

Syntactic Analysis of Intransitive Resultatives from the Minimalist Perspective

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1. Introduction

➤ Type 1—Unergatives can participate in resultative constructions.

(1) English¹

- a. The joggers ran the pavement thin.
- b. They drank the teapot dry.
- c. Mary danced herself tired.

(2) Icelandic

- a. Hann hljóp sig haltan.
he ran self-ACC limp-ACC
'He ran himself limp.'
- b. Hann oeskradhi sig haasan.
he shouted himself-ACC hoarse-ACC
'He shouted himself hoarse.'

➤ Type 2—Unergatives never participate in resultative constructions.

(3) French

- a. *Je me suis bu malade.
I myself am drunk sick
'I drank myself sick.'
- b. *Ils ont couru le trottoir mince.
they have run the pavement thin
'They ran the pavement thin.'

2. Previous Approach

2.1. Basic Facts

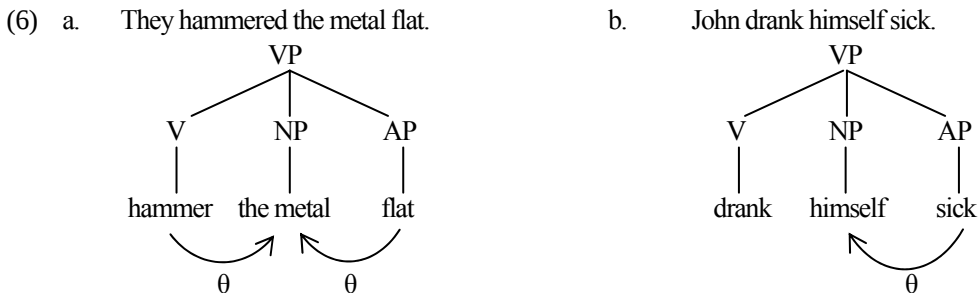
- (4) a. John hammered the metal flat.
- b. John hammered the metal.

¹ I assume that the directional PPs in the examples below are not resultative predicates, but are internal path arguments of verb, following Rothstein (2004: 87-89).

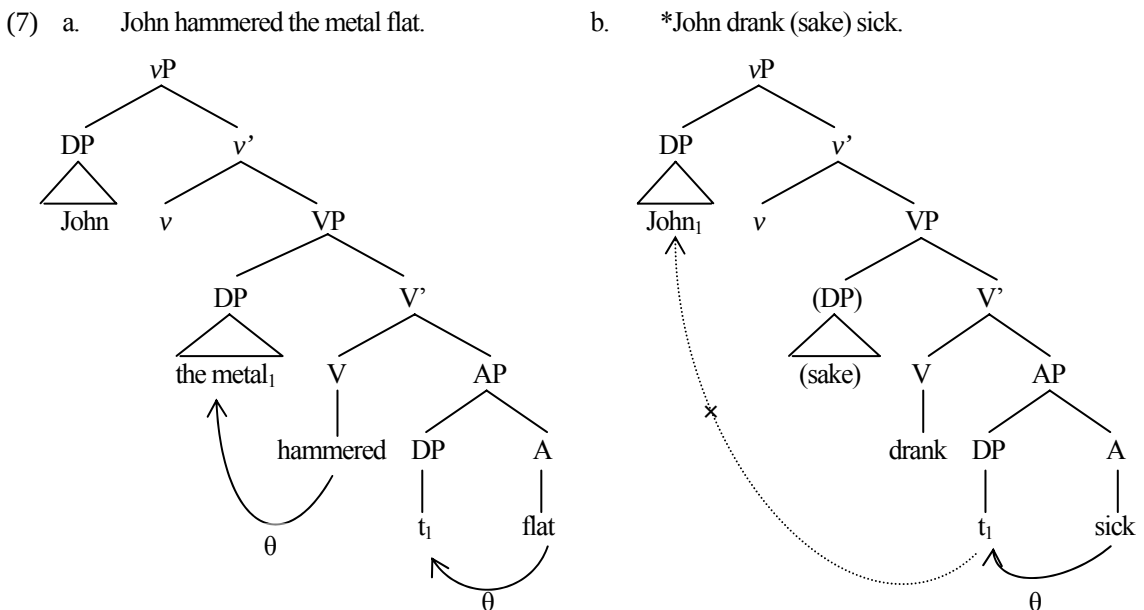
- (i) John danced Mary around the room.
- (ii) The children played leapfrog across the park.
- (iii) The sailors caught a breeze and rode it clear of the rocks.

