Mother-NOM    rice-ACC        delicious        cook-PAST

- (6) a. \*John painted the wall beautiful.        (Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005: 182)  
      b. \*Mother cooked rice delicious.        (Muraio 2009: 192)

Moreover, it is worth noting that the corresponding ERCs in (6) are judged unacceptable, which makes a contrastive study of JRCs and ERCs more difficult. Then, we are going to explore where these differences in the distribution of resultative constructions in both languages come from.

## 8.2. Cause-result relation vs. means-purpose relation

The differences between ERCs and JRCs we have just seen have been characterized in terms of the cause-result relation and the means-purpose relation. Specifically, ERCs get extended based on the cause-result relation between the event denoted by the verb and the event denoted by the resultative phrase, while JRCs get extended based on the means-purpose relation between these two subevents. The analysis along these lines was first proposed by Kusayama and Ichinohe (2005), and was subsequently developed by Muraio (2009). We will show that this analysis is insufficient to properly capture the difference between ERCs and JRCs. In this section, we start with an overview of Muraio (2009) and critically examine its validity.

### 8.2.1. English resultative constructions

Muraio (2009) suggests that ERCs are associated with the notions of Causality, Telicity, and Affectedness as central cognitive domains that

characterize its semantics, on the grounds that they are related to *make*-causatives and particle constructions. Murao (2009) goes on to claim that of these notions, Causality plays the most important role in the semantic extension of ERCs. In this analysis, the extension of ERCs is based on Basic Resultatives, which express an objective causal relation, and as we move from (7) to (10), ERCs are increasingly extended to the types which express a more subjective causal relation. Note that all the extended resultatives in (8) to (10) involve a verb which does not imply a result state. Thus, the causal relation between the verb and the resultative phrase must be construed subjectively.

**(7) Basic Resultative**

- a. They broke the window to pieces.
- b. John painted the wall red.
- c. She froze the jelly solid.

**(8) Non-Basic Resultative**

- a. John hammered the metal flat.
- b. John kicked Bob black and blue.
- c. The gardener watered the tulips flat.

**(9) Intransitive Resultative 1**

- a. I danced myself tired.
- b. The lecturer talked himself hoarse.
- c. The girl cried herself to sleep.

**(10) Intransitive Resultative 2**

- a. The joggers ran the pavement thin.
- b. Professor talked us into a stupor.

### **8.2.2. Japanese resultative constructions**

On the other hand, Murao (2009) supposes that unlike ERCs, JRCs evoke cognitive domains such as Manner and Purpose more prominently. This view

draws on the assumption that JRCs are extended from manner adverbial constructions like (11) to Basic Resultatives like (15). Murao (2009) argues that the notion of Manner, Purpose, and Causality are closely related to each other and that the direction of extension of JRC can be described in terms of the difference in relative salience among the these three notions:

**Manner**

- (11) a. Kare-wa te-o haya-ku fut-ta.  
 He-NOM hand-ACC fast wave-PAST  
 b. Taro-wa hata-o chisaku fut-ta.  
 Taro-TOP flag-ACC little wave-PAST

**Purpose-manner**

- (12) a. kare-wa kutsu-no himo-o kata-ku/yuru-ku musun-da.  
 He-TOP shoe-GEN lace-ACC tight/loose tie-PAST  
 b. Kare-wa niku-o atu-ku/usu-ku kit-ta.  
 He-TOP meat-ACC thick/thin cut-PAST

**Purpose Resultative 2**

- (13) a. John-ga kabe-o utukushi-ku nut-ta.  
 John-NOM wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST  
 b. Taro-wa Hanako-no kami-o kawai-ku kit-ta.  
 Taro-TOP Hanako-GEN hair-ACC pretty cut-PAST

**Purpose Resultative 1**

- (14) a. Kanojyo-wa kutsu-o pikapika-ni migai-ta.  
 She-TOP shoes-ACC to a brilliant shine polish-PAST  
 b. Mary-wa tebru-o kirei-ni fui-ta.  
 Mary-TOP table-ACC clean wipe-PAST

**Basic Resultative**

- (15) a. John-ga kabe-o aka-ku nut-ta.  
 John-NOM wall-ACC red paint-PAST

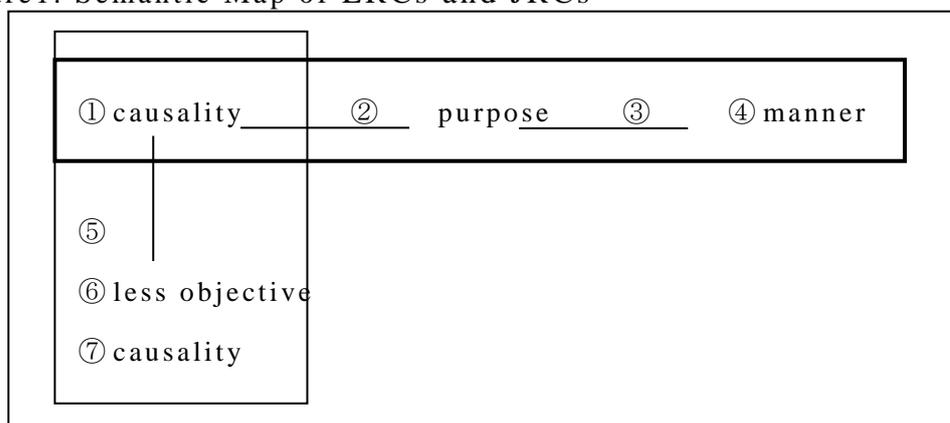
b. Karera-wa mado-o konagona-ni wat-ta.  
 They-TOP window-ACC to pieces break-PAST

Picking up a part of the way JRCs are extended, the Purpose domain is more prominent in Purpose Resultative 2 than in Purpose Resultative 1, while the Causality domain is more prominent in the latter than in the former. In Basic resultative, the Causality domain is evoked most prominently.

