The Shape of Variation and Change at the Syntax-Semantics Interface:
New Evidence from Old Romance Resultative Secondary Predication

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We present a diachronic investigation into the syntax and compositional semantics of certain kinds of telic VPs :

Resultative secondary predication constructions

Tests for a telic interpretation/construal :

(1) John built a house *in two days*.
     John read the bible *in an hour*.

Tests for an atelic interpretation/construal :

(2) John danced *for an hour*.
     John read the bible *for an hour*.

Adjectival Resultatives (A-ResPs)

A-ResPs are expressions in which transitive VPs are combined with an adjective that describes the state of the direct object at the end of the event.

- ► A-ResP constructions are uniformly telic.

(3)   John beat the metal **flat** (*in an hour*).
       The tractor dragged the logs **smooth** (*in an hour*).
       Mary shot the thief **dead** (*in 2 seconds*).

- ► In languages like English, the VP base from which they are built can be either telic or atelic.

(4)   *John beat the metal *in an hour*.   (atelic VP base)
       *The tractor dragged the logs *in an hour*.   (atelic VP base)
       Mary shot the thief *in 2 seconds*.   (telic VP base)

Prepositional Resultatives (P-ResPs)

English atelic *manner of motion* VPs can be combined with locative PPs such as *under the bridge*, *behind the curtain*, and *inside the cave* to create a telic directional interpretation.

(5) *The bottle floated *in 5 minutes*.
  *John danced *in 5 minutes*.
  *John walked *in 5 minutes*.

(6) DIRECTIONAL INTERPRETATION
  The bottle floated under the bridge in 5 minutes.
  John danced behind the curtain in 5 minutes.
  John walked inside the cave in 5 minutes.

(7) LOCATIVE INTERPRETATION
  The bottle floated under the bridge for 5 minutes.

Why study ResPs ?

Both A-ResPs and P-ResPs raise a number of fundamental questions concerning their compositional semantics and the properties of the syntax-semantics interface.

1. What are the basic grammatical elements that occur in ResP structures ?
2. What are the interpretative mechanisms that associate the appropriate meaning to these structures ?
3. How, exactly, are atelic VPs transformed into telic VPs through the addition of a resultative secondary predicate ?

We make a novel contribution to answering these questions through studying the evolution ResP constructions in the history of the French language.

Cross-linguistic Variation

Some languages, such as Modern French (MF), lack both A-ResPs and P-ResPs (Bergh [1940], Vinay and Darbelnet [1958], Talmy [1985] and very much subsequent work) :

- ▶ The vast majority of manner verbs disallow telic directional interpretations with locative PPs (8).

- ▶ Adjectival resultative constructions are ungrammatical in this language (9).

(8) La bouteille a flotté **sous le pont**   *en 5 minutes.
     The bottle   has floated **under the bridge** in 5 minutes
     'The bottle floated under the bridge *in 5 minutes'

(9) *Jean a martellé le métal **plat**.
      Jean has hammered the metal **flat**

Satellite-framed vs Verb-framed Languages

These contrasts are generally taken to be reflexes of an important typological difference between the Germanic and Romance families :

▶ Languages like English that allow such constructions are often called (after Talmy [1985] ; Talmy [2000]) satellite-framed.

▶ Languages like French that do not allow them are called verb-framed.

The S-framed/V-framed distinction is a broad proposal that aims to account for cross-linguistic differences in the 'expression of motion and result'.

▶ Our proposals concern the syntax and semantics of ResP constructions.

From Cross-linguistic Variation to Diachronic Variation

Latin (the language from which French developed) allows
P-ResPs (Talmy [1985] ; Acedo-Matellán [2010] ; Iacobini and
Fagard [2011], a.o.). :

- ▶ Latin can combine manner verbs with locative prepositional
  elements (like *ad-* 'at') to form directional telic VPs.

(10) Caprarum-que uberibus   **ad**-volant
      goat.gen.and   utters.dat.plur ad.fly
      'And they fly onto the udders of the goats.'
      (Plin. *Nat.* 10, 115, in Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.100))

Conclusion
The part(s) of the grammar that construct and interpret ResP
constructions changed from the Latin period to the Modern
French period.

