# Denominal and Deadjectival Verbs are Compatible with Resultative Phrases[1]

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*The present paper explores the relationship between Romanian denominal/deadjectival verbs such as* a îngheța *'to freeze' and resultative constructions such as* a îngheța bocnă *'to freeze solid'. I first discuss the general properties of the derivation of Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs. I then turn to investigate the way in which resultatives are built in this Romance language, with particular interest in some lesser-known expressions that I call metaphorical resultatives or result(ative) expressions. I take a close look at the co-occurrence restrictions on building resultatives with denominal/deadjectival verbs, and I offer a semantic and, more importantly, a syntactic explanation for the possibility of a Romanian denominal verb such as* a îngheța *'to freeze' to head a result construction such as* a îngheța bocnă *'to freeze solid'.*

**Keywords:** *denominal verb, deadjectival verb, resultative construction, Underassociation, Romanian*

## 1. Introduction

In the vast literature, there is a well-known puzzle related to the syntactic structure and behaviour of denominal/deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions.[2] From a semantic point of view, denominal/deadjectival verbs are said to be compatible with a result predicate if the added predicate specifies the result encoded in the verb, highlights the degree of the outcome of the event, or intensifies the action of the verb (cf. Goldberg 1991; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Tortora 1998; etc.). In such cases, the verb is inherently delimited and a resultative can accompany the verb as long as it does not doubly delimit the event, but it merely acts as a further specification of the result already inherent in the meaning of the verb. From a syntactic point of view, however, denominal/deadjectival verbs are said to be incompatible with a result predicate because they are based on a common lexical-syntactic structure and they share some crucial properties (cf. Hale & Keyser 1993; Gumiel et al. 1999; Mateu 2000, 2012; etc.). These two conflicting views should be considered as a paradox: although denominal/deadjectival verbs are incompatible (theoretically speaking) with result phrases, there *are* Romanian resultative constructions headed by such verbs.

The primary aim of the present paper is to explore the relationship between Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs like (1) and resultative constructions like (2):

(1) a. a îngheţa 'to freeze' (derived from the N *gheaţă* 'ice')
b. a răci 'to (cause to) become cooler, to catch a cold' (derived from the A *rece* 'cold')

[1] The title is inspired by Tortora (1998).

[2] The concept of denominal/deadjectival verb can be confusing because it has sometimes been used morphologically and some other times semantically and/or syntactically. In our use, denominal/deadjectival verbs are two large classes of lexical items which involve in their production either affixation or compounding.

(2) a. Lac-(u)l a îngheţat bocnă.
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF bone
'The lake froze solid.'
(The lake froze as hard as the bone.)

b. Prieten-(u)l meu a răcit cobză.
friend-DET.M.SG mine AUX.3SG get cold.PRF kobza
'My friend caught a terrible cold.'
(My friend got such a terrible cold that his voice sounded like a kobza.)

These structures, which are called metaphorical resultatives or result(ative) expressions in Farkas (2011, 2013), have not been the subject of intense study. They have been ignored or overlooked in several approaches to Romanian resultatives, or they have been included in the class of resultatives, but they have not been given a detailed analysis.

The secondary aim of this paper is to bring evidence in favour of the fact that in spite of serious co-occurrence restrictions result predicates can be attached to VPs governed by denominal or deadjectival verbs. These Romanian metaphorical resultatives confirm the semantic compatibility of these verbs with these predicates because these latter ones merely intensify the action of the verb by denoting a metaphorical end state.

Finally, the tertiary aim of the paper is to show the way in which denominal/ deadjectival verbs can co-occur with result predicates. Knowing that such and similar derived verbs and predicate constructions are based on a common lexical-syntactic structure and they share some crucial properties, I explore the parallelism and the relationship between them, with particular focus on their co-occurrence restrictions.

I examine the derivation of Romanian denominal/deadjectival verbs and metaphorical resultatives along the lines of Ramchand (2008). I show that the structure proposed for the derivation of English denominal/deadjectival verbs and result constructions not only accounts for the formation of the corresponding verbs and predicate structures in Romanian but also explains the way in which result predicates can be added to such derived verbs.

Based on the Romanian data, I argue that denominal/deadjectival verbs are semantically compatible in resultative expression because the added predicate does not delimit the event of the verb but merely highlights the degree of the outcome of the event or intensifies the action of the verb by denoting a metaphorical end state, hence contributing to the above-the-norm interpretation of the entire construction. Moreover, I take a look at the syntactic compatibility of these derived verbs and result predicates from the perspective of the linguistic phenomenon called Underassociation, and I argue that result predicates can be added to such verbs as the verb underassociates its N or A feature. In contrast, the *res* feature of the verb cannot be underassociated, as in Romanian (i) there are no (result) particles and no PathPs comparable to the English *to, into*, or *onto*; (ii) all morphologically simple prepositions (*în* 'in', *la* 'at', *sub* 'under', *pe* 'on', etc.) are locative PlacePs; hence, (iii) none of them can identify *res*.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework of the analysis. Section 3 illustrates the way Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs are derived. Section 4 examines the lexical-syntactic structure of Romanian resultative constructions. Section 5 takes a close look at the relationship between denominal/deadjectival verbs and result constructions. Section 6 uncovers some interesting differences between these

derived verbs and these predicate structures from the perspective of the linguistic phenomenon called Underassociation. Section 7 concludes.

## 2. The framework: Ramchand (2008)[3]

Ramchand's (2008) first-phase syntax, together with its earlier versions in Ramchand & Svenonius (2002), Folli (2002), Folli & Ramchand (2005), and Ramchand (2006), is meant to decompose lexical information into a set of distinct categories with specific syntactic and semantic modes of combination. From this perspective, lexical items are seen to be featurally complex, with their argument structure properties and flexibility deriving from the association rules that link the particular feature bundle to the syntactic combinatoric system.

Based on the idea that the syntactic projection of arguments is based on event structure, Ramchand (2008) introduces and discusses the following distinct arguments/role types which participate in the construction of eventive predicates: Initiator/Causer, Undergoer, Resultee, Path, Result-Rheme. Roles can be composite: one and the same DP can be both the Initiator/Causer and the Undergoer, or the Undergoer and the Resultee of the action via coindexation, as all heads require a filled Specifier and all heads have an [+EPP] feature.

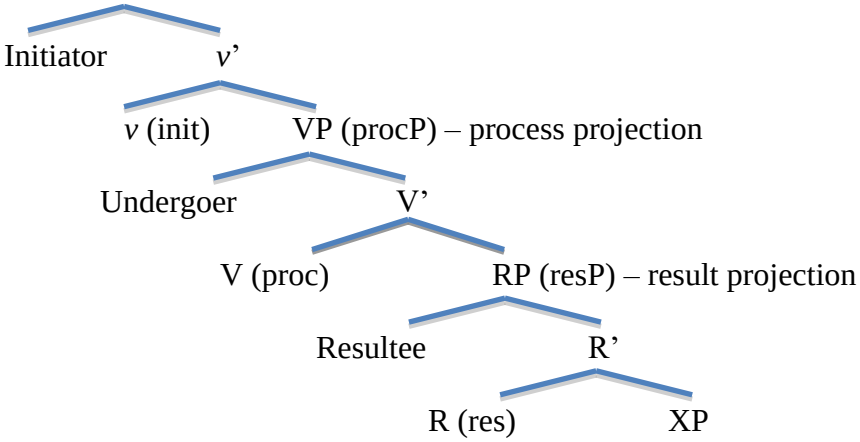
Based on these syntactic argument types, the event structure syntax contains three subevental components:

(i) the causing subevent (*init*P/*v*P), which introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument (the Initiator)
(ii) the process-denoting subevent (*proc*P/VP), which specifies the nature of the process and licenses the entity undergoing change of process (the Undergoer)
(iii) the result subevent (*res*P/RP), which gives the result state of the event and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state (the Resultee)

Initiator/Causer, Undergoer, and Resultee are found in a one-to-one correspondence with the three subevents and they are systematically interpreted as such by the semantic component of the theory. A complex event maximally includes these subevental components ordered in a particular hierarchical relation, with the arguments/role types as Specifiers of particular functional projections. They project in a structure that applies to all natural languages in the following way:

[3] At first sight, the theoretical focus of the paper may seem quite narrow. Although I am familiar with the vast literature on resultatives and most of the relevant works in other frameworks (e.g. the Constructional approach in Boas 2003), the framework is (and has to be) narrowed down to Ramchand (2008) to solve a theory-internal puzzle and to enable me to concentrate on a rather technical question from one particular perspective.

