

Resultatives in Icelandic – A Preliminary Investigation*

1. Introduction

1.1 *Icelandic and the encoding of results*

The initial impetus for this paper was provided by the proposal in Higginbotham (1999) that there is a semantic parameter relating to telic pair formation which distinguishes languages like English and Chinese (which he dubs *give up* languages) from languages like Italian and Japanese (which he dubs *resign* languages). As discussed in detail in Talmy (1985), English allows the combination of a manner of motion verb such as *float* and a preposition such as *under* to produce two distinct interpretations: a. motion to a location; b. motion in a location.

- (1) The boat is floating under the bridge.
 - a. The boat is under the bridge and it is floating.
 - b. The boat is going under the bridge by floating.

In Italian on the other hand such a combination produces only the locational reading.

- (2) La barca galleggia sotto il ponte.
 - a. The boat is under the bridge and it is floating.
 - b. *The boat is going under the bridge by floating.

Adopting a neo-Davidsonian account of the composition of interpretation, Higginbotham points out that both languages share the interpretation which is produced by simple identification of events and conjunction in the style of Davidson (1967).

- (3) float (y,e) & under (y,x,e)
 - a. “e is an event of y floating and e is an event of y being under x”

However, in addition to this reading English also has a reading which can be interpreted with a telic pair.

- (4) float (y,e) & under (y,x,e') & telic-pair (e,e')

* This paper was prepared during my research leave 2005/6 and I would like to thank the Rector of the University of Iceland and the University Sabbatical Fund for making this possible. An especial note of thanks must go to my research assistants, Magnús Sigurðsson (Autumn 2005) and Theódóra Torfadóttir (Spring 2006), for their diligent work translating examples into Icelandic, offering grammaticality judgements, and suggesting interesting data, as well as to the Research Assistant Fund of the University of Iceland for funding their work. For their helpful feedback and judgements I would also like to thank: Ásta Svavarsdóttir, Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, Guðrún Guðsteinsdóttir, Guðrún Theodórsdóttir, Hjörleifur Sveinbjörnsson, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Kolbrún Friðríksdóttir, Oddný Sverrisdóttir, Pétur Knútsson, Sigríður Sigurjónsdóttir and Þórhallur Eypórsson. All errors and misunderstandings remain mine solely!

- a. “e is an event of y floating and e’ is an event of y being under x and e leads to e”

Thus (contra Talmy, 1985) the ambiguity of the examples does not follow from the ambiguity of the verb (here *float*) but rather from an option available in the projection of argument structure, namely telic pair formation. Some languages allow the projection of argument structure from verbs and secondary predicates to form telic pairs (e.g. English, Chinese, German) and some do not (Italian, French, Japanese).

He then extends this analysis to resultatives of the sort shown in (5).

- (5) He wiped the table clean.

Here an adjective (*clean*) expresses the state that the direct object of the verb (*the table*) comes to be in as a result of undergoing the process described by the verb (*wipe*): i.e. the table comes to be clean through him wiping it. Higginbotham argues that here again we find telic pair formation based in this case on the event positions of the main verb and that of the secondary predicate. This then makes a simple prediction:

“...the complex *wipe clean* forms an accomplishment. These structures are expected to be present in languages like English or Chinese, absent from languages disallowing the appropriate semantic combination, as indeed they are from Romance.”

Typologically this raises an interesting question concerning Icelandic – does it respect Higginbotham’s typological proposal?

For sure, Icelandic is a *give up* language par excellence and is full of verb particle constructions of the “give up” type. You do not record a programme you “take it up” (*taka upp*); you do not resign from a job you “say it up” (*segja upp*); you do not survey a site, you “look it over” (*líta yfir*). Icelandic also allows manner of motion verbs to be combined with prepositions to form motional as well as locational readings, though like German (which Higginbotham puts in the English/Chinese class), the difference between motion and location is marked by a difference in case assignment on the complement of the preposition.

- (6) Baturinn flýtur undir brúnni.
boat-the floats under bridge-the-Dative
“the boat is under the bridge and floating there”
(7) Baturinn flýtur undir brúna.
boat-the floats under bridge-the-Accusative
“the boat is going under the bridge by floating”

The problem is that the resultative example given by Higginbotham is ungrammatical in Icelandic:

- (8) *Ég þurrkaði borðið hreint.
I wiped table-the clean.
“I wiped the table clean”

This might be attributed to the morphological make up of the verb *þurrka* (wipe) which can also mean simply “to dry (off)” and is formed from the adjective *þurr* (dry)

and the inchoative suffix *-ka* (“become”). However, a similar example without this morphological complexity is also ill-formed.

- (9) *Hann sópaði gólfið hreint.
 He swept floor-the clean.
 “He swept the floor clean”

My initial feedback on a further classic example was rather mixed, with some positive and some negative responses:

- (10) ?Hann hamraði málminn flatan.
 He hammered metal-the flat.
 “He hammered the metal flat”

On the other hand, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) had already shown that Icelandic has change of colour resultatives:

- (11) Þeir máluðu húsið hvítt.
 they painted house-the white
 “they painted the house white”

They also offer an example of a resultative with an affected object verb (though as we will see later, this example may not be a simple instance of secondary predication).

- (12) Ég bað þá að mala kaffið fínt.
 I asked them to grind coffee-the fine
 “I asked them to grind the coffee fine”

On the basis of these examples they claim (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995, p. 45) that: “In addition to having a resultative construction like the English one in which an adjective is predicated of a postverbal NP, Icelandic regularly forms compound verbs with result-denoting adjectives incorporated to the left of the verb... As we would predict, the adjectival passives based on the compound resultative verbs are fine...” They offer the examples:

- (13) Þeir hvítmáluðu húsið.
 they white-painted house-the
 “they painted the house white”
 (14) Hún býr í hvítmálaða húsinu.
 she lives in white-painted house-the.
 “she lives in the white-painted house”

This in itself makes three testable claims concerning Icelandic, in addition to their central claim concerning the argumenthood of the postverbal NP in certain resultatives: 1. that Icelandic has an adjectival resultative construction “like the English one”; 2. that Icelandic has a reasonably productive process of compound verb formation that allows incorporation of resultative adjectives into the main verb; and 3. that Icelandic has a reasonably productive process of adjectival passive formation based on such compounded verbs.

The preceding discussion therefore raises four questions with respect to Icelandic:

- As a “give up” language, does Icelandic also allow the resultative construction?
- If so, is the Icelandic adjectival resultative construction “like the English one” (in a sense to be discussed below)?
- Does Icelandic have a reasonably productive process of compound verb formation based on resultative adjectives?
- Does Icelandic have a reasonably productive process of adjectival passive formation based on verb-resultative adjective compounds?

This paper represents a preliminary response to these questions and offers a preliminary overview of the relevant data from Icelandic. In doing so, it will also identify areas requiring more detailed investigation.

1.2 In what sense “like English”?

The claim that Icelandic has “a resultative construction like the English one in which an adjective is predicated of a postverbal NP” can in fact be construed as claiming no more than that in Icelandic we will find instances of an adjective being predicated of a postverbal NP with the resultative reading. If however we were to discover that only change of colour resultatives were possible in Icelandic and no other instances occurred, then that would certainly be a marked difference between the grammars of Icelandic and English rather than a similarity between them. I will therefore interpret the statement as making a broader claim: that we will find examples of adjectival resultatives in a similar range of broad syntactic environments as we do in English. For the purpose of this initial investigation, I will set aside the more fine-grained classification of examples found in Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2001) and organise the data in terms of the broad syntactic classification in Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) where the observations concerning Icelandic are originally made but with one or two provisos (pointed out below); this classification is itself the culmination of a long line of discussion and debate going back to Simpson (1983).

English has adjectival resultatives with transitive verbs. In the typical case, the adjectival secondary predicate is predicated of the selected object of the verb and that object is obligatory (though this is disputed in, for example, Hoekstra, 1988; Kratzer, 2005).

- (15) Sally crushed the box flat.
- (16) Sally crushed the box.
- (17) *Sally crushed.

Sometimes, however, the verb is not the selected object of the verb – but the verb can independently occur as an intransitive.

- (18) Sally drank herself silly.
- (19) *Sally drank herself.
- (20) Sally drank a beer.
- (21) Sally drank.

English also has adjectival resultatives with transitive verbs where the adjectival secondary predicate is predicated of an object which is not selected by the verb but the verb does not occur as an intransitive (again this is disputed, for example, by Carrier & Randall, 1992; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995).

- (22) Sally ripped the door open.
- (23) *Sally ripped the door. (wrong interpretation)
- (24) Sally ripped the cloth.
- (25) *Sally ripped.

Adjectival resultatives in English are therefore compatible with transitive verbs, regardless of whether the object is selected or not.

English allows adjectival resultatives with unergative verbs but in almost all cases this requires insertion of an object to act as a subject of secondary predication, even though the intransitive main verb does not itself take an object (see Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001 for a detailed discussion of exceptions to this generalisation). In English this object can be a reflexive or an NP with disjoint reference.

- (26) John snored himself awake.
- (27) *John snored awake.
- (28) John snored Bill awake.
- (29) *John snored himself.
- (30) *John snored Bill.
- (31) John snored.

Unaccusative intransitives on the other hand neither require nor allow the insertion of a non-selected object: the adjectival resultative is predicated directly of the intransitive subject.

- (32) The door banged shut.
- (33) *The door banged itself shut.
- (34) *The door banged the shop shut.
- (35) The door banged.
- (36) *The door banged itself.
- (37) *The door banged the shop.

If Icelandic has a resultative construction “like the English one” we would expect it to have resultatives with transitive verbs with selected or unselected objects, unergative verbs with fake objects (reflexive or disjoint reference) and unaccusative verbs without fake objects. As the claims being assessed in this paper relate to the adjectival resultative, this will be the focus here, though data relating to prepositional phrase and particle resultatives with change of state (rather than change of location) readings will be included where relevant.

1.3 Collecting and assessing data

Where possible I have tried to use naturally occurring examples of resultatives in Icelandic, principally taken from the internet; the relevant phrase is given in-text and an endnote contains the full example, source and translation. The search for relevant examples has been directed in two principal ways. First, characteristic examples from

the literature have been translated; second, key adjectives from Boas' (2000) appendix of examples from the British National Corpus were selected along with the verbs that occur with them and searches were conducted for naturally occurring examples and new examples constructed to fill the gaps.

Clearly a formal corpus search for examples would be best for statistically assessing the significance of examples and productivity. However a corpus resource like the British National Corpus does not exist for Icelandic. In my initial searches, I did make use of the corpus being developed by the University Dictionary at the University of Iceland (www.lexis.hi.is); however, searches there are based on a single word form and complete context is not available. Though statistically invalid, the internet proved a more useful source of examples for this initial study. Searches were conducted in both Google and Embla (the Icelandic search engine developed by the Icelandic national newspaper, Morgunblaðið). In most cases searches were conducted on a verb and an adjective rather than a fixed string. Embla has the advantage that it recognises lexical items and searches all grammatical forms associated with that item. In Google, I searched at least for the past tense form of the verb shared by 1st and 3rd person and for the adjective in all relevant singular forms (accusative or dative case forms depending on the verb's case assignment properties). Of the results found, I went through at least the first 100 results for each search.

I have listed naturally-occurring examples as simply well-formed, setting aside issues of style and creativity (and some of these examples are slangy or creative in a way that is not normally approved of in scholarly writings on Icelandic). Other judgements reflect an average of grammaticality judgements received.

1.4 Some basic grammatical properties of Icelandic

Icelandic is a Germanic language which remains richly inflected. This section will give a brief summary of those grammatical inflections which will be relevant to our discussion.

Icelandic has three gender classes: Masculine (m), Feminine (f) and Neuter (n). It has four cases: Nominative (N), Accusative (A), Dative (D) and Genitive (G). And it has two numbers: Singular (S) and Plural (P). I will not mark this information unless necessary but when I do so, I will list it in the order Gender_Case_Number, using initial letters (captials for case and number; small case for gender).