Proposals :

Our diachronic investigation makes a novel contribution along two dimensions of inquiry :

1. DESCRIPTIVE :
   - What change(s) occurred in (relevant parts of) the language from Latin to MF ?
   - What is an appropriate way of analyzing the observed changes in the language as changes in the grammar ?

2. THEORETICAL :
   - Do A-ResPs and P-ResPs share a common grammatical source ?
   - To what extent are the same functional elements, parameters, semantic composition rules etc. used in the construction and interpretation of adjectival and prepositional resultatives ?

PROPOSAL 1 : Understanding diachronic change

A 'well-known' fact :

Latin's ResP constructions were lost in the development of the Modern Romance languages (particularly French and Spanish).

- ▶ The general consensus in the literature is that there was a slow 'drift' from the Latin system (with ResPs) to the MF system (without ResPs) (cf. Kopecka [2009], Iacobini and Fagard [2011]).
- ▶ However, there has been very little in-depth study of resultative predication in intermediary stages of the language (i.e. Old French, Old Spanish etc.).

We present a novel synchronic study of resultative secondary predication constructions in Old and early Middle French (OF : 12th-15th centuries).

Main Claim 1 : French Innovation !

▶ The OF period saw the emergence of new ResP structures that did not exist in Latin.

Consequence : The development of the Modern French ResP system should be characterized as passing through three distinct grammatical stages :

(11)   Latin $\rightarrow$ Old French $\rightarrow$ Middle French/Modern French

Theoretical Question

Do the construction and interpretation of adjectival and prepositional resultatives involve the same grammatical elements (parameter-setting, functional items, composition rules, etc.) ?

VIEW 1 : There is a close grammatical relationship between A-ResPs and P-ResPs.

- ► Languages that allow ResPs have the ability to 'telicize' atelic manner VPs through the addition of a secondary predicate (prepositional or adjectival).

- ► A priori, co-occurrence of A/P-ResPs in a language is expected.

- ► **Traditional View :** Higginbotham [2000], Talmy [2000] Snyder [2001], Beck and Snyder [2001], Zubizaretta and Oh [2007], Gehrke [2008] (a.o.).

A/P-ResPs : Same or different ?

VIEW 2 : There is no particularly close grammatical relationship between A-ResPs and P-ResPs.

- ► A-ResPs and P-ResPs are constructed using different grammatical elements/are the product of different parametric settings.
- ► **Micro-parametric View :** Son [2009] ; Son and Svenonius [2008].

Resultatives	English	Korean	Javanese	French
ADJECTIVAL	✓	✓	×	×
PREPOSITIONAL	✓	×	✓	×

TABLE : Sample typology of ResPs

Main Claim 2 : A Common Core to A/P-ResPs

WE SHOW :

1. A-ResPs and (un-prefixed) P-ResPs emerge at about the same time from Latin to Old French.

2. A-ResPs and P-ResPs are die out at about the same time from Old French to late Middle French.

Against the micro-parametric analysis

The parallel diachronic behaviour of A-ResPs and P-ResPs is a strong argument in favour of a unified grammatical analysis.

▶ We argue that OF adjectival resultative predication cannot telicize an atelic VP (unlike OF P-ResPs).

Against the traditional analysis

The grammatical process that is common to A-ResPs and P-ResPs is result-state **modification**, not result-state creation.

Plan

Absence of productive ResPs in French

- ▶ Adjectival resultatives are impossible in Modern French.

(12)   *Jean a   martellé le métal **plat**.
        Jean has beaten   the metal **flat**

(13)   *Jean a   abattu   le voleur **mort**.
        Jean has beat down the burglar dead

   ▶ Prepositional resultatives are impossible with 'pure' manner of motion verbs.

(14)   **'Pure' MM verbs :**
        danser 'to dance', *marcher* 'to walk', *voler* 'to fly', *ramper* 'to crawl', *essuyer* 'to wipe'. . .