### 8.2.3. Comparison of ERCs and JRCs

Murao (2009:190) summarizes his observation of ERCs and JRCs in a semantic map, as depicted in Figure 1. A semantic map is a geometrical representation of the language-particular pattern of functions that a grammatical form can serve in a conceptual space, which is claimed to represent a language-universal conceptual structure of the grammatical form (Croft 2001, Haspelmath 2003).

Figure 1. Semantic Map of ERCs and JRCs



- ① Basic Resultative    ② Purpose Resultative 1, 2    ③ Purpose-manner    ④ Manner  
 ⑤ Non-basic Transitive Resultative  
 ⑥ Intransitive Resultative 1    ⑦ Intransitive Resultative 2

The cognitive domains of ERCs are represented in the vertical rectangle, while that of JRCs in the lateral rectangle with a thick line. This semantic

map helps to reveal the difference in the extension patterns between ERCs and JRCs.

Let us consider once again the contrast between (3) and (4). These cases correspond to the Non-basic Transitive Resultative or the Intransitive Resultative 1 and thus are located in the area marked by ⑤ or ⑥ in Figure 1.

(3) a. John pounded the metal flat.

b. The lecturer talked himself hoarse.

(4) a. ?John-ga kinzoku-o pechanko-ni tatai-ta.

John-NOM metal-ACC flat poud-PAST.

b.\*Koshi-wa jibun-no koe-o karakara-ni shabet-ta.

lecturer-TOP himself-GEN voice-ACC hoarse talk-PAST.

According to Mura0 (2009), the reason for this contrast is that ERCs are extended based on Causality, while the Basic Resultative is the endpoint of extensions of JRCs. That is, since JRCs are not based on Causality, they can express the type in which the Causality is warranted by the semantics of the verb alone, but cannot be extended to the type in which a causal interpretation must be supplied between the verb and the resultative phrase.

Besides, it is claimed that the characterization of ERCs and JRCs in terms of the different base for extension accounts for the contrast

(5) a. John-ga kabe-o utukushi-ku nut-ta

John-NOM wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST

b. Okasan-ga gohan-o oishiku tai-ta.

Mother-NOM rice-ACC delicious cook-PAST

(6) a.\*John painted the wall beautiful. (Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005: 182)

b.\*Mother cooked rice delicious. (Mura0 2009: 192)

This type is intended to convey that the resultative phrase denotes a purpose of the verbal action. Thus, it can be naturally accommodated in the extension pattern of JRCs, whose base construction is a manner adverbial construction closely related to the notion of Purpose. In contrast, the unacceptability of (6) is attributed to the assumption that since the extension of ERCs is based on the Causality, ERCs cannot extend beyond a type which expresses the Causality to the one whose central domain is the Purpose.

#### 8.2.4. Problems with Murao (2009)

It might appear that Murao's (2009) claim captures the difference between ERCs and JRCs by employing the notion of Causality and Purpose. But when we look closely at the data, it turns out that these notions fail to predict the full distribution of ERCs and JRCs.

First, some ERCs can be said to evoke the Purpose domain as well as the Causality domain, in that the resultative phrase denotes a purpose of the verbal action. Let us consider the examples in (16).

- (16) a. Mary-wa      tebru-o      kirei-ni      fui-ta.      (= (14a))  
           Mary-TOP   table-ACC   clean      wipe-PAST  
       b. Mary wiped the table clean.

Murao (2009:157) calls the example (16a) Purpose Resultative 1, citing it to illustrate that JRCs are associated with the notion of Purpose. Notice, however, that the English counterpart of (16a) is a well-formed expression. Like the verb *fuku* in (16a), the verb *wipe* in (16b) does not entail a state change of the direct object referent. Washio (1997) finds out that *wipe* denotes an action for achieving a certain purpose, as can be seen in the dictionary description below:

(17) **wipe**: to rub (a surface or object), e.g., with a cloth or against another surface, *in order to remove dirt, liquid, etc.*

(from Longman dictionary, Washio 1997:14)

Therefore, although Purpose Resultative 1 is not represented in the semantic map of ERCs in Figure 1, there is no reason to exclude Purpose Resultative 1 from the scope of the extension of ERCs, either.

Furthermore, there are even cases of ERCs which are required to evoke the Purpose domain rather than the Causality domain.

(18) a. John hammered the metal {flat/\*safe}.

b. The slide at the park had come loose. Several children had hurt themselves on the protruding edge. In order to prevent further injuries, John hammered the metal safe. (Verspoor 1997:128,129)

As the distribution of the resultative phrase in (18a) suggests, the act of hammering a metal has a natural causal relation with the result state of the metal being flat, not being safe. Still, the resultative phrase *safe* can appear in a context such as (18b), which motivates a purpose reading of it.

The same goes for the following examples.

(19) a. The wise dog barked his master awake to warn him of the fire.

b.\*A stray dog in the distance barked the sleeping child awake.

