

Two Types of Resultatives*

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1. Introduction

The resultative construction admits of either a literal or a figurative interpretation. Let us first look at the following sentences:

- (1) a. John broke the door open.
- b. The joggers ran the pavement thin.
- c. Mary ate herself sick.

(1a) permits only a literal reading, that is, this sentence means that John broke the door and it became open literally. On the other hand, (1b) admits of only a figurative reading. As Goldberg (1995: 185) points out, (1b) would not be used to describe an actual change in the thickness of the pavement, but the situation in which the joggers ran hard. Interestingly, (1c) is ambiguous between two interpretations: a literal or a figurative reading. The literal reading for (1c) is one in which Mary's continuous eating made her sick; the figurative reading is one in which Mary ate to the point where she could eat no more. What gives rise to these differences in interpretation of resultatives? The aim of this paper, then, is to explore the factor influencing the interpretation of resultatives in terms of a cognitive-semantic point of view, and I propose in this paper that the semantic property of the verb is reflected in that of the resultative construction.

In addition to the resultative construction, we will take up the *make*-causative construction that is a kind of causatives. Interestingly, unlike the resultative construction, the *make*-causative construction permits only a literal interpretation. Let us observe the examples below:

- (2) a. The joggers ran the pavement thin. (= (1b))
- b. He made the pavement thin.

As we have seen above, the resultative construction in (2a) does not express that the resultant state of the pavement was caused by the running action. On the other hand, the *make*-causative construction in (2b) describes the situation where the pavement became literally thin. In this paper, I will also explain the reason why the *make*-causative construction permits only a literal reading.

The organization of this paper is as follows. In section 2, I will first introduce two analyses of verbs: Rappaport and Levin (1998) and Nakau (1994). I will, then, present Kusayama and Miyata's (1999) (henceforth K&M) analysis of the conative construction, since the analysis of the resultative construction in this paper is based on the idea of K&M (1999). In section 3, I will point out that resultative constructions

are divided into two types: “result-focused resultative constructions” and “manner-focused resultative constructions”. In section 4, I will first explore the relationship of result verbs to result-focused resultative constructions, and I will explain the reason why the *make*-causative construction permits only a literal reading. I will, then, argue about the relationship between manner-focused resultative constructions and manner verbs. Finally, I will briefly examine the relationship between manner/result verbs and the so-called resultative phrase made from *dead/to death* in the resultative construction. Section 5 makes concluding remarks.

2. Manner Verbs vs. Result Verbs

In this section, we will first see that verbs are classified into two types: “manner verbs” and “result verbs”. We will, then, claim that constructions are also divided into two types: “manner-focused constructions” and “result-focused constructions”.

2.1. Rappaport and Levin’s (1998) analysis

Rappaport and Levin (1998) (henceforth R&L) claim that verbs are divided into two types: “manner verbs” and “result verbs”. According to R&L (1998: 100), manner verbs specify or lexicalize the manner in which the action denoted by a verb is carried out, whereas result verbs lexicalize the result rather than the manner of the action. Verbs such as *sweep*, *wipe*, and *run* are classified as manner verbs, whereas verbs like *break* and *open* are classified as result verbs, as shown in (3) and (4):

(3) Manner verbs:

- (i) Surface contact verb: *sweep, rub, wipe*
- (ii) Manner of motion verb: *run, skip, jog*
- (iii) Sound Emission verb: *whistle, grunt*

(4) Result verbs:

- (i) Resulting state verb: *break, dry, open*
- (ii) Resulting location verb: *come, go, arrive*

The manner verb *sweep*, for example, exhibits surface contact through motion. The verb *sweep*, in its most basic use, entails a resulting change in the contacted surface. Thus, although a floor is typically swept in order to remove dirt and debris, a floor that is swept need not end up being clean. Although a hearer may infer that a swept floor is a clean floor because sweeping is conventionally carried out in order to clean the floor, there is nothing contradictory in saying *Tracy just swept floor, but there are still crumbs on it*. Similarly, *run* shows the manner of motion: no achieved location (a kind of result) is entailed by the verb unless an explicit goal phrase is added. For example, *Pat runs* simply states that Pat is moving in a particular way. On the other

hand, verbs of change of state, such as *break*, *dry*, or *open*, as the name implies, lexicalize a particular achieved state, and the verb denotes the bringing about of this state. Though the verb itself denotes the bringing about of this state, it leaves the nature of the causing activity involved unspecified; that is, such verbs do not lexicalize a manner. As to the result verb *dry*, for example, cloths may be dried by putting them into a dryer or by putting them out in the sun. Moreover, verbs of directed motion such as *come*, *go*, and *arrive* lexicalize an achieved location (and usually also a direction), but not a manner of motion. For example, someone could arrive at the station by running, walking, driving, or bicycling.