(3) *v*P *(*initP) – causing projection




(Ramchand 2008: 39)

Ramchand's proposal is a maximal possible decomposition of V, where meaning components project syntactic structure. Because these meaning components are responsible for syntactic structure, syntactic properties are directly derivable from the meaning of the verb. Moreover, meaning components and the projected structures yield all the semantic properties of Vs.

The first projection (initP) exists only when the verb expresses a causational or initiational state that leads to a process (procP), and the third projection (resP) is present only when there is a result state expressed by the lexical verb. In an intuitive sense, both projections are the extensions of VP because they are verbal, but they add further semantic information. Hence, a dynamic verbal projection may exist either without *v*P or without RP, but not without VP, the heart and the minimally required projection of any dynamic predicate.

In tackling the issue of denominal and deadjectival verbs, Ramchand (2008) follows the theory of lexical decomposition put forth by Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002). They define these classes of verbs as derived by movement (i.e. incorporation) of lexical material from complement position into the abstract, phonologically empty head of the verbal projection, according to principles of syntactic movement. Thus, Ramchand (2008) follows Hale & Keyser (1993) on two important points. First, she agrees that conflation verbs are characterized by derivational patterns. Second, she acknowledges that such verbs are the result of systematic derivation by incorporation from complement position. However, she provides a more articulated view of incorporation by distinguishing between the Rheme of process, which further characterizes the process by expressing manner or path; and the Rheme of result, which further specifies the final state or location. As a result, incorporation into V creates derived verbal items minimally specified for [(+*v*), +V], given that the rhematic material is meant to describe and identify the process. On the other hand, incorporation into R results in verbs minimally specified for [(+*v*), +V, +R] since the rhematic material describes (and hence identifies) the result state or location.

In the following section, I make explicit how the Ramchandian framework best explains the way Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs are derived.

## 3. Deriving Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs

I start the discussion with denominal and deadjectival verbs derived by means of the verbal prefixes *în-*/*îm-* 'in/into', where the allomorph is phonologically conditioned. The following data are based on *Gramatica Limbii Române* (GALR, 2008) and *Dicţionarul Explicativ al Limbii Române* (DEX, 2012).

Most denominal verbs have the meaning 'to put in N', where N is the noun entering the word formation process with the prefix. Some of these verbs are *a îngropa* 'to bury' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *groapă* 'hole' + suffix *-a*), *a împacheta* 'to wrap' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + N *pachet* 'parcel' + suffix *-a*), *a întemniţa* 'to jail' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *temniţă* 'jail' + suffix *-a*), where the location denoted by N is real; or *a îngrozi* 'to scare' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *groază* 'dread' + suffix *-i*), where the location denoted by N is abstract. The argument structure of these verbs includes an Initiator as subject, an Undergoer in the role of direct object, and a Location inside the word.

More rarely, transitive or intransitive denominal verbs have the meaning 'to fill/cover with N', where, again, N is the noun the verb is derived from. Some of these verbs are *a îngheţa* 'freeze' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *gheaţă* 'ice' + suffix *-a*), *a îmbălsăma* 'to embalm' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + N *balsam* 'balm' + suffix *-a*), or *a împodobi* 'to decorate' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + N *podoabă* 'decoration' + suffix *-i*).

Transitive verbs may also have the meaning 'to give/do N' such as in *a înfiinţa* 'to create' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *fiinţă* 'creature' + suffix *-a*), *a întrupa* 'to embody' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *trup* 'body' + suffix *-a*), or *a întemeia* 'to found' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *temelie* 'foundation' + suffix *-a*).

Denominal verbs can be reflexive like *a se înrădăcina* 'to take root' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *rădăcină* 'root' + suffix *-a*), *a se întomna* 'to become autumnal/of autumn/to set in' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *toamnă* 'autumn' + suffix *-a*), or inchoative like *a încolţi* 'to corner' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *colţ* 'corner' + suffix *-i*), *a îmboboci* 'to germinate, to spring' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + N *boboc* 'blossom' + suffix *-i*), a *înmuguri* 'to burgeon' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *mugur* 'bud' + suffix *-i*).

Most deadjectival verbs derived by means of the verbal prefixes *în-* 'in/into' and *îm-* 'in/into' alternate with a reflexive form: *a îmbătrâni* 'to grow old' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + A *bătrân* 'old' + suffix *-i*), *a (se) îngălbeni* 'to make/turn yellow' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + A *galben* 'yellow' + suffix *-i*), or *a (se) îmbăta* 'to get drunk' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + A *beat* 'drunk' + suffix *-a*) etc.

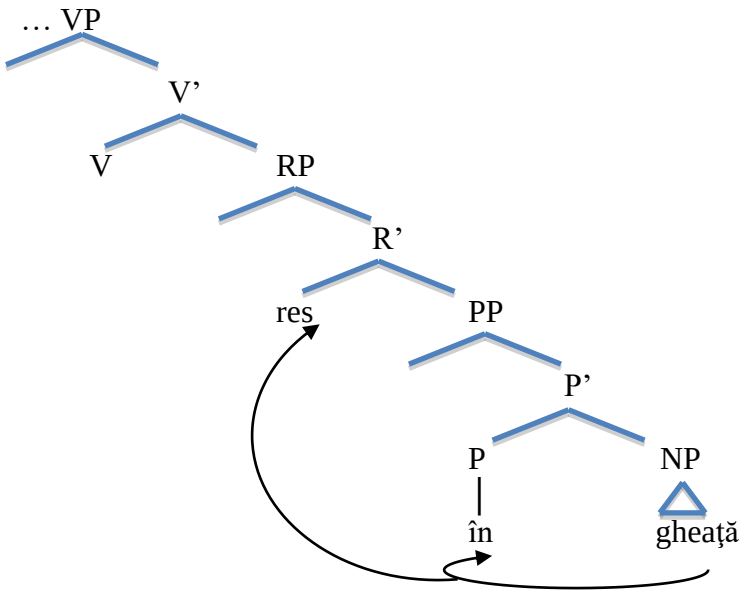
As far as verbs derived by conversion (i.e. zero-derivation) are concerned, they follow the same pattern and can appear in a transitive or intransitive form: *a (se) scumpi* 'to raise the price/to become more expensive' (A *scump* 'expensive' + suffix *-i*), *a răci* 'to (cause to) become cooler, to catch a cold' (A *rece* 'cold' + suffix *-i*), *a curăţa* 'to clean' (A *curat* 'clean' + suffix *-a*), etc.

Focusing on the denominal verb *a îngheţa* 'to freeze', I note that this verb is formed by means of prefixation (prefix *în-* 'in/into') and it describes a change of state. Its meaning is 'to cause to become covered with N' (transitive) and 'to become covered with N' (intransitive), where N stands for the noun (*gheaţă* 'ice') the verb is derived from.

The process of formation of this denominal verb involves first the incorporation of the noun *gheaţă* 'ice' from complement-of-P position into the phonologically realized P head (phonologically realized by *în-* 'in'), and then the P + N compound is incorporated into the

upper *res* head of the verb. This movement is triggered by the need to have the verb supplied with a phonological matrix in order to receive an interpretation at Phonological Form. This process is illustrated below in (4):

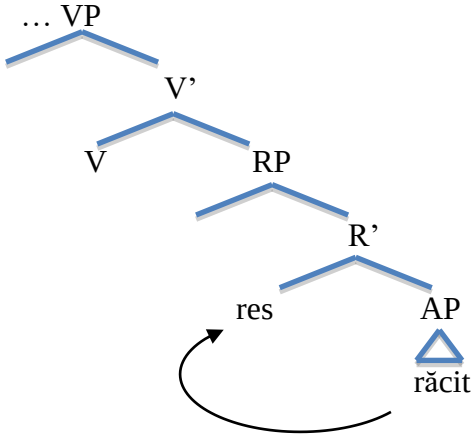
(4)




This incorporation process from complement-of-P position into the P head and then into the upper *res* head of the verb derives the change-of-state verb specified as [(+*v*), +V, +R] since the rhematic material identifies the result state.

Deadjectival verbs are semantically change-of-state verbs: they independently denote some kind of direction towards a resulting state. They are formed by incorporation from the AP rhematic complement of RP into the empty *res* head itself. For instance, the derivation of the (intransitive) verb *a răci* ‘to catch a cold’ is given below in (5):

(5)




This deadjectival verb is derived by incorporation of the phonologically realized A complement into the inner verb, into the *res* head itself.

