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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Examples like (1) have been argued (Simpson 1983) to involve a small clause that describes a state or location resulting from the action denoted by the verb.

(1)     I painted the car yellow. (Simpson 1983:143)

Resultative: "An XP denoting a state or location that holds of the referent of an NP in the construction as a result of the action denoted by its verb." (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001:766)

Generalization in English: "The controller of a resultative attribute must be an object, whether that object is a surface object, as in transitive verbs, or an underlying object, as in passives and intransitive verbs of the unaccusative class, or whether the object is a fake reflexive, as in intransitive verbs of the unergative class." (Simpson 1983:146)

(2)     The car was painted red. (Simpson 1983:144)
(3)     The ice-cream froze solid. (Simpson 1983:143)
(4)     I ate myself/*him sick. (Simpson 1983:145)
(5)     I danced/laughed/worked *(myself) tired.

In this talk we will strengthen this generalization, contra Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Wechsler 1997, and Verspoor 1997, by reanalyzing their counterexamples. In English, as well as in Dutch, resultatives cannot be subject-oriented (on Dutch cf. Hoekstra 1988).

(6)     a. Ik   eet       *(mezelf)   ziek.
            I    eat         myself     sick
         b. Jan danst  *(zich)      moe.
            Jan dances   himself     tired
         c. Jan danst   *(de tango) kapot.
            Jan dances    the tango  broken

Object-oriented resultatives, on the other hand, are fine:

(7)     Jan veegt de tafel schoon.
        Jan wipes the table clean
(8)     (Jan kan niet dansen,) hij danst   [de tango kapot].
         Jan can not dance     he dances  the tango broke
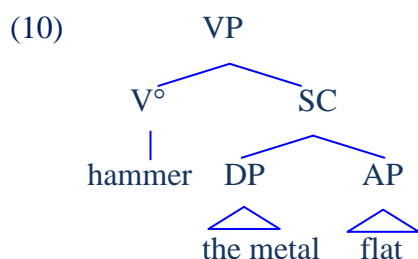        'Jan can't dance, he ruins the tango.'

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(9)     Hij dronk de  theepot *(leeg).
        He  drank the teapot   *(empty)
        'He drank the teapot empty.'


We argue that what has been called "resultative" is not a syntactically homogeneous phenomenon: very similar semantic effects are achieved by different syntactic means. True resultatives, in contrast to resultative-like constituents, specify the final resultant state and form a single constituent with their subject.

    Simpson's empirical generalization that resultatives can only be predicated of the underlying object (the direct object restriction, DOR (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)) has hence led to the standard representation of resultatives as small-clause complements of the main verb (Hoekstra 1988, Bowers 1997, Ramchand 2008, etc.), where the subject either projects internally to the small clause (10) or controls its PRO subject.


(10)            VP
             /      \
           V°        SC
           |        /   \
        hammer    DP     AP
                  /\     /\
            the metal   flat


What is a small clause?  Stowell 1981, 1983 demonstrates that predication is possible in the absence of a verb, as in (11).

(11)    Alice$_i$ became [$_{SC}$ t $_i$ president/the head of the association].


(12)            SC
             /      \
        subject    predicate
          /\          /\
        DP/CP     AP/PP/NP/DP
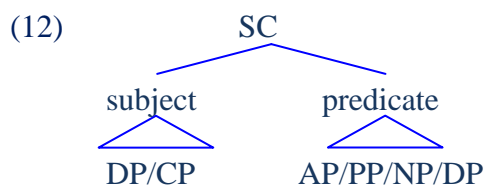

A resultative is hence analyzed as a single syntactic constituent containing a subject and a predicate.

## 2.  SUBJECT "RESULTATIVES"

Simpson's DOR and by consequence the concomitant syntactic analysis is challenged  by Wechsler 1997 (13), Verspoor 1997 (14), and Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001 (15).

(13)    The wise men followed the star **out of Bethlehem**.          (Wechsler 1997:14)
(14)    John danced mazurka's **across the room**.          (Verspoor 1997:151)
(15)    We took the IRT from Grand Central to the Brooklyn Fine Arts Museum.
                                        (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2001:770)

Matushansky, Van Dooren and Hendriks (2012) have demonstrated that these English prepositional phrases are not true resultatives; in this talk, we will reconstruct the same arguments, and we will provide additional arguments, for Dutch. We will demonstrate that parallel sentences in Dutch (16)-(18) in fact do not argue against the DOR either.