R&L point out that manner verbs and result verbs are different in their syntactic behavior by presenting a variety of contrasting properties of the two verb types: result verbs are much more constrained in their behavior than manner verbs. First, two-argument manner verbs more readily allow the omission of their direct object than two-argument result verbs. R&L (1998: 102) offer the following contrast:

- (5) a. Leslie swept.
b. * Kelly broke.

Although the manner verb *sweep* may occur without an object even in the absence of any context, the result verb *break* cannot, and it is even difficult to think of a context that would improve an example such as (5b). Second, manner verbs can readily appear with a wide range of nonsubcategorized objects, whereas such objects are not available to result verbs. R&L (1998: 103) present the following contrast:

- (6) a. Cinderella scrubbed her fingers to the bone.
b. * The clumsy child broke his knuckles to the bone.

In (6a) *her fingers* is a nonsubcategorized object since *her fingers* is not understood to be the surface that is being scrubbed. Although this sentence is understood to describe the scrubbing of a surface, the surface itself is not mentioned. Thus, (6a) means that Cinderella scrubbed something, perhaps the floor, until her fingers were raw; however, (6b) cannot have a parallel interpretation: the child broke many things, and as a result of handling the broken things his knuckles were hurt.

Furthermore, R&L point out that a similar distinction is found among verbs of motion which are generally classified as intransitive verbs. For instance, the result verb *go* is much more constrained in its syntactic behavior than the manner verb *run*, as in (7):

- (7) a. Pat ran.
b. Pat ran to the beach.
c. Pat ran herself ragged.
d. Pat ran her shoes to shreds.

- e. Pat ran clear of the falling rocks.
- f. The coach ran the athletes around the track.

As (7) shows, the manner verb *run* can be found in contexts describing an activity as in (7a), directed motion to a goal as in (7b), a caused change of state as in (7c) or (7d), or a caused change of location as in (7f). On the other hand, the result verb *go* is not found in the same range of contexts as *run*, as in (8):

- (8) a. The students went.
- b. The students went to the beach.
- c. *The jetsetters went themselves ragged.
- d. *The runner went his shoes to shreds.
- e. *The pedestrian went clear of the oncoming car.
- f. *The coach went the athletes around the track.

As (8c-f) show, the result verb *go* can only occur as an intransitive use, i.e., it does not take an object NP, unlike the manner verb *run*.

In order to explain the differences in syntactic behavior between manner and result verbs, R&L attribute them to their lexical aspectual properties: manner verbs are activities, whereas result verbs are either achievements (e.g., *arrive*) or accomplishments (e.g., transitive *break*).¹

- (9) a. Manner verbs : Activity
- b. Result verbs : Achievement/Accomplishment

There is, however, an exception to the suggestion that result verbs may not appear with a wide range of nonsubcategorized objects. There are cases in which the result verb *break* can occur with such an object NP. For example:

- (10) The chick *broke* its way out into the world.

(The Kenkyusha Dictionary of English Collocations (1995: 2686))

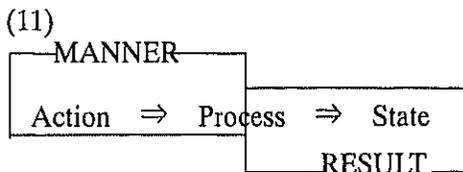
Thus, although R&L's analysis of verbs is basically important, we must also pay attention to the syntactic context ("construction") in which a verb appears when we examine the semantic property of the verb.

2.2. Nakau's (1994) analysis

Nakau (1994: 311-373) claims that predicates are divided into three types: action, process and state. The action-type predicate represents a situation where an actor does something. On the other hand, the process-type predicate describes a situation in which something undergoes some change of state or position. Finally, the state-type predicate represents a situation in which something is in some place.