(38) hesta_mAP = Masculine, Accusative, Plural

Nouns in Icelandic thus belong to a grammatical gender and inflect for number and case. Adjectives in Icelandic inflect for number, gender and case; they also have strong and weak inflectional paradigms, selected by their syntactic relation to definiteness. So an adjective used attributively (i.e. as a modifier of a noun) will have strong inflection if the noun is indefinite and weak inflection if the noun is definite.

(39) svarta_mAP hesta_mAP "black horses" (strong inflection on adjective)

(40) svörtu_mAP hestana_mAP "the black horses" (weak inflection on adjective)

In Icelandic (unlike in German), the adjective also agrees in number, gender and case when used predicatively, though the inflection is then always strong. This is true whether the adjective is used in a copular construction, a lexically selected small clause complement, a depictive construction or a resultative.

- (41) Hestarnir eru svartir.
horses_the_mNP are black_mNP
“the horses are black”
- (42) Mér finnst hestar sætir.
I_D find horses_mNP cute_mNP
“I think horses cute”
- (43) Við kláruðum kjötbollurnar kaldar.
We_N finished meatballs_the_fAP cold_fAP
“We finished the meatballs cold”
- (44) Ég kýldi lögguna kalda.
I_N punched cop_the_fAS cold_fAS
“I punched the cop out cold”

One further fact concerning adjectives in Icelandic will be relevant to us here: adjectives with a strong accusative neuter singular form can be used adverbially.

- (45) Nú er of langt gengið!
now is too long_nAS gone
“Now it’s gone too far!”
- (46) Þeir voru að keyra allt of hratt.
they_mNP were to drive all too fast_nAS
“They were driving way too fast.”
- (47) Ársfundurinn sjálfur fór fínt fram...¹
annual-general-meeting_the_mNS self went fine_nAS forwards
“The AGM itself went well”

Notice that the adjective in these examples does not agree with a nominal in the sentence: in (45) there is no nominal to agree with; in (46) the subject is masculine plural but the adjective is neuter singular; and in (47) the subject is masculine but the adjective is neuter. The adverbial-function adjective thus has a fixed form – neuter accusative singular.

Resultatives on the other hand involve secondary predication: to have resultative syntax in Icelandic, an adjective must therefore agree with its subject of predication. In most cases this is easily established. However, if the subject of secondary predication is itself neuter and singular and is additionally either nominative or accusative there is a problem because there is no distinction in form within the strong paradigm between the nominative and accusative forms of neuter singular adjectives.

<i>fínn</i> (fine)	strong neuter singular
nominative	fínt
accusative	fínt
dative	fínu
genitive	fíns

This will be relevant to our discussion of (12) (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995, p. 45, their ex. 32a), repeated below.

- (48) Ég bað þá að mala kaffið fínt.

I asked them to grind coffee_the_nNS fine_nNS
 “I asked them to grind the coffee fine” or
 “I asked them to grind the coffee finely”

There is nothing *a priori* that guarantees that this is an example of a resultative in the sense of involving secondary predication. As adverbials can introduce a resultative meaning, this example could be an adverbial usage (see also Kratzer, 2005 who underlines this point in a discussion of German and English). This problem will be discussed below.

2. Transitive verbs with selected object

2.1 Change of Colour Resultatives

Change of colour resultatives are extremely productive in Icelandic. Examples are common with the verb *lita* which is related to the noun *litur* (colour) and it is typically used to translate the English verbs *dye* and *stain* as well as the verb *colour*. All of the examples used to illustrate change of colour resultatives were found with a simple web search.

- (49) ég litaði hárið á mér rautt²
 I coloured hair_the_nAS on me red_nAS
 “I dyed my hair red”
- (50) litaði hún himininn rauðan³
 coloured she sky_the_mAS red_mAS
 “it stained the sky red”
- (51) [það] litaði ljósa flókann á höfði hans rauðan⁴
 [it] coloured blond tangle_mAS on head his red_mAS
 “it stained the blond tangle on his head red”

Examples are also common with the verbs *mála* (paint), *lakka* (lacquer, varnish) and *sprauta* (spray). The colour predicates can be common colour terms (e.g. *gulur* (yellow), *grænn* (green), *blár* (blue), *rauður* (red)) or descriptive colour names (e.g. *mahogny*⁵ (mahogany)).

- (52) Hvers vegna mála fílar neglurnar gular, grænar og appelsínugular?⁶
 which reason paint elephants nails_the_fAP yellow_fAP, green_fAP and orange_fAP?
 “why do elephants paint their nails yellow, green and orange?”
- (53) að mála hana svarta (Chaos black)⁷
 to paint her_fAS black_fAS (Chaos black)
 “to paint it black (Chaos black)”
- (54) [ég] litaði hárið mitt svona Mahogny⁸
 I coloured hair_the my sort-of mahogany
 “I dyed my hair sort of mahogany”
- (55) þú sprautar þinn bíl gylltan⁹
 you spray your car_mAS gold_mAS
 “you spray your car gold”
- (56) Hún lakkaði kúplingsdiskinn rauðan¹⁰
 she lacquered clutch-disc_the_mAS red_mAS

“she lacquered the clutch disc red”

Examples can also be found with *bæsa* (stain [wood]), here with the adjective *dökkur* (dark).

- (57) [að] bæsa þá dökka¹¹
to stain them_mAP dark_mAP
“to stain them dark”

The verb *mála* (paint) can also be used (with a reflexive object) to refer to putting on make up. The verb in this use also allows resultatives which are not colour terms.

- (58) [Ég] málaði mig sæta¹²
I painted myself cute_fAS
“I made myself up nicely”

However, the productivity of change of colour resultatives with these verbs does not guarantee the productivity of resultatives with these adjectives. For instance, the Appendix from Boas (2000) includes examples of the resultative adjective *black* with: *beat, burn, dye, get, paint, render, spray, stain, turn*. The verb *beat* in fact occurs with *black and blue* and so I exclude this instance; further, *get, render* and *turn* are all instances of lexicalised causative or inchoative predicates and so I exclude these. Alongside the regular colouring verbs, we have the verb *burn*. The example in Boas (2000, example A.3.7) is:

- (59) The sun had burned him black and his hair, which was naturally black, was matted and tangled.

A translation into Icelandic with the verb *brenna* (burn) is odd here.

- (60) ?Sólin hafði brennt hann svartan...
sun_the had burned him_mAS black_mAS”
“the sun had burned him black”

A poetic translation would be possible, however, with *baka* (bake) and *dökkbrúnn* (dark brown) or *kaffibrúnn* (coffee brown).

- (61) Sólin hafði bakað húð hans dökkbrúna/kaffibrúna.
sun_the had baked skin_fAS his dark-brown_mAS/coffee-brown_mAS”
“the sun had baked his skin dark brown/coffee-brown”

The original English example is in fact poetic but *burn-black* is a colloquial combination in English.

- (62) He burned the toast black.

This is not possible in Icelandic which would use a clausal periphrasis or a PP resultative.

- (63) *Hann brenndi ristabrauðið svart.
he burned toast_the_nAS black_nAS
“he burned the toast black”
- (64) Hann brenndi ristabrauðið þar til það varð svart.
he burned toast_the_nAS there until it_nNS became black_nNS
“he burned the toast until it was black”
- (65) Hann brenndi ristabrauðið til ösku.
he burned toast_the_nAS to ashes
“he burned the toast to ashes”
- (66) Hann brenndi ristabrauðið til kaldra kola.
he burned toast_the_nAS to cold coals
“he burned the toast to cinders”

A more detailed study is required to see the degree to which colour resultatives occur with verbs which do not relate to a transfer of colour. It should be noted, however, that Boas’ data shows that this is also much rarer in English: only one non-colour-transfer verb occurs with *black* and the adjective *red* occurs only with colour-transfer verbs.

2.2 Force-Contact and Affected Object Verbs

A number of force-contact verbs (which do not necessarily entail a change of state in their object though we might typically expect one) occur in the resultative. These are much rarer though than change of colour resultatives and so I include constructed examples as well as examples from a web search (as you can see in (68) a resultative with *hamra* (hammer) is in fact judged grammatical by the vast majority of respondents, contrary to the initial ambivalence of results).

- (67) Járnsmiðurinn barði málminn flatan.
blacksmith_the pounded metal_the_mAS flat_mAS
“the blacksmith pounded the metal flat”
- (68) Járnsmiðurinn hamraði málminn flatan.
blacksmith_the hammered metal_the_mAS flat_mAS
“the blacksmith hammered the metal flat”
- (69) hann rúllaði deigið flatt
he rolled dough_the_nAS flat_nAS
“he rolled the dough flat”
- (70) að slá hann flatan¹³
to strike it_mAS flat_mAS
“to strike it flat”
- (71) ég kýldi hann kaldann¹⁴
I punched him_mAS cold_mAS
“I punched him out cold”
- (72) að nudda þá slétta¹⁵
to rub them_mAP smooth_mAP
“to rub them smooth”

Significantly, the resultative adjective *flatur* (flat) can be predicated of an object of the verb even if it is in the dative case. The following example uses the verb *skella* (slam/throw over) in a metaphor from Icelandic wrestling (*glíma*).

- (73) [Það] skellti mér flötum¹⁶
 it slammed me_mDS flat_mDS
 “it slammed me flat”

A similar example occurs in a translation of the Bible using the verb *slengja* (sling).

- (74) [Þá] slengdi illi andinn honum flötum¹⁷
 then slung evil spirit_the him_mDS flat_mDS
 “then the evil spirit slung him down flat”

The subject of secondary predication does not therefore need to be an accusative object in Icelandic.

It is also worth noting here that resultatives also occur with force-application verbs which do not take their regular selected objects.

- (75) Þeir dældu hana fulla af lyfjum
 they pumped her_fAS full_fAS of drugs
 “They pumped her full of drugs”

Here it is presumably the syringe and not the woman who is being pumped.

Some examples which are natural in English, however, are marginal in Icelandic.

- (76) ?Járnsmiðurinn lamdi málminn flatan.
 blacksmith_the thumped metal_the_mAS flat_mAS
 “the blacksmith thumped the metal flat”
 (77) ??Hann klóraði sig blóðugan.
 he scratched himself_mAS bloody_mAS
 “he scratched himself bloody”
 (78) ?Hann pressaði pokann flatan.
 he pressed bag_the_mAS flat_mAS
 “he pressed the bag flat”

(77) can be saved with a PP resultative.

- (79) Hann klóraði sig til blóðs.
 he scratched himself to blood
 “he scratched himself bloody”

Change of State verbs (where the application of force does result in a change in the object) also occur with the resultative in Icelandic but here I found greater variation in judgements. Some seem to be generally acceptable.

- (80) Sneiddu þá þunna, annars eru þeir of lengi að sjóða.
 cut them_mAP thin_mAP, otherwise are they too long to cook
 “cut them thin or they will take too long cooking”
 (81) ég tróð mig fulla af sælgæti¹⁸
 I stuffed myself_fAS full_fAS of sweets
 “I stuffed myself full of sweets”

- (82) [ég] rakaði hárið stutt¹⁹
 I shaved hair_the_nAS short_nAS
 “I shaved my hair short”

Other verbs which are equivalent to those which occur in Boas’ data set are marginal to varying degrees.

- (83) ?Hann malaði kaffibaunirnar fínar.
 he ground coffee-beans_the_fAP fine_fAP
 “he ground the coffee beans finely”
 (84) ?Hann muldi piparkornin fín.
 he ground peppercorns_the_nAP fine_nAP
 “he ground the peppercorns finely”
 (85) ?Hann teygði lakið flatt.
 he stretched sheet_the_nAS flat_nAS
 “he stretched the sheet flat”
 (86) ??Hann plægði akurinn flatan.
 he ploughed field_the_mAS flat_mAS
 “he ploughed the field flat”
 (87) ??Hann kramdi kassann flatan.
 he crushed box_the_mAS flat_mAS
 “he crushed the box flat”

The verb *slétta* (smooth) came out as simply ungrammatical; unlike the English verb which does not entail a final smooth state, the Icelandic verb appears to be an inchoative “make level”.