(15)   #L'oiseau a   volé **sur la branche**.
        The bird has flown on the branche
        NOT : 'The bird flew onto the branch.'

A counter-example ? The *courir* class

- ► French allows P-ResPs with *directed manner of motion* verbs (Kopecka [2006] (a.o.)).
    - ► See also Folli and Ramchand [2005] for Italian and Fábregas [2007] for Spanish.
- ► Bare directed MM verbs form atelic VPs, which are not necessarily directional.

(16) Jean a   couru *en 5 minutes.
      Jean has run   in 5 minutes
      'Jean ran *in 5 minutes'

(17) Jean a couru pendant 5 minutes, mais il n'est allé nulle part.
      'Jean ran for 5 minutes, but he went nowhere.'

P-ResPs in Modern French ?

- ▶ *Courir* can combine with a locative PP to create a telic directional interpretation.

(18) Jean a   couru sous le pont en 5 minutes.
      Jean has run   under the bridge in 5 minutes
      'Jean ran under the bridge in 5 minutes.'

Summary

There is a certain class of verbs that can create prepositional resultatives.

- ▶ In our investigations, this class is not very stable across French speakers, but includes at least :

(19) **'Directed' MM verbs :**
      courir 'to run' ; *sauter* 'to jump'. . . ?

Does Modern French have resultative predication ?

Our Answer

If so, it is not a productive process.

- ▶ **One idea :** The directional interpretations are pragmatically, not grammatically, constructed [Beavers et al., 2009].

- ▶ **Our idea :** P-ResPs with directed MM verbs are semi-lexicalized remnants from a previous stage of the language.

  1. **Synchronic argument :** Telic interpretations with MM verbs are highly lexically conditioned.
  2. **Diachronic argument :** P-ResPs were productive at a previous stage in the language.

Conclusion

Modern French has no **productive** resultative secondary predication.

Resultative Secondary Predication in Old French

The Old (and Middle) French data come from two principle sources :

1. The *Textes de français ancien* (TFA) database (dir. P. Kunstmann).

   - A corpus of around 3 million words, with texts predominantly from the 12-13th centuries.
   - http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/tfa

2. The corpus associated with the *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (DFM) (Laboratoire ATILF (CNRS), Nancy).

   - A corpus of around 7 million words, with texts dating from 1330-1500.
   - http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/

The quantitative studies presented today were performed using the TFA.

Prepositional Resultatives in Old French

Troberg [2011] ; **?** :

- ▶ Old and Middle French freely allow locative PPs to combine with MM verbs to create a telic directional interpretation.

VOLER 'TO FLY' :

(20) il   vole sur les rainceaulx ou sur les branches.
      he flies on the branches   or on the branches
      'he flies onto the small tree limbs or the branches.'
      (Le Menagier de Paris, c.1392-1394, 163, in DMF2009)

(21) et   [l'] acoustumez [. . .] a voler a vous sur vostre poing
      and him accustom   [. . .] to fly at you on your   fist
      'and [. . .] have it become used to flying to you onto your fist.'
      (Le Menagier de Paris, c.1392-1394, 152, in DMF2009)

Telic Directed Motion Constructions in Old French

MARCHER 'TO MARCH/WALK' :

(22) Tantost après le conte de Salbry marcha en Beaulce
soon after the count of Salsbury marched in Beauce
et print Yenville
and took Yenville
'Soon after, the count of Salsbury marched into Beauce and
took Yenville'
(Tringant, Commentaire du "Jouvencel", 276 ; 1477-1483.)

