

## Chapter 1

# Old Spanish resultatives as low depictives

Víctor Acedo-Matellán

University of Oxford

Josep Ausensi

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Josep M. Fontana

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Cristina Real-Puigdollers

Universitat Pompeu Fabra

In this paper, we propose an analysis of a construction found in Old Spanish corpora that can at first sight be identified with an adjectival resultative construction (cf. *John shot him dead*), e.g., *lo abatió a tierra muerto*, lit. ‘they knocked him down dead’. The alleged existence of adjectival resultative constructions in Old Romance varieties is puzzling, since they are absent in earlier varieties (Latin) or Modern Romance varieties. We provide evidence that these constructions are not true adjectival resultative constructions. Our main claim is that these constructions are a type of low depictive attached to the resultative layer within the VP, adopting the framework of transitions developed in [Acedo-Matellán \(2016\)](#), and a modified version of the theory of depictives, as put forth in [Pylkkänen \(2008\)](#). In doing so, we offer an analysis of a type of construction that appears in old varieties of Spanish and disappears later on. All in all, the distribution of the constructions studied here depends on a different set of conditions, crucially not related to the satellite/verb-framed parameter. In addition, this study contributes to the understanding of secondary predication from a diachronic perspective.

## 1 Introduction

We analyze a particular type of construction found in Old Spanish (OSp) that bears a striking resemblance to the type of adjectival resultative constructions typically found in English (i.e., *John shot him dead*). These data, illustrated in (1), are especially interesting and empirically relevant for current debates since, as is well-known, contemporary Romance languages are pure verb-framed languages, thus disallowing this type of adjectival resultatives.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. Et lo           firió           de vna lança por el uentre en tal  
and ACC.M.3SG hit.PFV.3SG of a lance on the belly in such  
manera lo           derroco           muerto           del cauallo.  
way ACC.M.3SG removepfv.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG of.the horse  
Lit. ‘And the blow of his lance on his belly was such that he knocked  
him dead off the horse.’ (Anonymous, *Historia Troyana*, 1370; SM)
- b. Non la           despoje           desnuda           e la  
No ACC.F.3SG strip.SBJV.PRS.3SG undress.PTCP.F.SG and ACC.F.3SG  
dexe           como el día en que nasçio.  
leave.SBJV.3SG like the day in that born.PFV.3SG  
‘May he not strip her naked and leave her like the day she was born.’  
(Anonymous, *Biblia romanceada*, 1350; SM)

Building on Acedo-Matellán’s (2010; 2016) reappraisal of Talmy’s (1991; 2000) typological classification, we distinguish two main classes of languages depending on how they express the change of location/state subevent that we label as Path (following Acedo-Matellán 2010; 2016; Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2013): satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. In satellite-framed languages, Path can receive exponence through a non-verbal element (2-a), while in verb-framed ones, Path is obligatorily expressed through the verb (2-b).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The data used in this study come from several on-line historical corpora: Sánchez-Marco et al. (2010) (hereafter, SM), *Corpus del Español* (Davies 2002) (hereafter, CES) and *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (Real Academia Española n.d.) (hereafter, CORDE). All the source texts are from the 12th, 13th, 14th or 15th centuries. Initially, searches were restricted to cognates of the Old French verbs and adjectives discussed in Troberg & Burnett (2014) and were later extended to similar verbs/adjectives native to Ibero-Romance such as *derribar* or *derrocar* ‘knock down’. The dataset can be downloaded at: zenodo.org (include here doi).

<sup>2</sup>A reviewer notes that this claim is stronger than what Talmy proposed in his typology (Talmy 2000), in which lexicalization patterns were conceived as tendencies. Even though we know that this is the case in classical Talmy’s typology, we follow Acedo-Matellán’s (2016) reappraisal, where he notes that there is an asymmetry between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages such that the former allow both satellite-framed and verb-framed structures (e.g.,

- (2) a. The boat floated into the cave. (English)  
 b. La botella entró en la cueva flotando. (Spanish)  
 The bottle enter.PFV.3SG in the cave floating  
 ‘The bottle got into the cave floating.’

It is important to note in the context of this discussion that neither strong adjectival resultatives nor so-called weak adjectival resultatives (Washio 1997) (cf. *The joggers ran the pavement thin* and *John froze the soup solid*, respectively) are found in weak satellite-framed languages with adjectival agreement. Latin, the immediate ancestor of Old Romance languages, was no exception (Acedo-Matellán 2010; 2016). Adjectival resultatives are, of course, also notably absent in pure verb framed languages such as Spanish or the rest of contemporary Romance varieties (cf. Spanish: \**Juan fregó la mesa brillante* ‘Juan wiped the table shiny’ (OK with reading “Juan wiped the shiny table”), with the exception of the specific type of construction which will be briefly discussed in Section 3 (e.g., *fregar la mesa bien fregada* lit. ‘wipe the table well wiped’; Armstrong 2012; Espinal & Mateu 2018). The alleged existence of adjectival resultative constructions in Old Romance is, thus, rather puzzling since, if these varieties had true adjectival resultatives, they would be displaying a type of construction which is one of the hallmarks of strong satellite-framed languages (e.g., English). Assuming that Romance languages can be placed at an intermediate point of a gradual typological change from a weak satellite-framed type of language to a verb-framed type, with mixed stages in between, the manifestation of these phenomena is rather unexpected, to say the least.

The main claim of this paper is to argue that the types of constructions illustrated by the examples in (1) were not true resultative constructions in the relevant sense but rather instances of a type of depictive secondary predication which was available in Old Romance and subsequently disappeared in the transition to contemporary Romance languages. We adopt a modified version of the Complex Predicate analysis of depictives put forth in Pylkkänen (2008) and propose that these idiosyncratic depictive predicates are introduced by a specific

---

verbs that encode path in English like *exit, enter*), while the latter only allow verb-framed structures. The reviewer also notes that there are some alleged counterexamples to our claim such as Sp. *Volar al nido* ‘he/she flew to the nest’, in which a manner of motion verb apparently licenses a directional PP. However, we think that these cases do not involve a manner verb combined with a directional satellite. In fact, the examples that we find in Spanish (and other Romance languages) always involve a verb that can be classified in a group of manner verbs that also encode “forward motion” like jump, run or fly (Nichols 2008, suggesting that the path component is still encoded in the verb, not in the preposition.



encoded by the verb.<sup>3</sup> Thus, whereas *derribar* or *derrocar* ‘knock-down’ encode a change along a location scale (i.e., a change of location), *muerto* ‘dead’ in the previous example or *tollido* ‘crippled’ in the example below denote changes along property scales (Beavers 2011), namely a change of state.

- (4) tollidos                    los                    derribó                    de los cavallos en el  
crippled.PTCP.M.PL ACC.M.3PL knock-down.PFV.3SG of the horses    in the  
campo.  
field  
Lit. ‘He knocked them down crippled off the horses in the field.’ (Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula* [Books I and II], 1482-1492; CORDE)

Third, the adjectives typically appearing in these constructions clearly display participial properties (see Bosque 1990) and they can be found in the corpus as part of passive constructions.

- (5) a. Fueron    muertos            por su hermano de Asdrubal.  
be.PFV.3PL die.PTCP.M.PL by his brother of Asdrubal  
Lit. ‘They were dead by his brother Asdrubal.’ (Fernández de Heredia, *Breviarium ab urbe condita*, 1377; SM)
- b. Fue            desnuda                    y mal herida            con  
be.PFV.3SG undress.PTCP.F.SG and badly hurt.PTCP.F.SG with  
escorpiones.  
scorpions  
Lit. ‘She was stripped naked and badly hurt with scorpions.’ (Bernardo de Breidenbach; Martín Martínez de Ampíes tr., *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam; Viaje siquier peregrinación de la tierra*, 1498; CES)

Participles such as those appearing in (5), i.e., *muerto*, *desnuda* or *herida*, are a representative selection of the different participles that can also appear in the kind of construction we are examining. Evidence for their passive/eventive interpretation comes from the type and form of the auxiliaries involved and by the fact that they appear with agentive or causative modifiers, i.e., *por su hermano de Asdrubal*

<sup>3</sup>Washio (1997) originally proposed to differentiate between weak and strong resultatives. In contrast with strong resultatives, where the verb does not encode any result state, in weak resultative constructions the main verb encodes a result state and the result phrase simply provides further specification about it (e.g., *freeze something solid*). It is important to note in the context of this discussion that modern Spanish does not exhibit the type of constructions that are typically considered weak resultatives. Thus, the Spanish equivalents of *I froze the ice cream solid/hard*, *I wiped the table dry* or *He sharpened the pencil pointy* are out.

