

IMPROVING RESULTATIVE SECONDARY PREDICATION IN ROMANCE

MELHORANDO A PREDICAÇÃO SECUNDÁRIA RESULTATIVA EM LÍNGUAS ROMÂNICAS

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RESUMO: Este artigo investiga as estratégias de intensificação usadas para licenciar predicados secundários resultativos (AP) no português brasileiro, como reduplicação, diminutivização, uso de superlativos e modificação adverbial. Com base nas observações de Napoli (1992) para o italiano, e em dados que as corroboram no português brasileiro (Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfle 2014, 2017), explico porque a intensificação torna uma interpretação resultativa desse tipo possível em línguas românicas. Parto da teoria da gradabilidade de Kennedy & McNally (2005) para mostrar que as estratégias supracitadas fazem referência ao valor mais alto da escala subjacente ao adjetivo em questão, eliminando assim a leitura atributiva e induzindo a interpretação resultativa do predicado modificado. Por isso essas estratégias são capazes de melhorar apenas um subgrupo de resultativas—denominadas *fracas* (Washio 1997) ou do tipo *path* (Ramchand 2008). Para implementar essa ideia, adoto a arquitetura da gramática proposta por Ramchand (2008), conhecida como sintaxe de primeira fase. Este artigo contribui para compreendermos as severas restrições impostas a predicados secundários resultativos (AP) nas línguas românicas e as estratégias de que dispomos para contorná-las.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Predicação secundária resultativa; Português brasileiro, Línguas românicas; Gradabilidade; Sintaxe de primeira fase.

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ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the intensification strategies used to license (AP) resultative secondary predicates in Brazilian Portuguese, such as reduplication, diminutivization, superlatives, and adjectival modification. Based on Napoli’s (1992) original observations for Italian, and subsequent corroborating evidence from Brazilian Portuguese (Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfle 2014, 2017), I offer an explanation of why intensification renders a resultative interpretation possible in Romance. I build on Kennedy & McNally’s (2005) theory of gradable predicates to show that all of the aforementioned strategies make reference to the top value of the scale underlying the adjective, eliminating the attributive reading and inducing a resultative interpretation. This is why these strategies can only improve a subset of resultatives (so-called weak or path resultatives). To implement this idea, I adopt the architecture of grammar proposed by Ramchand (2008) known as first-phase syntax. This paper contributes to the understanding of the severe restrictions imposed on resultative secondary predication in Romance and the strategies used to circumvent them.

KEYWORDS: Resultative secondary predication; Brazilian Portuguese; Romance; Gradability; First-phase syntax.

INTRODUCTION

Napoli (1992: 75), based on data from Italian, argues that resultative secondary predication is possible in this language by means of an intensification strategy, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) Ho stirato la camicia piatta piatta.
 (I) have ironed the shirt flat flat
 ‘I ironed the shirt very flat’

Crucial to this example is the reduplication of *piatta* ‘flat’.² According to Napoli (1992: 75), if the adjective “is modified enough to draw attention to the endpoint rather than the process of the action, we expect an otherwise inappropriate resultative to improve”.

Resultative secondary predication has been extensively studied in Brazilian Portuguese (Foltran 1999; Marcelino 2000, 2007, 2014; Lobato 2004; Rech 2007; Barbosa, 2008, 2018; Bertucci 2014; Knöpfle 2014, 2017, 2018). Importantly, this language patterns with Italian in displaying intensification strategies that improve an AP resultative secondary predicate, as shown in (2).³

- (2) a. Ana cortou o cabelo bem curtinho. (Marcelino 2000: 49)
 Ana cut the hair very short.DIM

² Contrast this example with the following from Napoli (1992: 75): “*Ho stirato la camicia piatta”.

³ In the glosses, DIM = diminutive; SUP = superlative.

- ‘Ana cut her hair short’
- b. João pintou a casa amarelíssima. (Lobato 2004: 159)
 John painted the house yellow.SUP
 ‘John painted the house yellow’
- c. João varreu o chão bem limpinho. (Knöpfle 2017: 333)
 John wiped the floor very clean.DIM
 ‘John wiped the floor clean’

According to Lobato, the superlative is a strategy used to obtain both the semantic interpretation as well as the syntactic configuration of resultative secondary predication.⁴ In this paper I turn to an explanation of why this is so.