(23) le chevallier se leva [. . .], et marcha hors de son
the knight refl. raised [. . .] and walked out of his
pavillon.
tent
'The knight got up [. . .] and walked out of his tent.'
(de la Marche, *Mémoires* t.2. c.1470, 183 ; DMF2009)

Telic Directed Motion Constructions in OF

CHEVAUCHER 'TO RIDE'

(24)   que nous nos departirons de chi   dedens quatre jours,
         that we refl separate   from here in   four   days,
         et   chevaucerons en France
         and ride   in France
         'that we will leave here within four days and ride into France.'
         (Froissart, *Chroniques*, 1400, 317 ; DMF2009)

CHEMINER 'TO MAKE ONE'S WAY' :

(25)   en passant par la chambre et   cheminant   aux
         in passing by the room   and making.his.way at.the
         nopces
         wedding
         'while passing by the bedroom and making his way to the
         wedding'
         (Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, c.1456-1467, 122, in DMF2009)

P-ResPs are Unaccusative (like Italian, Dutch. . .)

- ▶ Telic directional VPs take the *être* auxiliary.

(26)   Les aeles de vertus avoit [. . .]. Donc Marie **est** volee en
        The wings of virtue had [. . .]. So   Mary **is** flown in
        haut, En la region ou   est chaut
        high, in the region where is hot
        'She had wings of virtue [. . .]. So Mary flew up into the
        region where it is hot.'
        (*Bestiaire marial, c.1333. p.181. TFA*)

- ▶ Atelic manner VPs take the *avoir* auxiliary.

(27)   Et   quant il **avoit** tant volé que toz li   monz le   tenoit a
        And when he **had** so   flown that all the world him held to
        merveille
        marvel
        'And when he had flown so much that everyone marvelled at
        him.'
        (*Queste del Saint Graal. [1225]. p.131 (TFA)*)

The Telicity-Unaccusativity Link

TELIC :

(28)   Cil   qui dedens saillirent **sont** *as portes*   couru
       the ones who in   jumped   **are** *at the doors* run
       'The ones who jumped in ran to the doors.'
       (Alexandre de Paris. [1180]. *Roman d'Alexandre*. br. 2.
       p.117.(TFA))

ATELIC :

(29)   Tant   **a** couru et porchacié.
       So much **has** run   and chased
       'He has run and chased so much.'
       (Saint-Cloud. [c.1175]. *Roman de Renart*. br.7, ligne 5835
       (TFA))

Atelic Locative Interpretation

(30)   Ne qu'on   puet **au   firmament** Sans eles voler
       nor that'one can at.the firmament   without wings fly
       'Nor can one fly in the heavens without wings'
       (Guillaume de Machaut, Les Lays, 1377, 388, in DMF2009)

(31)   et   cevauçans **en France** nuit et jour
       and riding   in France night and day
       'and riding in France day and night.'
       (Froissart, Chroniques, c.1400, 569 ; DMF2009)

(32)   un droit   dyable A veoir courir **par leens**
       a straight devil to see run   in there
       'a real devil to see running in these parts'
       (Pizan, Mutacion de Fortune, 1400-1403, t.1, 71 ; DMF2009)

Verb-Particle Constructions

- ▶ Buridant [2000], Dufresne et al. [2003], Burnett and Tremblay [2009] : Old French allows directional *verb-particle constructions*.

- ▶ VPCs must have occurred early on in the development of Modern Romance, as a number of other languages show evidence of similar elements (see Mateu and Rigau [2010]).

(33) le mers reportoit le nef **ariere**
      the sea re.bring the ship back
      'the sea pushed the ship back'
      (Clari, p.74, in Dufresne et al. [2003])

(34) et le reversa **jus** a terre.
      And him re.spill down at ground
      'and he dumped him down to the ground.'
      (Froissart, Chron. D., 1400, 387, in DMF2009)

(35) Et toutevoies recort il **sus** au serpent
      and however re.run him up at.the snake
      'However, he pursues the snake again'
      (Qgraal, p.94, in Burnett and Tremblay [2009])

Summary

- Old and Middle French allow the same wide range of P-ResPs as English.