‘by Asdrubal’s brother’ in (5-a) and *con escorpiones* ‘with scorpions’ in (5-b). According to Anagnostopolou (2003), participles can be divided into two different basic types depending on their complexity: lexical participles and phrasal participles. The former do not allow manner adverbial modifiers and cannot appear in passives, while the latter can. Examples (5) and (6), involving adverbial modification of the secondary predicate, show that these adjectives exhibit the properties of the latter type of participles.

- (6) a. mi primo, me ha vengado, que amos los cavalleros  
my cousin ACC.1SG has avenge.PTCP that both the knights  
derribó malamente feridos.  
knock-down.PFV.3SG badly injure.PTCP.M.PL  
Lit. ‘My cousin has avenged me as he has knocked down both knights  
badly injured.’ (Anonymous, *Tristán de Leonís*, 1501; CORDE)
- b. los derriba mortalmente feridos.  
ACC.M.3PL knock-down.PRS.3SG deadly hurt.PTCP.M.3PL  
Lit. ‘He knocks them down deadly injured.’ (Anonymous, *Crónica Troyana* [BNM I733], 1490; CORDE)

If Embick (2004) is correct in assuming that participles denoting a resultative event cannot appear in true resultative secondary predication (cf. *kick the door open* vs. *\*kick the door opened*), the data we are examining strongly suggest that we are dealing with a significantly different type of construction.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, another significant way in which the Old Romance construction we are examining clearly differs from canonical resultatives is that it clearly violates the well known general restriction against the simultaneous expression of more than one result state in a single clause (Goldberg 1991; Tenny 1994; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995; Tortora 1998; Rappaport Hovav 2008; Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2017; Ausensi 2019; To appear(a),(b)). This is illustrated by the contrast between

---

<sup>4</sup>An anonymous reviewer questions that the OSp constructions at stake are so distinct from the weak resultatives in Japanese analyzed in Washio (1997). The OSp constructions differ substantially from both strong and weak resultatives (see also fn. 3). In strong resultatives, the main verb encodes an action that brings about the result state denoted by the result phrase. In the OSp constructions, the verb does not encode any action, but a change of location. More importantly, though, in weak resultatives, at least according to the ones in Japanese by Washio, the verb needs to encode a result state and the result phrase simply further specifies the state the verb encodes (e.g., *paint something blue*). In the OSp constructions, the main verb generally describes a change along a path, whereas the result phrases denote a change of state. Thus, in this respect, they substantially differ from weak resultatives (as well as from strong resultatives) insofar as the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the result phrase is completely independent of each other (cf. Washio 1997).

the examples above and the acceptability of their English translations below.

- (7) a. #The knight knocked him down dead to the ground.  
 b. #The knight knocked them down crippled to the ground.  
 c. #The queen knocked them down badly hurt to the ground.

In spite of the significant differences between the Old Romance constructions and canonical resultatives (weak or strong), there are admittedly also some rather striking similarities between them with respect to their interpretation. Even though the verbs in the OSp examples we have examined so far ostensibly encode a change of location, as the following example further illustrates, the contexts in which they are typically used strongly imply some sort of contact (e.g., a fight between two knights where one hits the other one and knocks him from the horse by hitting him with a lance) (see also Burnett & Troberg 2014 for Old French). Most significantly, the types of result phrases that are most frequent in these constructions are also restricted to a scale describing a change of state that is likely to result from the physical contact implied by the main verbs (e.g., *muerto* ‘dead’, *herido* ‘hurt’ or *tullido* ‘crippled’).

- (8) E tan gran ferida con su lança le dio, que lo  
 and such big blow with his lance DAT.3SG give.PFV.3SG that ACC.M.3SG  
 derribó medio muerto.  
 knock-down.PFV.3SG half die.PTCP.M.SG  
 Lit. ‘He hit him so hard with his lance that he knocked him down half dead.’  
 (Pedro de Escavias, *Repertorio de príncipes de España*, 1467-1475; CORDE)

Before proceeding any further, an important caveat is in order. While it is true that the contexts in which *derribar* ‘knock down’ is usually found imply contact, this does not mean that *derribar* or *derrocar* (or most of the other verbs typically found in this type of construction) lexically entail contact. In other words, what is crucial here is that occurrence of a contact event is pragmatically inferred, rather than lexically entailed by the main predicate. In terms of lexical entailments, then, *derribar* only denotes a caused change of location, even if in the context of medieval warfare the pragmatic inference of some contact being involved is strong. It is uncontroversial, thus, that despite the significant differences we have described with respect to their syntactic properties there are striking similarities in the semantic interpretation of the resultative-like Old Romance constructions and that of resultatives involving contact/impact predicates in satellite-framed languages like English (cf. Boas 2003, Beavers 2011).

It is important to note at this point that there are also some apparent outliers to the patterns we are describing. Thus, in the texts of the same period we also find some instances of change of color resultatives (e.g., *teñir* ‘dye’).

- (9) E preguntaron le por vn omne que tiñia su cabello  
and ask.PFV.3PL DAT.3SG for a man that dye.IPFV.3SG his hair  
negro & por que lo fazia E dixo porque no  
black and for that ACC.M.3SG do.IPFV.3SG and say.PFV.3SG because no  
le demanden sabiduria de los viejos.  
DAT.3SG ask.IPFV.3PL wisdom of the old.M.PL  
‘And they asked him why that man dyed his hair black and he answered  
that this was because this man didn’t want others to expect from him the  
wisdom old people are supposed to have.’ (Anonymous, *Bocados de oro*,  
1250; SM)

We will leave out the analysis of the case of *teñir* ‘dye’, since it has different properties (it features an adjective of color), it is not widely attested (only one case in the corpora consulted), and we can find examples of this type of resultative in Modern Romance, accepted by some speakers.<sup>5</sup>

- (10) ¡Pinta blanca la pared! (Modern Spanish)  
Paint white.F.SG the wall  
‘Paint the wall white!’

The most intriguing group of apparent outliers, however, is that made up of several examples involving the verbs *batir* and *ferir*, meaning ‘to beat’ or ‘to strike’, (five and one instances, respectively, in the texts we examined) and a participle/adjective encoding what seems to be a resulting state.

- (11) a. e diol tan gran ferida, quel  
and give.PFV.3SG=DAT.3SG so great blow that=ACC.M.3SG  
*batio* *muerto* del cauallo a tierra.  
knock.PFV.3SG dead.PTCP.M.SG from.the horse to ground  
‘And he hit him so hard that he knocked him off his horse and he  
wound up dead on the ground.’ (Anonymous, *Historia troyana en  
prosa y verso*, c. 1270; CORDE)
- b. e diol Eneas tan gran lançada, que  
and give.PFV.3SG=DAT.3SG Aeneas so great spear-blow that

---

<sup>5</sup>See Lawers et al. (2019) for a detailed analysis of color resultatives in French.



- lo            *batio*            *muerto*            del            cauallo a tierra.  
 ACC.M.3SG knock.PFV.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG from-the horse to ground  
 ‘And Aeneas struck him so hard with his lance that he knocked him  
 off his horse and he wound up dead on the ground.’ (Anonymous,  
*Historia troyana en prosa y verso*, c. 1270; CORDE)
- c. Et dieron al rey en el scudo dos pedraras et  
 And gave.3PL to-the king on the shield two stone-blows and  
 otra en el arçon et en las ancas de su cauallo et  
 another on the saddletree and on the haunches of his horse and  
 firieron muertos de los que eran con el  
 struck dead of the who were with him  
 ‘And they hit the king’s shield with two stones and with another  
 one they hit the saddletree and the haunches of his horse. They also  
 struck dead some of the people that were with him.’ (Juan Fernán-  
 dez de Heredia, *Gran crónica de España*, III [BNM, ms. 10134], 1376;  
 CORDE)
- d. lo            *batio*            *nenjo a labieno muerto*            en  
 ACC.M.3SG beat.PFV.3SG Nenius DOM Labienus die.PTCP.M.SG in  
 tierra.  
 ground.  
 ‘Nenius knocked Labienus down dead on the ground.’ (Alfonso X,  
*General Estoria* [Part V], 1284; CORDE)

Of all the examples in our corpus, these are the only ones for which there does not appear to be a straightforward argument not to consider them instances of strong adjectival resultatives of the English *shoot dead* type. As illustrated by the following examples, these are verbs that are etymologically related to unbounded predicates (i.e., activities and semelfactives) which, in most medieval texts, would be translation equivalents of English verbs such as ‘beat’, ‘hit’, ‘knock’, or ‘strike’.