(Kageyama 2007:39)

Kageyama (2007) observes that ERCs are more likely to be judged acceptable when the resultative phrase denotes an intended result than when it denotes an accidental result of the same verbal action. What needs to be noted here is that the ERCs in (19) correspond to Intransitive Resultative 2, where the objective causal relation between the verbal event and the

resultant event is most attenuated of the subtypes described in Figure 1. Murao (2009) only assumes that ERCs extend from the Basic Resultative all the way to the Intransitive Resultative 2, retaining a causal structure. Thus, in his analysis, it is unexpected that (19b) is unacceptable and the same collocation of the verb and the resultative phrase as (19b) can become acceptable in another context, as in (19a). Suppose we accept Murao’s (2009) claim below:

(20) “English resultatives, therefore, cannot extend beyond a matrix whose central domain is causality... (Murao 2009:171).

“English doesn’t allow resultatives to have constructions which invoke purpose as a central domain” (Murao 2009:160)

Then, we would incorrectly predict that (19a) is acceptable but (19b) is not.

Second, turning to JRCs, some of them can express the result state which is not implied by the meaning of the verb, even when the resultative phrase does not denote a purpose of the verbal action.

- (21) a. John-ga           ukkari           kabe-o           kitana-ku   nut-ta.  
           John-NOM   accidentally   wall-ACC       dirty         paint-PAST  
       b. Otouto-wa       katta bakari no sinsha-o   syumiwaru-ku   kaizousi-ta.  
           brother-TOP   brand new car-ACC   tasteless       customize-PAST
- (22) a. Okasan-ga       gohan-o       mazu-ku       tai-ta.  
           Mother-NOM   rice-ACC       bad taste       cook-PAST  
       b. Ano TV producer-wa   bangumi-o       tsumarana-ku   tsukut-ta.  
           that TV producer-TOP   program-ACC   uninteresting   make-PAST

In (21), the change of state verb is used. Clearly, however, the resultative phrase does not further specify a change already entailed by the verb. In (22), the creation verb, which does not have a causal relationship with a

resultative phrase, is used. According to Murao's (2009) analysis, in JRCs involving such a resultative phrase or such a verb, the means-purpose relation should be observed between the verb and the resultative phrase. Contrary to this expectation, the resultative phrases in (21) and (22) denote an accidental result brought about by the verbal action.

Indeed, a number of JRCs get extended when the resultative phrase evokes the Manner or the Purpose of the verbal action. Under this condition, even the action verbs which do not imply a result state can yield well-formed JRCs, as exemplified in (23b) and (24b).

- (23) a. ?Taro-ga kinzoku-o pechanko-ni tatai-ta.  
 Taro-NOM metal-ACC flat pound-PAST.
- b. Tori momoniku-wa kannon biraki-ni kiri taira-ni tatai-te kudasai  
 chicken thigh-TOP like double doors cut flat pound IMP
- (24) a. \*Taro-wa Jiro-o azadarake-ni ket-ta.  
 Taro-TOP Jiro-ACC black and blue kick-PAST
- b. Taro-wa kuruma-o bokoboko-ni ket-ta.  
 Taro-TOP car-ACC full of holes kick-PAST

(Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005: 176, 177)

Still, the following examples indicate that in order for action verbs to form JRCs, the means-purpose relation is not always required.

- (25) a. Dareka-ga ukkari kaisha-no toile-o kitana-ku  
 someone-NOM accidentally office-GEN bathroom-ACC dirty  
 tsukat-ta.  
 use-PAST
- b. Taro-wa kitzukanu uchini omoshiroikoto-o tunmarama-ku  
 Taro-TOP realizing without interesting thing-ACC boring  
 hanashi-ta.

Speak-PAST

To recapitulate, then, 1) the extension of some ERCs can draw on the notion of Purpose and 2) the extension of some JRCs does not always draw on the notion of Purpose, contrary to Murao's (2009) analysis. In the next section, we will examine how these facts should be handled.

### 8.3. Satellite-framed language vs. Verb-framed language

It seems instructive to start by adopting the typological view proposed by Talmy (2000) on the way to encode the core schema of the 'framing event', which plays a primary role in a complex event. The framing event includes a motion event and a state change event, whose core schema is 'Path' and 'Transition + state', respectively. Talmy (2000) classifies languages into satellite-framed languages and verb-framed ones, according to whether the core schema is encoded by the satellite (a grammatical element accompanying a verb root) or by the main verb. English is classified as the former type, as evidenced in (26), in which the core schema of 'Path' is encoded by the satellite.

(26) a. The bottle floated into the cave.

b. The bone pulled out of its socket. (Talmy 2000:227)

Additionally, in the satellite-framed language, a co-event, which bears a support relation to the framing event, is mapped onto the main verb; the co-event verb bears a Manner relation in (26a) and a Cause relation in (26b) to the framing event. In this connection, Matsumoto (1997, 2002) observes that the formation of caused-motion constructions is possible with the verbs which encode the Manner of the motion as in (27) or the Means ("Cause" in Talmy's term) as in (28) and (29), but not generally with the verbs which encode the Path as in (30).

- (27) a. The horseman ran the horse into the barn.  
 b. The horseman swam the horse to the shore. (Matsumoto 2002:200)

(28) Sam {kicked/pushed/pulled/shoved/tugged/dragged/threw/tossed/  
 hurled/pitched/squeezed} it into the hole. (ibid.:192)

- (29) a. John {forced/let/allowed} the man into the barn.  
 b. John {forced/let/allowed} the man out of the cell. (ibid.:201)

- (30) a.\*John entered the man into the barn.  
 b.\*John escaped the man out of the cell. (ibid.:200)

The coding pattern in which the Manner or the Means is associated with the main verb also applies to resultative constructions, whose framing event is a state change event.