As shown by these tree diagrams, Romanian denominal and deadjectival verbs are the result of rhematic material moved from complement position and incorporated into the *res*

head. In both cases, incorporation into R results in verbs minimally specified as [(+*v*), +V, +R] since the rhematic material describes (and hence identifies) the result state.

## 4. Building Romanian resultative constructions

In a resultative construction of the surface form $DP_1$ VP ($DP_2$) XP, the XP predicate (where XP = AP, NP or PP) describes the state or location attained or reached by the (surface) subject ($DP_1$) or the postverbal DP ($DP_2$) as a direct consequence of the action denoted by the verb. Some canonical examples from Romanian are:

(6) a. Copii-i au crescut mari.
child.PL-DET.M.PL AUX.3PL grow.PRF big.M.PL
'The children grew big.'

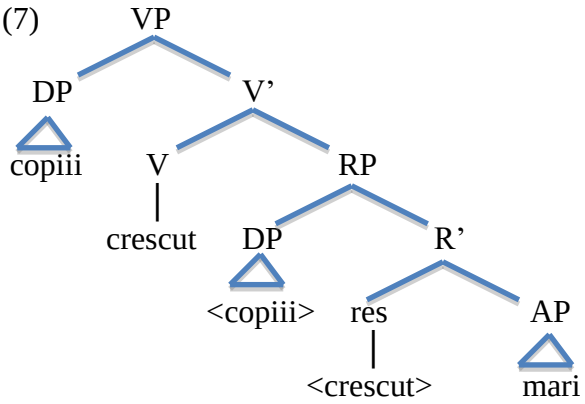
b. Băieţi-i au spart geam-(u)l ţăndări /în cioburi.
boy.PL-DET.M.PL AUX.3PL break.PRF window-DET.M.SG splinter.PL in shiver.PL
'The boys smashed the window into smithereens.'

c. Hoţ-i-i au fugit /năvălit în muzeu.
thief-PL-DET.M.PL AUX.3PL run.PRF rush.PRF in museum
'The thieves ran/rushed into the museum.'

The AP predicate *mari* 'big' in (6a) denotes the end state of the surface subject as a direct result of the action of the verb. Similarly, the NP predicate *ţăndări* 'splinters' and the PP predicate *în cioburi* 'in shivers' in (6b) denote the end state of the postverbal DP as a consequence of the action of the verb. Finally, the PP predicate *în muzeu* 'in museum' in (6c) denotes the end location of the surface subject DP.Such examples, as most of the permissible resultatives in Romanian, are possible in this language precisely because the matrix verb licenses the RP projection on its own. This means that it is a change-of-state/change-of-location [(init), proc, res] type of verb, it independently involves the meaning of 'change' or, at worst, it has a disposition towards a certain change. In such and similar examples, thus, all the added sentence-final predicate does is lexicalize the final state/location inherent in the semantics of the matrix verb, specify the end state/location of the action of the verb, render the vague endpoint of the event more precise, or highlight the degree of the outcome of the event. More precisely, as the verb *a creşte* 'to grow' lexically includes the notion of 'upward', the sentence-final predicate in (6a) only lexicalizes the final state inherent in the semantics of the verb.[4] This resultative is illustrated below:

[4] Although the verb *a creşte* 'to grow' lexically includes the notion of 'upward', it is not perceived as redundant as its Italian counterpart **e'cresciuta alta* 'she grew tall', provided in Napoli (1992: 82).

(7)




Such constructions run parallel to what Washio (1997) calls "weak resultatives" or Rapoport (1999) calls "fake/false resultatives" (terms that I will not adopt in this paper) because the verb independently has a disposition towards a certain result state and, as opposed to Washio's (1997) "strong resultatives" or Rapoport's (1999) "true resultatives", it is possible to predict from the semantics of the verb what kind of state the subject/object comes to be in as a direct result of the action of the verb. In other words, the predicate adds a piece of information that is easily predictable from the basic sense of the verb.

From these data, it seems that Romanian harmoniously integrates into the class of Romance languages. If I would like to situate Romanian resultatives in the broader framework of the typological work on Romance (vs. Germanic) languages (e.g. Talmy's 1985, 1991, 2000 empirically well-grounded typology), I could confirm that Romanian is a verb-framed language; cf. also Drăgan (2005), Baciu (2007), or Farkas (2013). However, without diminishing or abolishing the systematic difference that exists between the resultative constructions of English (Germanic languages) and Romanian (Romance languages), I wish to claim that a closer examination of the Romanian data reveals a more complicated picture as there are some largely ignored Romanian expressions, called metaphorical resultatives or result(ative) expressions in Farkas (2011, 2013), which display some interesting properties and prove that denominal/deadjectival verbs *are* compatible with result predicates. Their puzzling character is given by the fact that an analogy is constructed between the Agent/Patient argument and the sentence-final NP predicate, and the metaphorical effect is achieved via association, comparison, or resemblance of some of the (resulting) properties of the Agent/Patient argument and some inherent properties of the NP predicate (a possible interpretation of the underlying comparison is given in brackets in (8) and in what follows). Two illustrative examples are given below:

(8) a. Lac-(u)l a îngheţat bocnă.[5]
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF bone
'The lake froze solid.'
(The lake froze as solid/hard as the bone.)

b. Monica s -a supărat foc.
Monica CL.3.REFL AUX.3SG get angry.PRF fire
'Monica got very angry.'
(Monica got so angry that she/her face became as red as fire.)

These and similar structures function as fixed expressions or lexicalized idiomatic structures rather than grammatical constructions with free choice on the compounding elements. In what follows, I briefly illustrate some of their properties and I bring syntactic evidence for the idea that these and similar expressions are resultative constructions.[6]

4.1 *Metaphorical resultatives are resultatives*

As far as their properties are concerned, I note that in such fixed expressions or lexicalized idiomatic structures the metaphorical resultative meaning is achieved by the addition of a singular, bare NP in its default form (*bocnă* 'bone' in (8a) and *foc* 'fire' in (8b)), characterized by the absence of any type of inflection, as shown by the following examples. Also, they are strictly predicative and not referential, that is, they make reference to the inherent properties of the entities they denote and not to the entities themselves:

(9) a. a îngheţa bocnă /*bocna /*o bocnă /*bocne /*bocne-le
to.INF freeze bone bone.DET.F.SG a bone bone.PL bone.PL-DET.F.PL

b. a se supăra foc /*foc-(u)l /*un foc /*foc-uri /*foc-uri-le
to.INF CL.3.REFL get angry fire fire-DET.M.SG a fire fire-PL fire-PL-DET.F.PL

Such and similar result expressions are used metaphorically to indicate the excessiveness of the action of the verb. The sentence-final NP predicates are intensifiers or degree modifiers emphasizing the extent to which the action described by the verb progressed and contribute to the above-the-norm interpretation of the entire construction. That the predicates intensify the action of the main verb by denoting a metaphorical end state is proved by the fact that they cannot be modified by DegPs like *foarte* 'very', *tare* 'strongly', or *extrem de* 'extremely'.[7] Compare the examples in (8) with the ones in (10):

[5] The noun *bocnă* 'bone' means *latură* 'side', *coastă* 'rib', and *arşic* 'little bone from the knuckle of the leg, at lambs', from which the meaning of *os* 'bone' must have developed; cf. Scriban (1939: 182). From this, a possible comparison of the type 'as hard as the bone' could have developed. Note that this noun cannot be identified outside this construction/expression.

[6] I have dedicated several papers to a more detailed analysis of these expressions. Here, I mention only some of their properties.

[7] What is more, the fact that predicative bare nouns cannot be preceded by a degree adverb has to do with the categorial nature of the complement. In other words, it is also the nominal character that blocks adverbial degree modification.

(10) a. *Lac-(u)l a îngheţat foarte bocnă.
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF very bone
'The lake froze very solid.'

b. *Monica s -a supărat foarte /extrem de foc.
Monica CL.3.REFL AUX.3SG get angry.PRF very extreme of fire
'Monica got very/extremely angry.'

Although predicative bare NPs exclude the insertion of degree modifiers as they all have an absolute superlative value, they have a much more expressive value than any of the above-mentioned DegPs.