- (12) a. *Batién*            los cavallos con los espolones.  
 beat.IPFV.3PL the horses with the spurs  
 ‘They spurred their horses forward.’ (Anonymous, *Mio Cid*, c. 1140;  
 CORDE)
- b. Olio de olivas sacado d’ellas *batiéndolas* con palo.  
 oil of olives taken.out from=them beating=ACC.F.3PL with stick  
 ‘Olive oil taken out of olives after beating them with a stick.’ (Alfonso  
 X, *General Estoria* [Part I], FOL. 204v, c. 1275; CORDE)

- c. firio el cauallo de las espuelas & va contra tristan  
 struck the horse with the spurs and went against tristan  
 ‘He spurred his horse forward and rode against Tristan.’ (Anonymous, *Cuento de don Tristán de Leonís*, c. 1313; CORDE)

We argue, however, that the examples in (11) should not lead us to propose that they have been generated by a satellite-framed grammar, as that of English. The first observation to be made is that all of them but one (11-d) come from the same work, the *Historia troyana en prosa y verso* (also known as *Historia troyana polimétrica*, cf. Larrea Velasco’s 2012 edition), an anonymous translation of the French XII c. epic poem *Roman de Troie*, by Benoît de Sainte-More. Funnily enough, a thorough search of *Le Roman de Troie* (in Joly’s 1871 edition) does not reveal any single example of a resultative construction (adjectival or not) with *batir*’s French cognate *battre*. Instead, all the adjectival resultative constructions found involve the prefixed counterpart *abattre* ‘beat, knock down’, combined with either *mort* ‘dead’ (in all cases except one) and *plat* ‘flat, spread’ (one case) (see also Section 3).

- (13) a. Anceis auront M. chevaliers Abatuz  
 before will.have.3PL thousand knights beaten.down.M.PL  
*morz* de lor destriers.  
 die.PTCP.M.PL from their horses  
 ‘Before that, they will have knocked down dead from their horses a thousand knights.’ (l. 5037–38)
- b. D’une grant lance que il tint Fiert Odenel si qu’il  
 of=a great spear that he held.3SG hits Odenel so that=he  
 l’abat Jambes levées, trestot *plat*.  
 him=beats.down legs lifted suddenly flat.M.SG  
 ‘With a great spear that he held, he hits Odenel, in such a way that he all of a sudden takes him down flat, his legs upright.’ (l. 9723–24)

Quite on the contrary, *Historia troyana en prosa y verso* (in Larrea Velasco 2012) does not present a single instance of *abatir*, the Spanish cognate of *abattre*. We surmise, therefore, that in this work *batir* functions as a synonym of *abatir*. Since beyond these three examples, there is only one example left from a different work (11-d), and since, as pointed out by Corominas (1984: s. v. *batir*), this verb is quite scarce in Spanish, as opposed to Occitan-Catalan Romance and Gallo-Romance, we claim that the four examples in (11) do not amount to compelling evidence for a strong satellite pattern of adjectival resultatives being active in OSp.

### 3 Resultative constructions in Old French and Modern Romance

A considerable amount of research has been devoted to the expression of resultativity in Old French. The earliest studies in this area examined the productive use of verbal prefixes to convert activity predicates into telic predicates (e.g., [Burdant 1995; 2000](#); [Dufresne et al. 2001; 2003](#); [Kopecka 2009](#)). Beyond the expression of resultativity through verbal prefixes, however, [Burnett & Troberg \(2014\)](#) and [Troberg & Burnett \(2017\)](#) have also argued for a characterization of Medieval French as a chronolect showing unprefixated resultative constructions involving PPs/particles (14-a) and adjectives (14-b).

- (14) a. Et puy après nous troterons en guerre.  
 and then after we will.trot in war  
 ‘And then after we will trot into war.’ (De La Vigne, *La Ressource de la Chrestienté*, 1494, 133; DMF, *apud* [Troberg & Burnett 2017](#): 112)
- b. que mort ne l’acraventet.  
 that dead not him=crush  
 ‘that it didn’t crush him dead.’ (Roland, c.1100, 285.3930; MCVF; *apud* [Troberg & Burnett 2017](#): 114)

The fact that these structures are found in the Old French texts is significant, since Modern French does not feature any of these three types of resultative constructions (see for example [Fong & Poulin 1998](#))

In light of these data, and taking into account the results of [Acedo-Matellán \(2010\)](#) for Early and Classical Latin, [Burnett & Troberg \(2014\)](#) propose a punctuated model of diachronic variation from Latin to Modern French in three stages, each of which exhibits a different resultative system:

1. The Latin stage with resultatives involving prefixes and, optionally, also a PP ([Talmy 2000](#)).
2. The Old Romance stage with prefixed and unprefixated resultatives admitting PPs or APs.
3. The final stage in which secondary predication resultatives, either prepositional and adjectival, are absent.

Concomitantly, [Burnett & Troberg \(2014\)](#) also propose the following distribution of resultatives in Latin, Old Romance and Modern Romance as summarized in [1](#).

Table 1: Burnett & Troberg (2014)

| Resultatives  | Latin          | Old Romance | Modern Romance |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| Strong        | No             | No          | No             |
| Weak          | No             | Yes         | No             |
| Prepositional | Yes (prefixed) | Yes         | No             |

In what follows, we qualify Burnett & Troberg’s characterization of the second stage, i.e., that of Old Romance, as well as the validity of the correlations presented in Table 1. First, as shown by Acedo-Matellán (In progress), in the majority of examples provided in Burnett & Troberg (2014) and Troberg & Burnett (2017) to argue for a satellite-framed pattern, the verb can be shown to already encode directionality/resultativity. As the authors themselves notice (2017: fn. 20) with respect to unprefixated directed motion constructions with PPs (14-a):

“This system should allow robust occurrences of goal-of-motion constructions with strictly manner of motion verbs as we see in English (i.e., *wiggle*, *spin*, etc.); however, we have only been able to identify goal-of-motion with manner verbs that themselves imply translative movement. A potential problem with this proposal, therefore, is that it is not constrained enough.”

In other words, the kind of verbs used in PP and particle directed motion constructions in Old French can be argued to fit Nichols’s (2008) characterization as manner verbs encoding “forward motion” (see Real-Puigdollers 2010 for examples from different modern Romance languages; see also Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015). Turning now to the kind of adjectival resultative constructions that we find in Old French, it is important to notice that, as we observed in the case of OSp, the verbs appearing in these constructions seem to be interpreted as change of state predicates. As Burnett & Troberg (2014) point out, while prefixed *abat-tre* ‘beat down’ readily appears with result state adjectives such as *plat* ‘flat’ in 45 cases, its unprefixated, atelic counterpart *battre* ‘beat’ is not attested at all in the same constructions (see the discussion on *battre* and *abattre* in Section 2). This leads the authors to claim that Old French featured weak adjectival resultative constructions, rather than the strong adjectival resultative type we find in English (e.g., *hammer the metal flat*).

On closer examination, then, the Old French data do not seem to offer strong support for the hypothesis that Old Romance could have involved a grammatical

system that differed so radically from a typological point of view from the systems that emerged in the subsequent stages of the evolution of these languages. On the contrary, what these data strongly suggest is that, at that stage, directionality/resultativity was already encoded in the verb *qua* word. This result would thus converge with our own findings for OSp.