- (31) a. I swung/slammed the door shut.  
 b. He jerked/started awake. (Talmy 2000:239)

- (32) a. I kicked the door shut. (Talmy 2000:239)  
 b. I shook him awake. (ibid.:239)  
 c. I washed the shirt clean. (ibid.:265)

In (31), the co-event which bears a Manner relation to the state change event is expressed by the main verb. As for (32a,b), although Talmy (2000) states that the co-event expressed by the main verb bears a Cause relation to the state change event, the relation can be regarded as one of Means, as well. Furthermore, Talmy (2000) calls the verbs like wash in (32c) “implied-fulfillment verbs”, whose meaning implies an intended result and the attainment of it is confirmed by the addition of a satellite. Thus, it seems appropriate to say that in (32c) the verb bears a Means relation to the state

change event. This view would straightforwardly account for the cases which call into question the validity of Murao's (2009) analysis:

- (33) a. Mary wiped the table clean. (= (16b))  
 b. John hammered the metal safe. (cf.(18b))  
 c. The wise dog barked his master awake to warn him of the fire. (= (19a))

Since English as a satellite-framed language allows the main verb in a complex event to specify the means to bring about the framing event, it is only natural that the resultative phrase in ERCs can denote a Purpose of the verbal action.

Another advantage of adopting the distinction between Satellite-framed languages and verb-framed ones is that it provides a key to capturing the difference between ERCs and JRCs.

- (34) a. I kicked the ball **into the box**. (Talmy 2000: 228)  
 b. They floated the raft **down the river**. (Matsumoto 1997:158)

As already noted, in satellite-framed languages like English, the Path is encoded in the satellite (given in bold). On the other hand, in Japanese, which is classified as a verb-framed language, the Path needs to be encoded in the main verb (given in bold) as in (35), the translation equivalent of (34).

- (35) a. Watashi-wa bouru-o kette hako ni **ire-ta**.  
 I-TOP ball-ACC by kicking box to put into-PAST  
 b. Karera-wa ikada-o ukabete kawa-o **kudarase-ta**.  
 They-TOP raft-ACC floating river-ACC went down-PAST

In this case, at the same time, the co-event which bears a Means or a Manner

relation to the motion event needs to be encoded by the participle form of the verb. That is, unlike in English, the encoding of the co-event in the main verb is not allowed in Japanese, as shown in (36).

- (36) a. ??Watashi-wa bouru-o hako ni ket-ta.  
           I-TOP ball-ACC box to kick-PAST  
       b. \*Karera-wa ikada-o kawa shimoni ukabe-ta. (the sense of (34b))  
           They-TOP raft-ACC river down float-PAST

It follows, then, that the acceptability of the sentences in (3) and the unacceptability in (4) are attributed to the characterization of English and Japanese as a satellite-framed and a verb-framed language, respectively (cf. Ono 2009, 2012). In verb-framed languages like Japanese, what should be encoded in the main verb is not the co-event specifying the notion of Means or Manner as in (4), but rather the framing state-change event as in (37). Again, the framing event is given in bold. This is why the action verb which does not imply a result state is not generally available in JRCs, compared with the case of ERCs.

- (3) a. John pounded the metal **flat**.  
       b. The lecturer talked himself **hoarse**.
- (4) a. ?John-ga kinzoku-o pechanko-ni tatai-ta.  
           John-NOM metal-ACC flat poud-PAST.  
       b. \*Koshi-wa jibun-no koe-o karakara-ni shabet-ta.  
           lecturer-TOP himself-GEN voice-ACC hoarse talk-PAST.
- (37) a. John-ga kinzoku-o tataki-**nobashi-ta**.  
           John-NOM metal-ACC pound-extend-PAST  
       b. Koshi-wa shabette koe-o **karashi-ta**.  
           lecturer-TOP talking voice-ACC become-hoarse-PAST

#### 8.4. Semantic integration between subevents

In the preceding section, we have seen that Talmy's (2000) typological classification of complex events would account for the fact that ERCs allow for a purpose reading of the resultative phrase and JRCs resist an action verb which does not imply a result state. However, merely recognizing the distinction satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages would remain to explain why a large number of resultative constructions are formed in Japanese, which is classified as a verb-framed language.

- (38) a. John-ga kabe-o aka-ku nut-ta. (= (2a))  
John-NOM wall-ACC red paint-PAST  
b. Mary-wa tebru-o kirei-ni fui-ta. (= (14b))  
Mary-TOP table-ACC clean wipe-PAST

In order to handle this fact, we must turn to Croft et.al (2010), who observe that "Talmy's typological classification applies to individual complex event types within a language, not to languages as a whole."(ibid.:202). Croft et.al (2010) demonstrate this by using the translation equivalents in Icelandic, Dutch, Bulgarian, Japanese and English of complex event constructions. For example, in English, complex events involving a state change event can be expressed by means of verb-framing as well as satellite-framing, although this is noticed by Talmy (2000:241) himself.

- (39) a. I wiped the table **clean**.  
b. I **cleaned** the table (by wiping it).  
(40) a. She hammered the metal **flat**.  
b. She **flattened** the metal (by hammering it). (Croft et.al 2010: 212)

Given the observation by Croft et.al (2010), it is no wonder that Japanese complex events involving a state change event are expressed with the

verb-framing pattern as in (37) or with the Satellite-framing pattern as in (38). The remaining question to ask is, then, when Japanese allows for satellite-framing constructions, namely resultative constructions. The answer has been suggested in the two kinds of implicational scales proposed by Croft et.al (2010) on the basis of the data obtained from the five languages noted above.