RESULTATIVES	ENGLISH	OLD FRENCH	MOD. FRENCH
ADJECTIVAL	✓		×
PREPOSITIONAL	✓	✓	×

TABLE : Variation in P-ResPs

Adjectival Resultatives in OF

(36) Et le despoillirent tout **nuz**.
And him plucked all **naked**
'And they plucked him completely naked.' (*La Passion d'Autun*, 106 ;
(DMF2009)) **dépouiller nu**

(37) Que tricherie abat jus **plate**.
that treachery beats down **flat**
'...that treachery beats down flat.'
(Pizan. [1400]. *Livre de la mutacion* (DMF2009).) **abatre plat**

(38) Li rois se taisi tout **quois**.
The king self quieted all quiet
'The king quieted himself quiet.'
(Froissart, 846.18593 ; (MCVF)) **taire coi**

(39) tute **quarree** la fendi.
all square it cut
'He cut it completely square.'
(Marie de France. [1160-70]. *Lais*. p.183 (TFA)) **fendre carré**

A-ResPs are not only fixed expressions

- ▶ A-ResPs can be built from many different verbs.

(40) Que mort l'a **abatu** et **craventé**.
That dead him has beat down and crushed
'That he had beat him down and crushed him dead'
(Anon. [1210 (?)], *Aiol.* p.39 (TFA))   **abatre**, **cravanter**

(41) Et le prïeus nous avés mort **jeté**.
And the priest us have dead thrown
'And the priest threw us dead.'
(Anon. [1180], *Moniage Guillaume.* p.135. (TFA))   **geter**

(42) Deus le guarit, que mort ne l' **acraventet**.
(*Chanson de Roland*,285.3930 (MCVF))   **acravanter**

(43) u il ainceis l' ot mort **rué**.
(Anon. [1125], *Gormont et Isembart*. p.34)   **ruer**

(44) Jus a ses piez si l' ad **tresturnet** mort.
(*Chanson de Roland*,170.2313, (MCVF))   **trestourner**

Productivity of A-ResPs

(45)   Toute plaine sa lanche **mort** l'abati.
       All   full   his lance dead him beat down
       'With his full lance, he beat him down dead.'
       (Anon. [1210], *Aiol.* p.91)   **mort**

(46)   Et tout **plat** a terre l'abatent
       And all flat at ground beat him
       'And they beat him completely flat to the ground'
       (de Boron [1199], *Roman de l' Estoire dou Graal* p.25 (TFA))   **plat**

(47)   Enmi l'encloistre l'abati tout **pasmé**.
       in my the cloister him beat all senseless
       'He beat him down completely senseless in my cloister.'
       (Anon. [1150], *Moniage Guillaume.* p.33 (TFA))   **pasmé**

(48)   Tout **estendu** l'abatent
       all extended him beat
       'They beat him down completely extended.'
       (Anon. [1210]. *Aiol.* p.202 (TFA))   **estendu**

Summary

Old and Middle French have a wide range of productive resultative constructions.

- OF has (non-prefixal) P-ResPs (goal of motion and verb-particle constructions)
- OF has A-ResPs.

Conclusion

Old French looks a lot like Modern English !

Or does it ?

WE ARGUE :

- Adjectival resultative predication in OF has different properties than the corresponding process in English.

(49) EMPIRICAL GENERALIATION :
      Old French allows only adjectival resultatives formed
      from a telic VP base.

In other words. . .

Old French only allows (what Washio [1997] calls) **weak**
A-ResPs.

Strong vs Weak A-ResPs

TYPOLOGICAL PROPOSAL :

▶ Languages can vary depending on whether they allow aspect-changing secondary predication.

English allows both aspect-changing and non-aspect-changing secondary predication.

▶ English is a **strong** A-ResP language.

(50)   *John beat the metal *in an hour*.   (atelic VP base)
       *The tractor dragged the logs *in an hour*.   (atelic VP base)
       Mary shot the thief *in 2 seconds.*   (telic VP base)

(51)   John beat the metal **flat** (*in an hour*).
       The tractor dragged the logs **smooth** (*in an hour*).
       Mary shot the thief **dead** (*in 2 seconds*).

Weak A-ResPs in Japanese

Washio [1997] : Japanese allows only a subset of the A-ResPs that English allows.