Previous approaches to Romanian resultatives (Ionescu 1998; Lupşa 2004; Drăgan 2005; Baciu 2007; Baciu & Crăiniceanu 2010) do not include them in the class of resultatives, or if they do include them in the class of these predicate structures, they do not offer a detailed analysis. Most of the arguments against their resultative status revolve around the idea that they are semantically and lexically frozen items, the sentence-final predicate denotes a metaphorical (and not literal) end state, and the structures do not follow the syntax of canonical resultatives. However, as the following examples show, these structures do follow the pattern and the syntax of resultatives, as they all involve small clauses.

First, it is known from Stowell (1983) that no adverb or modifier should freely intervene between the subject and the predicate of the small clause, as illustrated in (11):

(11) *Mama l a tuns pe Ion acasă chilug.
mother.DET.F.SG CL.3M.SG.ACC AUX.3SG cut hair.PRF PE John home pestle
'At home, mother cut John's hair until (he became) bald.'
(At home, mother cut John's hair until his head became as smooth as the end of the pestle.)

In unaccusative structures, where the verb is not followed by an overt postverbal DP direct object (subject of the small clause), the insertion of sentential adverbials seems to give rise to more acceptable sentences. This is illustrated in the following example:

(12) Lac-(u)l a îngheţat ieri bocnă.
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF yesterday bone
'The lake froze solid yesterday.'

Example (12) seems to be acceptable because the adverb is not directly inserted between the subject and the predicate of the small clause.

Second, Kayne (1985) argues that classic small clause cases do not nominalize at all. His explanation is very simple: although verbs may govern across a small clause barrier in order to case-mark the subject DP of the small clause, such a crossing is not permitted for other categories such as nouns. Cf. (13) below, where nominalization of the predicate structure occurs from the supine (*îngheţatul*) and not from the infinitive (*îngheţarea*):[8]

[8] For a difference between infinitive and supine nouns in Romanian, cf. Cornilescu (2004).

(13) *îngheţat-(u)l lac-uri-lor bocnă
freezing-DET.M.SG lake-PL-GEN bone
'the freezing of lakes solid'

Third, floating quantifiers offer an indirect support in favour of the small clause analysis. The unaccusative structure in (14) not only proves the fact that the presence of the trace of the moved DP following the quantifier indicates a position lower in the tree than the position in which the subject DP actually appears, but also shows that this is a movement structure, where the quantifier indicates the original position of the surface subject (as the subject of the small clause). In essence, it is only the complement of the quantifier that undergoes movement to the final subject position, and the stranded quantifier shows the original position/launching site of this nominal.

(14) Lac-uri-le$_i$ au îngheţat toate /*toţi $t_i$ bocnă.
lake-PL-DET.F.PL AUX.3PL freeze.PRF all.F.PL all.M.PL bone
'The lakes froze all solid.'

A fundamental property of quantifiers in languages showing agreement (e.g. Romance languages including Romanian) is that they display agreement in gender and number with the DPs they are associated with. Hence, the quantifier *toate* 'all' in (14) is not only followed by the trace of the moved DP, but it also shows agreement with that DP. This is the reason why *toţi* 'all' is not acceptable in the above example.

This approach to quantifiers makes empirical predictions when we look at their position with respect to inserted sentential adverbs. We have seen that such adverbs requiring matrix construal cannot interrupt the small clause constituent. Thus, I presume that when such an adverb appears in a resultative with a quantifier, it cannot be inserted in a position inside the small clause. This is proved by the following example:

(15) Lac-uri-le$_i$ au îngheţat la munte toate $t_i$ (*la munte) bocnă.
lake-PL-DET.F.PL AUX.3PL freeze.PRF at mountain all.F.PL at mountain bone
'The lakes froze at the mountains all (*at the mountains) solid.'

Consequently, the matrix adverb *la munte* 'at the mountains' may only appear at the left of the quantifier, that is, outside the small clause *toate $t_i$ bocnă* 'all $t_i$ solid'.

Finally, constituent coordination provides further evidence that Romanian metaphorical resultatives are result small clauses. Consider the following example:

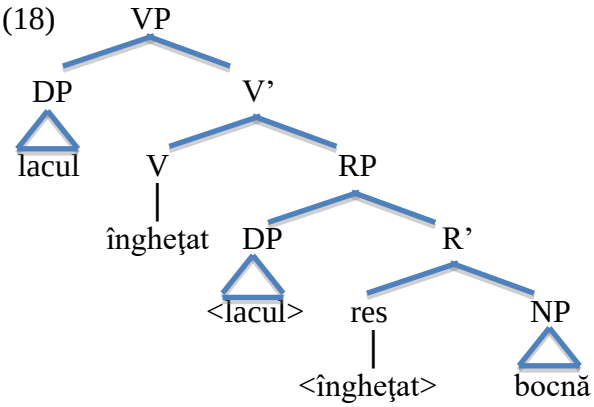
(16) … a îngheţat [lac-uri-le$_i$ bocnă] şi [pe alpinişti-i sloi].
AUX.3SG freeze.PRF lake-PL-DET.F.PL bone and PE climber.PL-DET.M.PL ice floe
'…froze the lake solid and the climbers hard.'

If I assume that co-ordination conjoins elements of the same syntactic and semantic type, the bracketed sequences in the previous Romanian example must be considered constituents and they must be analysed as separate units.

Now, let me turn back to the syntactic analysis of these expressions. Most metaphorical resultatives, just like most of the resultatives in Romanian, are built on change-of-state [(init), proc, res] type of verbs.[9] Hence, (17) should be illustrated as in (18) below:

(17) Lac-(u)l a îngheţat bocnă.
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF bone
'The lake froze solid.'

(18)




As expected, such a resultative is built on a verb which in the lexicon is specified as having a process followed by a result event. To put it differently, in this case *res* is identified by the governing verb. Since the verb independently identifies a result, all the added predicate (the complement of RP) does is intensify the action of the matrix verb by the underlying comparison established between some properties of its denotation and some resulting properties of the (surface) subject. Moreover, owing to the extra predicational structure because of the licensing and identification of *res*P in the structure, the surface subject of the unaccusative verb picks up additional semantic entailments and acquires the metaphorical state denoted by the predicate.

## 5. Denominal/deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions

In the current literature, there are two major approaches to the relationship between denominal/deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions.

On the one hand, such verbs are semantically compatible with a result predicate. In such cases implying Tortora's (1998) Further Specification Constraint, the verb is inherently delimited and a resultative can accompany the verb "so long as the resultative acts as a further specification of the result already inherent in the verb's meaning" (1998: 341).

On the other hand, however, these derived verbs are syntactically incompatible with a result predicate because the N and the A from which these verbs are built up generate in the same syntactic position as result predicates: complement of RP.

[9] The only exception I have found so far is *a freca (podeaua) lună* 'to scrub (the floor) clean/shiny'. In this respect, while a VP like *a freca podeaua* 'to scrub the floor' is ambiguous between a telic and an atelic interpretation, the same VP is recategorized into an unambiguously telic VP if the NP predicate *lună* 'moon' is attached to it.

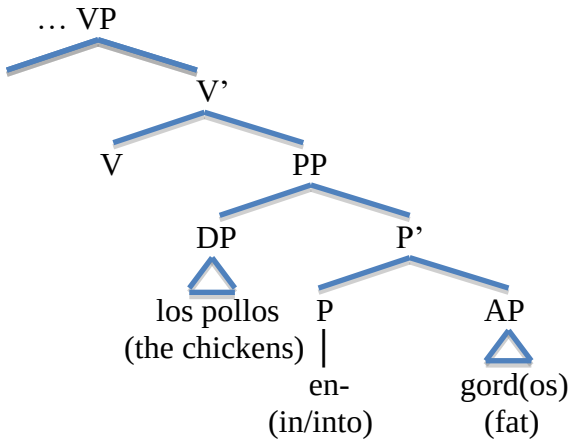
The view that resultative secondary predicates are compatible neither with denominal nor with deadjectival verbs is shared by Gumiel et al. (1999) as well.[10] The general hypothesis put forth by these authors is that it is impossible to have result predicates with denominal and deadjectival verbs since the N and the A from which these verbs are formed and the secondary predicates are generated in the same syntactic position: complement of RP (complement of PP in their analysis). They illustrate their argument with the following examples headed by denominal (19) and deadjectival (20) verbs:

(19) a. **The guard jailed the prisoners dead.*
b. **John canned the peas rotten.*
(Gumiel et al. 1999: 120)

(20) a. **The farmer fattened the chickens dead.*
b. **Mary thickened the sauce solid.*
(Gumiel et al. 1999: 121)

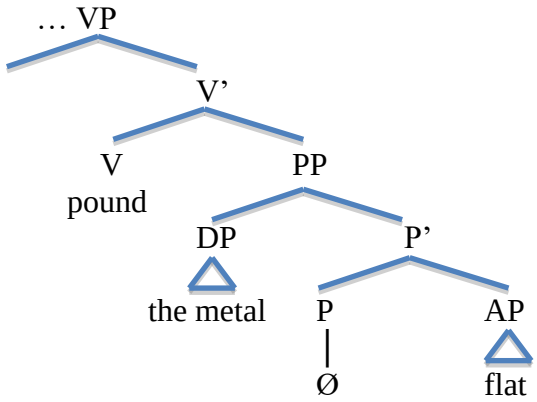
These authors propose the structure in (21) for the Spanish deadjectival verb *engordar* 'fatten' (prefix *en-* 'in/into' + A *gord* 'fat' + suffix *-ar*) and the structure in (22) for the English canonical result construction *pound the metal flat*.