To adopt Nakau's idea into the present discussion, we may say that a series of situations described by each verbs are decomposed into the three stages, i.e., action, process and state, and that events have a sequence of the following situations in them:

action \Rightarrow process \Rightarrow state. We can, then, understand events that are described by manner and result verbs in the framework of Nakau (1994) as follows:



As (11) shows, manner verbs put a focus on the area between action and process, whereas result verbs focus on the area between the process and the completion of an activity. The manner verb *run*, for example, puts a focus on only the action denoted by the verb. On the other hand, in the case of the manner verb *sweep*, it focuses on the area between action and process, since the verb *sweep* entails a resulting change, as we have seen in section 2.1. Thus, we may say that manner verbs are divided into two types: “action-oriented manner verbs” and “result-oriented manner verbs”. We shall return to this point in section 4.2. As for result verbs, *break*, for example, puts a focus on a particular achieved state. According to Nakau (1994: 348), however, the verb *break* is understood to be an action-type predicate. It is true the verb *break* expresses the breaking action, but it does not lexicalize the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out. Then, in the sense given by R&L, we understand that the verb *break* puts a focus on the resultant state rather than the action.

2.3. Kusayama and Miyata's (1999) analysis

On the basis of R&L's (1998) and Nakau's (1994) analyses, K&M (1999) claim that constructions are also classified into two types: “manner-focused constructions” and “result-focused constructions”. K&M deal especially with the manner-focused construction: the conative construction, as shown in (12):

- (12) a. John kicked at the ball.
 b. Mary cut at the bread.

The conative construction can be schematized structurally as follows: NP V *at* NP. Unlike the transitive sentence, the conative construction expresses the repetition of the action denoted by a verb, but it does not express the completion of it. Therefore, we can say that the conative construction puts a focus on the process of the action.

Moreover, K&M point out that only manner verbs can appear in the conative construction. Therefore, we can say that the semantic property of the verb that may appear in the conative construction is parallel to that of this construction. That is why the result verb *move* cannot appear in the conative construction, as in (13b):

- (13) a. John pushed (at) the cart.
 b. John moved (*at) the cart.

We can verify that the verb *push* is a manner verb, and *move* is a result verb by the

following examples:

(14) a. He pushed the rock, but it wouldn't budge.

(A Dictionary of English Word Grammar on Verbs (1991: 1157))

b.?? He moved the rock, but it wouldn't budge. (K&M (1999: 141))

As (14a) shows, the verb *push* does not specify that the pushed object moves. That is, *push* lexicalizes the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out, but not the resultant state. Therefore, since the semantic property of the verb *push* is consistent with that of the conative construction, it can appear in this construction, as we have seen in (13a). On the other hand, *move* specifies that the moved object necessarily moves, as shown in (14b). That is, *move* lexicalizes the result of the action denoted by the verb, but **not** the manner. Thus, since the semantic property of the verb *move* is incompatible with that of the conative construction, it cannot appear in this construction, as we have seen in (13b). The point is that the semantic property of the verb that may appear in the conative construction is basically consistent with that of this construction.²

In the following section, on the basis of K&M's (1999) idea, I will argue about a particular type of "result-focused constructions", namely, the resultative construction. The analysis of this construction, however, is more complicated than that of the conative construction, since the former admits of figurative interpretations, i.e. interpretations which differ from the literal reading.

3. Two Types of Resultative Constructions

In this section, I will claim that resultative constructions are divided into two types: "manner-focused resultative constructions" and "result-focused resultative constructions".

As we have seen in section 1, the resultative construction permits either a literal or a figurative reading. We can verify the interpretation of the resultative construction by what is called the *for/in* test.³ To begin with, the resultative construction which admits of a literal reading may only occur with an *in*-phrase, as in (15):

(15) a. Mary wiped the table clean (in/*for five minutes).

(Van Valin (1990: 255))

b. John broke the door open (in/*for ten minutes).

It has generally been said that the resultative construction occurs with an *in*-phrase (cf. Van Valin (1990), Levin and Rappaport (1995), Goldberg (1995), and many others). As a result of this observation, the resultative construction is generally understood to be the construction that describes a telic eventuality.

However, there is a type of resultative construction which allows a figurative reading. Notice that this type of resultative construction may characteristically occur with a *for*-phrase. (16a) is taken from Jackendoff (1997: 552).

- (16) a. He cried his eyes out (for/*in an hour).
 b. The joggers ran the pavement thin (for/??in an hour).

In such a case, as Jackendoff (1997: 552) argues, the postverbal NP + particle combination carries a sort of adverbial force, denoting intense and perhaps passionate activity.⁴ Thus, (16a) describes the situation where he cried bitterly, but not the situation in which he cried and his eyes were literally out. Therefore, unlike resultative constructions like (15a) and (15b) that permit a literal reading, resultative constructions such as (16a) and (16b) that admit of a figurative interpretation express atelic eventualities.