- ► Japanese is a **weak** resultative language.
- ► **(Our proposal :) Japanese allows only A-ResPs built from a VP base that has (at least) a telic interpretation/construal.**

TELIC CONSTRUAL :

(52)　　John-ga　　yuka-o　　hai-ta　　　　30 pun-de.
　　　　John-NOM floor-ACC sweep-PAST 30 minutes-in
　　　　'John swept the floor in 30 minutes.'

(53)　　John-ga　　yuka-o　　**kirei-ni** hai-ta　　　30 pun-de.
　　　　John-NOM floor-ACC **clean**　 sweep-PAST 30 minutes-in
　　　　'John swept the floor clean in 30 minutes.'

Resultative Predication in Japanese

NO TELIC CONSTRUAL :

(54)　　John-ga　　kinzoku-o　tatai-ta　　30 pun-kan/*30　　pun-de.
　　　　John-NOM　metal-ACC　beat-PAST　30 minutes-for/*30 minutes-in
　　　　'John beat the metal for 30 minutes/*in 30 minutes.'

(55)　*John-ga　　kinzoku-o　**taira-ni**　tatai-ta.
　　　　John-NOM　metal-ACC　**flat**　　beat-PAST

- ▶ Washio [1997] : 'Intransitive' A-ResPs are impossible in Japanese.

(56)　*karera-wa kutu-no　　soko-o　　**borboro-ni** hasit-ta.
　　　 they-TOP　shoe-GEN　sole-ACC　**threadbare** run-PAST
　　　 Intended : 'They ran the soles of their shoes threadbare.'

(57)　*boku-wa zibun-o　　**kutakuta-ni** odot-ta.
　　　 I-TOP　　self-ACC　　**tired**　　　dance-PAST
　　　 Intended : 'I danced myself tired.'

Empirical Proposal :

In this area of the grammar, Old French is more similar to Japanese than to English.

Weak Resultative Predication in OF

- ▶ We find minimal paris of telic/atelic verbs, where only the telic ones can form A-ResPs.

VPs with *batre* are generally atelic.

(58)   Tant   feru et **batu** l'avoient/que ja li   avoient del   dos/
           So much hit   and beat   him have/that ja had from the back/ the
           la   char ronpue jusqu' as   os ;
           flesh ripped until   at the bone
           'They hit and beat him so much that they ripped off the flesh from his
           back until the bone.'
           (C. de Troyes [1170], Erec et Enide. p.133 (TFA))

VPs with *abatre* have only a telic interpretation.

(59)   Il   l'   ont   feru par tel   vertu que du   cheval l'   ont
           They him have hit   by   such force that from that horse   him have
           abatu,
           beat down
           'They hit him with such force that they beat him down from the
           horse.'
           (Anon. [1150], Roman de Thèbes, p.51 (TFA))

A- prefixation as telicization

Martin [2001], Dufresne et al. [2001], Kopecka [2009] (a.o.) :

- The Old French prefix *a*- combines with (a)telic VPs to create telic VPs.

(60)   (a)baisser 'lower /lower down' ; (a)batter 'hit/hit down' ;
       (a)penser 'think/realize' ; (a)couvrir 'cover/cover up' ;
       (a)dévancer 'be in front/arrive before' ; (ad)emplir 'fill/fill up',
       (a)genouiller 'kneel/kneel down' ; (a)porter 'carry/bring' ;
       (ad)joindre 'join/join up' ; (a)mériter 'earn/completely earn' ;
       (a)mesurer 'measure/rate' ;
       (a)miner 'ruin/ruin completely' ;
       (a)paroistre 'seem/ appear suddenly' ;
       (a)passer 'pass/cross from one side to the other' ;
       (a)pondre 'place/place down' ; (a)poursuivre 'chase/chase down' ;
       (as)sasier 'appease/completely satisfy' ;
       (a)viser 'look/recognize, identify'

A- as a telicizer

(A)PENSER 'THINK/REALIZE' :

(61)   car il **pensoit** bien que aucuns de l'ostel   le roi
         For he think.imp well that someone from the-house the king
         le   sivroit.
         him follow.imp
         'for he suspected that someone from the king's residence
         was following him.'
         (Artu, 11, in Dufresne et al. 2001)