- (88) *Hann sléttaði pokann flatan.
 he smoothed bag_the_mAS flat_mAS
 “he smoothed the bag flat”

It is with these verbs that we encounter the problem mentioned earlier concerning adverbial uses of the adjective. Recall the example from Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995, p. 45, their ex. 32a), repeated here as (89).

- (89) Ég bað þá að mala kaffið fínt.
 I asked them to grind coffee_the_nAS fine_nAS
 “I asked them to grind the coffee fine” or
 “I asked them to grind the coffee finely”

The problem here is that the form *kaffið* is neuter accusative singular; this is also the form of adjectives being used adverbially and so it is impossible to tell whether we have agreement (and therefore secondary predication) or an independent adverbial form. In my own test examples, I have therefore used forms that are plural. Some speakers accepted these examples with resultative agreement; however others found such examples to be marginal and preferred use of the adverbial construction.

- (90) Hann malaði kaffibaunirnar fínt.
 he ground coffee-beans_the_fAP fine_nAS
 “he ground the coffee beans finely”

- (91) Hann muldi piparkornin fínt.
 he ground peppercorns_the_nAP fine_nAS
 “he ground the peppercorns finely”

A search of the internet (under the conditions described in Section 1.3) produced no examples at all of *fínn* (fine) with *mala* (grind). It produced a single example with *mylja* (grind) using the adverbial construction and in this case there was no object at all.

- (92) ég muldi stundum fínt²⁰
 I ground sometimes fine_nAS
 “I sometimes ground [it] finely”

A search for *saxa* (chop) produced an example with the adverbial form *fínt_nAS* (fine); the same example also includes the adverbial use of *gróft_nAS* (coarse).

- (93) Tómatarnir eru saxaðir fínt... Hvítlaukurinn er saxaður nokkuð gróft²¹
 tomatoes_the_mNP are chopped fine_nAS... Garlic_the_mNS is chopped rather
 coarse_nAS
 “the tomatoes are chopped finely... the garlic is chopped rather coarsely”

These searches also threw up a further example of the result adverbial use of *fínt*, though in this case in the sense “nice, beautiful, impressive” rather than “in small particles”.

- (94) [Ég] bónaði bílinn voða voða fínt.²²
 I polished car_the_mAS really really fine_nAS
 “I polished the car really really nicely”

Such examples suggest that much more attention should be paid to result adverbials and the relation between their semantics and the semantics of the resultative construction (as urged by Kratzer, 2005).

A further set of examples relating to the application of force concern opening and closing. Resultatives with *open* are extremely productive in English and Boas' Appendix lists examples with 33 verbs (including *make*): *blow, burst, bust, crack, crash, cut, fix, fling, flip, force, hold, jerk, kick, make, pull, punch, push, rip, shake, slash, slice, slide, smash, snap, snatch, steam, swing, tear, throw, thrust, whisk, wrench, yank*. There were 119 examples with *push* and 103 examples with *throw*.

A web search did produce examples of *opinn* (open) used resultatively with *rífa* (rip/tear). These included an example where the verb takes its selected object (i.e. the object of *rífa* actually gets a rip in it, namely the opening):

- (95) rósínþyrn [sic²³] reif það opið²⁴
 rose-thorn ripped it_nAS open_nAS
 “a rose-thorn ripped it open”

They also included an example where *rífa* (rip/tear) does not take its typical object and the verb in this case takes on a manner-of-motion, or perhaps more properly a

manner-of-gesture, reading (i.e. the door does not get a rip in it; rather he opened the door with a ripping movement).

- (96) [Hann] reif hurðina opna²⁵
 he tore door_the_fAS open_fAS
 “he tore the door open”

However, in most cases a PP resultative construction is preferred using *upp á gátt* (literally “upp onto a doorway”).

- (97) ??Hann ýtti hurðinni opinni.
 he pushed door_the_fDS open_fDS
 “he pushed the door open”
 (98) Hann ýtti hurðinni upp á gátt.
 he pushed door_the up onto doorway
 “he pushed the door open”
 (99) ?Hann sparkaði hurðina opna.
 he kicked door_the_fAS open_fAS
 “he kicked the door open”
 (100) Hann sparkaði hurðinni upp á gátt.
 he kicked door_the up onto doorway
 “he kicked the door open”

Resultatives with *shut* are also extremely productive in English and Boas’ Appendix lists examples with 28 verbs: *bang, bolt, clamp, clench, click, close, cram, crash, drag, haul, jam, nail, pull, push, screw, seal, shoulder, slam, slam, slam, slap, slide, snap, sow, squeeze, squelch, swing, tap, wedge, zip*. Far and away the most common is the verb *slam* with 71 examples. Once again, however, Icelandic avoids this construction, in this case in favour of particle constructions.

- (101) *Hún skellti glugganum lokuðum.
 she slammed window_the_mDS shut_mDS
 “she slammed the window shut”
 (102) Hún skellti glugganum aftur.
 she slammed window_the back
 “she slammed the window shut”
 (103) *Hún dró hurðina lokaða.
 she pulled door_the_fAS shut_fAS
 “she pulled the door shut”
 (104) Hún dró hurðina aftur.
 she pulled door_the back
 “she pulled the door shut”
 (105) *Hann herpti munninn lokaðan.
 he clenched mouth_the_mAS shut_mAS
 “he clenched his mouth shut”
 (106) Hann herpti munninn saman.
 he clenched mouth_the together
 “he clenched his mouth shut”

The judgements with *lokaður* (shut) appear to be sharper than those with *opinn* (open).

2.3 Cleaning and Drying Resultatives

Perhaps the most striking difference from English (and the one that first drew my attention to the subject) relates to resultatives with the adjective *hreinn* (clean) which are much rarer than in English and often marginal (unlike the examples in English which are relatively productive). So for instance a search of the internet for examples involving the Icelandic equivalents of the English verbs found in Boas' Appendix with the adjective *clean* produced no results for: *skrapa* (scrape), *skrúbba* (scrub), *sópa* (sweep), *þurrka* (wipe), *klippa* (pare), *stinga* (pick), *skola* (rinse), *nudda* (rub), *skúra* (scour/swab), *sjúga* (suck), *dilla* (wag), *hýða* (whip).

The combination of *hreinn* (clean) with *sópa* (sweep) seems to be simply bad:

- (107) *Hann sópaði gólfíð hreint.
 he swept floor_the_nAS clean_nAS
 “he swept the floor clean”

Other verbs show variable behaviour. So, for instance, the acceptability of *skrúbba* (scrub) in construction with *hreinn* (clean) seems to vary according to the object of scrubbing.

- (108) Hann skrúbbaði pönnurnar hreinar.
 he scrubbed pots_the_fAP clean_fAP
 “he scrubbed the pots clean”
 (109) ?Hann skrúbbaði sig hreinan.
 he scrubbed himself_mAS clean_mAS
 “he scrubbed himself clean”
 (110) ?Herbergið hefur verið skrúbbað hreint
 room_the_nNS has been scrubbed clean_nNS
 “the room has been scrubbed clean”

The standard combination in English of *wipe...clean* is at best marginal in Icelandic:

- (111) *Þjónninn þurrkaði borðið hreint.
 waiter_the wiped table_the_nAS clean_nAS
 “the waiter wiped the table clean”
 (112) ?Hann þurrkaði blaðið hreint á leðurjakka hans.
 he wiped blade_the_nAS clean_nAS on leather-jacket his
 “he wiped the blade clean on his leather jacket”

The example in (111) improves however if an intensifying version of the adjective is used, e.g. *tandurhreinn* (spotless/spick-and-span).

- (113) ?Þjónninn þurrkaði borðið tandurhreint.
 waiter_the wiped table_the_nAS spotless_nAS
 “the waiter wiped the table spotless”

Focal stress must be placed on the intensifying prefix.

The internet search did produce examples with the verb *þvo* (wash) and adjective *hreinn* (clean) but these were exclusively religious.

- (114) Þvoðu þig hreinan, prestur minn.²⁶
 wash yourself_mAS clean_mAS, priest my
 “wash yourself clean, my priest”
- (115) Þvo mig hreinan²⁷
 wash me_mAS clean_mAS
 “wash me clean”
- (116) [Hann gæti] þvegið sig hreinan í dögginni²⁸
 he could wash himself_mAS clean_mAS in dew_the
 “he could wash himself clean in the dew”

Native speakers do not seem to accept everyday examples with *þvo* (wash):

- (117) *Herbergið hafði verið þvegið hreint.
 room_the_nNS had been washed clean_nNS
 “the room had been washed clean”
- (118) *Hann þvoði þvottinn hreinan.
 he washed washing_the_mAS clean_mAS
 “he washed the washing clean”

Curiously though the internet did produce an example of *hreinn* (clean) compounded with *þvo* (wash) in an adjectival passive.

- (119) hreinþveginn þvott sinn²⁹
 clean-washed washing their
 “their washed-clean washing”

As will be discussed in Section 5, this mismatch between compound and productive syntactic form is not uncommon.

Similar problems seem to occur with *þurr* (dry). It is not surprising that *þurr* (dry) is not used as a resultative with the Icelandic verb for *wipe*, *þurrka*, for the reasons discussed previously (*þurrka* = inchoative+dry), even though the wipe sense does not presuppose wetness.

- (120) *Þjónninn þurrkaði borðið þurrt.
 waiter_the wiped table_the_nAS dry_nAS
 “the waiter wiped the table dry”

If the verb is however used in the “dry” sense and an intensifier is added, then the example improves (though it is still odd): e.g. *skrjáfaþurr* (rustling-dry), though *borð* (table) is not a semantically appropriate subject for this form of the adjective.

- (121) ?Hann þurrkaði hundinn sinn skrjáfaþurran.
 he dried dog_the_mAS his rustling-dry_mAS
 “he dried the dog bone dry”

As with *tandurhreinn* (spotless/spick-and-span), the focal stress must be placed on the intensifying prefix. However, if the object of the verb is itself fully sentient and

independent then it appears in the dative case and this degrades the use of the resultative again.

- (122) ??Hann þurrkaði drengnum skráfapurrum.
 he dried boy_the_mDS rustling-dry_mDS
 “he dried the boy bone dry”

This is despite the fact that resultatives do occur with dative objects in Icelandic (cf examples (73) and (74)). Intensification also improves examples combining the verb *bóna* (polish) with resultative *gljáandi* (shiny)/*spegilgljáandi* (mirror-shiny).

- (123) ?Hún bónaði bílinn gljáandi.
 she polished car_the shiny
 “she polished the car shiny”
 (124) Hún bónaði bílinn spegilgljáandi.
 she polished the car mirror-shiny
 “she polished the car dazzlingly shiny”

Clearly, this pattern reflects the situation you find in English when you have “cognate resultatives”. An adjective which names a result already encoded in the verb is bad and sounds simply tautologous.

- (125) *John cleaned the table clean.

If, however, the resultative adjective is intensified, then the example improves.

- (126) ?John cleaned the table squeaky clean.

This suggests that Icelandic verbs of cleaning encode more rigidly than English the expectation that the result of the cleaning process will be something clean. This expectation is present in English as Rappaport Hovav & Levin (2005) observe, citing Talmy (2000):

“These verbs may be atelic because they describe processes that can be applied indefinitely to a surface. Their telic uses most likely arise because the processes they describe are usually carried out with specific intended results, though these verbs do not entail the achievement of any result (Talmy 2000). The intended result gives rise to an associated scale. With *scrub*, two scales are possible. One is provided by the tub’s surface area, with the process being complete when the scrubbing has covered the entire tub. Alternatively, the desired result may be a clean tub, with the scale being one of cleanliness.”