Therefore, the resultative construction that permits either a literal or a figurative reading can occur with *in*- and *for*-phrases. When the resultative construction admits of a literal reading, it occurs with a *in*-phrase. By contrast, when the resultative construction admits of a figurative reading, it occurs with a *for*-phrase. Let us look at the following sentences:

- (17) a. Dean danced himself silly (for/in an hour). (Jackendoff (1997: 552))
 b. He cried his eyes red (for/in an hour).

As we have seen above, telic eventualities can occur with *in*-phrases, whereas atelic eventualities can occur with *for*-phrases. The literal reading of (17b) is one in which he cried and his eyes became literally red; the figurative reading is one in which he cried bitterly to such an extent that his eyes become red. The same observation applies to (17a). On the figurative reading, Dean does not end up silly; it means that he danced to such an extent that he lost a sense of judgement. On the other hand, on the literal reading, Dean ends up 'silly' in the sense that he became insensible, but not 'stupid'. Therefore, we can say that some resultative constructions can express either telic or atelic eventualities.

Note in passing that we divide figurative readings into two types: metaphorical and degree readings. Let us first consider the resultative construction that admits of a metaphorical reading. Look at the following sentences:

- (18) a. He talked his head off (for/*in an hour).
 b. The joggers ran the pavement thin (for/??in an hour). ((=16b))

(18a) describes the situation in which he talked on and on, but not the situation where his head becomes literally off as a result of talking. It is clear, from such an example, that the resultative construction permits a metaphorical interpretation when this construction describes a situation that we cannot actually experience in the real world.

A similar observation would apply to (19a).

- (19) a He cried his eyes out (for/*in an hour). ((=16a))
 b. He cried his eyes red (for/in an hour). ((=17b))

As for (19a), we cannot actually experience or it is hard to imagine a situation where his eyes are literally out as the result of crying, and therefore, this sentence permits a metaphorical reading. Unlike (19a), (19b) does not admit of a metaphorical interpretation, though the same verb *cry* appears in (19a) and (19b). (19b) permits either degree or literal readings. As for (19b), we can actually experience the situation in which he cried bitterly to such an extent that his eyes become red, and such a situation can easily be imagined in the real world. Therefore, (19b) does not admit of a metaphorical reading.

It may be worth pointing out here that a metaphorical reading and a literal reading do not co-occur in the resultative construction, as we have seen in (19a), whereas a degree reading occurs with a literal reading in the resultative construction, as we have seen in (19b). From this observation, we may say that the resultative construction is semantically extended as follows: literal → degree → metaphorical reading.

Several observations in this section have shown that the resultative construction that permits a figurative (metaphorical or degree) reading puts a focus on the manner of the action denoted by the verb, although it is the resultative construction in form. That is, in this case, there is a gap between semantics and syntax in the resultative construction. The following serves as an example: *He cried his eyes out*. As we have seen above, this example describes the situation where he cried bitterly, but not the situation in which he cried and his eyes are literally out, i.e., this sentence puts a focus on the manner of the subject's crying action. Thus we see that resultative constructions are divided into two types: "result-focused resultative constructions" and "manner-focused resultative constructions", as shown in (20):

- (20) A: Result-Focused Resultative Construction: literal reading

Action → Process → State

B: Manner-Focused Resultative Construction: figurative reading

Action → Process → State

As (20A) shows, result-focused resultative constructions such as (15a) and (15b) put a focus on the state resulting from the action denoted by the verb. On the other hand, as (20B) shows, manner-focused resultative constructions like (16a) and (16b) focus on the process of an action denoted by the verb. As for resultative constructions such

as (17a) and (17b), they may focus on either the state resulting from the action denoted by the verb or the process of an action denoted by the verb.

Now that we are sure that resultative constructions are divided into two types, the next step is to explore the relationship of manner and result verbs to these two types of resultatives.

4. Relationship of Manner and Result Verbs to Two Types of Resultatives

In this section, I will claim that the semantic property of the verb is reflected in that of the resultative construction. In the following subsection, we will first examine the relationship between result-focused resultative constructions and result verbs.

4.1. Result-Focused Resultative Constructions and Result Verbs

Recall our earlier example in (15b). What has to be noticed is the fact that when result verbs (e.g., *break*) appear in the resultative construction, this construction permits only a literal meaning. Thus, we can say that the resultative construction should be a result-focused resultative construction when result verbs appear in this construction. We will, then, consider the reason why the resultative construction does not permit a figurative reading when result verbs appear in this construction.

Let us observe the following sentences:

- (21) a. John broke the door open. (=15b)
 b. John killed the elephant stone-dead.