(21)




[10] Gumiel et al. (1999: 116, Footnote 6) also note that some verbs that are inherently delimited are compatible with resultatives which act as a further specification of the resulting state specified in the meaning of the verb. However, they note that from their point of view these are not resultatives generated in Goal position.

(22)




(Gumiel et al. 1999: 112)

The Spanish deadjectival verb *engordar* 'fatten' is claimed to be impossible in a result configuration since the adjective *gord(os)* 'fat' from which it is built up would generate in the same syntactic position as the result predicate *flat*.

## 6. Underassociation

In line with Tortora (1998), I argue that, as far as Romanian is concerned, resultatives can indeed (although restrictively) co-occur with denominal/deadjectival verbs (i.e. verbs that are already delimited) as long as the added result predicate is interpreted not as a delimiter of the action of the verb but either as a further specifier of the result state independently encoded in the meaning of the verb or as an intensifier of the action denoted by the verb. To put it in slightly different terms, a result predicate can co-occur with such verbs precisely because it does not delimit or measure out the action of the verb.

However, the natural question that I ask here is how it is possible to syntactically build such resultative constructions, given that the N the verb is derived from (i.e. *gheață* 'ice') occupies the same complement-of-*res*/complement-of-PP position as the result predicate *bocnă* 'bone' in the corresponding resultative structure (see (4) and (18)). I argue that Ramchand's (2008) first-phase syntax, more exactly the linguistic phenomenon of Underassociation of category feature(s) offers a plausible answer to this question. Although our focus is Romanian, I first illustrate the English data here to give the readers a background on Underassociation.

### 6.1 *Underassociation in English (Ramchand 2008)*

Ramchand (2008: 98, 136) proposes the following constraint on Underassociation:

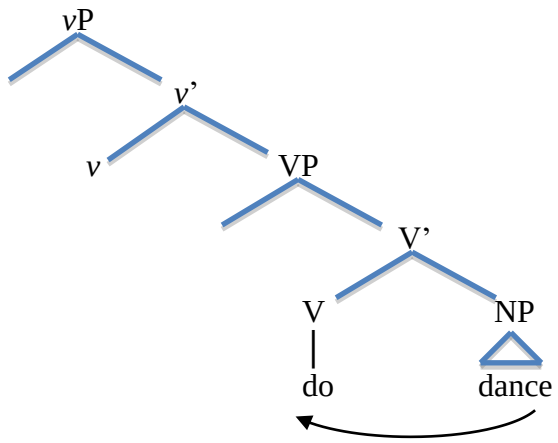
(23) If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,
- (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature, by Agree
- (ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content

In this sense, a lexical item can underassociate its category feature(s) when something else identifies that category within the same phase. In other words, the category feature(s) on a

lexical item can be satisfied in two ways: by actually associating to a node of that category in the structure or by not associating, but agreeing with that feature locally. The other condition on Underassociation is that the lexical-encyclopedic content of the so-Agreeing features must be able to unify conceptually. This means that when part of the structure in a lexical item is unused for the spell-out of a given syntactic structure, that unused piece is underassociated.

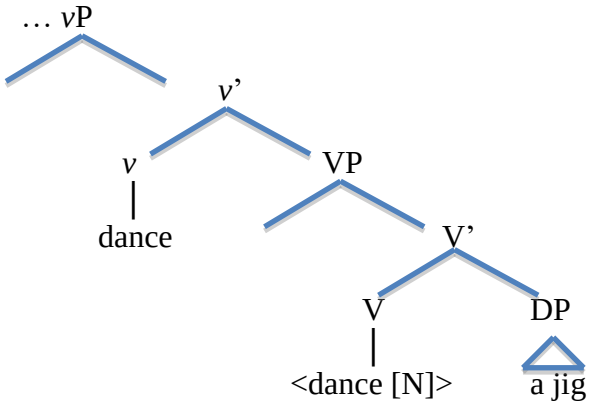
Ramchand mentions two cases in which Underassociation takes place. The first takes place with denominal/deadjectival verbs. For instance, an intransitive verb such as *dance*, originally proposed to be a denominal verb by Hale & Keyser (1993), is derived by raising the N *dance* from the complement position of V into the verbal head (cf. (24) below), where the verb is covertly transitive and the nominal is the complement of the generalized *do* process. If an independent DP is merged in the complement position, the N feature of the denominal verb can underassociate. Hence, a VP such as *dance a jig* would be illustrated as in (25) below:

(24)




(Ramchand 2008: 92)

(25)




(Ramchand 2008: 97)

In this tree diagram, the underassociated N feature is shown in square brackets.

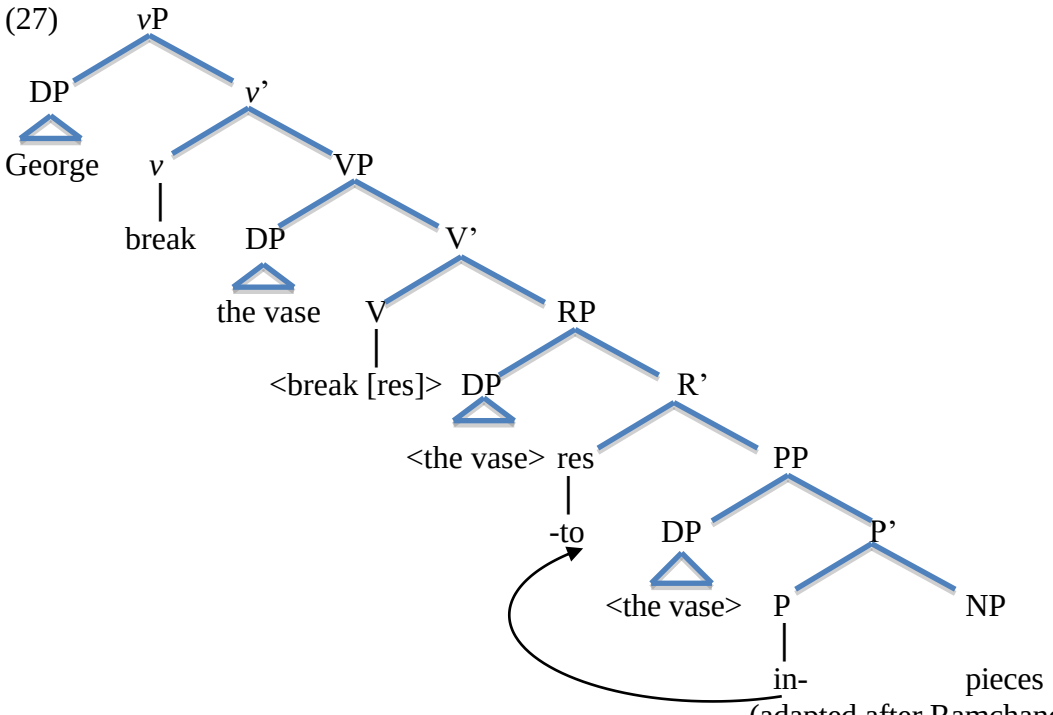
As specified in Ramchand (2008), the complement position is filled with a projection that identifies N. What is more, the information about the Rheme provided by the conceptual content of the root must be unified with the conceptual content of the DP complement.