We also believe that the picture presented in Table 1 above is not completely accurate. For one thing, as illustrated by the following examples, Modern Romance does exhibit some form of weak resultatives. These types of (extremely) weak resultatives (see Whelpton 2006 and Mateu 2012) known as *cognate resultatives* can be found in most contemporary Romance varieties.

- (15) a. Omplir l'ampolla ben plena. (Catalan)  
 fill the=bottle well full  
 'to fill the bottle well/really filled/full.' (Espinal & Mateu 2018)
- b. Lavó la camisa bien lavadita. (Spanish)  
 Washed the shirt well washed.DIM  
 'She washed the shirt thoroughly'. (Demonte 1991 *apud* Armstrong 2012)
- c. Ho stirato la camicia piatta piatta. (Italian)  
 have ironed the shirt flat flat.  
 'I ironed the shirt [very flat]'. (Napoli 1992)

In the following example from OSp, we can see an instance of this type of cognate resultative involving *alçar* 'lift' and the cognate adjective *alto* 'high'. Similar examples can also be found in Old French.

- (16) E tancta era la undosa comoçión de aquella parte, que  
 and so.great be.IPFV.3SG the waving commotion of that part that  
 los *alçava* tan *altos* que parecían legar al  
 ACC.M.3PL lift.IPFV.3SG so high.M.PL that seem.IPFV.3PL arrive.INF at.the  
 çielo.  
 sky  
 'And the waving movement on that spot was so great, that it lifted them so high that they seemed to reach the sky.' (Enrique de Villena, *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida* [Books I-III], 1427-1428; CORDE)

The properties of this characteristic type of resultative construction can be summarized as follows:

1. They require verb-adjective root identity (although this is not completely

accurate for Catalan, cf. [Espinal & Mateu 2018](#) or Italian, cf. [Napoli 1992](#)). The restriction lies basically in the nature of the scale introduced by the resultative predicate: it has to coincide with the one which is lexically entailed by the main predicate.

2. They appear with either manner or change of state predicates (quantized and non-quantized scales ([Beavers 2011](#))) and predicates of contact. See [Espinal & Mateu \(2018\)](#) for a detailed list in Catalan.
3. They require that the secondary predicate presents the result state as different in degree or manner from the one that would be entailed by the mere verb. This involves either the use of a Spanish *bien* ‘well’ adverb, diminutive morphology on the secondary predicate, reduplication, or some of these strategies simultaneously (see [\(15-b\)](#)).

From what we have said so far, then, it seems clear that these types of constructions exhibit syntactic properties that clearly set them apart from the type of construction we introduced in the previous sections (i.e., the *derribar muerto* ‘knock down dead’ type of construction found in the OSp and Old French texts).

## 4 Building low depictives in Old Spanish

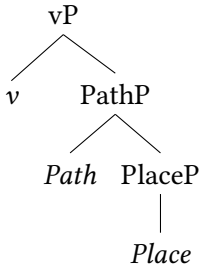
In this section, we justify and develop an analysis of OSp constructions of the *derribar muerto*-type as low depictive constructions. This analysis integrates the treatment of depictives as complex predicates defended in [Geuder \(2000\)](#) and [Pylkkänen \(2008\)](#) with the specific approach to argument/event structure we outline in Section 4.1. We show that the characteristic properties exhibited by the OSp constructions and described in Section 2 as well as those discussed in Section 3 for Old French can be adequately accounted for under this analysis.

### 4.1 A neoconstructionist approach to argument/event-structure

Our approach to the structure of events is based on the syntactic, neoconstructionist theory of argument/event structure in [Acedo-Matellán \(2016\)](#), in turn heir to a tradition from [Hale & Keyser \(1993; 2002\)](#) and [Mateu \(2002\)](#). We assume that basic functional heads that build argument/event-structures are *v*, denoting an eventuality, and *p*, denoting a spatial relation. Little *p* comes in two varieties: Place, encoding a location/state, and Path, encoding a change of location/state. Little *p* is thus underspecified for the expression of state/location, following [Mateu’s \(2002\)](#) novel reduction of the A(djectival) category to the P(repositional)

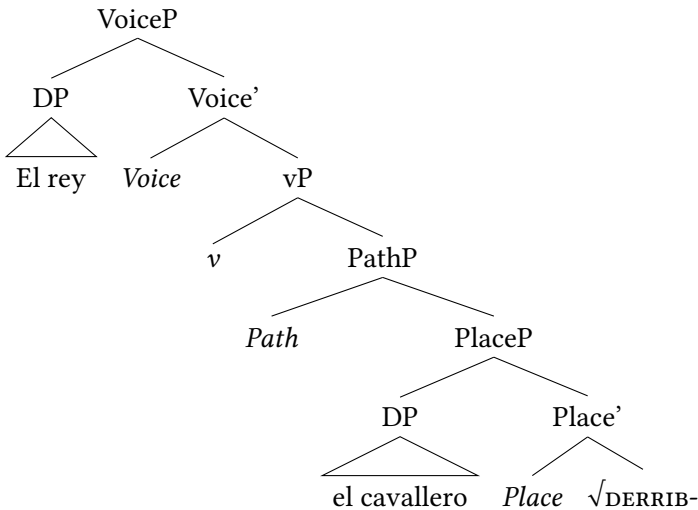
category (also a tradition assuming the so-called localist hypothesis, see [Gruber 1965](#); [Jackendoff 1983](#)). Of especial relevance for this study are constructions denoting a transition, whose skeleton is as follows (a VoiceP introducing the external argument has been omitted).

(17) The basic functional heads.



Functional heads are combined with non-relational elements like NP/DP or bare roots.

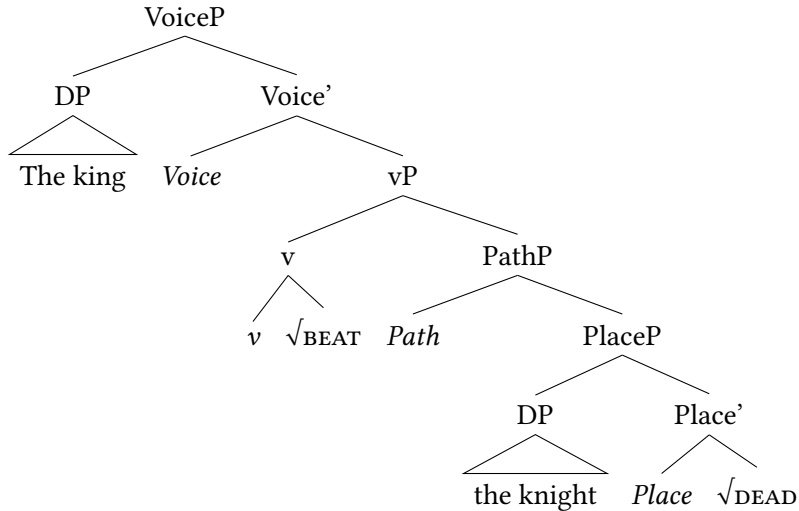
(18) Functional heads combined with non-relational elements.



The DP *el cavallero* is the specifier of PlaceP, which hosts the root  $\sqrt{\text{DERRIB-}}$  as complement. As such, it is interpreted as the holder of the state of being “toppled down”. Since PlaceP is complement to Path, which introduces a transition, the state is interpreted as the result of a change, i.e., a result state. [Acedo-Matellán \(2016\)](#) analyzes strong resultative constructions of the English type via the ad-

junction of a root to the eventive head *v*.

(19) The king beat the knight dead.



The root adjoined to *v* (cf. also Embick 2004, McIntyre 2004, Harley 2005) specifies the manner of the event, the way in which the origination of death is carried out, which in this case is by beating. As we have seen in previous sections, the types of resultatives exhibited both by contemporary and medieval Romance varieties are crucially not of the strong type represented by the structure in (19). Among the different kinds of explanations offered to account for these kinds of typological differences, our analysis adopts the general view represented by proposals such as those found in Klipple (1997); Mateu & Rigau (2002); Acedo-Matellán (2016). According to this general view, verb-framed languages such as those in the Romance family differ from satellite-framed languages in that the result of the eventuality (denoted in the previous example by the expression *dead*) has to be encoded in the verb, thereby precluding the use of a manner root associated to the main predicate head.