(21a) means that John broke the door and it became literally open, and (21b) means that John killed the elephant and it became literally stone-dead. Here I would like to pay attention to the action denoted by the verb. As R&L (1998) point out, result verbs such as *break* specify or lexicalize the result of the action denoted by the verb, but not the manner. A door, for example, may be broken in many ways, as in (20a):

- (22) by throwing a stone through it.
 a. He broke the door by hammering it.
 by kicking it.
 by shooting it.
 b. John killed the elephant by kicking it.
 by hitting it.

(cf. K&M (1999: 150))

That is, the verb *break* itself has nothing to contribute to the specification of how the door came to be broken. A similar explanation applies to the verb *kill*, as in (22b). As shown in (22a) and (22b), if we specify the nature of the causing activity involved, we just have to represent it supplementarily by using a *by*-phrase that designates the “means” of an action. Thus, in the case of result verbs, the causing action itself is not

represented. Precisely, there is no action to modify. Therefore, in the case of result verbs, the resultative construction does not permit a figurative reading.

Let us, for a moment, consider the *make*-causative construction. As has been pointed out in section 1, the *make*-causative construction permits only a literal reading. The reason is that the *make*-causative construction leaves the nature of the causing activity involved unspecified, although it denotes a change of state. In the case of the *make*-causative construction, if we specify the nature of the causing activity involved, we have to represent it supplementarily by using a *by*-phrase that designates the means of an action, as shown in (23):

- (23) a. John made his eyes red (by crying).
 (cf. John cried his eyes red.)
 b. John made the pavement thin (by running).
 (cf. The joggers ran the pavement thin.)
 c. John made the dog black and blue (by kicking).
 (cf. John kicked the dog black and blue.)

Therefore, in the *make*-causative construction there is no action to modify, i.e., the role of verbs such as *cry*, *run* and *kick* in (23a-c) is restricted to means, even though the causing action is described. Therefore, this construction does not permit a figurative interpretation.

Next, I will shift the emphasis away from the relationship between result-focused resultative constructions and result verbs to the relationship between manner-focused resultative constructions and manner verbs.

4.2. *Manner-Focused Resultative Constructions and Manner Verbs*

Recall our earlier examples in (16) and (17), repeated as follows:

- (24) a. He danced himself silly (for/in an hour).
 b. He cried his eyes red (for/in an hour).
 (25) a. He cried his eyes out (for/*in an hour).
 b. The joggers ran the pavement thin (for/?in an hour).

From the observations in (24) and (25), we can see that the resultative construction which permits a figurative interpretation, that is, manner-focused resultative constructions are restricted to manner verbs. However, as for *wipe*, there is a case in which the resultative construction with *wipe* does not admit of a figurative reading, even though *wipe* is a manner verb, as we have seen in (15a), repeated as (26):

- (26) Mary wiped the table clean (in/*for five minutes).

What gives rise to this difference in interpretation between manner verbs? In order to explain the factor, we begin by considering the analysis of what we call reflexive resultative constructions. It should be noted that manner verbs such as *cry*, *run*, and

dance, etc. may appear in the reflexive resultative construction.

- (27) a. He cried himself tired.
 b. The joggers ran themselves tired.
 c. Dean danced himself silly.
 d. He walked himself tired.
 e. Mary ate herself sick.
 f. He talked himself hoarse.
 g. She sang herself hoarse.
 h. She laughed herself tired.

On the other hand, manner verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, and *kick* cannot appear in the reflexive resultative construction, as shown in (28):

- (28) a. *John wiped himself tired.
 b. ??John hammered himself tired.
 c. *John kicked himself tired.

Then what causes this difference in grammaticality between (27) and (28)? Here I would like to pay attention to another syntactic aspect of these verbs. Look at the following sentences:

- (29) a. ??John wiped.
 b. ?John hammered.
 c. ??John kicked.

As shown in (29), manner verbs such as *wipe*, *hammer* and *kick* may not occur without an object. On the other hand, manner verbs like *cry*, *run*, and *dance*, etc. are acceptable without a postverbal NP, as in (30):

- (30) a. He cried.
 b. The joggers ran.
 c. Dean danced.
 d. Mary ate.
 e. He walked.
 f. He talked.
 g. She laughed.