In addition, but not less significantly, there is another situation that gives evidence for Underassociation of category features under the constrained conditions stated above. As the PathP *to* (also in its morphologically complex forms like *into* and *onto*) and diverse result particles identify *res* in the structure of resultatives, the phenomenon of Underassociation is also possible in cases like (26). Here, a change-of-state verb combines with a PP predicate or a result particle denoting the end state (cf. (26a, b)) or the end location (cf. (26c)) of the Undergoer argument:

(26) a. Miguel broke the handle off.
b. George broke the vase into pieces.
c. Sam shredded the paper into the basket.

In such cases, it seems that both the governing verbs *break* and *shred*, on the one hand, and the particle *off* in (26a) and the PathP *to* in (26b, c), on the other hand, compete for the same syntactic position: *res*. Then, the result particle *off* and the PathP *to* identify *res* and the governing verbs – which independently encode result and are [init, proc, res] verbs – have an underassociated *res* feature. The syntactic representation of (26b) would be as shown in (27), where the underassociated *res* feature of the verb is given in square brackets and the word order *into* is achieved by the incorporation of the PlaceP *in-* into the PathP *-to*:

(27)




(adapted after Ramchand 2008: 137)

The above example has the PathP in *res*, while the matrix verb has an underassociated *res* feature, which is assumed to be licensed by some syntactic coindexation mechanism (Agree) because of the *res* head in the tree.

Although it is not explicitly mentioned in Ramchand (2008), I consider that it is precisely this phenomenon that takes place in the case of (Romanian) result expressions headed by denominal/deadjectival verbs. In what follows, I discuss the way the N/A feature of the denominal/deadjectival verb is underassociated. Moreover, I shed light on the fact that the *res* feature is not underassociated in Romanian resultatives.

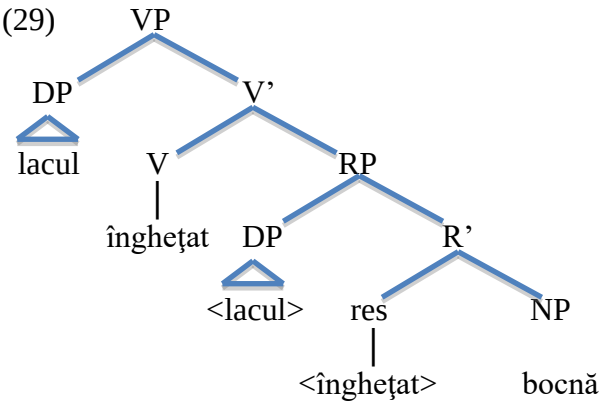
6.2 *Underassociation of the* N *feature in Romanian*

As mentioned before, metaphorical resultatives can be built on denominal verbs. Some relevant examples are given below: (28a) is built on the denominal verb *a îngheța* 'to freeze' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *gheață* 'ice' + suffix *-a*) and (28b) is headed by the denominal verb *a se îndrăgosti* 'to fall in love' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *dragoste* 'love' + suffix *-i*):

(28) a. Lac-(u)l a înghețat bocnă.
lake-DET.M.SG AUX.3SG freeze.PRF bone
'The lake froze solid.'
b. Maria s -a îndrăgostit lulea.
Maria CL.3.REFL AUX.3SG fall in love.PRF pipe
'Maria fell deeply in love.'
(Maria fell so deeply in love that smoke billowed out of her ears like from a pipe.)

Based on the generalization that these structures are built on change-of-state [(init), proc, res] type of verbs, the (tentative) lexical-syntactic representation of (28a) is sketched below; cf. also (18) above:

(29)

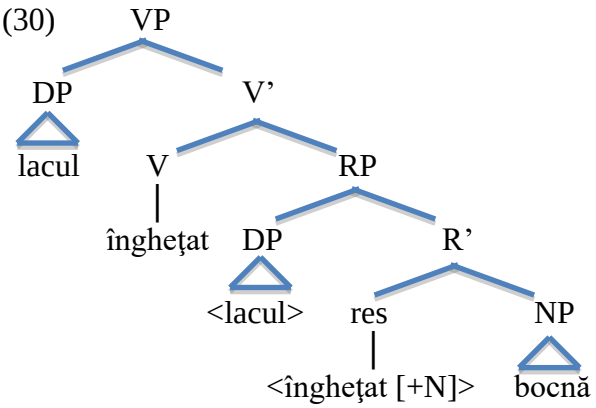



As argued before, the change-of-state verb independently identifies *res* and the NP *bocnă* 'bone', the specifier and intensifier of the action of the verb, is the complement of RP.

However, this syntactic tree does not explain the co-occurrence restrictions on denominal verbs and result predicates. To put it differently, this tree diagram does not explain how the predicate *bocnă* 'bone' can occupy the complement position of RP because the N the matrix verb *a îngheța* 'to freeze' is derived from occupies the same syntactic position. What I claim here is that in this case the bare NP predicate causes the denominal matrix verb to underassociate its N feature, which is hence given in square brackets. In other words, the addition of the predicate is made possible owing to the Underassociation of the N feature of the verb.

If this analysis is on the right track, the correct lexical-syntactic representation of (28a) is not the one given in (29) above, as argued in Farkas (2011), but the one in (30) below:

(30)




This tree diagram shows that the canonical resultative *lacul a îngheţat bocnă* 'the lake froze solid' harmoniously integrates into the class of Romanian resultatives because the verb is an [(init), proc, res] type of verb, which independently denotes change of state, and the sentence-final predicate intensifies the action of the verb by denoting a metaphorical end state. In addition, this tree diagram also shows that the denominal verb not only identifies *res*, but also underassociates its N feature. This is how the co-occurrence of a denominal verb with a result predicate can be explained.

6.3 *Underassociation of the* A *feature in Romanian*

Metaphorical resultatives can be built not only on denominal verbs but also on deadjectival verbs. Some Romanian resultative expressions are given below: (31a) is built on the deadjectival verb *a răci* 'to (cause to) become cooler, to catch a cold' (A *rece* 'cold' + suffix *-i*), (31b) is headed by the deadjectival verb *a se îmbăta* 'to get drunk' (prefix *îm-* 'in/into' + A *beat* 'drunk' + suffix *-a*), and (31c) is governed by the deadjectival verb *a vindeca* 'to (cause to) become healed':

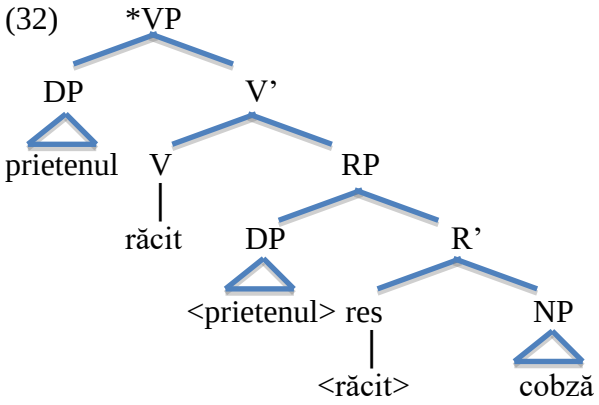
(31) a. Prieten-(u)l meu a răcit cobză.
friend-DET.M.SG my.M.SG AUX.3SG catch a cold.PRF kobza
'My friend caught a terrible cold.'
(My friend caught such a terrible cold that his voice sounded like a kobza.)

b. Şofer-(u)l s -a îmbătat criţă.
driver-DET.M.SG CL.3.REFL AUX.3SG get drunk.PRF steel
'The driver got very drunk.'
(The driver got so drunk that he became as hard as steel.)

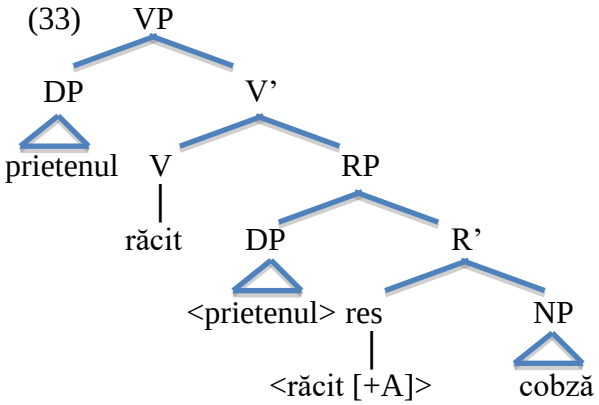
c. Ne -am trezit vindecaţi taftă.
CL.1PL.ACC AUX.1PL wake up.PRF healed.M.PL taffeta
'We woke up completely healed.'
(We woke up healed, with our breathing as easy/smooth as taffeta.)
(Creangă 1976 [1881]: 34)

Based on what I have been assuming, the lexical-syntactic structure of the Romanian resultative in (31a) is not the one given in (32) but the one illustrated in (33). As expected, in this case it is the A feature of the matrix verb that is underassociated.