## 4.2 Old Spanish resultatives as low depictives

### 4.2.1 Standard depictives vs. low depictives

The basic properties of the OSp *derribar muerto*-type construction discussed in previous sections can be summarized as follows: (a) reliance on change of location/state verbs as the main predicate in the construction, (b) lack of dependence



between the scales introduced by the main verb and those introduced by the secondary predicate and (c) non-iterability. While there may be weak resultatives and cognate resultative constructions that exhibit property (a), crucially, not only do these two specific types of resultative constructions differ from one another in relevant ways but they are also in turn both significantly different from the Old Romance constructions we are examining here. For one thing, they are not assumed to exhibit property (b) as one of their basic properties. Property (b) appears to be, however, one of the core properties of the Old Romance resultative construction. As for property (c), as is well known, this is a property which is typically exhibited by all kinds of adjectival secondary predicates, both depictives and resultatives.

Perhaps a bit paradoxically, the combination of all these three properties is what makes the particular type of construction we are investigating bear some rather striking resemblances not only to canonical resultatives but also to prototypical depictive constructions. We already saw how the Old Romance constructions differ from prototypical resultative constructions (both weak and strong). There are also some interesting ways, however, in which they can be distinguished from prototypical depictives.

In the most well studied types of depictive constructions, such as the one illustrated in (20) below, the secondary predicate does not typically identify a state that holds of the entity associated with the argument in virtue of the event described by the main predicate (i.e., a result state) but rather a state that holds of that entity for the whole duration of the event or even previous to that event.

- (20) Miguel congeló            cruda la    verdura.  
Miguel freeze.PFV.3SG raw    the vegetables  
'Miguel froze the vegetables raw.' (interpretation: the greens were raw  
when the freezing event started)

In contrast, as we saw in the introductory sections of this paper, the secondary predicate that appears in the type of construction we are discussing does identify a result state that holds of the relevant entities and this state is interpreted (via pragmatic inference) to be a direct consequence of the event described by the main predicate.

- (21) y    derribó                            muerto            Héctor al            cruel  
and knock-down.PFV.3SG die.PTCP.M.3SG Héctor DOM=the cruel  
Anpimaco.  
Anpimaco

Lit. ‘And Héctor knocked the cruel Anpimaco down dead.’ (Juan de Mena, *Homero romanizado*, 1442; CORDE)

The contexts were this or the other examples discussed above typically appear make it clear that the referent of the internal argument is dead (or hurt or crippled) in virtue of the event encoded by the main predicate (in this case *derribó* ‘knock-down’). In other words, reading the text where the example above is found it becomes immediately apparent that Amphimachus is not dead when Hector initiates the event of toppling him down but rather that he dies as an (in)direct consequence of that event. What is also true, however, is that the secondary predicate *muerto* ‘dead’ encodes a state holding simultaneously with that encoded by the verb *derribó*. We will clarify this statement in the next section when we make the relevant facts more explicit but this is the crucial observation that we will capitalize on to develop our analysis of these constructions as a special type of depictive.

#### 4.2.2 The structure of Old Romance low depictives

Pylkkänen (2008) argues against small clause analyses of depictive secondary predicates (Williams 1980). Instead, she proposes a complex predicate account thereof, i.e., an account where a functional head combines with both the secondary predicate and the main predicate to yield the desired semantics: the entailment that a state overlaps with the event encoded by the main predicate. Pylkkänen (2008) adopts Geuder’s (2000) semantics for this functional head, Dep, which we define in (22).

$$(22) \quad \lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle} . \lambda x . \lambda e . (\exists s) f(s, x) \ \& \ e \circ s$$

Dep takes three arguments: a predicate of states, an entity, and an event. It involves the existential binding of the state such that it holds of the entity, and the overlapping (encoded via the  $\circ$  operator) of the event and the state.

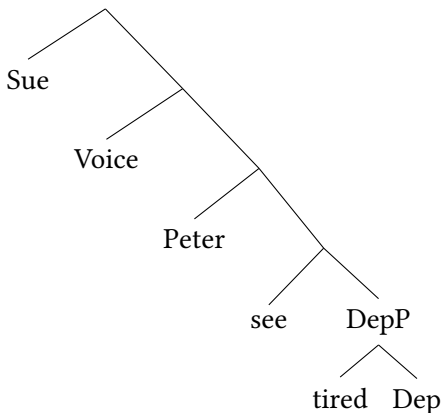
Dep combines with the secondary predicate (*tired*, in this case) yielding, by Functional Application, a predicate that denotes a state temporally associated with the event described by the main verb. Afterwards, the constituent DepP combines with the main predicate (*see*) via Predicate Modification. This is possible since they have the same type ( $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ ). The last step is the merger of the internal argument, which saturates the entity argument. The overlapping function ensures that the “the state of being tired” overlaps with the event of “seeing”. Importantly, Pylkkänen shows how some languages like Finnish have dedicated

morphology for depictive adjectives (see the essive marking on the adjective in (23-b)), providing empirical evidence for this complex predicate approach and for the existence of a Dep functional projection.

- (23) Finnish; Pylkkänen (2008: 24):
- a. Sö-i-n        raa'a-n tomaati-n.  
eat-PST-1SG raw-ACC tomato-ACC  
'I ate a raw tomato.'
  - b. Sö-i-n        tomaati-n raaka-na.  
eat-PST-1SG tomato-ACC raw-ESS  
'I ate a tomato raw.'

The derivation of a depictive in English following Pylkkänen would be as follows.

- (24) a.  $\llbracket$ Sue saw Peter tired $\rrbracket = \lambda x.\lambda e.$  seeing (e) & agent (e, Sue) & theme (e, Peter) &  $(\exists s)$  tired (s) & in (Peter, s) &  $e \circ s$ .
- b. Syntactic analysis

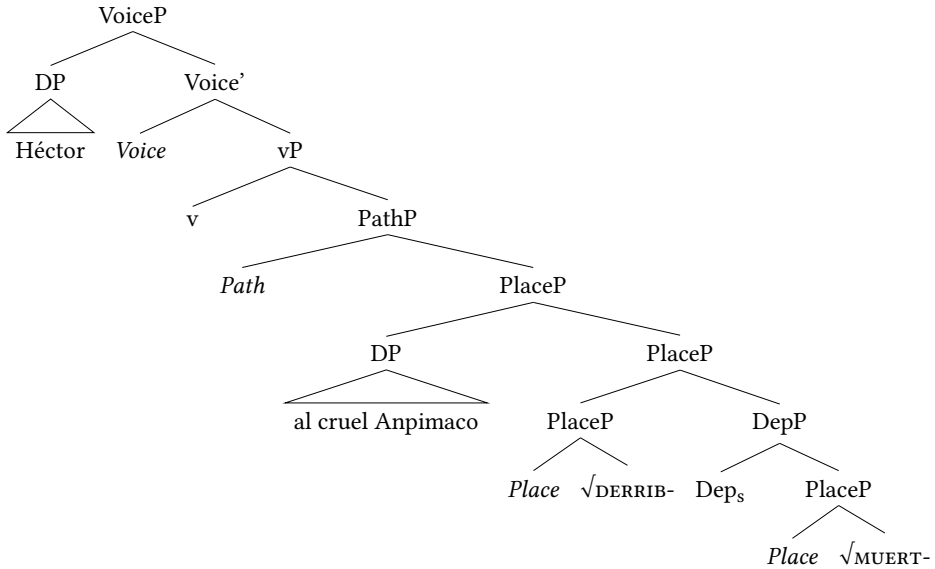


In order to adapt Pylkkänen's (2008) analysis to the type of resultative constructions encountered in Old Romance, we need to minimally tweak the semantics of Dep. We need a DepP that can combine with a state-denoting rather than an event-denoting projection, and, in particular, with the one that denotes the result state. This we carry out by substituting a variable over states (s) for the variable over events (e) and introducing subindices to distinguish the two states. Let us call this modified version of Dep, Dep<sub>s</sub>.

- (25)  $\lambda f_{\langle s, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda x.\lambda s_1. (\exists s_2) f(s_2, x) \& s_1 \circ s_2$

In combination with the approach to event structure outlined in section 4.1, this allows us to model the result state as a projection of its own, able to combine with DepP. That projection will be a PlaceP, in our terms. We show this with the analysis of the example in (21).