- (5) a. John drank himself sick.
 b. *John drank himself.
 c. John drank.
 d. *John drank sick. [with the intended meaning “John drank and as a result he became sick.”]

2.2. Ternary-Branching Analysis—Carrier and Randall (1992)



2.3. XP-Movement for Theta-Role—Saito (2001)



- (8) a. *John [_{VP} t' [HIT t]]
 b. *John [_{VP} t' [BELIEVE [t to be intelligent]]]
 (HIT / BELIEVE share the θ -structure of *hit* and *believe* but lack Case feature)

(Chomsky, 1995: 313)

(9) Saito's Generalization

[A]_n NP can move to VP Spec and pick up an internal θ -role. On the other hand, [...] an NP cannot move to vP Spec and receive an external θ -role.

(Saito, 2001:56)

2.3.1. Problems with Saito's Analysis

- (10) a. John washed. (= John washed himself.)
 b. John shaved. (= John shaved himself.)
 c. John dressed. (= John dressed himself.)

(Lasnik, 1999: 125)

- (11) a. $[_{VP} \text{ } v [_{VP} \text{ wash John}]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge$
 b. $[_{VP} \text{ John}_1 \text{ wash}+v [_{VP} \text{ } t_1]]$

- (12) John drank himself sick.

- a. $[_T \text{ } I[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ John}[D] \text{ drank}+v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ } t_V [_{AP} \text{ himself}[D] \text{ sick}]]]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \text{NOM} \quad \quad \quad \text{ACC}$

- (13) John hammered the metal flat.

- a. $[_{VP} \text{ John}[D] v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ } \text{hammered} [_{AP} \text{ the metal}[D] \text{ flat}]]]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge$
 b. $[_{VP} \text{ John}[D] \text{ hammered}+v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ the metal}_1[D] t_V [_{AP} t_1 \text{ flat}]]]]$
 c. $[_T \text{ } I[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ John}[D] \text{ hammered}+v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ the metal}_1[D] t_V [_{AP} t_1 \text{ flat}]]]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \text{NOM} \quad \quad \quad \text{ACC}$

- (14) *John drank sake sick.

- a. $[_{VP} \text{ } v' \text{ drank}+v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ sake}[D] t_V [_{AP} \text{ John}[D] \text{ sick}]]]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge$
 b. $[_T \text{ } I[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ drank}+v[u\phi] [_{VP} \text{ sake}[D] t_V [_{AP} \text{ John}[D] \text{ sick}]]]]$
 $\quad \quad \quad \text{ACC}$

- (15) θ -roles are formal features and are therefore capable of driving movement, [...].

(Bošković and Takahashi, 1998: 351)

- (16) Minimal Link Condition

K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β .

(Chomsky, 1995: 311)

- (17) a. $[\theta] \text{ } \underline{DP[D]} \text{ } \underline{DP[D]}$
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge$
 b. $\text{ } \underline{[\theta]} \text{ } \underline{DP[D]} \text{ } \underline{DP[D]}$
 $\quad \quad \quad \wedge$

- (18) Defective Intervention Constraints

$\alpha > \beta > \gamma$

$>$ is c-command, β and γ match the probe α , but β is inactive so that the effects of matching are blocked.

(Chomsky, 2000: 123)

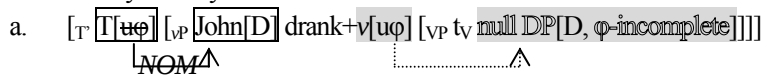
- (30) Maximization Principle
Maximize the matching effects.

(Chomsky, 2001: 15)

- (31) Null DP in unergative VP is ϕ -incomplete.