From the observations above, we can see that manner verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, or *kick* that cannot appear in the reflexive resultative construction is typically a transitive verb. On the other hand, manner verbs like *cry*, *run*, or *dance*, etc. which can appear in the reflexive resultative construction is typically an intransitive verb. As K&M (1999) point out, the intransitive verb basically puts a focus on the subject, whereas the transitive verb basically puts a focus on the object.⁵ Therefore, verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, and *kick* that can have a transitive form imply a resultant state, even though

they are manner verbs. On the other hand, manner verbs such as *cry*, *run*, and *dance*, etc. which are typically intransitive (unergative) verbs specify the manner of the action denoted by the verb, but not the resultant state. On the basis of these considerations, I call the former “result-oriented manner verbs”, whereas the latter “action-oriented manner verbs”. Thus, some of the manner verbs imply the result of the action denoted by the verb.

There is further evidence to suggest that manner verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, and *kick* imply a resultant state, whereas manner verbs such as *cry*, *run*, and *dance*, etc. does not entail it. As is well known, the adverb *completely* is a result-focused adverb. Result-oriented manner verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, and *kick* can occur with this adverb, as in (31):

- (31) a. John wiped the table completely.
 b. ? John hammered the metal completely.
 c. ? John kicked the door completely.
 d. Mary ate the pizza completely.

On the other hand, action-oriented manner verbs such as *cry*, *run*, and *dance*, etc. cannot co-occur with it, as in (32):

- (32) a. *He cried completely.
 b. *The joggers ran completely.
 c. *Dean danced completely.
 d. *He walked completely.
 e. *Mary ate completely.
 f. *He talked completely.
 g. *She laughed completely.

Action-oriented manner verbs cannot put a focus on a resultant state, so these manner verbs cannot occur with the result-focused adverb *completely*.⁶

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that result-oriented manner verbs like *wipe*, *hammer*, and *kick* may imply the result of the action denoted by a verb, unlike action-oriented manner verbs like *cry*, *run*, and *dance*, etc. We can now propose an answer to the question that we posed on p.32. In the case of (26), the verb *wipe* is a result-oriented manner verb, and the described situation where “the table became clean as a result of wiping it” can be perceived experientially in the real world. Therefore, (26) permits only a literal reading. On the other hand, in the case of (24a) and (24b), since the verbs *cry* and *dance* are action-oriented manner verbs, these sentences permit figurative readings. Moreover, these situations in which “he became silly as the result of dancing” or “his eyes became red as a result of crying” can be actually experienced or understood. Therefore, (24a) and (24b) permit either figurative

(degree) or literal readings. As for (25a) and (25b), since the verbs *cry* and *run* are action-oriented manner verbs, these sentences admit of figurative (metaphorical) interpretations. They, however, cannot permit literal readings. The reason is that, as we have seen in section 4.1, it is hard to imagine these situations where “his eyes were literally out as a result of crying” or “the pavement became literally thin as a result of running”. Therefore, (25a) and (25b) permit only figurative (metaphorical) readings.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that (28b) is less marginal as a reflexive resultative construction than (28a), even though *wipe* and *hammer* are both result-oriented manner verbs, repeated as (33):

- (33) a. *John wiped himself tired.
b. ??John hammered himself tired.

Why is it that (33a) is completely unacceptable? The reason is that the verb *wipe* is typically a transitive verb compared with the verb *hammer*. This is verified by the following sentences (the example in (34b), taken from Jackendoff (1990: 226)):

- (34) a. John wiped {the table/at the table}.
b. Harry hammered {?the metal/on the metal}.

As (34a) shows, *wipe* may occur with a direct object, whereas such an object is not available to the verb *hammer*, as shown in (34b). Thus, since the reflexive resultative construction co-occurs with a verb that is typically an intransitive verb, the verb *wipe* is incompatible with this construction.

Let me summarize the main points that have been made in section 4.1 and 4.2. When result verbs appear in the resultative construction, this construction admits of only a literal interpretation. On the other hand, the resultative construction permits a figurative reading only when manner verbs appear in this construction. That is, the semantic property of the verb is reflected in that of the resultative construction.

Finally, I would like to examine the relationship between manner/result verbs and the resultative phrase formed by *dead/to death* in the resultative construction.

4.3. *Manner/Result Verbs and Dead/to Death in Resultatives*

As is often pointed out, the resultative construction with *dead* admits of a literal reading, whereas the resultative construction with *to death* permits either a literal or a figurative reading (cf. Goldberg (1995), Verspoor (1997), Wechsler (1997), and Morita (1998)). Let us consider (35a) and (35b):⁷

- (35) a. John ate himself dead.
b. John ate himself to death.
c. John ate himself dead in/*for an hour.
d. John ate himself to death in/for an hour.