(32)




(33)




This tree diagram shows that not only does the verb identify *res*, but its A feature is also underassociated. This is how the competition of the two elements (the A feature of the verb and the secondary predicate) is solved.

6.4 *Underassociation of the* res *feature in Romanian*

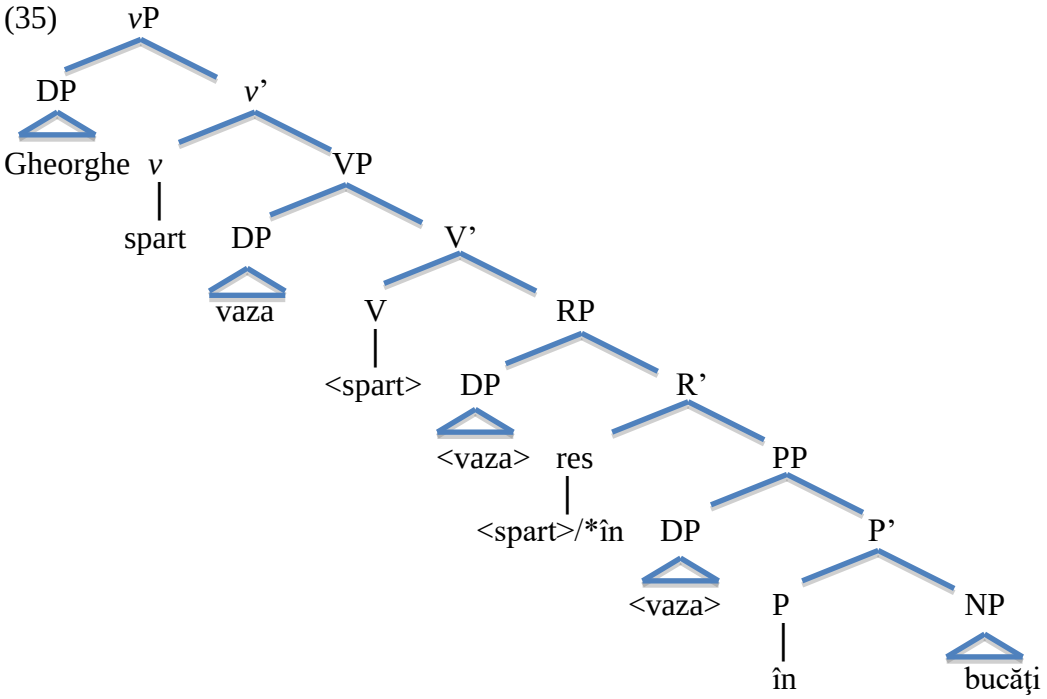
As Romanian licenses mostly resultatives where the verb includes *res*P in its l-syntactic structure, it comes as no surprise to learn that it also licenses sentences like the following, the correspondents of the resultatives illustrated in (26b, c):

(34) a. Gheorghe a spart vaza în bucăţi.
George AUX.3SG break.PRF vase.DET.F.SG in piece.PL
'George broke the vase into pieces.'

b. Sam a rupt hârtia în coş.
Sam AUX.3SG tear.PRF paper.DET.F.SG in basket
'Sam tore the paper into the basket.'

In Romanian (i) there are no result particles or PathPs comparable to the English *to*, *into*, or *onto*; (ii) all morphologically simple prepositions (*în* 'in', *la* 'at', *sub* 'under', *pe* 'on', etc.) are locative PlacePs; (iii) they are not decomposable into PathP and PlaceP. Therefore, I assume that these prepositions cannot identify *res*.[11] Hence, I claim that in (34a) the *res* head is not identified by the morphologically simple preposition *în* 'in'. Consequently, the verb does not have to (and does not) underassociate its *res* feature. This is illustrated below:

(35)




In this case, *res* is not underassociated, but it is identified by the governing verb.

From this perspective, if I compare English and Romanian, I cannot fail to notice the difference between these two languages in the way they identify *res* and in the way Underassociation manifests itself in them.

## 6.5 *Underassociation of the* N/A *feature and the* res *feature in Romanian*

Romanian licenses some constructions headed by verbs independently denoting change of location; cf. (36) below. Let us take a close look at (36a). The (transitive) denominal verb of change of location *a îngropa* 'to bury' (prefix *în-* 'in/into' + N *groapă* 'hole/grave' + suffix *-a*) roughly means 'to put in N/cause to be in N', where N is the noun *groapă* 'hole/grave' entering with the prefix *în-* in the word formation process. With such a verb – which

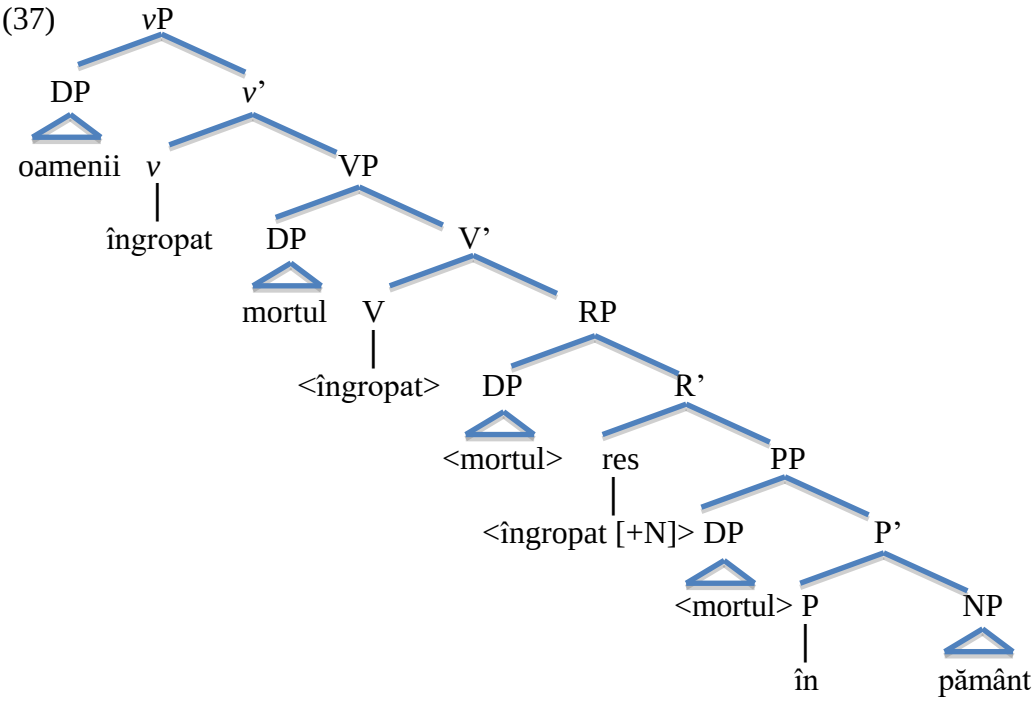
[11] If morphologically simple prepositions (*în* 'in', *la* 'at', *pe* 'on', *sub* 'under', etc.) identified *res* in the structure of resultatives, there would be a large variety of change-of-location structures in Romanian. Also, this would mean that Romanian behaves similarly to Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) satellite-framed languages (e.g. English).

underassociates its N feature – the PP predicate only lexicalizes the end location of the action of the verb. (36a) is illustrated in (37):

(36) a. Oameni-i au îngropat mort-(u)l în pământ.
people.PL-DET.M.PL AUX.3PL bury.PRF dead-DET.M.SG in ground
'People buried the dead man into the ground.'

b. Am împachetat cărţi-le în cutii.
AUX.1SG pack.PRF book.PL-DET.F.PL in box.PL
'I packed the books in boxes.'