I build on Napoli’s (1992) original claim that modification draws attention to the endpoint of the action, but I shift the focus from the verbal predicate (i.e., the ‘action’) to the adjective itself. Note that all of the aforementioned strategies used to improve a resultative interpretation—reduplication, diminutivization, superlatives, and the use of modifiers like *bem* ‘very’—are intensification strategies that involve degree modification. I claim that such strategies make reference to the top value of the scale underlying the adjective (Kennedy & McNally 2005) and that they are used to induce a resultative interpretation of the modified predicate, eliminating the attributive interpretation. By making the scalar (i.e., path) structure of the adjectives explicit, and particularly by indicating a point that is close to its maximal value, degree modification highlights the fact that an entity has undergone a change of state as the result of taking part in an event.⁵

⁴ I note here that Lobato (2004: 163) does not accept data similar to (2c), as can be seen from the example below, which shows her judgments.

- (i) *João varreu o chão bem limpíssimo / muito limpo / bem limpinho.
 John swept the floor very clean.SUP / too clean / very clean.DIM
 ‘John swept the floor very clean’

She contrasts the above example with the following, which resembles a cognate-object construction.

- (ii) João varreu o chão bem varridinho.
 John swept the floor well swept.dim
 ‘John swept the floor well swept’

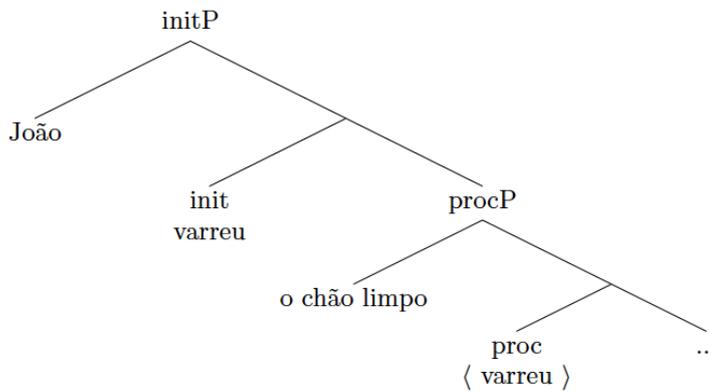
I depart from Lobato (2004) and consider data such as (i) acceptable—I do follow her judgments in (ii), though I do not investigate examples of this type here.

⁵ Note that this is the same intuition behind Bertucci’s (2014: 623) infinitival (INF) resultatives.

- (iii) João martelou o metal até achatar
 John hammered the metal until flat.INF
 ‘John hammered the metal until it became flat’