(41) **double framing, satellite framing** < verb framing, compounding  
 < *coordination* (Croft et.al 2010: 220)

(42) ‘paint X red’ < ‘freeze solid’ < ‘shoot X dead’? < ‘wipe table clean’?  
 < ‘push door open’ < ‘pound dough flat’ < ‘hammer metal flat’?  
 < ‘rock X to sleep’ (Croft et.al 2010: 223)

The scale in (41) indicates a degree of morpho-syntactic integration of the complex event construction; and as one goes from the right to the left of the scale, the degree of integration becomes higher. The scale in (42) indicates a degree of semantic integration in the causing event and the result event in the complex change of state events; and as one goes from the right to the left of the scale, the process leading to the result becomes more typical or natural (The mark “?” indicates that the exact position of the situation type with it varies depending on the languages.). Croft et.al (2010) note that for each language, the situation types higher on the conceptual scale in (42) use a construction higher on the formal scale in (41). That is, the situation types which exhibit a higher degree of semantic integration will be encoded in more highly integrated morpho-syntactic constructions. It follows, therefore, that the encoding of complex change of state events with the satellite-framing pattern means that in such events the causing event and the result event are more highly integrated to each other. This view seems to account for the observation reported in the literature that the formation of

resultative (satellite-framed) constructions in Japanese is only allowed when the verb lexically encodes the state change denoted by the resultative phrase as in (38) or has a “disposition” toward the result state (Washio 1997). Conversely, the reason why the JRCs in (4) are judged ill-formed comes from the fact that the causing event and the result event in each of the situations described are not sufficiently semantically integrated to be expressed by the satellite-framing pattern in Japanese. This can be appreciated by recalling that the verbs in (4) do not imply a state change and thus the result event denoted by the resultative phrases is not necessarily predictable from the causing event denoted by the verbs.

Pushing this analysis of associating the satellite-framing pattern with the higher degree of semantic integration between the subevents of complex events one step further, the formation of other JRCs is also accounted for. Let us take another look at the JRCs in (5), in which the resultative phrase does not denote a result state already entailed in the verb.

- |        |            |          |             |            |
|--------|------------|----------|-------------|------------|
| (5) a. | John-ga    | kabe-o   | utukushi-ku | nut-ta     |
|        | John-NOM   | wall-ACC | beautiful   | paint-PAST |
| b.     | Okasan-ga  | gohan-o  | oishiku     | tai-ta.    |
|        | Mother-NOM | rice-ACC | delicious   | cook-PAST  |

As we discussed in Chapter 7, this type can be handled by appealing to ‘conceptual dependence’ proposed by Langacker (1987) and recognizing that the resultative phrase elaborates the notion of ‘intention’ evoked by the verb. In this sense, one can say the higher degree of semantic integration required by the satellite-framing pattern is warranted. This fact can also be captured, following Murao’s (2009), by claiming that JRCs can be extended based on a means-purpose relation.

As already noted above, however, his analysis would fail to account for the well-formedness of cases like (43) despite the fact that their resultative



In these cases, *kitana-ku* denotes the state of things being scattered. Note that such a state presupposes the concept of ‘diffusive movement of things’, which can be elaborated by the concept evoked by the verb or the verbal phrase (i.e. ‘movement of stuff in a kitchen or that of fish meat’). Thus, as with the cases in (43), the semantic integration of the causing event and the result event in (44) is confirmed by making reference to the meaning of the resultative phrase.

### 8.5. Subjective Evaluation

Examples like (43) and (44) seem to suggest that other than Purpose, there is a notion which makes a crucial contribution to the extension of JRCs. We claim that it is the notion of Subjective Evaluation. This notion can be recognized even in the JRCs like (5) characterized as expressing a means-purpose relation, in the first place. Although the resultative phrases in (5) can be construed as denoting a purpose of the verbal action, they are, in themselves, none other than the phrases that denote the notion of Subjective Evaluation.

- |        |            |          |             |            |
|--------|------------|----------|-------------|------------|
| (5) a. | John-ga    | kabe-o   | utukushi-ku | nut-ta     |
|        | John-NOM   | wall-ACC | beautiful   | paint-PAST |
| b.     | Okasan-ga  | gohan-o  | oishiku     | tai-ta.    |
|        | Mother-NOM | rice-ACC | delicious   | cook-PAST  |

Recall, in this connection, that the ERCs corresponding to (5) are ill-formed.

- (6) a.\*John painted the wall beautiful.  
 b.\*Mother cooked rice delicious.

Murao (2009) argues that this is because ERCs cannot extend based on the

notion of Purpose. However, given that in some ERCs the resultative phrase can denote a purpose of the verbal action as observed in section 8.2.3., the unacceptability of (6) should be attributed to ERCs' inability to evoke the notion of Subjective Evaluation.