(16)　De wizen　　volgden de ster Bethlehem uit.
　　　The wise.men followed the star Bethlehem out
　　　'The wise men followed the star out of Bethlehem.'

(17)　Jan danste mazurka's naar de overkant.
　　　John danced mazurka's to　the other.side
　　　'John danced mazurka's to the other side.'

(18)　We namen de bus van CS　　　　　naar de haven.
　　　We took　the bus from Central.Station to　the harbor
　　　'We took the bus from Central.Station to the harbor.'

**Claim: these apparent counter examples do not violate the DOR, since:**

(i)　　some resultatives are actually object-oriented (section 3 & 6),

　　　(19)　Jan springt de sloot in.　　　　　　　　　　(Hoekstra & Mulder 1990)
　　　　　　Jan jumps　the ditch in
　　　　　　'Jan jumps into the ditch.'

　　　(20)　De kinderen zijn haasje-over gespeeld het park door
　　　　　　The children have leapfrog　played　the park through
　　　　　　'The children have played leapfrog through the park'

(ii)　　some 'resultatives' are actually path-denoting adjuncts (section 4 & 6).

　　　(21)　Jan nam de trein naar Den Haag.　　　　　(Neeleman & Van de Koot 2002)
　　　　　　Jan took the train to　Den Haag

　　　(22)　De kinderen hebben haasje-over gespeeld het park door
　　　　　　The children are　　leapfrog　played　the park through
　　　　　　'The children have played leapfrog through the park'

## 3.　OBJECT-ORIENTED RESULTATIVES: *JOHN JUMPS INTO THE DITCH*

Sentence (23) appears to be a counterexample to the DOR: the prepositional phrase *in de sloot* denotes a resultant state, and the subject of the sentence *John* gets into this resultant state by jumping.

(23)　Jan springt in de sloot.
　　　John jumps　in the ditch
　　　'John jumps in/into the ditch.'

Hoekstra & Mulder (1990), however, show that this sentence corresponds to two underlying structures: An unergative motional verb (26)a, or an unaccusative motional verb (26)b, which is shown by the use of the auxiliary *is*.

(24)　a. Jan heeft in de sloot gesprongen.

Jan has   in the ditch jumped
'John has jumped in the ditch.'
b. Jan   is in de  sloot gesprongen.
John is in the ditch jumped
'John has jumped in/into the ditch.'

Crucially, only the prepositional phrase combined with the unaccusative verb (24)b has a resultative interpretation. With the unergative verb, it has a locative interpretation (24)a. Furthermore, the prepositional phrase can have two interpretations as well: While the order P-NP has a resultative or a locative interpretation (25)a,the order NP-P only has a directional interpretation (Koopman 2000, Den Dikken 2006).

(25)    a. Jan springt in de  sloot.                                    (directional/locative)
Jan jumps  in the ditch
'John jumps in/into the ditch.'
b. Jan springt de  sloot in.                                    (directional)
Jan jumps  the ditch in
'John jumps into the ditch.'

Combining the different types of verbs with the different PP word orders, as in (26), reveals that only the unaccusative verb can be combined with a PP denoting a resultant state. We can hence conclude that Dutch resultatives are uniquely associated with the auxiliary *is*.

(26)    a. dat    Jan in de    sloot heeft gesprongen.                (locative)
that   Jan in the   ditch has   jumped
a'. * dat Jan de  sloot in     heeft gesprongen.                (uninterpretable)
that Jan the ditch in     has   jumped

b. dat  Jan in  de    sloot is gesprongen.                (directional)
that Jan in  the   ditch is jumped
b' dat  Jan de  sloot in     is gesprongen.                (directional)
that Jan the ditch in     is jumped

Hoekstra & Mulder's observation: "if a PP is added which may be construed as denoting the endpoint of the activity, these verbs may show properties of ergative verbs. […] If *zijn* is selected […], the predicate is a change of location." (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990:7-8)

(27)    …dat  Jan in de  sloot gesprongen is.                         (Hoekstra & Mulder1990:8)
…that Jan in the ditch jumped        is.