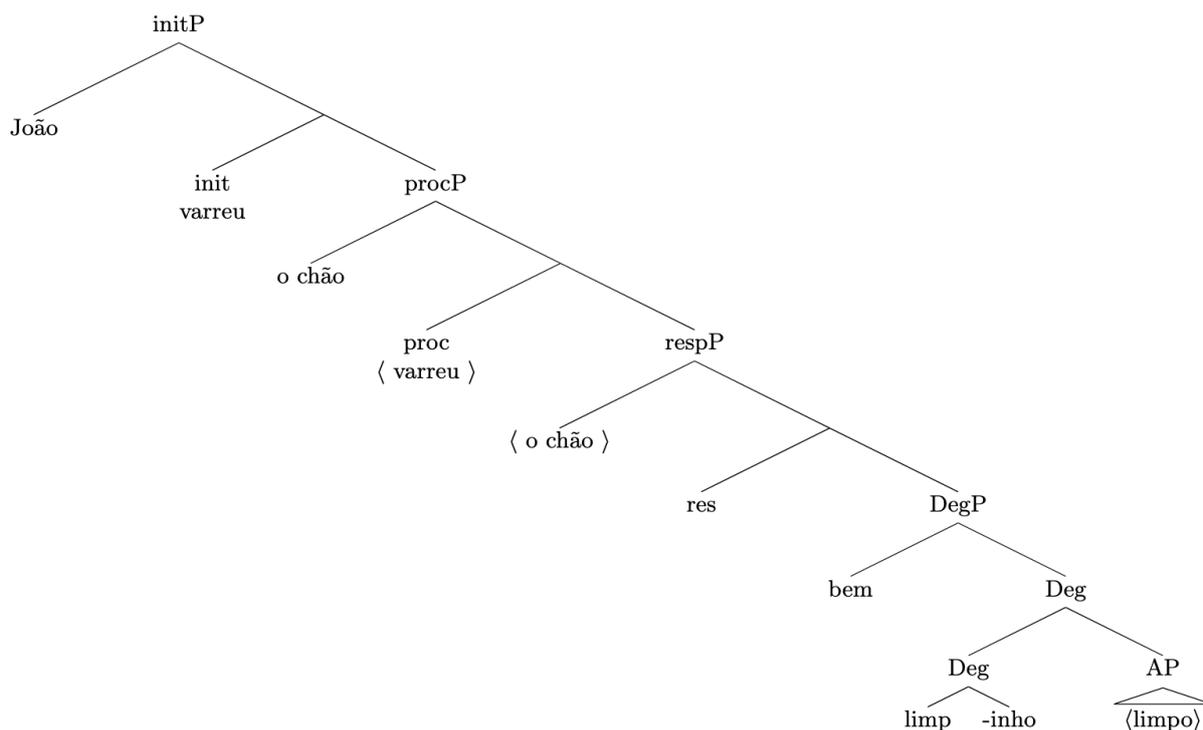
In the model I adopt here (Ramchand 2008, see the Appendix for details), this idea is implemented in (4)-(5), based on the examples in (3).

- (3) a. João varreu o chão limpo.
 John wiped the floor clean
 ‘John wiped the clean floor’
- b. João varreu o chão bem limpinho.
 John wiped the floor very clean.DIM
 ‘John wiped the clean floor’
- (4) John wiped the clean floor.



- (5) John wiped the floor (very) clean.

The underlined expression provides what Wechsler (2001, p. 10) calls the “suitable telic bound” to the event (in this case, the activity verb ‘to hammer’).



In (3a), the simplex, unmodified predicate *limpo* ‘clean’ is an attributive adjective and the whole DP ‘the clean floor’ is the undergoer of a wiping event (i.e., a simple activity). In this derivation, there is no bound to the event and no result, as represented in (4). In (3b), in turn, the modified predicate *bem limpinho* ‘very clean’ is complex enough to provide a path to the result, the “the bounded AP property scale” (Ramchand 2008: 129). This sentence would have the structure proposed above in (5), in which ‘the floor’ is interpreted both as the undergoer and as the resultee of the wiping event. In other words, ‘the floor’ in this case takes a composite role (undergoer-resultee), a possibility in this system. This entity comes close to attain the highest degree of the property in question denoted by DegP.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 1 I qualify the statement that Romance languages, and Brazilian Portuguese in particular, generally disallow resultative secondary predication. The main objective of this section is descriptive. It intends to establish which subtypes of resultatives are (im)possible in Romance (Carrier & Randall 1992, Washio 1997, Ramchand 2008). In Section 2 I discuss strategies that render the resultative interpretation possible in Romance (Napoli 1992, Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfle 2014, 2017). In Section 3 I present a novel analysis to account for this strategy building largely on the theory of gradable predicates laid out by Kennedy & McNally (2005). Finally, the last section concludes

and highlights the main contributions of this paper. In the appendix, I present the basic system of event decomposition I assume here (Ramchand 2008).

1. BACKGROUND ON RESULTATIVE SECONDARY PREDICATION

The investigation of resultative secondary predication, or simply *resultatives*, have a long tradition in linguistics since the term ‘resultative’ was first proposed by Halliday (1967). Classical examples of English resultatives are given in (6).