(35a) permits only a literal meaning. That is, this sentence means that John ate too

much and he died. On the other hand, (35b) is ambiguous between two interpretations: a literal or a figurative (degree) reading. The literal reading for (35b) is the same as that for (35a); the figurative reading is one in which John ate **too** much to such an extent that he could not eat any more. This is verified by (35c) and (35d).⁸

The same observation applies to the transitive verb *kick*:

- (36) a. I kicked him dead.
 b. I kicked him to death.
 c. I kicked him dead in/*for ten minutes.
 d. I kicked him to death in/for ten minutes.

(36a) permits only a literal reading. On the other hand, (36b) permits either a literal or a figurative (degree) reading. This is verified by (36c) and (36d).

The important point to note here is that the resultative construction with *to death* may put a focus on the action denoted by the verb, unlike the resultative construction with the adjective *dead*. Interestingly, compared with *dead*, *to death* tends to not to co-occur with result verbs like *kill*, as in (37):

- (37) a. ok/?John killed the bird dead. (cf. Green (1972: 91))
 (cf. John killed the bird stone-dead.)
 b. * John killed the dog to death.

To death tends to occur with manner verbs like *wipe* rather than result verbs such as *break*, as in (38):

- (38) a. John wiped the table to death.
 b. * John broke the table to death.

(38a) means that John wiped the table again and again, i.e., this sentence focuses on the subject John's wiping action. However, the same does not hold of (38b). The combination *break + to death* fails to denote a situation in which John broke the table repeatedly.

However, some result verbs may occur with *to death* in resultative constructions, as in (39):

- (39) a. They froze to death (in/?for an hour).
 b. His father bled to death (in/*for an hour).
 c. A lot of children starved to death (in/*for a year).

The verbs *freeze*, *bleed*, and *starve* in (39) are so-called unaccusative verbs. As is well known, in the case of the resultative construction with an unaccusative verb, a resultative phrase like *to death* can be predicated of the subject of an intransitive unaccusative verb (cf. Levin (1993), Goldberg (1995), and Levin and Rappaport (1995), and many others). Thus, in (39), *to death* is predicated of subjects such as

they, his father, and a lot of children.

It is interesting to note that when result verbs appear in the resultative construction with *to death*, this construction basically admits of a literal reading. Thus, (39c) means that a lot of children starved and died. That is, this sentence permits only a literal reading, but not a figurative reading. This is verified by the *for/in* test, as (39c) shows. A similar observation applies to (39a) and (39b).

As for manner verbs, they can co-occur with *dead* and *to death* in the resultative construction, as we have seen in (35) and (36). The point to observe here is that only when *to death* modifies the subject NP, the resultative construction with *to death* permits not a literal but a figurative (degree) reading.⁹ In contrast, *dead* cannot modify the subject NP. *Dead* modifies the object NP in the resultative construction.

Let us look at the following contrast:

- (40) a. John wiped the table to death. (=38a)
 b. * John wiped the table dead.

(40a) permits only a figurative (degree) reading, i.e., this sentence describes the situation where John wiped the table repeatedly, but not the situation where John wiped the table and the subject *John* died. Thus, when *to death* modifies the subject NP, the resultative construction with *to death* admits of a figurative (degree) reading. In contrast, *dead* cannot modify the subject NP, as (40b) shows.

There is good evidence to show that *to death* may modify the subject NP, whereas *dead* cannot.

- (41) a. Mary ate to death. (cf. Mary ate herself to death.)
 b. * She ate dead.

As (41a) and (41b) show, *to death* may occur without an object, whereas *dead* cannot. That is, although the former may modify the subject NP, the latter cannot. (41a) describes the situation in which Mary ate too much, but not the situation where Mary ate and she died.

Interestingly, in the case of manner verbs, the resultative construction with *to death* permits either a figurative (degree) or a literal reading, as shown in (42):

- (42) a. Tom ran himself to death (in/for an hours).
 b. John ate himself to death (in/for an hour). (=35d)
 c. I kicked him to death (in/for ten minutes). (=36d)
 d. John kicked the wall to death (*in/for ten minutes).