(26) y derribó muerto Héctor al cruel Anpimaco.



The secondary predicate *muerto* ‘dead’, encoded by PlaceP, which comprises Place and the root  $\sqrt{\text{MUERT-}}$ , is the first argument taken by  $\text{Dep}_s$ . The second is the result state of the eventuality, namely that entailed by *derribó* and encoded as the PlaceP that has the root  $\sqrt{\text{DERRIB-}}$  as a complement. The specifier of PlaceP is merged thereafter, satisfying the final argument of  $\text{Dep}_s$ . The semantics up to now involves a state (encoded in  $[\text{PlaceP Place } \sqrt{\text{DERRIB-}}]$ ) holding of the entity Amphimachus (*al cruel Anpimaco*) and overlapping in time with another state, (encoded in  $[\text{PlaceP Place } \sqrt{\text{MUERT-}}]$ ). Merger of Path on top of PlaceP introduces a transition, and  $[\text{PlaceP Place } \sqrt{\text{DERRIB-}}]$  is automatically interpreted as a result state, and, crucially, so is  $[\text{PlaceP Place } \sqrt{\text{MUERT-}}]$ , i.e., *muerto*, by inference. Thus, resultative secondary predicates in Old Romance receive this interpretation indirectly, by being temporally associated, via the overlapping function, with the real result predicate.

The analysis put forward here thus accounts for the specific properties exhibited by this type of construction. First, only transition verbs, i.e., those verbs encoding a result state, accept resultative predicates in Old Romance. This follows

quite naturally from the semantic specification of  $\text{Dep}_s$ : it requires a state to be combined with the whole phrase  $\text{Dep}_s\text{P}$ . Second, the scales introduced by the transition verb (e.g., *derribar*) and the resultative predicate (e.g., *muerto*) need not be of the same type, since there is no derivative connection between the roots, even though the state encoded in the secondary predicate is expected to be pragmatically compatible with that encoded by the verb. Finally, we also predict a lack of iterability in low-depictive predicates. Indeed if another  $\text{Dep}_s\text{P}$  were introduced above  $\text{PlaceP}$ , it would still require to saturate both an entity and a state argument positions, where there is only just one internal argument and one result state available per transition predicate. This prediction is borne out by the OSp data. In fact none of the examples of our corpus shows two adjectives (outside, of course, of coordination cf. *derribarón muchos caballeros muertos y llagados a tierra* ‘[They] knocked many down dead and sored to the ground’, which would be perhaps expected under an adjunction approach). The attentive reader should recall, however, that what the examples do show is the coexistence of the resultative adjective with a PP encoding a goal or source location for the transition event, as seen in the next example.

- (27) lo           echo           muerto           a tierra.  
 ACC.M.3SG throw.PFV.3SG die.PTCP.M.3SG to ground  
 ‘He threw him dead to the ground.’ (Anonymous, *Plutarch I*, 1370; SM)

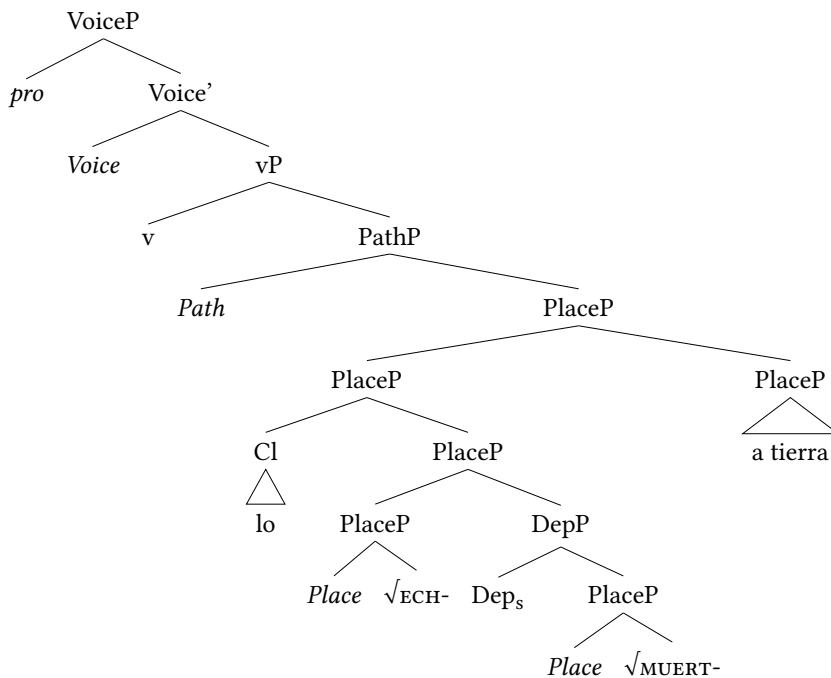
Does this PP jeopardize the prediction that only one secondary predicate is allowed in these constructions? We do not think so. It is important to emphasize that, while we do not find iteration of APs, we do find iteration of PPs, one interpreted as a source of motion and the other as a goal of motion. Quite crucially, there does not seem to be any apparent fixed relative order and one type of PP may appear without the other.

- (28) a. lo           derribó           malferido           de su caballo  
 ACC.M.3SG knock-down.PFV.3SG badly-hurt.PTCP.M.SG of his horse  
 a tierra.  
 to ground  
 Lit. ‘He knocked him down badly hurt from his horse to the ground.’  
 (Lope García de Salazar, *Istoria de las bienandanzas e fortunas*, 1471-1476; CORDE)
- b. derrocolo           muerto           en tierra del   cauallo.  
 knock-down.PFV.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG to ground of-the horse  
 Lit. ‘He knocked him down dead to the ground from his horse.’ (Anony-

- mous, *Gestas del rey don Jayme de Aragon*, 1396; CORDE)  
 c. derribólo muerto a sus pies.  
 knock-down.PFV.3SG=ACC.M.3SG die.PTCP.M.SG to his feet  
 Lit. 'He knocked him down dead to his feet.' (Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula* [Books I and II], 1482-1492; CORDE)

These patterns thus suggest that the resulting location PPs are adjuncts merged above PlaceP. This is reflected in the analysis of (27), below.

- (29) Lo echo muerto a tierra.



## 5 Diachronic change in resultative constructions in Old and Modern Spanish

In the previous section we have claimed that the OSp constructions examined in this paper are not true resultative constructions in the relevant sense but rather a different type of construction that we called *low depictive*, i.e., one involving a depictive secondary predicate that targets the result state entailed by the verb, rather than the whole event (thus distinguishing it from run-of-the-mill object-

oriented depictives). Our analysis adopts [Pylkkänen's \(2008\)](#) approach to depictive constructions qua complex predicates, involving the use of a dedicated functional head, *Dep*. The analysis outlined offers some considerable advantages over previous analyses of these phenomena from a diachronic perspective. The most obvious one is that it does not require us to posit the existence of what would look essentially as a strong-satellite-framed grammatical system as the intermediate stage in a gradual typological shift widely assumed to have taken place from weak-satellite-framed Latin towards pure verb-framed Romance. Quite on the contrary, the data we have examined in this paper strongly suggest that the OSp constructions of the *derribar muerto* 'knock down dead' type cannot be analyzed as real instances of the constructions known as strong resultatives in English or other languages. We conclude, therefore, that these kinds of syntactic configurations cannot be taken as evidence to support the hypothesis that medieval Romance languages could have gone through a period of transition in which they were essentially strong satellite-framed languages before the strong verb-framed systems currently in place were established.<sup>6</sup>

As one of the anonymous reviewers rightly points out, just showing that these characteristic types of constructions can be analyzed as low depictives does not provide much of a diachronic account of the structure in question. We believe, however, that it can pave the way towards a more plausible explanation of these and similar phenomena. Assuming, for instance, [Borer's \(1984\)](#) conjecture on the nature of crosslinguistic variation, whereby variation resides exclusively in the properties of functional heads, our proposal would allow for the modelling of diachronic variation in the licensing of low depictive constructions in terms of changes in the nature or composition of the syntactic-semantic properties of *Dep*.