- (6) a. They wiped the table clean. (Hoekstra 1988: 117)
b. They painted the door green. (Hoekstra 1988: 117)
c. They drank the teapot dry. (Levin; Rappaport Hovav 1996: 1)
d. John hammered the metal flat. (Washio 1997: 5)
e. The gardener watered the tulips flat. (Kratzer 2005: 180)
f. The cat miaowed Frank awake. (Neeleman; Van de Koot 2002: 6)

In all of the sentences above, the state denoted by the adjective is semantically interpreted as the result of the action expressed by the verb (i.e., the main predicate). These sentences are telic. They describe a culminated event such that the entity undergoing the event is also the holder of the (final) result state. In (6), the AP (clean, green, dry, flat, awake) is the resultative secondary predicate, and the entire expression in which it appears is called the resultative construction. Importantly, the resultative secondary predicate can be an adjective, as shown in (6), a prepositional phrase, a nominal, or simply a preposition (Simpson 1983).⁶ In this paper, I am only concerned with AP resultatives.

It is well-known that resultatives form a heterogeneous group and that they display considerable crosslinguistic variation. Carrier & Randall (1992: 173), for instance, subdivide English resultatives into transitive and intransitive, based on whether the NP undergoing the event in question is an argument of the verb or not.

⁶ Simpson (1983: 143) provides the following examples of each:

- | | | |
|-------|---|----------------------|
| (iv) | I painted the car <i>yellow</i> . | ADJECTIVE |
| (v) | I painted the car <i>a pale shade of yellow</i> . | NOMINAL |
| (vi) | I cooked the meat <i>to a cinder</i> . | PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE |
| (vii) | The boxer knocked John <i>out</i> . | PREPOSITION |

From the examples in (6) above, we have transitive resultatives in (6a-b), (6d-e), and intransitive ones in (6c-f).

By different criteria, Washio (1997) proposes a crosslinguistic typology of strong vs. weak resultatives,⁷ as exemplified in (7) (Washio 1997: 8-10).

- | | |
|---|--------------------|
| (7) a. The joggers ran the pavement thin. | STRONG RESULTATIVE |
| b. He wiped the table clean. | WEAK RESULTATIVE |

In strong resultatives,⁸ the meaning of the verb and the meaning of the adjective are independent of each other, whereas in weak resultatives they are related.⁹

According to Washio (1997), languages can be divided into those which allow strong resultatives, such as English, and those which disallow strong resultatives, such as Japanese. With respect to weak resultatives, in principle they would be possible in both types of language. The author argues that Romance languages behave like Japanese in disallowing strong resultatives, but, unlike Japanese, place additional constraints on weak resultatives. With this in mind, the idea is that Romance languages disallow resultative secondary predication more generally.¹⁰ Hence, resultatives of the English type, such as the ones shown in (6), are unavailable in Romance. And indeed this is the case for Brazilian Portuguese (see Foltran 1999, Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Barbosa 2008).

To frame the discussion within the model I assume here (cf. Appendix for details), consider the following examples from Ramchand (2008: 128-129) in (8).

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| (8) a. Karena hammered the metal flat. | PATH RESULTATIVES |
| b. Karena ran her shoes ragged. | ‘RESULT’ RESULTATIVES |

⁷ Washio (1997: 30) also discusses *spurious resultatives*, such as “My daughter sewed the skirt too tight”. Spurious resultatives, rather common in BP and in Romance in general, pattern with Levinson’s (2010) pseudo-resultatives. I leave these examples out of the present discussion.

⁸ This class, according to Washio, includes all resultatives that are based on intransitive verbs, and some that are based on transitive verbs. Carrier and Randall’s subtypes, then, do not rigorously coincide with Washio’s, but they overlap in important ways. The main point here is that intransitive and strong resultatives are generally banned in Romance (see also Marcelino 2000, 2007, and Barbosa 2008, 2018).

⁹ This notion of relatability can be roughly understood as a type of entailment between the resultative predicate and the main predicate (e.g., ‘polish’ and ‘shiny’)—see Washio (1997: 9).

¹⁰ Apparent counterexamples can be ruled out as so-called spurious or pseudo-resultatives (see Washio 1997, Levinson 2010, Marcelino 2014, Barbosa 2018 *inter alia*).

Note that path resultatives pattern with weak and transitive resultatives, and ‘result’ resultatives pattern with intransitive and strong resultatives.¹¹ The first type is of particular interest here, since the strategies under study work on this particular subset.