Since the verbs *run*, *eat*, and *kick* in (42) are manner verbs, as we have seen in section 4.2, these sentences admit of figurative (degree) readings. In the case of (42a-c), these situations where “Tom died as a result of a hard running”, “John died as a result of eating too much”, or “he died as a result of being kicked violently” can be actually

experienced or understood in the real world. Therefore, the sentences in (42a-c) permit also literal readings. In contrast, (42d) does not admit of a literal reading. The reason is attributed to the fact that it is hard to imagine a situation where a wall dies as a result of kicking it. That is why, (42d) does not admit of a literal reading.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have claimed that resultative constructions are divided into two types: manner-focused resultative constructions and result-focused resultative constructions. The former puts a focus on the subject NP's action, whereas the latter puts a focus on the resultant state of the postverbal NP. Then, I have argued that the semantic property of the verb is closely related to the interpretation of the resultative construction. That is, whenever result verbs appear in the resultative construction, this construction admits of a literal reading, whereas whenever manner verbs appear in the resultative construction, this construction permits a figurative reading. Thus, the semantic property of the verb is reflected in that of the resultative construction.

NOTES

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¹ The lexical aspectual classifications here are based on Vendler (1967), which is extended in Dowty (1979). See R&L (1998) for further discussions of the reason why result verbs are much more constrained in their syntactic behavior than manner verbs.

² For further discussions of the relationship between verbs and the conative construction and the property of this construction, see Kusayama and Miyata (1999) and Kusayama (1997).

³ Eventualities are divided into two aspectual classes: telic eventualities - those that are bounded in time - and atelic eventualities - those with no specific temporal delimitation (Declerck (1979), Dowty (1979), among others). According to Tenny (1987), telic eventualities are called delimited eventualities, and atelic eventualities undelimited ones. Here I will refer to the distinction as telic and atelic eventualities. A telic eventuality can be differentiated from an atelic one by a variety of tests. One of the tests is what we call the *for/in* test: an atelic eventuality can occur with a *for*-phrase, whereas a telic eventuality can occur with an *in*-phrase.

⁴ Jackendoff (1997) regards cases such as (16) and the following example (17a) are not really resultatives, even though they are often taken to be standard resultatives. Rather he understands them to be instances of yet another family of idiomatic intensifiers that use the same syntax as the resultative. According to Jackendoff (1997: 552), in (17a) Dean does not end up silly. Why, then, can the resultative construction *Dean danced himself silly* occur with the *in*-phrase, as shown in (17a)? Jackendoff himself admits that more systematic investigation is called for. I take examples like (16) and (17a) as (manner-focused) resultative constructions.

⁵ See K&M (1999: 142ff.) for detailed discussions of manner/result-focused verbs.

⁶ As (30d) and (31d) show, the manner verb *eat* may be classified into either an action-oriented or a result-oriented manner verb. That is, since this verb has an intransitive and a transitive form, it puts a focus on either the eating action itself (action-oriented manner verb) or a resultant state (result-oriented manner verb). Thus, the example *The insect ate the peach hollow* does not admit of a figurative reading, although *eat* is a manner verb. The reason is that in this case since *eat* is a transitive verb, it puts a focus on the resultant state of the object NP *the peach* rather than the eating action itself. On the other hand, the example *Mary ate herself sick* admits of a figurative reading, since in this case the verb *eat* is used as an intransitive verb, that is, it puts focus on the eating action. Moreover, the situation where “she became sick as a result of the eating action” can be perceived experientially, and therefore this sentence also permits a literal reading.

⁷ Not all prepositional phrases (*to* + NP) can appear in the resultative construction, as in (i):

- (i) a. Mary ate herself sick
- b. * Mary ate herself to sickness.
- c. The joggers ran the pavement thin.
- d. * The joggers ran the pavement to thinness.

The above mentioned contrast may be attributed to a lexical-blocking rule of the sort

discussed by Aronoff (1976: 43ff.). In a rule of this sort, the existence of a simple lexical form pre-empts a synonymous derived expression that we would otherwise expect to find. Thus, there exists the adjective *sick*, then it is not possible to form *to sickness* derivative of *sick*. A full discussion of this topic, however, will have to be made in my future research.

⁸ The example in (35a) *John ate himself dead* does not permit a figurative reading, although the verb *eat* is a (action-oriented) manner verb. One explanation for this may be that in this construction the figurative reading is excluded from *dead* because *to death* is ready for expressing that reading. Therefore, the adjective *dead* denotes only a literal reading.

⁹ In the case of a sentence like (35b) *John ate himself to death*, that is, a verb appears in the resultative construction with *to death* as an intransitive usage, *to death* itself does not modify the subject NP. In this case, a postverbal NP like *himself + to death* are a modifier, and *himself to death* modifies the subject NP. Thus, as for the example *John ate himself to death*, when *himself to death* modifies the subject NP *Mary*, this sentence admits of a figurative (degree) reading, whereas when *to death* modifies the postverbal NP *himself*, this sentence permits only a literal reading.

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