(62)   Mais quant il ouy   la freinte, il **appensa** tantost
         but   when il heard the noise, he a.think   immediately
         que Glaudes retournoit,
         that Glaudes return.imp
         'But when he heard the noise, he immediately realized that
         Glaudes was coming back,'
         (Arras, 20, in DMF2009)

A- as a telicizer

(A) BATRE 'BEAT/BEAT DOWN':

(63)   Tant   feru et **batu** l'avoient/que ja li   avoient del
    So much hit   and beat him have/that ja had from the back/
    dos/ la   char ronpue jusqu' as   os ;
    the flesh ripped until   at the bone
    'They hit and beat him so much that they ripped off the flesh
    from his back until the bone.'
    (C. de Troyes [1170], Erec et Enide. p.133 (TFA))

(64)   Il   l'   ont feru par tel   vertu que du   cheval l'
    They him have hit by such force that from that horse him
    ont **abatu**,
    have beat down
    'They hit him with such force that they beat him down from
    the horse.'
    (Anon. [1150], Roman de Thèbes, p.51 (TFA))

A-ResPs with *abatre* vs *batre*

- We find a significant number of A-ResPs formed from the telic VP.
- We find no A-ResPs formed with the atelic VP.

	OCCURRENCES	A-RESPS
ABATRE	532	45
BATRE	320	0

TABLE : Occurrences of *(a)batre* in the TFA corpus

- ▸ We carefully selected two series of verbs that had very similar meanings, yet differed with respect to the availability of telic interpretations.

(65)   ATELIC VERBS :
       batre 'to beat'
       bouter 'to beat'
       heurter 'to bang/knock'
       trainer 'to drag'

(66)   TELIC VERBS :
       abatre 'to beat down'
       geter 'to throw'
       ruer 'to throw'

Results : Only Weak A-ResPs

- While we find A-ResPs formed from verbs that give rise to telic VPs, we find no occurrences of A-ResPs with VPs that are (always or mostly) interpreted as atelic.

TELICITY	VERB	OCCURRENCES	RESULTATIVES
TELIC	Abatre	532	45
	Geter	887	29
	Ruer	87	5
ATELIC	Batre	320	0
	Bouter	353	0
	Heurter	181	0
	Trainer	66	0

TABLE : Distribution of Adjectival Resultatives

Summary

- Old and Middle French allow productive P-ResPs.
  - Secondary predication with locative PPs can add a culmination to an atelic VP.
- Old and Middle French allow weak A-ResPs.
  - Secondary predication with adjective phrases cannot add a culmination to an atelic VP.

RESULTATIVES	ENGLISH	OLD FRENCH	MOD. FRENCH
ADJECTIVAL			
Strong	✓	×	×
Weak	✓	✓	×
PREPOSITIONAL	✓	✓	×

TABLE : Variation in P-ResPs

ResPs in Latin (Acedo-Matellán [2010])

▶ In Acedo-Matellán [2010]'s corpus study, P-ResPs with bare (i.e. unprefixed) manner of motion verbs are very rare and are generally limited to the 'directed' MM verbs *curro* 'run' and *salio* 'jump'.

(67) Non statim ad C.   Aquilium [. . .] **cucurrisses** ?
      not at once at C.Aquilius.ACC [. . .]   run.PRF
      'Wouldn't you have run up to C. Aquilius at once ?'
      Cic. Quinct. 53 ; cited in Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.188)

(68) E terra=que   ex-orta repente arbusta   **salirent**.
      out earth.ABL=and out-rise suddenly bush(N)NOM.PL leap
      'And branching trees would suddenly leap out of the turf.'
      Lucr. 1, 184 ; cited in Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.188)

Contrast between Latin and OF

Old French allows productive bare P-ResPs ; Latin does not.

Prefixed P-ResPs in Latin

- ▶ Locative P-elements can appear as prefixes to form goal of motion constructions.