Icelandic appears to presuppose the cleanliness scale much more sharply than English.

However, it would be wrong to leap to the conclusion that Icelandic verbs of cleaning lexically encode a cleanliness result. Obviously this would be wrong for *skrúbba* (scrub) anyway as it does occur with resultative *hreinn* (clean) in the right context. The clearest indicator that this is the wrong approach, however, comes with the verb which resists use with *hreinn* (clean), the verb *sópa* (sweep) – even though it resists the resultative construction it can nonetheless be used atelically even with a definite object.

- (127) Hann sópaði gólfði í 10 mínútur en gafst svo upp.
 he swept floor_the for 10 minutes but gave then up
 “he swept the floor for 10 minutes but then gave up”

If we attempt to account for the resistance of *sópa* (sweep) against appearing in the resultative by arguing that it lexically encodes a final state of cleanness then we would also predict that it would be telic (bounded) because it would mark a final state achieved by the activity described by the verb. Its atelic use shows that this is not the case.

In fact this brings into focus a more general question, as the same point can be made about the English verb *clean*.

- (128) John cleaned the floor for 10 minutes but then gave up.

A natural analysis of *clean* would be that it means make+clean. But this would produce a telic verb, just as the lexical causative use produces a telic event description.

- (129) *John made the floor clean for 10 minutes but then gave up.

Clearly there is something else going on here and an appropriate analysis of the contrast in resultative usage with *hreinn/clean* in Icelandic and English depends on the correct characterisation of these verbs. I leave the discussion here.

3. Unergative verbs

3.1 Activity Verbs

Icelandic has resultatives with unergative verbs and as in English they generally occur with an unselected object as the subject of secondary predication.

- (130) Dóra æpti sig hása.
 Dóra screamed herself_fAS hoarse_fAS
 “Dóra screamed herself hoarse”
- (131) Liðsforingjarnir hlógu sig máttlausa.
 officers_the laughed themselves_mAP feeble_mAP
 “the officers laughed themselves feeble”
- (132) *Dóra æpti hása.
 Dóra screamed hoarse_fAS
 “Dóra screamed hoarse”
- (133) *Liðsforingjarnir hlógu máttlausa.
 officers_the laughed feeble_mAP
 “the officers laughed feeble”

The pattern “V sig hása(n)”/“V oneself hoarse” is particularly productive and an internet search turned up examples with all the following verbs (too many to provide full examples for here): *kalla* (call), *syngja* (sing), *gráta* (cry), *garga* (shriek), *gelta* (bark), *orga* (howl), *gaula* (howl), *röfla* (ramble), *spangóla* (howl), *grenja* (bawl), *bjóða* (offer), *hlæja* (laugh), *skrækja* (screech), *kjafra* (chat), *jarma* (bleat), *þvarga*

(bicker), *kvarta* (complain). The construction can even occur with sound emission verbs taking inanimate subjects given the right rhetorical context; in the following example, the blogger is indicating that she absolutely will not answer the phone.

- (134) [Síminn] getur bara hringt sig hásan.³⁰
 phone_the can just ring itself_mAS hoarse_mAS
 “the phone can just ring itself hoarse”

In all these examples, the result adjective is clearly related to the semantics of the verbs (sound emission leading to incapacity to produce sound); as is typical of resultatives with unergative verbs and “fake objects”, the construction also indicates activity to excess (cf. Vanden Wyngaerd, 2001).

Examples with other kinds of unergative verbs also occur in the resultative but with adjectives whose semantic relation to the descriptive content of the verb is extremely bleached; rather they indicate purely activity to excess (mental or physical degradation), e.g. *brjálaður* (crazy), *vitlaus* (stupid), *máttlaus* (feeble).

- (135) [að] öskra, tromma, klappa og stappa sig brjálaðan³¹
 to scream drum clap and stamp oneself_mAS crazy_mAS
 “to scream, drum, clap and stamp yourself crazy”
 (136) [Maður] á alltaf að drekka sig vitlausan³²
 one has always to drink yourself_mAS stupid_mAS
 “you should always drink yourself stupid”
 (137) [Hann] hlær sig vitlausan³³
 he laughs himself_mAS stupid_mAS
 “he laughs himself stupid”
 (138) Ég hló mig máttlausan³⁴
 I laughed myself_mAS feeble_mAS
 “I laughed myself feeble”

Crucial to all these cases is the presence of a reflexive object which allows the semantic content of the predicate effectively to be predicated of the subject while still maintaining a syntactic requirement that the subject of secondary predication be the object of the verb. However, examples have been attested in English in which the object of the intransitive unergative verb is disjoint in reference from the subject so that we apparently have a “real” object semantically.

- (139) The dog barked him awake.
 (140) The noisy clock ticked the baby awake.

These examples are impossible in Icelandic:

- (141) *Hundurinn gelti hann vakinn/vakandi.
 dog_the barked him_mAS awoken_mAS/awake
 “the dog barked him awake”
 (142) *Háværa klukkan tifaði barnið vakið/vakandi.
 noisy clock_the ticked child_the_nAS woken_nAS/awake
 “The noisy clock ticked the child awake”

This may however relate to the choice of resultative adjective, as I have found no examples of resultatives (not even regular transitive resultatives) which use the participial adjective forms *vakinn* (awoken) or *vakandi* (awake; wakeful), *sofinn* (fallen asleep) or *sofandi* (sleeping). For the sleeping examples, a PP resultative is used instead: *í svefn* (to sleep). The following is a naturally occurring example of this PP used resultatively with an unergative verb and a disjoint reference object.

- (143) [Kisan] malaði mig í svefn³⁵
 cat_the purred me to sleep
 “the cat purred me to sleep”

I have found only two examples of unergative verbs with resultative adjectives (*flatur* (flat) and *fullur* (full)) and a disjoint reference object. One example is of an extremely crude nature and I include it here in a footnote for those that are not easily offended.³⁶ The other example I quote here in full.

- (144) Ég svaf hana flata í fyrrinótt³⁷
 I slept it_fAS flat_fAS in night-before-last
 “I slept it flat the night before last”

The native speakers to whom I have shown the example have found it extremely marginal. Further, this is not in fact a “true” example of a disjoint-reference object as the pronoun refers to a body part.

My findings so far therefore suggest that AP resultatives with unergatives and disjoint reference objects are at best extremely rare in Icelandic and those examples which are attested in actual usage tend to be judged marginal by native speakers. This contrasts with the PP resultative in (143) which is perfectly acceptable. On the other hand, I have provided two examples of such AP resultatives, suggesting that a wider search might reveal further examples.

This discussion of unergative resultatives in Icelandic challenges analyses which offer a uniform analysis of two contrasting pairs: first, reflexive object resultatives (productive) versus disjoint object resultatives (variable); and within the class of disjoint object resultatives, AP resultatives (marginal) versus PP resultatives (acceptable).

3.2 Agentive Verbs of Manner of Motion

Unlike the verbs in the previous section which are generally recognised as unergatives, verbs of manner of motion have presented researchers with complex classification problems. I am following Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995, p. 147f) in assuming that manner of motion verbs in which the subject of the intransitive has agentive control over the action (e.g. *run* and *swim*) are in fact unergative, unlike non-agentive manner of motion verbs (e.g. *roll* and *bounce*) and direct motion verbs (e.g. *come* and *arrive*), which are unaccusative.

As would be expected in this classification, resultatives which occur with the verb *hlaupa* (run) trigger the appearance of a fake object. As in the previous section, examples are easily found with an internet search.

- (145) [Ég] hljóp mig sveittann³⁸
 I ran myself_mAS sweaty_mAS

- “I ran myself sweaty”
 (146) [Þau] hlupu sig móð³⁹
 they ran themselves_nAP breathless_nAP
 “they ran themselves breathless”

Like the examples with sound emission verbs, the resultative adjective here is clearly related to the semantics of the main verb, rather than purely expressing “degraded capacity”, cf. *brjálaður* (crazy), *vitlaus* (stupid), *máttlaus* (feeble). *Móður* (breathless) is perhaps like *hás* (hoarse) in indicating degraded physical capacity; it is less clear that this is true of *sveittur* (sweaty).

A web search did not provide any AP resultative examples for *synda* (swim) though both *synda* (swim) and *hlaupa* (run) allow PP resultatives.

- (147) við syntum okkur til hita⁴⁰
 we swam ourselves to heat
 “we swam ourselves warm”
 (148) við hlupum okkur til hita⁴¹
 we ran ourselves to heat
 “we ran ourselves warm”

Similar examples with *til hita* were also found for the manner of motion verbs *hreyfa* (move) and *ganga* (walk). Both *synda* (swim) and *hlaupa* (run), along with *dansa* (dance) also allow PP resultatives related to PP-path constructions which would best be translated in English with the “way” construction (though the resultative version is probably acceptable too).

- (149) Hann synti sig inn í úrslit⁴²
 he swam himself in into final
 “he swam his way into the final”
 (150) [Hún] hljóp sig í úrslit í 200m⁴³
 she ran herself into final in 200m
 “she ran her way into the 200m final”
 (151) Í öllum keppnum dönsuðu þau sig í úrslit⁴⁴
 in all competitions danced they themselves into final
 “In every competition, they danced their way into the final”

Significantly, a translation of the classic example of *run* with a disjoint object PP resultative is grammatical in Icelandic (though I found no such naturally occurring examples in my own searches).

- (152) Við hlupum sólana af skónum.
 We ran soles-the off shoes-the
 “We ran the soles off our shoes.”

This confirms the evidence from the previous section that unergatives do occur with PP resultatives and disjoint reference objects in Icelandic; however, I have found no examples of AP resultatives and disjoint reference objects for these verbs.

4. Unaccusative Verbs

Perhaps the most interesting data comes from unaccusative verbs. Most of the examples given for English fail in Icelandic with adjectival resultatives, though prepositional phrase and particle resultatives are often available instead. This is not however a general ban as it seems that unaccusative resultatives with the adjective *fastur* meaning something like “stuck firmly” do occur.

- (153) Hann fraus fastur í ísnum.
 he_mNS froze stuck_mNS in ice_the
 “he froze stuck in the ice”
- (154) Húsgrindin fraus föst við grasið.⁴⁵
 house-frame_the_fNS froze stuck_fNS to grass_the
 “the frame of the house froze stuck to the grass”

The causative-transitive version also works (though as is often the case in Icelandic, the transitive verb is different from the intransitive one).

- (155) Snædrottningin frysti hann fastan í ísinn.
 snow-queen_the froze him_mAS stuck_mAS in ice_the
 “the Snow Queen froze him fast in the ice”

Examples involving *freeze* in English usually have result adjectives indicating a change in internal state of the freezing object (*freeze solid*, *freeze hard*), whereas the adjective *fastur* relates to firmness of attachment between objects. Icelandic does not seem to allow *gegnheill* (solid) as an adjectival resultative and the preposition phrase *í gegn* (through) is used instead.

- (156) *Tjörnin fraus gegnheil.
 lake-the froze solid
 “the lake froze solid”
- (157) Tjörnin fraus í gegn.
 lake-the froze in through
 “the lake froze through”
- (158) *Appelsínusafinn fraus gegnheill.
 orange-juice-the froze solid
 “the orange juice froze solid”
- (159) Appelsínusafinn fraus í gegn.
 orange-juice-the froze in through
 “the orange juice froze through”

The examples do not really improve using *harður* (hard) instead of *gegnheill* (solid), though the transitive version is perhaps slightly better than the intransitive.