This analysis applies to sentences with passives (28) and intransitive verbs of the unaccusative class (29) as well, since in all sentences, the surface subject is the underlying object. It is no surprise that all these sentences can contain resultatives.

(28)   De  kamer werd    groen geverfd.
       The room  became green painted
       'The room was painted green.'
(29)   Het ijs  vroor dicht.
       The ice froze  solid

It follows that the apparent counterexample to the DOR in (23) is in fact compatible with the DOR: Either it is a resultative, but it is not directed at the external argument, or it is associated with the surface subject, but it is not a resultative.

(30)    Jan$_i$ INFL [$_{VP}$ V [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ PP]]                              (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990:4)

Support for this configuration comes from the following sentences which demonstrate that the PP *in de sloot* in (26)b behaves as a complement of the main verb:

- PP cannot be omitted
(31)    a. Dat  Jan (in   de  sloot)  gesprongen   heeft.         (Hoekstra & Mulder 1990:9)
           That  Jan (in   the ditch)  jumped       has
        b. Dat  Jan *(in de  sloot)  gesprongen   is.
           That  Jan *(in the ditch)  jumped        is

Note that (31)b is fine in an interpretation of directed motion when there is an implicit source present. This further supports the availability of an unaccusative structure in the absence of a resultative as well.

- PP cannot be placed in postverbal position
(32)    a. Dat  Jan gesprongen heeft in de  sloot.
           That Jan jumped       has   in the ditch

        b. * Dat  Jan gesprongen is in de  sloot.
             That Jan jumped       is in the ditch

Note that this sentence is well-formed when the resultative functions as an afterthought, demonstrated by a difference in intonation, as in (33) (cf. section 8).

(33)     * Dat  Jan gespro<small>NG</small>en is <small>IN DE  SLOOT</small>.
           That Jan jumped       is in the ditch

- PP cannot be separated from the verb
(34)    a. Dat  Jan in de  sloot vaak  gesprongen heeft.
           That Jan in the ditch often jumped       has

        b. Dat  Jan in de  sloot (*vaak)  gesprongen is.
           That Jan in the ditch (*often) jumped       is

## 4.     ADJUNCTS: *JAN RAN A MARATHON TO GRONINGEN*

The prepositional phrases in (35) are subject-oriented, and they have a directional interpretation. Moreover, the verbs in these sentences are unergative, shown by the auxiliary verb *hebben* 'have'. These facts make these sentences a second type of possible counterexamples to the DOR.

(35)     a. Jan rende een marathon naar Groningen.
              Jan ran    a     marathon to    Groningen
         a'. Jan heeft een marathon gerend naar Groningen.
              Jan has  a    marathon run      to    Groningen
         b. Jan nam de  trein naar Den Haag
              Jan took the train to    Den Haag
         b'. Jan heeft de  trein genomen naar Den Haag.
              Jan has   the train taken      to    Den Haag.

The prepositional phrases in these sentences are not resultatives, however, but adjuncts (Neeleman & Van de Koot 2002). First, they pattern with adjuncts (36)b, in contrast to true resultatives, (36)c; they can precede the direct object.

(36)     a. …dat  Jan (naar Groningen) een marathon heeft gerend.
              …that Jan to    Groningen a    marathon has   run
         b. …dat  Jan (gisteren)  een auto heeft gewassen.
              …that Jan yesterday a   car  has   washed
         c. * … dat Jan (*geel)   een auto heeft geverfd
              … that Jan  yellow a    car  has   painted

Secondly, the diagnostics from Hoekstra and Mulder (1990), involving optionality (37)a, PP-over-V (37)b and separation by an adverb (37)c point towards the same analysis:

(37)     a. … dat  Jan de  trein (naar Den Haag) genomen heeft.
                … that Jan the train to    Den Haag  taken      has
         b. … dat  Jan de  trein genomen heeft naar Den Haag.
                … that Jan the train taken      has  to    Den Haag
         c. … dat  Jan de  trein (vaak) naar Den Haag (vaak) genomen heeft.
                … that Jan the train often to    Den Haag often taken      has

Two additional arguments come from Neeleman & Van de Koot (2002:48). First, in (38), the PP *naar Den Haag* can form part of the complex DP *de trein naar Den Haag*. This path denoting phrase can be licensed within a DP (39)b. This indicates that such phrases indeed do not have to be complements; complements as in (40)b, cannot be licensed within a DP.