In (8a), *the metal* is simultaneously the participant of a hammering event and the holder of a result described by the AP *flat*. Note that it would be possible to suppress the result portion of this sentence, that is, to drop the secondary predicate (e.g., “Karena hammered the metal”). In (8b), however, *shoes* is not a real participant of a running event, but only the holder of a result described by the AP *ragged*. In Ramchand’s (2008: 126) terms, this is a case of result augmentation in which the “unselected argument is a pure resultee”. In this case, the DP *shoes* only appears as the object of *run* in this structure (e.g., “*Karena ran her shoes”).¹²

In a first-phase syntax implementation,¹³ path resultatives like (8a) above are derived from a *proc* head that homomorphically unifies with a bounded path, as in (9).¹⁴ In this model, V is split up into three projections (*initiation*, *process*, and *result*—see the Appendix for a description of each). According to Ramchand (2008: 64): “[b]y homomorphism, the endpoint of event is identified with final stage on the property or spatial path achieved by the object.” In this particular case, the property of being *flat*.

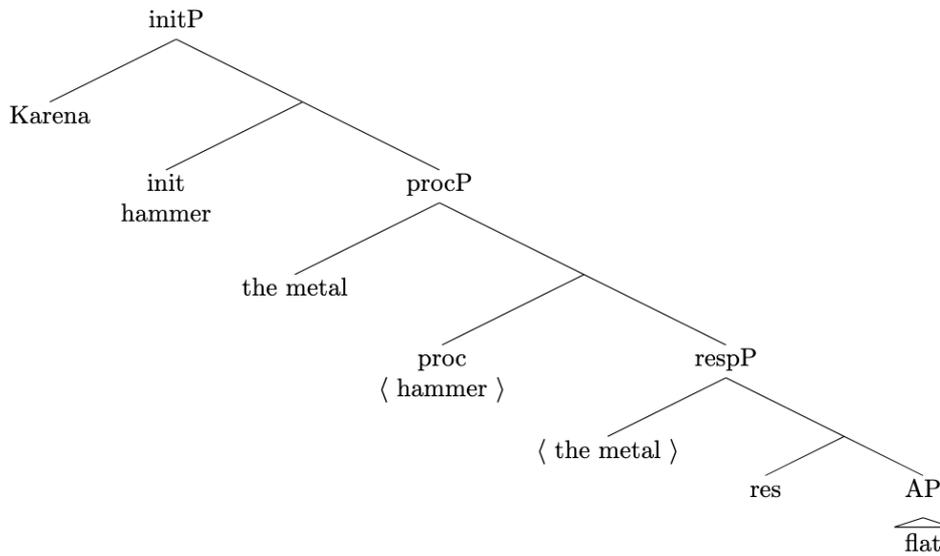
(9) Karena hammered the metal flat (Ramchand 2008: 127)

¹¹ For the sake of thoroughness, I note that an example like (8a), according to Washio (1997: 26), is not clearly a weak resultative, though the point is not crucial here. I refer the reader to Washio for arguments for and against the view that (8a) is a weak resultative.

¹² See also Kratzer (2005) on this topic of “concealed causatives”.

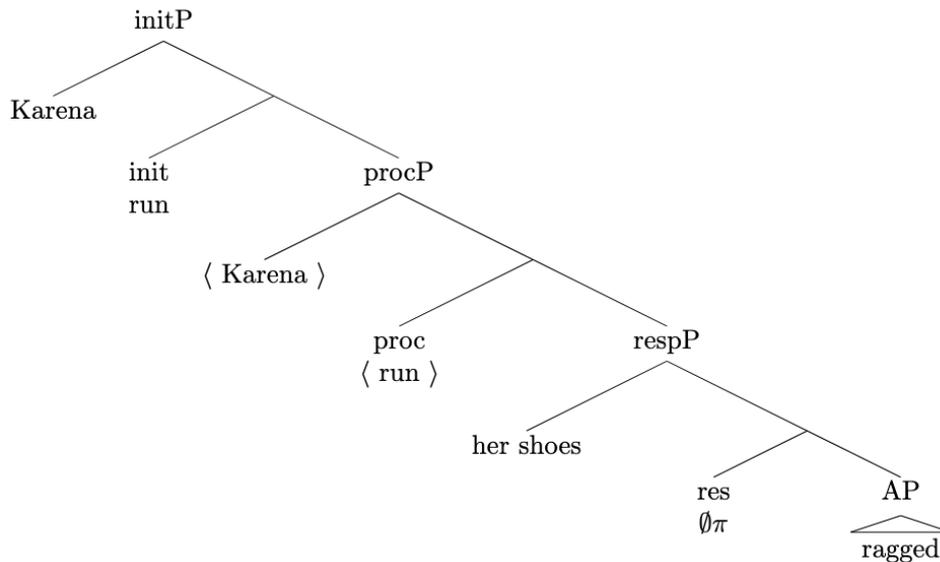
¹³ See the Appendix.

