

Resultative Markedness and Implicational Hierarchies

(Category: Oral)

This paper examines resultatives in nine languages—English, French, German, Igbo, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, Romanian and Swedish—and discusses several aspects of resultatives in terms of markedness and implicational hierarchies.

First, from a typological point of view, weak resultatives ((1a)) are unmarked and strong resultatives ((1b)) are marked.

- (1) a. He wiped the table clean.
b. The jockeys raced the horses sweaty.

This is because the former are lexically implicated or entailed, and thus are more available and less expensive than the latter in the sense that they involve less practical reasoning. In addition, in terms of the strong-weak distinction, an implicational universal can be posited, namely that if a language has strong resultatives, it must have weak resultatives as well (Washio 1999, 2002).

Second, from a crosslinguistic point of view, the subject-oriented reading (of resultatives which involve an unergative or transitive causing predicate) (see (2)), the *scare* reading ((3)), and the surface unaccusative frame ((4)) found with Mandarin resultatives are all marked.

- (2) Zhangsan xi-lei-le yifu.
Zhangsan wash-tried-PERF clothes
'Zhangsan washed clothes and as a result he got tired.'
- (3) Na-bao yifu xi-lei-le Zhangsan.
that-CL clothes wash-tired-PERF Zhangsan
'Zhangsan washed that bundle of clothes and the clothes got Zhangsan tired.'
- (4) Zhuozi ca-ganjing-le.
table wipe-clean-PERF
Literally: 'The table wiped clean.' → 'The table was wiped clean.'

I propose that for resultatives in a certain language to have the subject-oriented reading (when the causing predicate is unergative or transitive) or the *scare* reading, or to appear in the surface unaccusative frame, they must, first of all, be realized as compounds. When the compound condition is met, the difference among different languages can be attributed to the headedness of the compound and to the degree of topic prominence of these languages.

Finally, the fact that Mandarin resultatives allow a stative causing predicate, as shown in (5), is also crosslinguistically marked.

- (5) Zhangsan lei-bing-le.
Zhangsan tired-sick-PERF
'As a result of Zhangsan's being tired, he became sick.'

I propose that for non-compound resultatives in a language to allow a stative causing predicate, the state must be able to be expressed by an element that, when used alone, can function as the main predicate of a sentence. With respect to the causing predicate of resultatives, an implicational universal can also be formulated. That is, if a language has resultatives which have a stative causing predicate, then the language must also allow resultatives which have a causing predicate that is an activity or an accomplishment verb. The reason for this lies in the fact that it is normal to have a result caused by an action, but unusual to have a result caused by a state.