(38)    Jan nam de  trein naar Den Haag.
        Jan took the train to    Den Haag

(39)    a. Ik ga met  de  auto op de  boot.
           I  go with the car   on the boat
        b. De  auto op de  boot.
           The car   on the boat

(40)    a. Ik veeg de  tafel  schoon.
           I  wipe the table clean
        b. *De  tafel  schoon.
            The table clean

This diagnostic confirms the analysis presented in section 2: The adjunct (41)b and (42)b, but not the resultative (41)a and (42)b is licensed within an NP.

(41)    a. *De  sprong de  sloot in     (resultative)
            The jump    the ditch in
        b. De    sprong in  de    sloot (adjunct)
           The  jump    in  the   ditch
           'The jump in/into the ditch'

(42)    a. *Het springen de  sloot in     (resultative)
            The jumping the ditch in
        b. Het   springen in  de    sloot (adjunct)
           The  jumping in  the   ditch

Neeleman & Van de Koot's second argument concerns the semantics: Sentences in (43) do not need to have a resultative interpretation.

(43)    Ik nam de  trein naar Den Haag, maar stapte    uit in Gouda.
        I   took the train to    Den Haag but    stepped out in Gouda

Finally, as expected for adjuncts, they can be stacked (44); the apparent limitation on their number is not syntactic, since they need to contain a unique path (Goldberg 1991).

(44)    De  trein reed van   Leiden via Leiden Lammenschans naar Alphen.
        The train rode from Leiden via Leiden Lammenschans to     Alphen

Complements can be iterated as well (45).

(45)    Hij sprong  het raam     uit het dak  op.
        He jumped the window out the roof on
        'He jumped out of the window onto the roof.'

Sentence (46)a indicates that a resultative cannot be coordinated with an adjunct, while two complements (46)b and two adjuncts (46)c can be. The ill-formedness of (46)a, however, might be due to a violation of the stronger constraint that coordinated PPs must contain

unique path (Goldberg 1991) Moreover, unergatives and unaccusativs, or prepositions and postpositions might not be able to coordinate.

(46)   a. *Jan  rende de  deur uit en  naar  de    overkant.
           John ran   the door out and to    the   other.side
           'John ran out of the door and to the other side.'
       b. Hij gooide de  vaas kapot en  de  sloot in.
          He threw   the vase broke and the ditch in
          'He threw the vase to pieces and into the ditch.'
       c. De  trein reed langs Alphen en  naar Utrecht.
          The train rode along Alphen and to   Utrecht
          'The train went past Alphen and to Utrecht.'

We have not been able to construct test sentences containing coordination and iteration that would unambiguously support our analysis. We have not found any counterexamples either.

## 5.  INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

> ➢ Object-oriented resultatives always involve a small clause configuration.
> ➢ Subject-oriented 'resultatives' do not exist. Apparent subject-oriented resultatives are either underlyingly object-oriented or regular adjuncts with a directional interpretation.

## 6.  COGNATE OBJECTS: A CHALLENGE TO THE THEORY

(47)   De  kinderen speelden haasje-over de  tuin     in.
       The children  played   leapfrog    the garden in
       'The children played leapfrog in/into the garden.'

Sentence (47) is a final type of sentences that poses a challenge to the theory. The facts about this sentence are consistent with Hoekstra and Mulder's (1990) description of *John jumps into the ditch*: The prepositional phrase has a resultative interpretation, while (48) has a locative interpretation.

(48)   De  kinderen speelden haasje-over in de  tuin.
       The children  played   leapfrog    in the garden
       'The children played leapfrog all-over the garden.'

The verb is unergative **Error! Reference source not found.**.