- (160) ??Hann frysti ísinn svo harðan að við gátum ekki tekið hann upp með skeiðinni.
 he froze icecream_the_mAS so hard_mAS that we could not take it up with spoon_the
 “he froze the icecream so hard that we couldn’t scoop it out with the spoon”
- (161) *Ísinn fraus svo harður að við gátum ekki tekið hann upp með skeiðinni.
 icecream_the_mNS so hard_mNS that we could not take it up with spoon_the

“the icecream froze so hard that we couldn’t scoop it out with the spoon”

One standard *freeze* example for English has its own idiom in Icelandic as in (164).

- (162) The river froze solid.
 (163) *Áin fraus gegnheil.
 river_the_fNS froze solid_fNS
 “the river froze solid”
 (164) Ána lagði.
 river_the_fAS lay
 “the river froze solid”

Notice the accusative case on the subject in (164).

The transitive-causative verb *bræða* (melt) does occur with an intensified form of *mjúkur* (soft) below – *silkimjúkur* (silky smooth); but its intransitive counterpart, *bráðna* (melt), is more marginal.

- (165) Hann bræddi súkkulaðið silkimjúkt.
 he melted chocolate_the_nAS silky-smooth_nAS
 “he melted the chocolate silky smooth”
 (166) ?Súkkulaðið bráðnaði silkimjúkt.
 chocolate_the_nNS melted silky-smooth_nNS
 “the chocolate melted silky smooth”

Both versions are fine with PP change of state resultatives.

- (167) Hann bræddi súkkulaðið í mjúkan klump.
 he melted chocolate_the into soft lump
 “the melted the chocolate into a soft lump”
 (168) Súkkulaðið bráðnaði í mjúkan klump.
 chocolate_the melted into soft lump
 “the chocolate melted into a soft lump”

The literature contains several examples of unaccusative verbs in English occurring with *open* and *shut* as resultative adjectives. As with the transitive examples discussed in Section 2.2, these are unacceptable in Icelandic with the adjectives *opinn* (open) and *lokaður* (closed). Take first a verb expressing an internal change of state. The intransitive verb *brotna* (break) is unacceptable with the resultative adjective *opinn* (open).

- (169) *Flaskan brotnaði opin.
 bottle_the_fNS broke open_fNS
 “the bottle broke open”

This does not tell us anything specifically about the intransitive verb, however, because the transitive-causative verb *brjóta* (break) is also unacceptable in this construction.

- (170) *Hann braut flöskuna opna.
 he broke bottle_the_fAS open_fAS

“he broke the bottle open”

Rather more interesting is the relation between the transitive verb *sveifla* (swing) and its intransitive equivalent *sveiflast* (swing), which bears the middle-forming clitic *-st*. The transitive version is marginal with the adjectival resultative *opinn* (open) but the intransitive version is simply ungrammatical.

- (171) ?Hann sveiflaði hliðinu opnu.
 he swung gate_the_nDS open_nDS
 “he swung the gate open”
 (172) *Hliðið sveiflaðist opið.
 gate_the_nNS swung-MIDDLE open_nNS
 “the gate swung open”

However, if the result state is described by the PP resultative *upp á gátt* (literally “up onto a doorway”; similar to “ajar” but meaning “wide open”) then the result is fine in both cases.

- (173) Hann sveiflaði hliðinu upp á gátt.
 he swung gate_the up on doorway
 “he swung the gate open”
 (174) Hliðið sveiflaðist upp á gátt.
 gate_the_nNS swung-MIDDLE up on doorway
 “the gate swung open”

(Notice incidentally that this is an example of a PP resultative predicated of a dative object). The contrast is even clearer with *lokaður* (shut) versus *aftur* (back/again).

- (175) *Hann sveiflaði hliðinu lokuðu.
 he swung gate_the_nDS shut_nDS
 “he swung the gate shut”
 (176) *Hliðið sveiflaðist lokað.
 gate_the_nNS swung-MIDDLE shut_nNS
 “the gate swung shut”
 (177) Hann sveiflaði hliðinu aftur.
 he swung gate_the back
 “he swung the gate shut”
 (178) Hliðið sveiflaðist aftur.
 gate_the_nNS swung-MIDDLE back
 “the gate swung shut”

A similar pattern emerges with the verb *rífa* (rip/tear), though here two senses must be distinguished. We have already encountered the manner of motion/gesture sense of *rífa* (rip/tear) in the transitive and seen that it occurs in Icelandic with the resultative adjective *opinn* (open).

- (179) [Hann] reif hurðina opna.⁴⁶
 he tore door_the_fAS open_fAS
 “he tore the door open”

This really means “he opened the door with a tearing motion”. Crucially, the door itself does not get a tear in it. Used in this sense, the verb does not occur in the unaccusative, either in English (*tear*) or Icelandic (intransitive *rifna*).

- (180) *Hurðin rifnaði opin.
 door_the_fNS tore open_fNS
 “the door tore open”
 (181) *The door tore open.

The other (and central) sense of both *rífa* and *tear* concerns a change of state in which the physical integrity of an object is disrupted in a particular way. Transitive *rífa* (tear) in this sense is marginally available with *opinn* (open) but sharply out with intransitive *rifna* (tear).

- (182) ??Hann reif sárið opið.
 he ripped wound_the_nNS open_nNS
 “he ripped the wound open”
 (183) *Sárið rifnaði opið.
 wound_the_nNS ripped open_nNS
 “the wound ripped open”
 (184) *Barnið reif pakkana opna.
 child_the tore packages_the_mAP open_mAP
 “the child tore the packages open”
 (185) *Pakkinn rifnaði opinn á hornunum.
 package_the_mNS tore open_mNS at corners_the
 “the package tore open at the corners”

Generally, therefore, *opinn* (open) is not used in Icelandic with either transitive *rífa* (tear) or intransitive *rifna* (tear); in both cases, the particle *upp* (literally “up” but here “open”) is preferred.

- (186) Barnið reif pakkana upp.
 child_the tore packages_the up
 “the child tore the packages open”
 (187) Pakkinn rifnaði upp á hornunum.
 package_the_mNS tore up at corners_the
 “the package tore open at the corners”
 (188) Hann reif sárið upp.
 he ripped wound_the up
 “he ripped the wound open”
 (189) Sárið rifnaði upp.
 wound_the_nNS ripped up
 “the wound ripped open”
 (190) Í öðrum þeirra rifnaði upp gömul sprunga...⁴⁷
 in second of-them tore up old fissure
 “in the second of these, an old fissure tore open...”

Note that *rífa upp* (rip open) is not the same as *rip up* in English in the sense of ripping into pieces. In this sense, Icelandic would use a PP resultative.

- (191) Hann reif pappírinn í ræmur/í tætlur.
 he ripped paper_the into shreds/into pieces.
 “He ripped the paper to shreds/to pieces”

The Icelandic examples therefore reinforce the sense from English that there is an important lexico-syntactic contrast between manner of motion/gesture *tear/rip* and change of state *tear/rip*. The manner of motion/gesture use allows *opinn* (open) but the change of state use generally prefers the particle *upp*. This is crucial for unaccusatives because the manner of motion/gesture use does not appear in the unaccusative in either English or Icelandic, regardless of resultatives. The change of state use, which allows *open* as an adjectival resultative in English, requires particle *upp* in Icelandic (though see Kratzer, 2005 for a suggestion that “open” in English is really a particle).

We have already seen that the productivity of change of colour resultatives does not mean that colour resultatives are acceptable with all verbs. So transitive-causative *brenna* (burn) does not allow the colour adjective *svartur* (black) as a resultative.

- (192) *Hann brenndi ristabrauðið svart.
 he burned toast_the_nAS black_nAS
 “he burned the toast black”

Burning to an extreme would probably be described with prepositional phrases (though these are typically used in more dramatic cases!).

- (193) Hann brenndi ristabrauðið til ösku.
 he burned toast_the to ashes
 “he burned the toast to ashes”
 (194) Hann brenndi ristabrauðið til kaldra kola.
 he burned toast_the to cold coals
 “he burned the toast to cinders”
 (195) Hann brenndi húsið til ösku.
 he burned house_the to ashes
 “he burned the house to ashes”
 (196) Hann brenndi húsið til kaldra kola.
 he burned house_the to cold coals
 “he burned the house to cinders”

Exactly the same behaviour is seen with intransitive *brenna* (burn).

- (197) *Ristabrauðið brann svart.
 toast_the_nNS burned black_nNS
 “the toast burned black”
 (198) *Húsið brann svart.
 house_the_nNS burned black_nNS
 “the house burned black”
 (199) Húsið brann til ösku.
 house_the burned to ashes
 “the house burned to ashes”
 (200) Ristabrauðið brann til kaldra kola.

toast_the burned to cold coals
 “the toast burned to cinders”

The conclusion seems to be that Icelandic systematically avoids adjectival resultatives with unaccusative verbs (preferring particle and prepositional resultatives), except for a few limited examples (e.g. with *fastur* (stuck firmly)); however, the very existence of those examples shows that the structure is in principle available for use. The question to be answered is therefore why *fastur* escapes what is apparently a fairly general restriction against resultatives with unaccusatives.

5. Incorporation

Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) observe that Icelandic has a productive system of compounding which can take a resultative adjective and incorporate it into the verb to form a new resultative verb; this can then form an adjectival passive. (Judgements are as provided by them.)

- (201) Þeir máluðu húsið hvítt.
 they painted house_the_nAS white_nAS
 “they painted the house white”
- (202) Þeir hvítmáluðu húsið.
 they white-painted house_the
 “they painted the house white”
- (203) Hún býr í hvítmálaða húsinu.
 she lives in white-painted house_the
 “she lives in the white-painted house”

As observed above, change of colour resultatives are extremely productive in Icelandic. The crucial question here relates to compound verb and adjectival passive formation. Contrary to the pattern suggested above, I found the judgements for *hvítmála* (white-paint) as a normal transitive verb extremely varied and taking an average of the grammaticality judgements I have received so far puts the construction at the marginal end of the scale.

- (204) ??Hann hvítmálaði húsið.
 he white-painted house_the
 “he painted the house white”

There is however general agreement that no other colour can be incorporated with *mála* (paint) in this way to form a normal transitive verb, though it has been suggested to me that such a compound might be formed with *lakka* (varnish) and *rauður* (red) for nails (again, however, the consensus appears to be against this).

- (205) *Hann gulmálaði bílinn.
 he yellow-painted car_the
 “he painted the car yellow”
- (206) *Hann bleikmálaði bílinn.
 he pink-painted car_the
 “he painted the car pink”
- (207) *Hann blámálaði bílinn.

- he blue-painted car_the
 “he painted the car blue”
 (208) ??Hún rauðlakkaði á sér neglurnar.
 he red-varnished on herself nails_the
 “she varnished her nails red”

In fact, there seems to be something special about *hvítur* (white) in this respect in that it occurs in other verbal compounds.

- (209) Hann hvítbæsti rammann.
 he white-stained frame_the
 “he stained the frame white”
 (210) Hann hvítkalkaði veggina.
 he white-whitewashed wall_the
 “he whitewashed the wall”
 (211) Hann hvítskúraði gólfið.
 he white-scoured floor_the
 “he scoured the floor extremely clean”
 (212) Hann hvítþvoði gólfín.
 he white-washed floors_the
 “he washed the floors extremely clean”

Notice that in both (211) and (212) the root *hvít-* (white) has taken on a metaphorically extended meaning, “extremely clean”.

Incorporation of the non-colour resultative adjective *sætur* (cute) produces ill-formedness.

- (213) *Hún sætmálaði sig.
 she cute-made-up herself
 “she made herself up nicely”

On the other hand, a compound verb based on *stífur* (stiff) and *mála* (paint), meaning “to put on an excessive amount of make-up” (or in the colloquial expression “to lay on one’s make-up with a trowel”) is possible.

- (214) Hún stífmálaði sig.
 she stiff-painted herself
 “she put on way too much make-up”

This is despite the fact that the associated resultative is not grammatical.