Nevertheless, at this stage of the research, we cannot offer a full-fledged diachronic account of low depictives. The main limitation that we currently have is the lack of a clear picture of the distribution of the construction in the different chronolects. We can only speculate that they may have in fact been possible in Latin, albeit quite marginally. The kinds of data that we have in mind were already discussed in [Kühner & Stegmann \(1912: 239–240\)](#), and are considered by [Pinkster \(1995: 197–198\)](#), who points out the scarcity of the pattern, and described and analyzed by [Acedo-Matellán \(2016: 170–171, 211\)](#). We include the following relevant examples from [Kühner & Stegmann \(1912: 239–240\)](#), as laid

---

<sup>6</sup>At the moment, we do not have a typological or parametric theory of the availability of *Dep<sub>s</sub>*, and hence we are in no position to predict which languages (English or any other) will feature low depictives. Unfortunately, it is true that this impinges on any principled account of the transition from OSp (featuring *Dep<sub>s</sub>*) to Classical/Modern Spanish (not featuring *Dep<sub>s</sub>*). Any such account must await future research.

out and translated by Acedo-Matellán (2016: 170):

- (30) a. *Submersas*                      *obrue*                      *puppas*.  
sink.PTCP.PST.ACC.F.PL overwhelm.IMP ship.ACC.PL  
'Overwhelm the ships so that they sink.' (Verg. A. 1, 69, *apud Acedo-Matellán 2016: 170*)
- b. *Tectosque*                      *per*                      *herbam*                      *dis-ponunt*  
cover.PTCP.ACC.M.PL=and through grass.ACC separate-put.3PL  
*enses*                      *et*                      *scuta*                      *latentia*  
sword.ACC.PL and shield.ACC.PL be.hidden.PTCP.PRS.ACC.N.PL  
*condunt*.  
lay.3PL  
'They arrange the swords in different places, hidden in the grass, and they lay the shields out of sight.' (Verg. A. 3, 236, *apud Acedo-Matellán 2016: 170*)

In these examples the participles (*submersas* 'sunk', *tectos* 'covered', *latentia* 'hidden') apparently identify a state that is concomitant with the resulting state encoded by the verb (*obrue* 'overwhelm', *disponunt* 'lay out separately', *condunt* 'lay down'). That interpretation, the fact that the secondary predicates are participles, and the fact that the main verbs are verbs of change of location/state, could indeed lead us to claim that these are constructions akin to the OSp ones that we are scrutinizing in this paper.<sup>7</sup> Another possible analysis, however, is one in which the state denoted by the participle is prior to the event denoted by the verb. In fact, Rushton Fairclough & Goold's (1916: 267) translation of (30-a) seems to go along these lines: "sink and overwhelm the ships", i.e., "overwhelm the ships that have been sunk". Given the uncertainty of the interpretation of the participles, the rareness of the construction, and its limitation to poetry, for the time being we hesitate to draw any robust conclusions about the relation between these Latin constructions and the type that we find in OSp.

With respect to the presence of low depictives in Modern Spanish, we conclude that they are not attested in contemporary varieties. The only constructions that resemble resultatives in this chronoclect are the ones discussed in Section 3, which we have called cognate resultatives, *Secó la ropa bien seca* 'They dried the clothes well dried', i.e., the variety showing root identity between the verb and the adjective. As discussed in Section 3, cognate resultatives manifest a substantially

<sup>7</sup>Acedo-Matellán (2016: 170, 211) presents two analogous examples in which the alleged secondary predicate is an adjective. However, as this author points out, a reading of the adjective as a modifier rather than a predicate cannot be excluded.



different set of properties. Crucially, from the semantic point of view, in the cognate type, both the verb and the cognate adjective make reference to the same scale, contrary to what we have described in the OSp constructions. For this reason, we conclude that the two kinds of constructions are different and must be assigned two independent analyses. Space restrictions prevent us from engaging in a detailed discussion about the proper analysis of cognate resultatives, but see [Armstrong \(2012\)](#) and [Espinal & Mateu \(2018\)](#).

All in all, cognate resultatives in Modern Spanish are not constructions involving what we have called a low depictive adjective. The lack of low depictives in modern varieties of Spanish could be explained by positing a change in the availability of Dep<sub>s</sub>, at some point in the passage of OSp to Modern Spanish. Thus, while the former allowed two varieties of Dep, i.e., one that establishes a relation between a state and an event and another that establishes a relation between two states, the latter only features the variety relating states to events (i.e., [Geuder's 2000](#) and [Pylkkänen's 2008](#) original proposal). However, at this stage, we do not know how the presence or absence of Dep<sub>s</sub> relates to some other property of the language. Consequently, we cannot offer for the moment an accurate account that traces and explains the emergence and obsolescence of the constructions at hand. Further work is certainly required to clarify these issues.

## 6 Conclusion

Our study provides arguments against the analysis of OSp constructions of the *derribar muerto* 'knock down dead' type as adjectival resultatives. Instead, we have argued that these constructions involve a type of low secondary depictive predication. In doing so, we solve the puzzle of having an intermediate stage in the evolution from Latin to Modern Romance, in which there is a completely different construction that is not present either in weak satellite-framed languages (Latin) or verb-framed languages (Romance). As a result, contra proponents of gradual change ([Stolova 2008](#); [Kopecka 2009](#); [Iacobini & Fagard 2011](#)), or proponents of punctuated change à la [Burnett & Troberg \(2014\)](#) or [Troberg & Burnett \(2014\)](#) in three stages, we argue that OSp and Modern Spanish do not belong to two significantly different types with respect to the expression of resultativity. The fact that the constructions studied in this paper are not resultatives and the lack of clear examples of other directional and resultative constructions in OSp make us conclude that it is quite plausible that OSp was already a verb-framed language

In conclusion, the distribution of the constructions discussed in this paper

is dependent on a particular condition involving the availability in some languages of what we have called low depictives, which is crucially not related to the satellite/verb-framed parameter. We leave for further research the question of whether this analysis can capture other cases of alleged weak adjectival resultative constructions in other verb-framed languages (Washio 1997). If the analysis outlined here is on the right track, it could open the way to a better understanding of the distribution of secondary predication (both depictive and resultative) across languages and diachronically.

## Acknowledgements

This paper has greatly benefited from the comments provided by two anonymous reviewers, and from the discussions held at several events where the research was presented: 29th Colloquium on Generative Grammar (CGG29), 49th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL49), and different seminars at the Centre de Lingüística Teòrica (CLT), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Any remaining shortcoming is our own responsibility.

The first author acknowledges funding from the project “Redes de variación microparamétricas en las lenguas románicas” (FFI2017-87140-C4-1-P) (Ministerio de Economía y Empresa, Spain).

The remaining authors acknowledge support from the project Connecting Conceptual and Referential Models of Meaning 2 (CONNECT 2) (PI: Louise McNally) from the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (FFI2016-76045-P; AEI/MINEICO/FEDER, UE) and from an ICREA Academia award to Louise McNally.

## References

- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor. In progress. From satellite- to verb-framed and back again: Approaching the diachrony of Talmy’s typology with parameter hierarchies. Ms. University of Oxford.
- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor & Jaume Mateu. 2013. Satellite-framed latin vs. verb-framed romance: a syntactic approach. *Probus: International Journal of Latin and Romance Linguistics* 25(2). 227–265.
- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor. 2010. *Argument Structure and the Syntax-Morphology Interface. A case study in Latin and Other Languages*. Universitat de Barcelona. (Doctoral dissertation).

- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor. 2016. *The Morphosyntax of Transitions: A Case Study in Latin and Other Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Acedo-Matellán, Víctor & Jaume Mateu. 2015. Parameters and argument structure I: Motion predicates and resultatives. In Antonio Fábregas, Jaume Mateu & Putnam Michael (eds.), *Contemporary Linguistic Parameters*, 99–112. London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. Participles and voice. In Artemis Alexiadou, Monika Rathert & Arnim von Stechow (eds.), *Perfect Explorations*, 1–36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Armstrong, Grant. 2012. On the adjectival component of change of state verbs in Spanish. In Yves Roberge & Cristina Cuervo (eds.), *The End of Argument Structure?*, 13–41. Bingley: Emerald.
- Ausensi, Josep. 2019. Revisiting the elasticity of verb meaning and the *way*-construction in English. In M. Teresa Espinal, Elena Castroviejo, Manuel Leonetti & Cristina Real-Puigdollers (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 23*, 77–94. Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès): Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Ausensi, Josep. To appear(a). Resultatives and the architecture of event structure. In Daniel Reisinger & Rachel Soo (eds.), *Proceedings of the 38th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville: Cascadia Proceedings Project.
- Ausensi, Josep. To appear(b). Unaccusativity and the *way*-construction in English. *Linguistic Analysis* 44.
- Beavers, John. 2011. On affectedness. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29(2). 335–370.
- Beavers, John & Andrew Koontz-Garboden. 2017. Result verbs, scalar change, and the typology of motion verbs. *Language* 93(4). 842–876.
- Boas, Hans Christian. 2003. *A Constructional Approach to Resultatives*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Borer, Hagit. 1984. *Parametric syntax. case studies in Semitic and Romance languages*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 1990. Sobre el aspecto en los adjetivos y en los participios. In Ignacio Bosque (ed.), *Tiempo y Aspecto en Español*, 177–211. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Buridant, Claude. 1995. Les préverbes en ancien français. In André Rosseau (ed.), *Les préverbes dans les langues d'Europe. Introduction à l'étude de la Préverbation*, 287–323. Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.
- Buridant, Claude. 2000. *Nouvelle Grammaire de l'Ancien Français*. Paris: Sedes.
- Burnett, Heather & Michelle Troberg. 2014. On the diachronic semantics of resultative constructions in French. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 10. 37–54.

- Corominas, Joan. 1984. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, vol. I: A-CA. Madrid: Gredos.
- Davies, Mark. 2002. Corpus del español (100 millones de palabras, 1200s-1900s). Available online at <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/hist-gen/>.
- Demonte, Violeta. 1991. Temporal and aspectual constraints on predicative aps. In Héctor Campos & F. Martínez-Gil (eds.), *Current Studies in Spanish Linguistics*, 165–200. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Dufresne, Monique, Fernande Dupuis & Catherine-Marie Longtin. 2001. Un changement dans la diachronie du français: la perte de la préfixation aspectuelle en *a*. *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 29(2). 33–54.
- Dufresne, Monique, Fernande Dupuis & Mireille Tremblay. 2003. Preverbs and particles in Old French. In Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology*, 33–60. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Embick, David. 2004. On the structure of resultative participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(3). 355–392.
- Espinal, M Teresa & Jaume Mateu. 2018. Manner and result modifiers. the V *ben* V construction in catalan. *The Linguistic Review* 35(1). 1–33.
- Fong, Vivienne & Christine Poulin. 1998. Locating linguistic variation in semantic templates. In Jean-Pierre Koenig (ed.), *Discourse and Cognition: Bridging the Gap*, 29–39. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Geuder, Wilhelm. 2000. *Oriented Adverbs: Issues in the Lexical Semantics of Event Adverbs*. PhD. Thesis, Universität Tübingen. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Goldberg, Adele. 1991. It can't go down the chimney up: paths and the English resultative. In *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 368–378.
- Gruber, Jeffrey. 1965. *Studies in Lexical Relations*. MIT. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Jay Keyser. 1993. On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In Jay Keyser Samuel & Kenneth Hale (eds.), *The view from Building: 20 Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, 53–109. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Jay Keyser. 2002. *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Harley, Heidi. 2005. How do verbs get their names? Denominal verbs, manner incorporation, and the ontology of verb roots in English. In Nomi Erteschik-Shir & Tova Rapaport (eds.), *The syntax of aspect: deriving thematic and aspectual interpretation*, 42–64. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Iacobini, Claudio & Benjamin Fagard. 2011. A diachronic approach to variation and change in the typology of motion event expression. A case study: From Latin to Romance. *Cahiers de Faits de Langues* 38(3). 151–172.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1983. *Semantics and Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Joly, Aristide. 1871. *Benoît de Sainte-More et le Roman de Troie ou les métamorphoses d'Homère et de l'épopée greco-latine au Moyen-Age*. Paris: Librairie A. Franck.
- Klippel, Elizabeth. 1997. Prepositions and variation. In Anna Maria Di Sciullo (ed.), *Projections and Interface Conditions: Essays on Modularity*, 74–108. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kopecka, Anetta. 2009. Continuity and change in the representation of motion events in french. In Jiansheng Guo, Elena Lieven, Nancy Budwig, Susan Ervin-Tripp, Keiko Nakamura & Seyda Ozcaliskan (eds.), *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, 415–426. New York, London: Taylor & Francis.
- Kühner, Raphael & Carl Stegmann. 1912. *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, vol. i: *Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre*. Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung.
- Larrea Velasco, Nuria. 2012. Historia troyana polimétrica. *Edición crítica*. Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Lawers, Peter, Renata Enghels & Machteld Dufour. 2019. Les constructions résultatives des verbes de changement chromatique en français. *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur* 128(2-3). 135–165.
- Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1995. *Unaccusativity: at the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT press.
- Mateu, Jaume. 2002. *Argument Structure: Relational Construal at the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Mateu, Jaume. 2012. Conflation and incorporation processes in resultative constructions. In Violeta Demonte & Louise McNally (eds.), *Telicity, Change, and State: A Cross-Categorical View of Event Structure*, 252–278. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mateu, Jaume & Gemma Rigau. 2002. A minimalist account of conflation processes: parametric variation at the lexicon-syntax interface. In Artemis Alexiadou (ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to Universals*, 211–236. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- McIntyre, Andrew. 2004. Event paths, conflation, argument structure, and VP shells. *Journal of Linguistics* 42(3). 523–571.

- Napoli, Donna Jo. 1992. Secondary resultative predicates in Italian. *Journal of Linguistics* 28(1). 53–90.
- Nichols, Lynn. 2008. When deriving is (re) coining: Manner of motion verbs in English and morphological type. Ms., University of California, Berkeley.
- Pinkster, Harm. 1995. *Sintaxis y semántica del latín*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Rappaport Hovav, Malka. 2008. Lexicalized meaning and the internal structure of events. In Susan Rothstein (ed.), *Theoretical and Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Semantics of Aspect*, 13–42. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Real Academia Española, RAE. N.d. Banco de datos CORDE. Corpus diacrónico del español. Available online at <http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html>.
- Real-Puigdollers, Cristina. 2010. A Microparametric Approach on Goal of Motion Constructions: Properties of Adpositional Systems in Romance and Germanic. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 9(1). 125–150.
- Rushton Fairclough, Henry & George P. Goold. 1916. *Virgil. Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G. P. Goold*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sánchez-Marco, Cristina, Gemma Boleda, Josep Maria Fontana & Judith Domingo. 2010. Annotation and Representation of a Diachronic Corpus of Spanish. In *International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2010)*, 2713–2718. Available online at <http://corptedig-glif.upf.edu/cqpweb/oldes/>.
- Stolova, Nataya. 2008. From satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance: late Latin as an intermediate stage. In Roger Wright (ed.), *Latin vulgaire-Latin tardif VIII: Actes du VIII Colloque International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif, Oxford, 6-9 septembre, 2006*, 253–262. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1991. Path to realization - via aspect and result. In *Berkeley Linguistics Society (BLS) 17*, 480–519.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Tenny, Carol. 1994. *Aspectual Roles and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Tortora, Christina. 1998. Verbs of inherently directed motion are compatible with resultative phrases. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29(2). 338–345.
- Troberg, Michelle & Heather Burnett. 2014. Le prédicat résultatif adjectival en français médiéval. *Linguisticae Investigationes* 37(1). 156–180.
- Troberg, Michelle & Heather Burnett. 2017. From Latin to Modern French: A punctuated shift. In Eric Mathieu & Robert Truswell (eds.), *Micro-change and Macro-change in Diachronic Syntax*, 104–124. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Washio, Ryuichi. 1997. Resultatives, compositionality, and language variation. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6. 1–49.
- Whelpton, Matthew. 2006. Resultatives in Icelandic—a preliminary investigation. ms. Available online at: <http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000292>.
- Williams, Edwin. 1980. Predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11. 203–238.