- (32) Maximization Principle must be applied in English intransitive resultatives.

- (33) John drank yesterday.

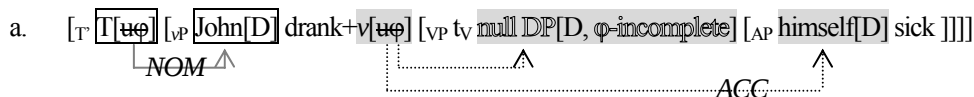


- (34) The uninterpretable features of T (or v) can be deleted by an incomplete set of ϕ -features of a DP, iff there is no more remote goal.²

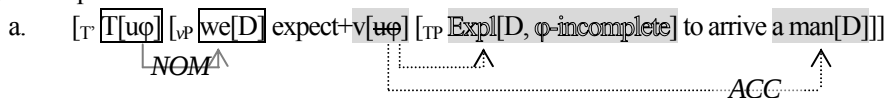
4. Analysis

4.1. Intransitive Resultatives

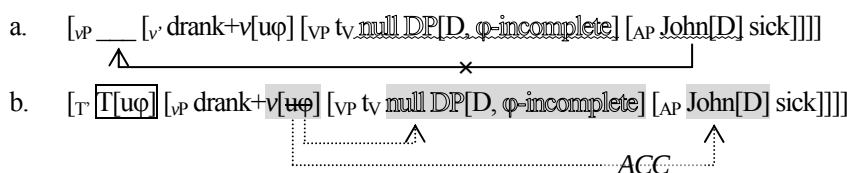
- (35) John drank himself sick.³



- (36) We expect there to arrive a man.



- (37) *John drank sick.



4.2. Supporting Evidence

4.2.1. Gapping

- (38) a. John hammered a hubcap thin and Mary, flat.
b. *John sang the baby asleep and Mary, happy.

² This indicates that the contrast below should be analyzed in the different way from the analysis that rules out () by the reason that the uninterpretable features of T is remained. See Vikner (1995) for a possible approach.

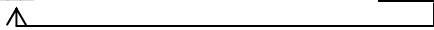
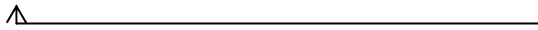
(i) It is likely that John is honest.

(ii) *There is likely that John is honest.

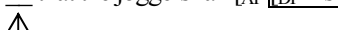
³ This analysis implies that the null DP bears a theta-role, though it does not bear Case. Notice that the null DP has the same property with the inherently Case-marked DP which is considered to require the theta-role assignment, though it does not structurally Case-marked in Chomsky (1986). This indicates that the null DP might have an inherent Case. I leave this matter open for future research. See Lasnik (1999) for the analysis of the inherent Case within the minimalist framework.

- (39) a. John₃ [_{VP} t₃ hammered+v [_{VP} a hubcap₁ t_V [_{AP} t₁ thin]]] and
Mary₂ [_{VP} t₂ hammered+v [_{VP} a hubcap₁ t_V [_{AP} t₁ flat]]]
- b. John₃ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₃ hammered+v [_{VP} a hubcap₁ t_V t_{AP}]]] [_{AP} t₁ thin]] and
Mary₂ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₂ hammered+v [_{VP} a hubcap₁ t_V t_{AP}]]] [_{AP} t₁ flat]]
- c. John hammered a hubcap thin and Mary Δ [_{AP} t₁ flat]
- (40) a. John₂ [_{VP} t₂ sang+v [_{VP} t_V null DP [_{AP} the baby asleep]]] and
Mary₁ [_{VP} t₁ sang+v [_{VP} t_V null DP [_{AP} the baby happy]]]
- b. John₂ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₂ sang+v [_{VP} t_V null DP t_{AP}]]] [_{AP} the baby asleep]] and
Mary₁ [_{VP} [_{VP} t₁ sang+v [_{VP} t_V null DP t_{AP}]]] [_{AP} the baby happy]]
- c. *John sang the baby asleep and Mary Δ [_{AP} ~~the baby~~ happy]

4.2.2. Topicalization

- (41) a. Flat, John hammered the metal.
b. *Thin, the joggers ran the pavement.
- (42) a. ____, John hammered [_{VP} the metal₁ t_V [_{AP} t₁ flat]].

b. [_{AP} t₁ flat], John hammered the metal₁ t_V t_{AP}.
- (43) a. ____, the joggers ran [_{VP} t_V null DP [_{AP} the pavement thin]].

b. *[_A thin], the joggers ran null DP [_{AP} the pavement t_A].