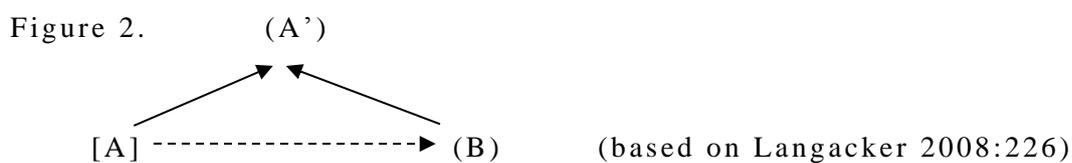
The notion of Subjective Evaluation is more apparent in the cases of JRCs with an undesirable outcome like (43) and (44), among which further extended instances of JRCs can be found:

- (45) a. Otouto-wa katta bakari no sinsha-o syumiwaru-ku kaizousi-ta. (= (21b))  
 brother-TOP brand new car-ACC tasteless customize-PAST  
 b. Taro-wa kitzukanu uchini omoshiroikoto-o tunmarama-ku  
 Taro-TOP realizing without interesting thing-ACC boring  
 hanashi-ta. (= (25b))  
 speak-PAST

- (22) a. Okasan-ga gohan-o mazu-ku tai-ta.  
 Mother-NOM rice-ACC bad taste cook-PAST  
 b. Ano TV producer-wa bangumi-o tsumarana-ku tsukut-ta.  
 that TV producer-TOP program-ACC uninteresting make-PAST

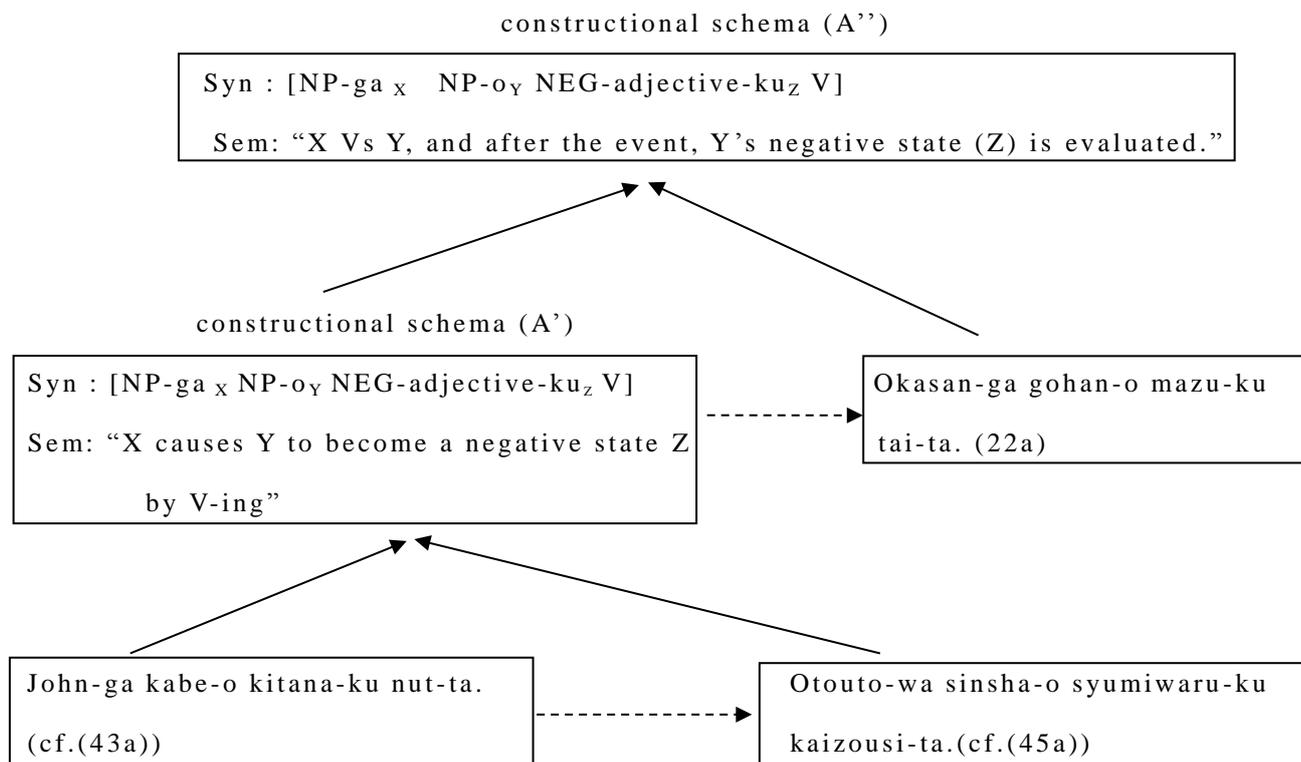
We have already confirmed that the examples in (43) and (44), which we called DU resultatives in Chapter 7, exhibit a semantic integration of the causing event and the result event in the sense that the verbal event elaborates the concept inherent in the resultative phrase. On the other hand, the examples in (45) and (22), which do not exhibit such a relation between the verb and the resultative phrase, are nevertheless well-formed expressions. The question of why this is so can be addressed by adopting the view of a usage-based model. In a usage-based model (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999, Taylor 2002), an expression (B) is judged well-formed to the extent that it conforms to linguistic units [A] invoked as the basis for

apprehending it. Even when the expression (B) conflicts in some respect with the linguistic unit [A], the (B) can be assimilated to the [A], as long as a higher-order schema (A') is extracted which displays an abstract similarity between both the [A] and the (B). That is, this abstracted similarity motivates the extension of (B) to (A), as described in Figure 2, where the dashed line arrow and the solid line arrow indicate the extension and the schematization, respectively.



Positing the extension process as shown in Figure 2 allows us to account for the well-formedness of the examples in (45) and (22). Let us see how this analysis works by looking at Figure 3.