- (215) *Hún málaði sig stífa.
 she painted herself_fAS stiff_fAS
 “she made herself up excessively”

Absence of a regular transitive verb does not however disallow adjectival passive formation with incorporated resultative adjective. The colour resultatives all form regular adjectival passives with *mála* (paint).

- (216) blámálaður

- blue-painted
- (217) hvítmálaður
white-painted
- (218) rauðmálaður
red-painted
- (219) gulmálaður
yellow-painted
- (220) svartmálaður
black-painted
- (221) grænmálaður
green-painted

Examples are also common with *lita* (colour) and *lakka* (lacquer/varnish):

- (222) rauðlitaður
red-coloured
- (223) svartlitaður
black-coloured
- (224) rauðlakkaður
red-varnished
- (225) svartlakkaður
black-lacquered

On the other hand, incorporation with *sprauta* (spray), which is commonly used for colouring cars, does not form an adjectival passive.

- (226) *svartsprautaður
black-sprayed
- (227) *rauðsprautaður
red-sprayed

Nor is it possible to incorporate the non-colour resultative adjective *sætur* (cute).

- (228) *sætmálaður
cute-painted
“made-up nicely”
- (229) *Hún var svo sætmáluð að allir horfðu á!
she was so cute-painted that all looked at
“she was so nicely made-up that everyone looked!”

The presence of the verb *stífmála* (put on an excessive amount of make-up) does however imply the availability of an adjectival passive.

- (230) Hún var svo stífmáluð að ég skellti upp úr!
she was so stiff-painted that I slammed up out
“she had so much make-up on that I burst out laughing!”

Looking at change-of-colour resultatives in more detail therefore shows that there is no productive derivational path from a resultative construction, through a compound verb, to an adjectival passive. In most cases with colour resultatives, the

resultative construction and the adjectival passive are both productive; compound verb formation, on the other hand, is pretty much restricted to compounding of *hvít-* (white; extremely clean), perhaps driven by analogy with other compound forms incorporating the same root, though even this seems not to be generally acceptable. This is in fact fairly common with compound forms such as derived nominals where an adjectival passive or a derived nominal based on verb incorporation does not imply the availability of a compound verb.⁴⁸

- (231) byggja upp
build up
“to construct”
- (232) uppbyggður
up-built
“constructed”
- (233) uppbygging
up-building
“construction”
- (234) *uppbyggja
up-build
“to construct”

The example of *stífmála* (put on an excessive amount of make-up) also shows that a compound verb can exist without the associated resultative that one would expect; the presence of the compound verb is enough however to imply the presence of an associated adjectival passive.

I found a similar example when considering the results in Boas' (2000) Appendix for *þurr* (dry).

- (235) Zoe was bleeding the joint account dry.

This use with *blæða* (bleed) in Icelandic is impossible.

- (236) *Zoe var að blæða bankareikninginn þurran.
Zoe was to bleed bank-account_the_mAS dry_mAS
“Zoe was bleeding the bank account dry”

The verb *blæða* (bleed) does tend to be odd in the copular progressive (*vera að*) but even in the simple past this example is bad.

- (237) *Zoe blæddi bankareikninginn þurran.
Zoe bled bank-account_the_mAS dry_mAS
“Zoe bled the bank account dry”

However, an example based on a compound formed from *mjólk* (to milk) and *þurr* (dry) is possible.

- (238) Jóna þurrmjólkkaði bankareikninginn
Jóna dry-milked bank-account_the
“Jóna milked the bank account dry”

Nevertheless, the associated resultative construction is marginal (but fine in English).

- (239) ?Jóna mjólkaði bankareikninginn þurrar.
 Jóna milked bank-account_the_mAS dry_mAS
 “Jóna milked the bank account dry”
 (240) Jóna milked the bank account dry.

Returning to the question of adjectival passive formation, the productivity we see with colour adjectives is not repeated systematically with other resultative verb-adjective combinations. Once again, the judgements vary considerably and the grammaticality I mark here is an average of responses received. Some are successful.

- (241) þunnsneiddu sveppirnir
 thin-cut mushrooms_the
 (242) fínmöluðu kaffibaunirnar
 fine-ground coffee-beans_the
 (243) fínmuldu piparkornin
 fine-ground peppercorns_the
 (244) fínsöxuðu tómatararnir
 fine-chopped tomatoes_the
 (245) hreinskrúbbuðu pönnurnar
 clean-scrubbed pans_the
 (246) gegnfrosna tjörnin
 through-frozen lake_the
 (247) harðfrosni ísinn
 hard-frozen icecream_the
 (248) mjúkbrædda súkkulaði
 soft-melted chocolate
 (249) stuttklippta hárið
 short-cut hair_the

Some are marginal.

- (250) ?mjúkbráðnaða súkkulaði
 soft-melted chocolate
 (251) ?stuttrakaða hárið
 short-shaved hair_the
 (252) ?hreinsópaða gólfíð
 clean-swept floor_the
 (253) ??flathamraði málmurinn
 flat-hammered metal_the

Others are clearly bad.

- (254) *flatbarði málmurinn
 flat-pounded metal_the
 (255) *flatrúllaða deigið
 flat-rolled dough_the
 (256) *kaldkýldi strákurinn
 cold-punched boy_the

- (257) *sléttnuddaði steinninn
smooth-rubbed stone_the
- (258) *flatteygða lakið
flat-stretched sheet_the
- (259) *opnrifna hurðin
open-torn door_the
- (260) *afturdregna hurðin
back-pulled door_the
“the pulled-shut door”
- (261) *fastfrosna húsgrindin
frozen-stuck house-frame_the
- (262) *harðfrysti ísinn
hard-frozen icecream_the

A number of points are worth noticing here.

First, the transitive-intransitive alternation does not produce a clear pattern of grammaticality: so transitive *bræða* (melt) seems to form a more acceptable adjectival passive with *mjúkur* (soft) than intransitive *bráðna* (melt); on the other hand, intransitive *frjósa* (freeze) produces a more acceptable form than transitive *frysta* (freeze) – and the *bræða/bráðna* examples seem to be better than the *frysta/frjósa* examples.

Second, failure to incorporate productively is not limited to adjectives but also includes particles, for instance the unacceptability of *afturdregna* (back/shut-pulled).

Third, the adverbial resultatives appear to form well-formed adjectival passives (I cite them here in the grammatical form given above rather than their citation form): *fínmöluðu* (finely-ground), *fínmuldu* (finely-ground), *fínsöxuðu* (finely-chopped). This is also suggested by the contrast between *stuttrakaða* (short-shaved) which is marginal and *stuttklippta* (short-cut) which is fine. Here are typical examples that I found with both verbs on the internet.

- (263) [ég] rakaði hárið stutt⁴⁹
I shaved hair_the_nAS short_nAS
“I shaved my hair short”
- (264) ég klippti hárið mitt stutt⁵⁰
I cut hair_the_nAS my short_nAS
“I cut my hair short”
- (265) Ég klippti mig ultra stutt⁵¹
I cut myself_mAS ultra short_nAS
“I cut my hair ultra short”

Of particular interest is (265): the object of the verb is a simple reflexive; the blogger in this case is a man; the adjective should therefore show masculine accusative singular agreement *stuttan*; however, it has the neuter accusative singular form of the adverbial use *stutt*.⁵² The other two cases could be instances of secondary predication (but because the object *hárið* is neuter accusative singular it is impossible to tell for certain). The fact that the adjectival passive is fine with the verb that allows an adverbial use of the adjective to express result may be significant.

Another curious fact relates to the adjective *hreinn* (clean). We have seen that resultatives with *hreinn* (clean) are usually bad in Icelandic, though an acceptable example was given with *skrúbba* (scrub). Grammatical examples were also given

with *þvo* (wash) but these were all religious. However, the adjectival passive does apparently occur in the regular household sense:

- (266) *hreipveginn þvott sinn*⁵³
 clean-washed washing their
 “their washed-clean washing”

It is clear from such examples that the general productivity of incorporation in Icelandic does not mean that resultative incorporation is fully and generally productive. In particular, formation of finite verbs by incorporation seems to be rather limited and idiosyncratic. Formation of adjectival passives is productive in some areas but not in others.

6. Conclusions

This preliminary survey of resultatives in Icelandic leads us to the following answers to the questions posed at the beginning.

- As a “give up” language, does Icelandic also allow the resultative construction?

Yes, Icelandic allows the resultative construction with adjectives as secondary predicates. It is therefore consistent with Higginbotham’s (1999) proposal concerning a parameter governing telic pair formation.

- If so, is the Icelandic adjectival resultative construction “like the English one” (in the sense discussed in Section 1.2)?

Largely yes: the Icelandic adjectival resultative construction occurs in each of the broad categories recognised in English (transitive, unergative, unaccusative) and with similar reflexes, i.e. object-insertion with unergatives and surface-subject predication with unaccusatives. Like English, resultatives occur with transitive verbs that do not take their typical object. However, there are two major provisos. First, the occurrence of adjectival resultatives with unaccusatives in Icelandic is strikingly more restricted than in English. Second, the occurrence of disjoint reference objects rather than reflexive objects with unergative resultatives is also considerably more restricted than in English. In both cases a larger survey and a more detailed investigation is required to establish the characteristic behaviour in this area. If this contrast is upheld by further findings then it raises the question of whether it is right to lump reflexive and disjoint objects of unergatives together. It might also lend support to the claim in Kratzer (2005) that adjectival (as opposed to particle and prepositional) resultatives do not in fact occur with unaccusatives.

- Does Icelandic have a reasonably productive process of compound verb formation based on resultative adjectives?

No. While it is true that such incorporation does occur and is probably more productive than in English, it is still extremely limited. Even with the highly productive class of change-of-colour resultatives, formation of compound verbs (to be used as finite main verbs) is pretty much limited to a small number of verbs

compounded with the root *hvít-* (white); and the metaphorical extension of the meaning of this affix in *hvítskúra* (scour extremely clean) and *hvíþvo* (wash extremely clean) suggests lexical idiosyncrasy rather than productive derivation. Similarly the occurrence of a compound verb does not guarantee the occurrence of the resultative construction on which it is apparently based (*stífmála* vs **mála..stífa*).

- Does Icelandic have a reasonably productive process of adjectival passive formation based on verb-resultative adjective compounds?

This process is semi-productive. Certainly a wide-range of verb-adjective pairs do produce well-formed compounds. However, the contrast between the open-productivity we see in the compounding of colour adjectives and that involving other adjectives suggests that this is not a completely productive process in which the presence of an acceptable adjectival resultative construction implies the availability of an associated adjectival passive compound.

Following on from these conclusions, this preliminary investigation also raises a number of important questions.

- what is the relation, in syntax and in semantics, between the adjective used resultatively as a secondary predicate (with agreement) and the adjective used resultatively as an adverbial (with fixed agreement)?
- what is the relation between adjectival and PP/Particle resultatives and why should there be such a clear difference in productivity between the two groups?
- why is there a sharp contrast in productivity between reflexive objects and disjoint reference objects in unergative resultatives? To what extent does Icelandic in fact license the latter?
- why is there a difference in productivity between unaccusative resultatives in Icelandic and English?
- Given the rich range of Icelandic case patterns, what is the relation (if any) between classes of verbs based on case-assignment, classes of verbs based on lexico-conceptual structure and the occurrence of resultatives?
- To what extent is Icelandic similar to the other Scandinavian languages and more broadly to the other Germanic languages, especially in those areas in which it differs from English?

These are questions for future research.