(49)   a.  De      kinderen     hebben    in  de   tuin      haasje-over  gespeeld.
           The     children     have      in  the  garden    leapfrog     played
       b.  De      kinderen     hebben    in  het  park      haasje-over  gespeeld.
           The     children     have      in  the  park      leapfrog     played

The prediction for the sentence is that the prepositional phrase is an adjunct that is oriented onto the subject. The status of object, however, is not that clear: *leapfrog* does not behave as a true object, and therefore the combination with *to play* must be analyzed as a complex verb (*paardrijden* 'horseback riding', Booij 1990), or the direct object can be analyzed as a cognate object (*sigh a sigh*, Jones 1988, Pereltsvaig 1999a, 1999b, 2001). The cognate object is syntactically projected as a non-argument (Shim & Den Dikken 2008).

Sentence (50) poses a problem for this analysis of the object. How can a non-argument license a resultative?

(50)    Hij heeft de  tango kapot   gedanst.
        He has    the tango broken danced

Pereltsvaig (1999a) and Nakajima (2006) have independently argued for two types of cognate objects: Argumental and adverbial cognate objects. Adverbial cognate objects are the non-argumental objects described above. In the sentence with the unergative verb, the cognate object is projected as an internal argument. This analysis is supported by the fact that the argumental cognate object in (51) can occur with a determiner.

(51)    De  kinderen hebben een/het spel   gespeeld door     het park.
        The children have    a/the    game played     through  the park

In the case of the unergative verb **Error! Reference source not found.**b, we conclude that the DOR would hold if the *haasje-over* is an internal argument; then, the PP-phrase is an adjunct. The diagnostics from section 2 support our conclusion.

(52)    a. … dat de  kinderen door       het park haasje-over hebben gespeeld.
              … that the children   through  the park leapfrog      have    played
        b. … dat de  kinderen (door      het  park) haasje-over hebben gespeeld.
              … that the children    through  the park  leapfrog      have    played
        c. … dat de  kinderen door       het park vaak  haasje-over hebben gespeeld.
              … that the children   through  the park often leapfrog      have    played

The adjunct is a low adjunct, and therefore, the adjunct patterns with low manner-adjuncts (3b), rather than with high time-adjuncts (3c):
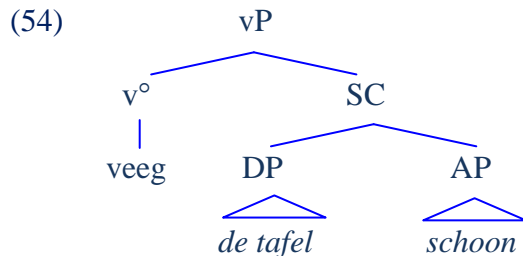
(53)    a. …dat de  kinderen [door     het park]    haasje-over [door     het park]     hebben gespeeld.
              …that the children  through the park        leapfrog        through the park       have    played
        b. …dat de  kinderen [met      een krukje] haasje-over [met      een krukje] hebben gespeeld.
              …that the children  with     a    stool     leapfrog        with     a    stool     have    played
        c. …dat de  kinderen [op      een zondag] haasje-over [*op      een zondag] hebben gespeeld.
              …that the children  on       a    Sunday leapfrog         on       a    sunday have    played

## 7.  CONCLUSION

> True resultatives always involve a small clause configuration.
> Subject-oriented resultatives do not exist. Apparent subject-oriented resultatives are either underlyingly object-oriented or regular adjuncts with a directional interpretation.
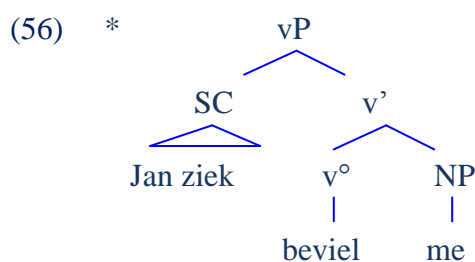
Why are subjects incompatible with small clause resultatives (Hoekstra 1988)?