Figure 3. The network of JRCs involving a negative result



To begin with, expressions like (45a) can be regarded as extensions of DU resultatives like (43a). As noted immediately above, expressions like (45a) do not exhibit a semantic integration in the sense that neither the verb nor the result phrase elaborates the other. In this respect, they conflict with DU resultatives like (43a). Notice, however, that both expressions have two characteristics in common: a causal relation between the verb and the resultative phrase, and a negative result state. These commonalities, which are specified in the semantics of a higher-order constructional schema (A') on the middle left part, enable expressions like (45a) to be assimilated to DU resultatives.

Next, expressions like (22a) involve creation verbs and thus exhibit little or no causal relation between the verb and the resultative phrase. Thus, in order for them to be assimilated to the “family” of JRCs involving a negative result, as shown in the top box in Figure 3, a still higher-order constructional schema (A'') needs to be extracted with the semantics of “X Vs Y, and after the event, Y’s negative state (Z) are evaluated.”. It is this highly abstract schema that is responsible for the sanction of expressions like (22a).

## **8.6. Conclusion**

In previous studies, the difference between ERCs and JRCs has been explored in terms of the notion of Causality and Purpose. However, a closer examination of the data which have been cited in the literature and newly presented in this chapter has revealed that the notion of Purpose fails to draw a sharp distinction ERCs and JRCs. Some ERCs, like most of the JRCs, can draw on the notion of Purpose. On the other hand, some JRCs, even without evoking the notion of Purpose, can express a “strong” causal relation in the sense that the verb does not imply a result state denoted by the resultative phrase. Moreover, it has also been observed that JRCs can even be extended to the type in which the result state brought about by an

action is merely negatively evaluated, independently of the notion of Causality or Purpose. Therefore, the difference between ERCs and JRCs is better captured by the contrast in the notion of Causality and that of Subjective Evaluation.

## Conclusion

The present study has been concerned with explicating the conditions under which resultative constructions in English and in Japanese are formed. In the early part of this dissertation, we have discussed English resultative constructions. In accounting for the formation of resultative constructions, the previous studies have emphasized the role of argument structure constructions (Goldberg 1995), on the one hand, and the role of the encyclopedic meaning of verbs (Boas 2003), on the other. However, it has been pointed out that some resultative constructions cannot be properly handled by either of these approaches. In order to deal with such cases, we have proposed to focus on the role of resultative phrases.

In chapter 2, after critically reviewing Boas' (2003) view, according to which the formation of resultative constructions are virtually determined by the encyclopedic meaning of verbs alone, the following two points have been made:

- (1) a. At a level beyond what Boas (2003) assumes as the sense of each verb, it is possible to make a prediction or generalization on the acceptability of English resultative constructions to a large extent.
- b. The formation of some resultative constructions involves a part where one should not rely on the lexical specification alone of the individual verbs.

In making these proposals, we have adopted the distinction by Iwata (2008b) between verb-based resultatives and argument structure construction (ASC) -based resultatives. We have to admit that the formation of the former type is specified in semantic representation of individual verbs, as Boas claims. However, it has been shown that we can establish a significant generalization about the formation of the latter type: In addition

to specifying the manner that brings about the event designated by the construction, the verb must denote a continuous and cyclic event. Moreover, we have cited the resultative construction involving the resultative phrase, *asleep* to illustrate the claim stated in (1b).

- (2) a. ...he drank too much mulled sack and sang himself hoarse. [COCA]  
b. John sang the baby asleep. (Rothstein 2004:131)

In (2), one and the same verb yields two different types of resultative constructions (i.e. the one which represents a causal relation and the one which does not), depending on the resultative phrase they combine with. That is, it is a resultative phrase, rather than a verb, that determines whether a resultative construction represents a causal relation or not. It has been claimed that the cases like (2b), which do not represent a causal relation, are sanctioned by a higher-order schema which captures the commonality between verb-based resultatives and ASC-based resultatives.

In chapter 3, we have examined and compared the contexts where “*to* exhaustion” and “*into* exhaustion” are used, showing that the former tends to be observed in a positive context involving the actor’s intention, while the latter tends to be observed in a negative context without the actor’s intention. This difference has been argued to be attributable to the difference between the preposition *to* and *into*, which in turn substantiates our claim that the description of the whole event denoted by some resultative constructions requires making reference to the meaning of individual resultative phrases.

In chapter 4 and 5, we have examined the conditions under which resultative constructions exhibit either bare XP patterns or reflexive patterns. In chapter 4, it has been argued that these patterns are distinguished from each other in terms of not whether temporal dependence between the subevents is recognized (RH and L 1999, 2001), but whether the

result state denoted by the resultative phrase is normally predictable from the verbal semantic information including encyclopedic knowledge. This characterization allows us to account for the contrast between (3a) and (3b).

- (3) a. Seeking total control of his career, he negotiated out of a contract  
that had granted him advances of \$10 million per album.  
b.\*The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate out of power.  
cf. The assumption is that Saddam would never negotiate himself out of  
power. (Christian Science Monitor, 9/4, 1990)

While temporal dependence is not recognized in either (3a) or (3b), it is clear that what is normally expected as a consequence of negotiating in light of encyclopedic knowledge is the state of *out of contract*, not *out of power*. This is because *out of contract* can be regarded as a purpose of negotiating. This observation is compatible with Boas' (2003) approach, which draws attention to the encyclopedic meaning of verbs. In chapter 5, however, it has been pointed out that some resultative constructions cannot be handled by the encyclopedic meaning of verbs alone.