References

- Boas, H. C. (2000). *Resultative Constructions in English and German*. Unpublished Ph.D., University of North Carolina.
- Boas, H. C. (2003). *Resultative Constructions in English and German*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Boas, H. C. (2005). Determining the productivity of resultatives: A reply to Goldberg and Jackendoff. *Language*, 81(2), 448-464.
- Carrier, J., & Randall, J. H. (1992). The Argument Structure and Syntactic Structure of Resultatives. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 23, 173-234.
- Davidson, D. (1967). The logical form of action sentences. In N. Rescher (Ed.), *The Logic of Decision and Action*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Goldberg, A. E. (1995). *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Goldberg, A. E., & Jackendoff, R. (2004). The resultative as a family of constructions. *Language*, 80, 532-568.
- Goldberg, A. E., & Jackendoff, R. (2005). The end result(ative). *Language* 81(2), 474-477.
- Higginbotham, J. (1999). Accomplishments. In *Proceedings of the Nanzan GLOW: the second GLOW meeting in Asia* (pp. 131-139). Nagoya, Japan: Nanzan University.
- Hoekstra, T. (1988). Small Clause Results. *Lingua*, 74, 101-139.
- Kratzer, A. (2005). Building Resultatives. In C. Maienborn & A. Wöllstein-Leisten (Eds.), *Events in Syntax, Semantics, and Discourse* (pp. 177-212). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Levin, B., & Rappaport Hovav, M. (1995). *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rappaport Hovav, M., & Levin, B. (2001). An Event Structure Account of English Resultatives. *Language*, 77(4), 766-797.
- Rappaport Hovav, M., & Levin, B. (2005). Change of State Verbs: Implications for Theories of Argument Projection. In N. Erteschik-Shir & T. Rapoport (Eds.), *The Syntax of Aspect: Deriving Thematic and Aspectual Interpretation* (pp. 274-286). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Simpson, J. (1983). Resultatives. In L. Levin, M. Rappaport & A. Zaenen (Eds.), *Papers in Lexical-Functional Grammar* (pp. 143-157). Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Talmy, L. (1985). Lexicalization Patterns: Semantic Structure in Lexical Forms. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, L. (2000). *Towards a Cognitive Semantics 2: Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Vanden Wyngaerd, G. (2001). Measuring Events. *Language*, 77, 61-90.
- Wechsler, S. (1997). Resultative predicates and control. In R. C. Blight & M. J. Moosally (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Texas Linguistics Society* (Vol. 38, pp. 307-321). Austin: University of Texas.
- Wechsler, S. (2005a). Resultatives under the 'Event-Argument Homomorphism' Model of Telicity. In N. Erteschik-Shir & T. Rapoport (Eds.), *The Syntax of Aspect: Deriving Thematic and Aspectual Interpretation* (pp. 255-273). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wechsler, S. (2005b). Weighing in on Scales: a Reply to Goldberg and Jackendoff. *Language* 81(2), 465-473.

Endnotes

¹ Ársfundurinn sjálfur fór fínt fram og svo horfði fólk á England-Austurríki á risaskjá áður en hátíðarhöldin héldu áfram. (<http://www.chelsea.is/klubbfullfrettir.php?id=208>, accessed 26th April 2006). Translation: The Annual General Meeting itself went fine and then people watched the England-Austria match on the big screen before the reception started.

² Mestu mistök lífs míns var þegar ég litaði hárið á mér rautt. (<http://www.fram.is/knatt/ffrhf/leikmennogleikur/leikmadur.asp?lid=9>, accessed 4th April 2006). Translation: The biggest mistake of my life was when I dyed my hair red.

³ Sólin var nú að hverfa og litaði hún himininn rauðan norðan Ösju. (<http://www.islandia.is/nature/mFerdasogur/kokuhl/kafl3.html>, accessed 4th April 2006). Translation: The sun was now disappearing and it coloured the sky red to the north of Askja.

⁴ Blóðið gusaðist yfir hann og litaði ljósa flókann á höfði hans rauðan. (http://blog.central.is/odango_atama?id=205203&page=viewPage, accessed 4th April 2006). Translation: The blood gushed over him and stained the blond tangle on his head red.

⁵ Pétur Knúttsson observes that the accepted Icelandic for mahogany is *mahoní* and this points to English contamination. I agree but in this case the phonetic relation and the coherence with the general syntactic pattern suggests that this was a matter of literacy rather than vernacular grammar as it applies to resultatives (i.e. the person could have written “í Mahony” with the preposition but instead used the bare colour name – the key difference from the Romance languages).

⁶ Hvers vegna mála filar neglurnar gular, grænar og appelsínugular? Til þess að fela sig í smartís sælgætisboxum. (<http://www.ismennt.is/vefir/ari/brandarar/filar.htm>, accessed 28th March 2006). Translation: Why do elephants paint their nails yellow, green and orange? To hide themselves in a box of smarties!

⁷ Ég byrjaði á því að mála hana svarta (Chaos black) útaf því ég á ekki undercoat (<http://www.hugi.is/bordaspil/threads.php?contentId=1147967&page=view>, accessed 3rd April 2006). Translation: I started by painting it black (Chaos Black) as I didn't have any undercoat.

⁸ Ég sem sagt plokkaði og litaði augabrunirnar, litaði hárið mitt svona Mahogny, rakaði allt slétt og fellt (ýkt góð rakvél sem ég keypti í Þýskalandi), og setti maska í andlitið eftir sturtuna. (http://www.sarabjarney.blogspot.com/2003_01_01_sarabjarney_archive.html, accessed 31st March 2006). Translation: So I plucked and coloured my eyebrows, coloured my hair a kind of mahogany, shaved everything smooth and even (with a seriously good electric razor that I bought in Germany), and put on a face-mask after my shower.

⁹ Ég er viss um að ef þú sprautar þinn bíl gylltan, þá eigi ég eftir að skipta um skoðun með þann lit og W123 bílinn. (<http://www.stjarna.is/forum/viewtopic.php?t=135>, accessed 4th April 2006). Translation: I am sure that if you spray your car gold, then I'll have to change my mind about that colour and the W123.

¹⁰ Fyrsta verk hennar varð til eftir að hún fann gamlan, ryðgaðan kúplingsdisk í fjörunni í Dýrafirði. Hún lakkaði kúplingsdiskinn rauðan og festi hann á trog. (<http://www.sudurglugginn.is/tbl/34.tbl.01.09.2005.pdf>, accessed 9th April 2006). Translation: Her first work came about when she found an old rusty clutch disc on the shore in Dýrafjörður. She lacquered the clutch disc red and fixed it to a trough.

¹¹ Ég ákvað um daginn að breyta aðeins áýnd baðherbergisins hér í Furugrundinni með því að rífa niður skápana og bæsa þá dökka. (<http://lisan.blogdrive.com/>, 19th April 2006). Translation: I decided the other day to change the look of the bathroom a bit here in Furugrundin by tearing down the cupboards and staining them dark.

¹² Þegar ég kom heim úr vinnunni í dag þá rauk ég inn á bað, reif mig úr fötunum, hárlausaði alla helstu háirstaði (nema augljóslega þar sem að ég vill hafa hár), litað og plokkaði augabrunir, skrúbbaði mig í sturtu, brúnkukremaði mig, blés og slétaði hárið, málaði mig sæta, bar á mig krem og svo vellyktandi (það er sko ilmvatn) og klæddi mig í fallegasta kynæsandi undirkjólinn minn... (http://www.saeberg.blogspot.com/2006_01_01_saeberg_archive.html, accessed 1st April 2006). Translation: When I came home from work today I rushed into the bathroom, ripped off my clothes, waxed off the main hair areas (except of course those where I wanted to have hair), dyed and plucked my eyebrows, scrubbed myself in the shower, put on tanning cream, blowdried and straightened my hair, made myself up nicely, put on moisturiser and eau de parfum (that's perfume, you know) dressed myself in my most beautiful and sexiest slip...

- ¹³ Það er hægt að flétta flatan borða og þarf ekki að slá hann flatan svo mikið veit ég þó. (<http://www.847.is/spjall/read.php?1.516.633>, accessed 1st April 2006). Translation: It is possible to braid a flat ribbon and there is no need to beat it flat so much I do know.
- ¹⁴ gaurinn sem hún var með varð samt eitthvað smeykur við samkeppnina svo ég kýldi hann kaldann. (www.baggalutur.is/viewtopic.php?t=15&postdays=0&postorder=asc&start=54&sid=fc26227cee96f0, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: the guy she was with though got a bit edgy of the competition so I punched him out cold
- ¹⁵ Emeralds were sometimes used in their natural form as hexagonal crystals, but their comparative softness made it a simple matter to rub them smooth (Boas 2000: 614; BNC example A.34.14). Translation into Icelandic by Theódóra Torfadóttir: Smaragðar voru stundum notaðir í þeirra náttúrulega formi sem sexhyrdir kristallar en þeirra hlutsfallslega mýkt gerði það auðvelt mál að nudda þá slétta.
- ¹⁶ Titillagið Dimma situr í mér. Það hreif mig í fyrstu hlustun og skellti mér flötum og settist ofan á mig og situr þar enn. (http://www.rokk.is/spjall/topic.asp?TOPIC_ID=6774, 29th March 2006). Translation: The title song Dimma has really got stuck in my head. It moved me the first time I heard it and it flipped me over flat and pinned me down and it's there still.
- ¹⁷ Þegar hann var að koma, slengdi illi andinn honum flötum og teygði hann ákaflega. En Jesús hastaði á óhreina andann, læknaði sveininn og gaf hann aftur föður hans. (http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?book_id=49&chapter=9&version=18, accessed 1st April 2006). Bible (New International Version): Even while the boy was coming, the demon threw him to the ground in a convulsion. But Jesus rebuked the evil spirit, healed the boy and gave him back to his father. (Luke 9:42)
- ¹⁸ En eftir það sat ég bara upp í rúmi mest allan daginn; horfði á sjónvarpið, lærði, hékk á netinu og hafi það notalegt, meðan ég tróð mig fulla af sælgæti! (http://ernasig.blogspot.com/2005_03_01_ernasig_archive.html, accessed 31st March 2006). Translation: And after that I just sat in bed most of the day, watched tv, studied, surfed around on the net and mellowed out, while I stuffed myself full of sweets!
- ¹⁹ ...en "rakaði undir" þýðir að ég tók bartschera og rakaði hárið stutt í hliðinum og á hnakkanum og var með stall aðeins ofan. (http://www.icomefromreykjavik.com/halli/archives/2005/08/hva_ertu_hr.html, accessed 31st March 2006). Translation: ...and what I mean by "shaved below" is that I took hair clippers and shaved my hair short on the sides and on the nape of my neck so that I had a ridge just above.
- ²⁰ ég var með bala hárkarl. og var að reyna að fá hann til að éta. svo ég muldi stundum fínt, en hann er dain af einhverjum ástæðum greyið. (<http://www.dyrarikid.is/spjall/?f=5&m=10>, 17th April 2006). Translation: I had a [?tub shark] and was trying to get it to eat. So I sometimes ground [his food] finely but he still died for some reason, the poor thing.
- ²¹ Tómatarnir eru saxaðir fínt og maukið sett í pott. Hvítlaukurinn er saxaður nokkuð gróft og honum bætt í pottinn. (http://www.volundur.com/tv_recipes2.htm, accessed 8th April 2006). Translation: The tomatoes are chopped finely and the pulp put in the pot. The garlic is chopped rather coarsely and added to the pot.
- ²² [Ég] bónaði bílinn voða voða fínt. Hann breyttist úr skítugasta bíl á landinu í hreinasta bíl í vikinni á einum deg. (http://egummig.blogspot.com/2003_12_01_egummig_archive.html, accessed 3rd April 2006). Translation: [I] polished the car really really nicely. It went from the grubbier car in the country to the cleanest one in the area in one day.
- ²³ Pétur Knúttsson observes that "rósinþyrn" seems to be a metathesized form of "þyrnirós", the standard form, and suggests that this is an example of immature usage.
- ²⁴ Það hefði ég ekki átt að gera. Nú er hann með brákaðan úlnið og allur rispaður í framan, auk þess sem það rifnaði út úr öðru munnvikinu þegar rósinþyrn reif það opið. Vorum að koma af slysó. (<http://www.anna.is/weblog/2005/03/>, accessed 29th March 2006). Translation: I shouldn't have done that. Now he's got a fractured wrist and his face is all scraped, quite apart from what got ripped from the other corner of his mouth when the rose-thorn ripped it open. We just got back from A&E.
- ²⁵ Hann strunsaði svo til hennar tók harkalega í hana og reif hurðina opna á kælirnum og tók kóflöskuna. (http://pullia.blogspot.com/2004_04_25_pullia_archive.html, 29th March 2006). Translation: Then he swaggered over to her, grabbed hold of her violently and ripped the door of the fridge open and took out a bottle of Coke.
- ²⁶ Þvoðu þig hreinan, prestur minn. (<http://www.snerpa.is/net/roman/fossar.htm>, accessed 29th March 2006). Translation: Wash yourself clean, my priest!
- ²⁷ "Bjargið alda, borgin mín, byrg þú mig í skjóli þín.