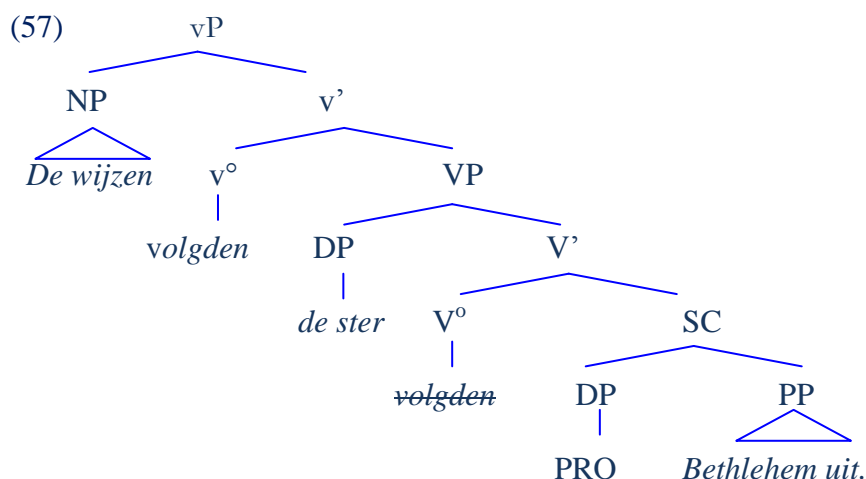Under the assumption that resultatives are projected as complements to V°, they can only be object-oriented:

(54)

```
                 vP
          ┌──────┴──────┐
         v°             SC
          │        ┌─────┴─────┐
        veeg      DP           AP
                 ╱──╲         ╱──╲
              de tafel      schoon
```

First of all, small clauses are not allowed in subject position (Chomsky 1981, cf. Williams 1983).

(55)    *[PRO bashful] would be a shame.

(56)    *

```
              vP
        ┌──────┴──────┐
       SC            v'
      ╱──╲        ┌───┴───┐
   Jan ziek      v°       NP
                  │        │
                beviel    me
```

Also, if resultative small clauses contain a PRO subject, it cannot be controlled by the subject of a transitive verb, because the object would intervene.

(57)

```
                 vP
         ┌────────┴────────┐
        NP                 v'
       ╱──╲          ┌──────┴──────┐
   De wijzen        v°             VP
                     │        ┌─────┴─────┐
                  volgden     DP          V'
                               │      ┌────┴────┐
                            de ster   V°        SC
                                       │     ┌───┴───┐
                                    volgden  DP      PP
                                              │     ╱──╲
                                            PRO   Bethlehem uit.
```

Unergatives would have to be assumed to also contain an underlying object.

Support for the claim that resultatives have to be controlled by the closest argument comes from the interpretation of the following examples. First, Marantz (2005) claims that the structure of cognate objects is identical to regular objects. Therefore, object-oriented resultatives can occur both with regular objects (59)a and cognate objects (59)b.

(58)  a. …dat  Jan de   bal    kapot heeft geschopt.
          that Jan the  ball    broke has   kicked
      b. …dat  Jan de   tango kapot  heeft gedanst.
          that Jan the  tango broke  has   danced
      c. …dat  Jan de   bal    naar de overkant   heeft geschopt.
          that Jan the  ball    to    the other.side has   kicked
      d. ...dat  Jan de   tango naar de  overkant   heeft gedanst.
          that Jan the  tango to    the other.side has   danced

With ditransitives, the resultative can only refer to indirect objects if the direct object is incorporated in the verb (Hale & Keyser 1993, Marantz 2005).

(59)  a. *Jan geeft  Piet een   duw bont   en  blauw.
          Jan gives   Piet a      push black  and blue
      b. Jan  duwt  Piet bont en    blauw.
          Jan  pushes Piet black and   blue
          'Jan pushes Piet black and blue.'

The core assumptions are therefore that true resultatives have the distribution of small clauses and that control is by the closest antecedent

## 8.  AFTERTHOUGHTS

### 8.1. Right-dislocation: The children played leapfrog, through the park

Much more can be said about one of Hoekstra & Mulder's (1990) diagnostics for distinguishing complements from adjuncts. They stated that adjuncts, unlike complements, can show up in postverbal position. In general, this diagnostic holds for the case of resultatives (61) and adjuncts (60).