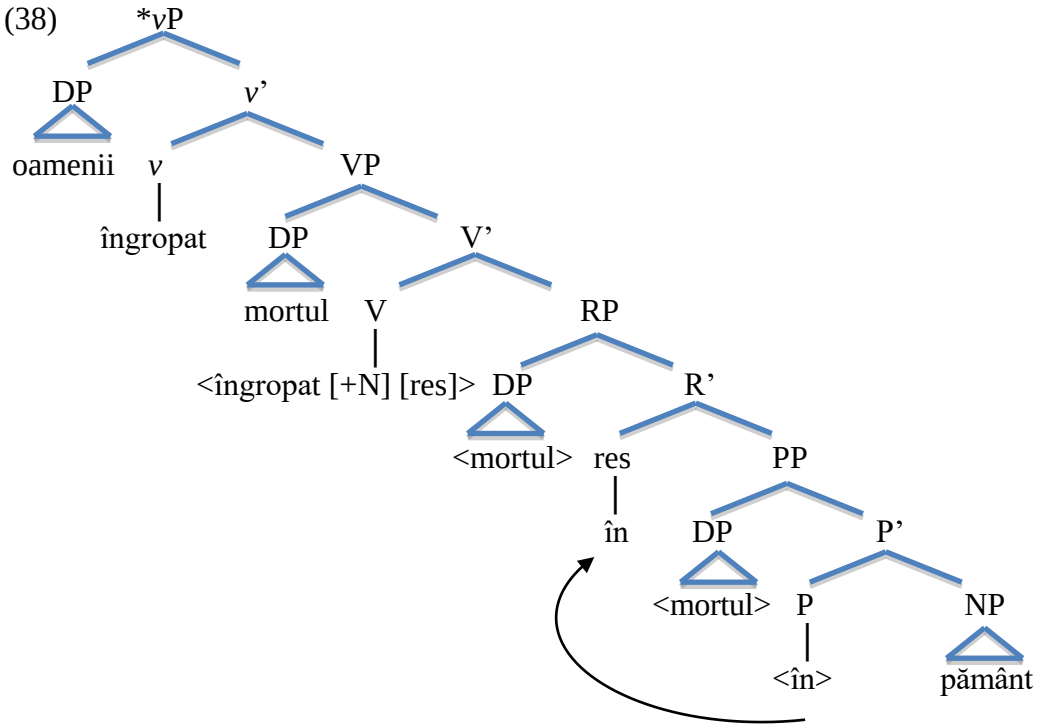
(37)




I claim that in this case the verb independently identifies *res*, as it is an [init, proc, res] type of verb. However, its N feature is underassociated when or if a complement PP (e.g. *în pământ* 'in ground' above) lexicalizing the end location of the verb is attached to it.

What is underassociated in this case is only the N feature of the denominal verb and not its *res* feature. It is only (English) PathPs like *to*, *into*, or *onto* that can identify *res*, but not Romanian locative PlacePs like *în* 'in', *la* 'at', *pe* 'on', etc. Therefore, the sentence given in (36a) should be represented as in (37) above and not as in (38) below:

(38)




This resultative is possible in Romanian precisely because of the nature of the governing verb, which independently entails a change in location and thus it can be assumed to include *res*P in its structure also in the absence of a result predicate. Again, as expected, the Romanian PlaceP *în* 'in' does not identify *res*.

An important caveat is in order here before I close this section: some recent accounts of Romanian motion constructions (see Drăgan 2012 and Tomescu 2013, among others) argue that morphologically simple PPs such as *în* 'in', *la* 'at', or *pe* 'on' are ambiguous between a Place and a Path interpretation. This means that while they are stative and express Place with non-motion verbs or purely manner-of-motion verbs, they are dynamic and express Path with motion verbs indicating displacement. To put it another way, while an [(init), proc] type of motion verb licenses *în* 'in' as PlaceP, an [(init), proc, res] type of motion verb licenses the same PP as PathP. The basic idea, however, is that PPs are ambiguous only because of the verb and their disambiguation is performed with the aid of the verb; cf. also Folli & Ramchand (2005). This means that the change in the meaning of the PP is due only to the change in the typology of the matrix verb.

I am suspicious of such an approach as it raises several questions.

First, if prepositions like *în* 'in' or *la* 'at' gave rise to a directed-motion interpretation (or, in Ramchand's (2008) terms, if they identified *res*), Romanian would/could behave like English or other Germanic languages and it would have true PathPs, contrary to fact.

Then, even if I considered that morphologically simple prepositions gave rise to a telic/directed-motion interpretation with some ([(init), proc, res]) motion verbs like *a sări* 'jump' (see (39a)) and they failed to give rise to such a reading with other ([(init), proc]) verbs like *a pluti* 'float' (see (39b)), I would still have to explain the way simple PlacePs acquire the complexity of PathPs:

(39) a. Băieţi-i au sărit în apă.[12]
boy.PL-DET.M.PL AUX.3PL jump.PRF in water
'The boys jumped into the water.'

b. *Sticla a plutit în peşteră.
bottle.DET.F.SG AUX.3SG float.PRF in cave
'The bottle floated into the cave.'

In my view, it is more plausible to postulate that the different readings (directed-motion in (39a) and non-directed-motion in (39b)) are due to the nature of the verb itself and not to the nature of the morphologically simple PP. As the verb can express some kind of direction, the telic reading of (39a) is due precisely to the verb and not to the PlaceP *în* 'in', which can otherwise be included in purely locative (40a) and stative configurations (40b):

(40) a. Băieţi-i s -au jucat în apă.
boy.PL-DET.M.PL CL.3.REFL AUX.3PL play.PRF in water
'The boys played in the water.'

b. Băieţi-i sunt în apă.
boy.PL-DET.M.PL are.PRS in water
'The boys are in the water.'

Finally, if Romanian PPs were indeed ambiguous between Place and Path, I would have to discuss state resultatives like *a sparge în bucăţi* 'break into pieces'; cf. also above. As the predicate denotes end state and not end location, would the [(init), proc, res] type of change verb still force the interpretation of the PP *în* 'in' as PathP? To put it in slightly different terms, even if in this case the PP is translated into English by means of the preposition *into*, would this be a strong enough argument to claim that in this particular case this Romanian preposition is a PathP and it identifies *res*? On general theoretical grounds, I would argue that such an assertion would not be desirable.

The general conclusion is that whereas English accomplishment prepositions such as *to, into,* and *onto* (can) give rise to a directed-motion interpretation regardless of the verb they are attached to, the unambiguous directed-motion or the ambiguous directed-motion–non-directed-motion interpretation of Romanian location sentences is strongly constrained by the choice of the verb itself.

### 6.6 *Summary*

I summarize this section of the paper by stating that although denominal/deadjectival verbs and resultative constructions share the same lexical-syntactic structure, and there are severe restrictions on building these predicate structures with these verbs, denominal/ deadjectival verbs *are* possible in a result configuration. In this case, the verb already identifies *res* and the added secondary predicate is an intensifier or a degree modifier emphasizing the extent to

[12] This sentence can also have a non-directed-motion interpretation. In this case, the PP *în apă* 'in water' is an adjunct and it can be omitted without loss of acceptability or change in the meaning of the rest of the sentence. Moreover, as there is no goal interpretation, the sentence means that the boys were in the water and they jumped/were jumping in the water.

which the action described by the main verb progressed. In other words, in such cases the result predicate can accompany the inherently delimited verb because it does not doubly delimit its event, but it only further specifies the result entailed in its meaning. I have also shown that in this case the denominal/deadjectival verb underassociates its N/A feature (but not its *res* feature). Hence, the addition of the result predicate becomes possible.

## 7. Final conclusions

With the present paper, I have tried to fill in some of the theoretical gaps left by previous studies dedicated to Romanian resultative constructions. More precisely, I have looked into the relationship between Romanian denominal/deadjectival verbs and some lesser-known expressions called metaphorical resultatives or result(ative) expressions.

The analysis has been conducted within the theoretical framework proposed in Ramchand (2008). I have tackled the issue of the relationship between these derived verbs and these predicate constructions from the perspective of the linguistic phenomenon called Underassociation. I have challenged the view that – owing to the existence of a shared lexical-syntactic structure and some shared properties – denominal/deadjectival verbs are not compatible with result predicates. The Romanian result(ative) expressions I have focused on bring evidence in favour of the fact that these derived verbs are compatible in result configurations if the added predicate does not delimit the event of the verb but solely highlights the degree of the outcome of the event or intensifies the action of the verb by denoting a metaphorical end state, hence contributing to the above-the-norm interpretation of the entire construction. I have cast light on the way in which the linguistic phenomenon of Underassociation put forth by Ramchand (2008) manifests itself in Romanian denominal/ deadjectival verbs and result constructions. The generalization is that whereas in such derived verbs the N/A feature is underassociated, thus licensing the attachment of the result predicate, the *res* feature cannot be underassociated.

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