Heilsubrunnur öld og ár
er þitt dýra hjartasár.
Þvo mig hreinan, líknarlind,
lauga mig af hverri synd.”

(From "Bjargið alda" by Matthías Jochumsson (1835-1920);

<http://101.ljod.is/viewpoem.php?iPoemID=40&sSearch=>; accessed 3rd April 2006). Translation: #

²⁸ Öll náttúran reis saklaus upp til lífs og ljóss; ó, að hann gæti risið með henni, þvegið sig hreinan í dögginni; og hann fann vel, að hann gat risið á legg með henni; ef hún mætti og vildi og gæti rétt honum saklausu, hvítu höndina sína. (<http://www.snerpa.is/net/roman/fossar.htm>, accessed 29th March 2006). Translation: All of Nature arose innocent to life and light; oh, that he could arise with her, wash himself clean in the dew; and feel that he could arise alongside her; if she might and would and could hold out to him her innocent white hand.

²⁹ Þeir eru ófáir sem lítið hafa ástúðlega til AEG-þvottavélanna sinna þegar þeir hafa tekið út úr þeim hreinþvegin þvott sinn.

(http://www.unik.is/Apps/WebObjects/Unik.woa/wa/dp?detail=1000160&name=frett_detail, accessed 3rd April 2006). Translation: There are too few who look affectionately at their AEG washing machines when they have taken out their washed-clean washing.

³⁰ Tæpir 2 tímar í próf og síminn minn stoppar ekki - er samt ekki að svara honum, hann getur bara hringt sig hásan. (http://hamingjubeljan.blogspot.com/2003_12_01_hamingjubeljan_archive.html, accessed 31st March 2006). Translation: Been about two hours in the exam and my phone hasn't stopped – still, I'm not going to answer it, it can ring itself hoarse.

³¹ Næstu leikir eru gríðarlega mikilvægir fyrir félagið, þar sem við berjumst fyrir tilverurétti okkar í 1. deild og þurfum við á öllum að halda til að vera okkur innan handar af áhorfendabekkjnum. Þessi leikur er "live" þ.e. sendur beint út á netinu og er það í fyrsta skipti sem það er gert hér :) Nú er bara að byrja að safna í lið og öskra, tromma, klappa og stappa sig brjálaðan.

(<http://www.kfi.is/index.phml?detail=2013>, 1st April 2006). Translation: The next game is extremely important for the team, as we are fighting for the right to stay in Division 1 and we depend on everyone to be there for us on the supporters' benches. This game is "live", i.e. broadcast directly on the net and that's the first time this has been done here ☺ Now it is just a matter of starting to come together and to scream, drum, clap and stamp yourself crazy.

³² Mar' á alltaf að drekka sig vitlausan áður en mar' fer á áfangastaði td. eins og party og þess háttar...mar'! (<http://www.hugi.is/djammid/articles.php?page=view&contentId=150263>, accessed 1st April 2006). Translation: Yuv always got to drink yuhself silly before yuh go to a drinking place like a party or something like that, mate!

³³ Ég er viss um það að ef það er til himnaríki, situr Gunnar þar núna, fullheill, og hlær sig vitlausan að hamfaraplötunni, því eftir allt saman var hún bara stórskemmtileg.

(http://www.simnet.is/muzak/?i=2001_09_01_blogarchive.lbi, accessed 1st April 2006). Translation: I'm certain that if there is a heaven, Gunnar is sitting there now, fit as a fiddle, and laughing himself silly over the whole catastrophe, because when all is said and done it was very entertaining.

³⁴ Ég hló mig máttlausan að bröndurunum í bókinni sem sígaretturödd Þorsteins kom vel til skila. (http://atallus.blogspot.com/2005_09_01_atallus_archive.html, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: I laughed myself feeble at the jokes in the book which Þorsteinn's cigarette-voice delivers so well.

³⁵ Gaf kisu gott að borða og það var notalegt að heyra tipplið hennar á gólfinu þegar hún elti mig inn í ból og kom sér þar makindalega fyrir og malaði mig í svefn.

(http://latagreta.blogspot.com/2005_12_01_latagreta_archive.html, accessed 1st April 2006).

Translation: Gave the cat plenty to eat and it was nice to hear the patter of her paws on the floor when she chased me into bed and snuggled herself down and purred me to sleep.

³⁶ I apologise in advance for the extreme crudeness of this example – but as examples are so few it seems linguistically significant to include it. The verb is *brunda* (ejaculate; cum) and the adjective is *fullur* (full).

- Geir þoldi ekki lengi við og brundaði rassinn hennar fullan.
- (http://blaut.blogspot.com/2002_11_01_blaut_archive.html, accessed 1st April 2006)
- Translation: Geir couldn't hold on any longer and he came her arse full.

Such examples could easily be blamed on the influence of English but it is worth noting that out of context this sounds bad in English and a search on the net for a similar construction in English found no results

³⁷ Þetta held ég að sé rótin að því að litla vinstri öxlin mín á hræðilega bág í dag. Ég svaf hana flata í fyrrinótt og var svo nógu andskoti vitlaus til að fara í &/)#(/%\$# boddíkombatt tíma í ofanálag og í morgun var axlargreyið mjög miður sín. (<http://acl.heida.klaki.net/dagbok/faersla/1031749071.html>, accessed 1st April 2006). Translation: I think that that is the root of the matter – why my poor left shoulder has a horrible kink in it today. I slept it flat the night before last but was just damn stupid enough to go to the &/)#(/%\$# body combat class on top of everything else and this morning my poor shoulder was really not happy.

³⁸ Fór svo í kvöld og hljóp mig sveittann, 2,6 km á korteri (<http://folk.is/gudni10/?pb=&gid=435443>, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: So I went out this evening and ran myself sweaty, 2.6km in 15 mins

³⁹ Snorri og Hrafnhildur fóru í Ævintýraland og hlupu sig móð þar á meðan mamma og Guðrún frænka versluðu. (www.barnaland.is/barn/7173/vefbok/25, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: Snorri and Hrafnhildur went to Adventure Land and ran themselves breathless while Mummy and Auntie Guðrún went shopping.

⁴⁰ Eftir þennan ágætis morgunverð skelltum við okkur í sund. Það var nú samt hálf napurt í vindinum svo að við syntum okkur til hita. (http://glauga.blogspot.com/2004_07_01_glauga_archive.html, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: After this lovely breakfast, we got ourselves off for a swim. There was actually a bit of a bite in the wind so we swam ourselves warm.

⁴¹ Í dag fórum við í ratleik og svo inn að spila. Það var dálítið kalt á okkur en við hlupum okkur til hita. (www.fristundaheimili.is/main/frettir.asp?stadur=5&gerd=ein&id=1396, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: Today we went orienteering and then in to play a game. It was a bit cold for us but we ran ourselves warm.

⁴² Hann synti sig inn í úrslit og átti þar næst besta tímann inn í úrslitin. (<http://www.tindastoll.is/sund/>, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: He swam his way into the final and once there he got the second best time in the final.

⁴³ Sunna Gestsdóttir, UMSS, hljóp sig í úrslit í 200m hlaupi á 25.01 sek. en keppti ekki í úrslitahlaupinu. (<http://www.mbl.is/mm/sport/frett.html?nid=1073775>, 7th April 2006). Translation: Sunna Gestsdóttir, UMSS, ran her way into the 200m final with 25.01 sec but did not compete in the final run.

⁴⁴ Í öllum keppnum dönsuðu þau sig í úrslit og lenntu í 5. sæti í Ballroom og Latin en 6. sæti í 10 dönsunum. (<http://dansarinn.net/>, accessed 7th April 2006). Translation: In all the competitions they danced their way into the final and ended up in 5th position in Ballroom and Latin but in 6th position in 10 Dances.

⁴⁵ Húsgrindin fraus föst við grasið. (<http://isfirdingur.blogspot.com/>, accessed 9th April 2006). Translation: The frame of the house froze stuck to the grass.

⁴⁶ Hann strusaði svo til hennar tók harkalega í hana og reif hurðina opna á kælirnum og tók kóflöskuna. (http://pullia.blogspot.com/2004_04_25_pullia_archive.html, 29th March 2006). Translation: Then he swaggered over to her, grabbed hold of her violently and ripped the door of the fridge open and took out a bottle of Coke.

⁴⁷ Undir lok hrinunnar árið 1998 urðu þó tveir skjálftar af stærð rúmlega 5 á Richter-skala með upptök sunnan við aðalskjálftasvæðið. Þeir voru í ætt við Suðurlandsskjálfta. Í öðrum þeirra rifnaði upp gömul sprunga vestarlega á Bitru.

(http://72.14.203.104/search?q=cache:A2VIJbISJ7MJ:www.or.is/media/files/Matsskyrsla_kaflar1-3.pdf+%22rifna%C3%B0i+upp%22&hl=en&gl=uk&ct=clnk&cd=11, accessed 26th April 2006).

Translation: At the end of the swarm of quakes in 1998, though, two quakes occurred of a magnitude of about 5 on the Richter scale, with an epicentre south of the main earthquake area. They were similar to quakes in the South Iceland seismic zone. In the second of these an old fissure tore open to the west of Bitra.

⁴⁸ Thanks to Ásta Svavarsdóttir of the Icelandic University Dictionary for this observation.

⁴⁹ ...en "rakaði undir" þýðir að ég tók bartschera og rakaði hárið stutt í hliðinum og á hnakkanum og var með stall aðeins ofan. (http://www.icomefromreykjavik.com/halli/archives/2005/08/hva_ertu_hr.html, accessed 31st March 2006). Translation: ...and what I mean by "shaved below" is that I took hair clippers and shaved my hair short on the sides and on the nape of my neck so that I had a ridge just above.

⁵⁰ Ég klippti hárið mitt stutt í tvítugsafmælisgjöf (<http://blog.central.is/erlarokk>, accessed 19th April 2006). Translation: I cut my hair short as a 20th birthday present

⁵¹ Ég klippti mig ultra stutt (<http://www.hi.is/~ihg/blog.html>, accessed 19th April 2006). Translation: I cut my hair ultra short

⁵² One respondent suggested to me that *stutt* here in fact agrees with an implicit *hárið* (hair), given that the default expression is “Ég klippti hárið stutt”/“I cut my hair short”. My own feeling is that this is an inference driven by the adverbial resultative reading. But even if it were true it nevertheless leaves us with the problem that the predication agreement between the resultative adjective (*stuttur*) and the actual direct object of the verb (*mig*) fails.

⁵³ Þeir eru ófáir sem lítið hafa ástúðlega til AEG-þvottavélanna sinna þegar þeir hafa tekið út úr þeim hreinþveginn þvott sinn.
http://www.unik.is/Apps/WebObjects/Unik.woa/wa/dp?detail=1000160&name=frett_detail, accessed 3rd April 2006). Translation: There are too few who look affectionately at their AEG washing machines when they have taken out their washed-clean washing.