(69)   Qui   ubi   **ad-**equitavit portis.
       Who.NOM as soon as **at**ride   doors.DAT
       'This one, as soon as he had ridden up to the gates...'
       Liv. 22, 42, 5 ; cited from Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.189)

(70)   Inspectum   vulnus   **abs-**terso   cruore.
       examine.PTCP. wound(N)NOM.SG **away**-wipe. blood
       'That the wound had been examined after wiping the blood off.'
       Liv. 1, 41, 5 ; cited from Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.97)

(71)   Repente ex equis   **de**-siliunt
       Suddenly out horses **down**-jumped
       'Suddenly they lept down from their horses'
       Liv. 22, 48, 2 ; cited from Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.189)

On the locative status of prefixes

- ▶ When spatial prefixes appear with stative verbs, they have a locative meaning.

(72)   Argentum **de**-erat.
silver.NOM **away**-was
'Money was lacking.'
Ter. Phorm. 298 ; cited in Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.98)

(73)   Senex   **ab**-est.
old man **away**-is
'The old man is missing.'
Plaut. Cas. 882 ; cited in Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.98)

On the locative status of prefixes

- ▶ The P-elements that appear as prefixes also appear as locative prepositions.

(74) quorum saepe et diu **ad** pedes iacuit stratus
      whose often and long time **at** feet lay spread out
      'At whose feet he often lay at that for a long time.'
      Cic. Quinct. 96 ; cited from Luraghi [2010] (p.6)

(75) quia **ab** tergo erant clivi,
      because ab back were hills
      'because behind them were hills'
      Liv. 2,65,2 ; cited from Luraghi [2010] (p.7)

Summary

- Latin allows P-ResPs... only if the locative element appears as a prefix.

RESULTATIVES	LATIN	OLD FRENCH	MOD. FRENCH
ADJECTIVAL			
Strong		×	×
Weak		✓	×
PREPOSITIONAL	✓*	✓	×

TABLE : Diachronic Variation in P-ResPs

Absence of A-ResPs in Latin

- ▶ Acedo-Matellán [2010]'s corpus study revealed no occurrences of A-ResPs (strong or weak).

(76)   *Ovidia poculum vacuum bibit.
        Ovidia.NOM golet.acc empty.acc drink
        Intended : 'Ovidia drank the goblet empty.'
        (Made up ungrammatical example from
        Acedo-Matellán [2010] (p.180))

- ▶ A-ResPs are not rare in Old and Middle French.
- ▶ Our study supports Acedo-Matellán's negative conclusion for adjectival resultative predication in Latin.

The Rise and Fall of Resultative Predication

- ▶ The evolution of the French language saw three distinct systems of resultatives.

RESULTATIVES	LATIN	OLD FRENCH	MOD. FRENCH
ADJECTIVAL			
Strong	$\times$	$\times$	$\times$
Weak	$\times$	$\checkmark$	$\times$
PREPOSITIONAL	$\checkmark^*$	$\checkmark$	$\times$

TABLE : Diachronic Variation in P-ResPs

Consequence

The evolution of ResPs should not be analyzed as a 'drift' from Latin till Modern French.

Conclusion

- ▶ We traced the evolution of resultative secondary predication constructions from Latin to Modern French.
  - ▶ We presented new data on ResPs in Old and Middle French.

RESULTATIVES	LATIN	OLD FRENCH	MOD. FRENCH
ADJECTIVAL			
Strong	×	×	×
Weak	×	✓	×
PREPOSITIONAL	✓*	✓	×

TABLE : Diachronic Variation in P-ResPs

Descriptive Conclusion

The evolution of the Modern French should not be thought of as a slow drift from the Latin system to the MF system.

Conclusion

- ▶ Unprefixed P-ResPs and weak A-ResPs appear and disappear at (roughly) the same time in the language (-to be further investigated).
- ▶ This suggests that adjectival and prepositional resultatives share a common grammatical component.

However :

- ▶ Old French adjectival secondary predication is not aspect-changing.

Theoretical Conclusion

The common grammatical core to A-ResPs and P-ResPs is that of result-state modification, not culmination creation.

Thank you !

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