¹⁴ Homomorphism is generally thought of as a mapping relation between parts of an object and the structure of the event (as in consumption verbs, such as “eat (an apple)”). In Ramchand’s model, this mapping is rather between “the part-whole structure of the event and a set of measures of a particular property which is monotonic with respect to the part-whole structure of the object” (Ramchand 2008: 48). Where monotonic roughly means order-preserving, i.e., a property that tracks the part-whole relation between two domains, following Schwarzschild.



In turn, ‘result’ resultatives like (8b) are derived from a null *res* head that takes a property as complement, the resultative AP, as shown in (10).¹⁵

(10) Karena ran her shoes ragged (Ramchand 2008: 124)



Before moving on to the next section, I recall that Romance languages ban this type of secondary predication. According to Ramchand (2008: 125), languages like

¹⁵ According to Ramchand (2008: 129), ‘result’ resultatives can be further subdivided into indirect resultatives (“John sang himself hoarse”), or direct resultatives (“The lake froze solid”). These too are unavailable in Brazilian Portuguese (see Marcelino 2000, 2007, Lobato 2004, Barbosa 2008, 2018).

English have a null lexical item (represented $\emptyset\pi$), see (10) above, which is responsible for licensing the resultative AP. In her analysis, this item is missing in Romance languages. I note that the precise mechanism that bans strong or ‘result’ resultatives in Romance is not at stake here.¹⁶ The focus of this paper is on the subset of permissible resultatives in Romance (roughly, modified weak or path resultatives). Particularly, I am looking into a very limited set of predicates that can give rise to a resultative interpretation via intensification of the (otherwise attributive) AP. The relevant structure for our purposes is represented in (9), particularly the portion that provides a bound to the event (resP).

2. STRATEGIES TO IMPROVE A RESULTATIVE INTERPRETATION IN ROMANCE

To my knowledge, Napoli (1992) was the first author to discuss strategies that improve resultative secondary predication in Romance based on data from Italian. According to her, if the adjective “is modified enough to draw attention to the endpoint rather than the process of the action, we expect an otherwise inappropriate resultative to improve” (Napoli 1992: 75). Her example follows in (11) below, repeated from (1).

- (11) Ho stirato la camicia piatta piatta.
 (I) have ironed the shirt flat flat
 ‘I ironed the shirt very flat’

Folli & Ramchand (2005: 102) offer an additional example, noting that a resultative interpretation is possible if the adjective is “complex”, as in (12).

- (12) Gianni ha martellato il metallo *piatto/ piatto piatto.
 John AUX hammer the metal flat/ flat flat
 ‘John hammered the metal *flat/ flat flat’

¹⁶ See Mateu (2000), Marcelino (2000, 2007), Barbosa (2008, 2018) and Acedo-Matellán (2016) for a discussion that capitalizes on Talmy’s (1985, 1991) typology. See also Giannakidou & Merchant (1999) for a different view from Greek resultatives that can be made compatible with Romance (Moreira 2021). Both Greek and Brazilian Portuguese have productive morphological processes that derive words expressing the attainment of a result, see for example, “esgarçado” (become-ragged), “arrombado” (break-open).