4.2.3. Cleft Sentence

- (44) a. It was a steak that John cooked black.
b. It was his Nikes that the jogger ran threadbare.
- (45) a. *It was crazy that Mary drove John.
b. *It is eccentric that Mary considers John.
- (46) a. It is white that Peter painted the walls.
b. *It is thin that the joggers ran the pavement.
- (47) a. It was __ that the joggers ran [_{AP} [_{DP} his Nikes]] [_A threadbare]]

b. *It is __ that Mary considers [_{AP} [_{DP} John] [_A eccentric]].


- (48) a. It is that Peter painted the walls_i [_{AP} t_i white].

 b. It is [_{AP} t_i white] that Peter painted the walls_i t_{AP}.
- (49) a. It is that the joggers ran null DP [_{AP} [_{DP} the pavement] [_A thin]].

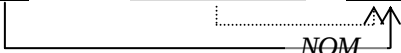
 b. It is [_A thin] that the joggers ran null DP [_{AP} the pavement t_A]

4.3. Unaccusative Resultatives

- (50) A phase is CP or vP, but not TP or a verbal phrase headed by H lacking ϕ -features not entering into Case / agreement checking: neither finite TP nor unaccusative / passive verbal phrase is phase.

(Chomsky, 2000: 106-107)

- (51) The ice froze solid.

- a. [_T [_I $\varnothing$] [_{VP} froze+v [$\varnothing$ incomplete] [_{VP} the ice[D]] t_V [_{AP} t_i solid]]]]


5. Consequence

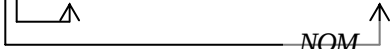
5.1. Crosslinguistic Variation

5.1.1. Expletive Constructions

- (52) Icelandic

- a. Það eru/*er málfræðingar í heberginu.
*Expl are/*is linguists in room.the*
 “There are linguists in the room.”

(Vangsnes, 2002: 57)

- b. [_I $\varnothing$] [_{Expl} [D, ϕ -incomplete]] eru [málfræðingar[D]] í heberginu]


- (53) French

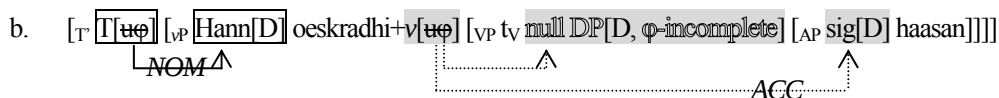
- a. Il y a des livres sur la table.
Expl there has INDEF-PL books on the table
 “There are books on the table.”
- b. [_I $\varnothing$] [_{Expl} [D]] y a+v [$\varnothing$] des livres[D] sur la table]


- (54) There exists the parameter pertaining to the existence of the phi-incomplete DPs.

5.1.2. Intransitive Resultatives

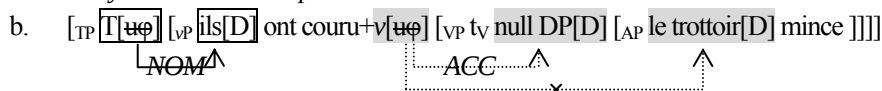
- (55) Icelandic

- a. Hann oeskradhi sig haasan.
he shouted himself hoarse



(56) French

- a. *Ils ont couru le trottoir mince.
they have run the pavement thin



(57) Pierre a peint les murs en blanc.

Pierre has painted the pictures in white

‘Picere painted the pictures white.’

(Legendre, 1997: 47)

(58) The status of the null DP, whether it is phi-complete or phi-incomplete is involved with the acceptability of intransitive resultatives in natural languages.

6. Summary

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