- (4) a.\*Bob ran into a frenzy. (L and RH 1995: 207)  
b Stark was the recipient of possession in some space  
which he embellished by brushing off a couple of tackles, only then to  
run crossfield into trouble. [BNC]

While the resultative phrases in both bare XP patterns in (4) denote a result state not conventionally expected from the action of running, only the sentence in (4b) is well-formed. It has been proposed that the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases is responsible for the contrast in (4). In order to make this point, we have employed the notion of Conceptual dependence (Langacker 1987, 1991) and Domain highlighting (Croft 1993).

When resultative constructions are analyzed on the basis of Conceptual dependence, it follows that a verb is dependent on a resultative phrase in that the latter elaborates a substructure of the concept evoked by the former. The unacceptability of (4a) is due to the fact that the resultative phrases are incompatible with the verbs: the commonality between their substructures is not recognized to the extent that the former can elaborate a concept evoked by the latter. By contrast, the resultative phrase in (4b), *into trouble* can evoke ‘spatial path’ as well as ‘property path’. Thus, the verb *run* highlighting the concept of ‘spatial path’ evoked by *into trouble* warrants the semantic coherence of the composition of the both components.

In subsequent chapters, we have examined Japanese resultative constructions. In chapter 6, we have considered the function of adjective-*ku* forms, which are employed as resultative phrases in Japanese resultative constructions; it has been suggested that more attention should be paid to their “thing-oriented” function in the sense of being predicated of the noun phrase instead of paying exclusive attention to their function as adverbials modifying a verbal meaning. In chapter 7, we have analyzed Japanese “dirty (and untidy)” resultative constructions (DU resultatives).

- (5) a. Ano    tosoya-wa        ukkari            kabe-o        kitanaku        nut-ta.  
           that painter-TOP    accidentally    wall-ACC        dirty            paint-PAST
- b. Dareka-ga            ukkari            kaisha-no        toile-o        kitana-ku  
           someone-NOM        accidentally    office-GEN        bathroom-ACC    dirty  
           tsukat-ta.  
           use-PAST

It has been observed that some DU resultatives behave differently from the ordinary resultatives discussed in the literature, in that they can (i) express the result state which is not implied in the verbal meaning, as in (5a) and (ii) allow for the occurrence of verbs which does not imply a state change,

as in (5b). It has been shown that these DU resultatives can be also handled by means of the conceptual dependence analysis, in which nothing prevents each element from elaborating substructures of the other. Thus, the idiosyncratic properties of DU resultatives stated immediately above are accounted for by recognizing that the concept evoked by a resultative phrase can be elaborated by a verbal meaning. This indicates that our view that the encyclopedic meaning of resultative phrases plays a crucial role in some resultative constructions applies to the Japanese data, as well.

In Chapter 8, we have discussed the difference between English resultative constructions (ERCs) and Japanese resultative constructions (JRCs).

(6) a. The lecturer talked himself hoarse.

b.\*Koshi-wa jibun-no koe-o karakara-ni shabet-ta.  
 lecturer-TOP himself-GEN voice-ACC hoarse talk-PAST.

(7) a. John-ga kabe-o utukushi-ku nut-ta

John-NOM wall-ACC beautiful paint-PAST

b.\*John painted the wall beautiful.

(Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005: 182)

In recent years, it has been claimed, in the light of data like contrasts in (6) and (7), that ERCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Causality’, while JRCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Purpose’ (Kusayama and Ichinohe 2005; Murao 2009).

(8) a. ...their new Czech manager, Jozef Venglos, who is making so many nice noises about English football these days that he'll talk himself out of a job if he isn't careful. (*The Sunday Times*, 9/30, 1990)

b. IS Andre Villas-Boas trying to talk himself out of a job and into a big pay-off? (*Daily Star Sunday*, 3/4, 2012)

(9) a. The wise dog barked his master awake to warn him of the fire.

b.\*A stray dog in the distance barked the sleeping child awake.

(Kageyama 2007:39)

However, it has been pointed out that one and the same verb-resultative phrase combination can describe not only an accidental result as in (8a) but also an intended result as in (8b), and some ERCs even requires their resultative phrase to denote an intended result as in (9). Additionally, as observed above, some DU resultatives allow their resultative phrase to denote an accidental result. In order to accommodate these data, we have suggested that the extension of ERCs and JRCs should be characterized in terms of ‘Causality’ and ‘Subjective evaluation’. Furthermore, we have incorporated the distinction by Talmy (2000) between satellite-framed languages and verb-framed ones to account for the fact that (i) compared with JRC, ERCs are much more likely to allow for action verbs which do not imply a state change, as shown in (6) and that (ii) ERCs can be extended based on the concept of ‘Purpose’. On the other hand, the formation of DU resultatives in Japanese have been accounted for by drawing on Croft et.al’s (2010) observation that even in verb-framed languages, the situation types which exhibit a higher degree of semantic integration between the causing event and the result event can be expressed by means of satellite-framing. Finally, we have discussed further extended instances of JRCs like (10). It has been suggested that they are sanctioned by a higher-order schema which captures the commonality between these instances and DU resultatives.

- (10) a. Otouto-wa      katta bakari no sinsha-o      syumiwaru-ku      kaizousi-ta.  
         brother-TOP      brand new car-ACC      tasteless      customize-PAST  
      b. Okasan-ga      gohan-o      mazu-ku      tai-ta.  
         Mother-NOM      rice-ACC      bad taste      cook-PAST

Although there are still many things left to be resolved, we hope to have

shown that putting a spotlight on the role of resultative phrases will help provide a deeper understanding and insight into resultative constructions in English and Japanese. This conclusion seems to be quite natural. After all, sentences without a resultative phrase cannot count as resultative constructions.

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