(60)  a. *Hij is     gesprongen de  sloot in.
            He is      jumped        the ditch in
      b. Hij  heeft gesprongen in  de    sloot.
            He  has   jumped       in  the   ditch
(61)  a. *Hij heeft het hekje geverfd   groen.
            He has   the fence painted    green
      b. Hij  heeft de trein  genomen naar  Groningen.
            He   has   the train taken      to     Groningen

For some of the right-dislocated adjuncts, the specific intonation can be modified slightly, adding a second 'hat contour'. This intonation is available for adjuncts that have been called afterthoughts (or "colon phrases", Koster (2000), Ott & De Vries (2012)).

(62)   a. Joop heeft een art/TIkel geschreven over TAAL\kunde.
          Joop has   an article   written      on   linguistics
          'Joop wrote an article on linguistics'                          (extraposition)
       b. Joop had iets        interes/SANTS\ gelezen: een ar/TIkel over TAAL\kunde.
          Joop had something interesting      read:   an article   on   linguistics
          'Joop had read something interesting: an article on linguistics'   (AT)
       c. … dat de kinderen haasje/OVER\ speelden, het /PARK \door.
          … that the children leapfrog      played,    the park   through.
          '…that the children played leapfrog through the park'

Afterthoughts (ATs) are right-dislocated clauses for which it is argued that no rightward movement has taken place, but instead, a biclausal structure is present. In the second clause, ellipsis has taken place (Ott & De Vries 2012:1).

(63)     [$_{CP1}$ correlate$_i$] [$_{CP2}$ t$_i$]

Ott & De Vries (2012) distinguish between *specificational* ATs and *predicative* ATs: specificational ATs involve a further specification of the first clause (10), while predicative ATs involve secondary predication by means of an NP (11a) or AP (11b) copular clause.

(64)   Jan heeft iets       moois    gebouwd, EEN GOUDEN IGLO.
       Jan has   something beautiful built,     a     golden  igloo
       'John built something beautiful, a golden igloo'
(65)   a. Hij kwam binnen, DOODSBLEEK.
          He came  inside   pale-white
          'He came in, pale white'
       b. Ich habe den John Travolta getroffen, EIN BERÜHMTER STAR!
          I    have the John Travolta met       a     famous        star
          'I met John Travolta, a famous star!´

In sentences (66) and (67) we are dealing with specificational ATs; the correlate in the main sentence is *haasje-over* 'leapfrog', which is further specified by the prepositional phrase. Other prepositional, low, adjuncts can also be analyzed as afterthoughts.

(66)   … dat de kinderen haasje-over hebben gespeeld, MET EEN KRUKJE.
       … that the children leapfrog     have    played,   with a    little.stool
       '…that the children played leapfrog with a little stool.'
(67)   … dat de kinderen haasje-over hebben gespeeld, OP EEN ZONDAG.
       … that the children leapfrog     have    played,   on a     sunday
       '…that the children played leapfrog on a sunday.'

Both for the biclausal analysis, and the rightward movement analysis, it remains a puzzle why not all adjuncts (68) can be right-dislocated.

(68)   * … dat de kinderen haasje-over hebben gespeeld, gisteren.
          … that the children leapfrog     have    played,   yesterday
       '…that the children played leapfrog yesterday.'

**8.2.** *Visser's generalization*

Visser's generalization was used by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001:771) to support the thesis of the subject 'resultatives' being truly subject oriented: No verbs with subject-predicated complements can be passivized (Bach 1979, 1980, Bresnan 1972, 1982):

(69)   a. *The star was followed out of Bethlehem.
       b. *The breeze was ridden clear of the rocks.
       c. *Lassie followed free of his captors.
(70)   a. *Mazurka's were danced across the room.
       b. *The dog was walked to the store.
       c. *Laps were swum to exhaustion.
       d. *Leapfrog was played across the park.
(71)   a. *American Airlines was flown to Hawaii.
       b. *The IRT was taken from Grand Central to the Brooklyn Fine Arts Museum.
       c. *The Blue Ridge Skyway was driven from beginning to end.

Visser's generalization is thus not about resultatives but about adjacency. The control dependent need to be adjacent to the controller (72). For depictives (73), the same generalization holds: After passivization, one cannot continue control.

(72)   a. I promised Sam to leave the country.
       b. *Sam was promised to leave the country.                    (Control)
(73)   a. Mary struck me as smart.
       b. *I was struck by Mary as smart.                            (Depictive)


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