As mentioned briefly in the introduction, a similar effect has also been documented in Brazilian Portuguese (Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfler 2014, 2017), as in (2). Despite the fact that resultative secondary predication can be improved in this language, it is not the case that intensification strategies can “save” any type of resultative. Consider the following examples, adapted from Marcelino (2000: 60).¹⁷

- (13) a. *Ele bebeu sua xícara (bem) vazia.
 he drank his cup (very) dry
 ‘He drank his teacup dry’
- b. *Ela cantou sua filha sonolent(inha).
 she sang her daughter asleep.(DIM)
 ‘She sang her daughter asleep’
- c. *Ela andou seus sapatos (bem) gastos.
 she walked her shoes (very) ragged
 ‘She walked her shoes ragged’
- d. *O cachorro latiu os vizinhos acordad(inhos).
 the dog barked the neighbors awake.(DIM)
 ‘The dog barked the neighbors awake’

What these facts show is that so-called strong resultatives (or intransitive/ ‘result’ resultatives) are not amenable to strategies such as diminutivization or degree modification in Brazilian Portuguese. Weak or path resultatives, in turn, can indeed be improved. Consider the following examples.¹⁸

- (14) a. O porteiro varreu o chão limpo.
 the janitor swept the floor clean
 ‘The janitor swept the clean floor’

¹⁷ Regarding the adaptation of Marcelino’s examples, I have added the parentheses in (13) above to emphasize that both versions (the unmodified and the modified one) are ungrammatical in BP.

¹⁸ Based on (14a) and (14d), a question arises as to why one would sweep or wipe a clean surface. I will not be concerned with this issue here, since it is possible to create a richer context to accommodate these examples.

- b. O jardineiro regou a terra molhada.
the gardener sprinkled the soil wet/humid
'The gardener sprinkled the wet soil'
- c. Pedro pintou a casa verde.
Pedro painted the house green
'Pedro painted the green house'
- d. A criança flanelou a mesa limpa.
the child wiped the table clean
'The child wiped the clean table'
- e. Leo martelou o metal plano.
Leo hammered the metal flat
'Leo hammered the flat metal'

As the glosses shows, the APs in (14) are not interpreted as resultative secondary predicates, but simply as attributive adjectives.¹⁹ However, this small set of sentences can be interpreted on a par with typical resultatives if the AP is modified, as in (15).

- (15) a. O porteiro varreu o chão bem limpinho.
the janitor swept the floor very clean.DIM
'The janitor swept the floor (very) clean'
- b. O jardineiro regou a terra molhadinha / molhada demais.
the gardener watered the soil wet.DIM wet too much
'The gardener watered the soil (very) wet'
- c. Pedro pintou a casa bem verdinha.
Pedro painted the house very green.DIM
'Pedro painted the house (very) green'
- d. A criança flanelou a mesa bem limpinha.
the child wiped the table very clean.DIM

¹⁹ This is not a theoretical point, but simply a native speaker's judgment. While it is possible to interpret the AP as a depictive, particularly with stage level predicates, such as 'clean' or 'wet', the most prominent interpretation is the one in which the adjective is used attributively, as is clear with an adjective like 'flat'—this reflects my own judgments and the judgments of other native speakers I have consulted. The fact that an ambiguous reading is available does not undermine the present analysis. I thank Ezekiel Panitz and Marcus Lunguinho for discussing this issue with me.

‘The child wiped the table (very) clean’

e. Leo martelou o metal chatinho chatinho²⁰

Leo hammered the metal flat.DIM flat.DIM

‘Leo hammered the metal (really) flat’

The use of reduplication, diminutivization, superlative, and modifiers such as *bem* ‘very’, *demais* ‘too’ are examples of intensification strategies that involve degree modification. These strategies are used to distinguish the attributive interpretation from the resultative interpretation.²¹

Before moving on, it is worth noting that degree modification is a strategy that can be used to distinguish attributive adjectives from AP secondary predicates more generally—both depictives and resultatives. First, let us look into the distinction between attributives and depictives in (16).

(16) a. NON-MODIFIED AP

Maria comprou o celular velho. ATTRIBUTIVE OR DEPICTIVE

Mary bought the cell phone old

‘Mary bought the old cell phone’ / ‘Mary bought the cell phone used’

b. MODIFIED AP

Maria comprou o celular muito velho/ bem velhinho. DEPICTIVE

Mary bought the cell phone too old / very old

‘Mary bought the cell phone used’

In (16a) *velho* ‘old’ can be interpreted as an attributive adjective (“Mary bought the cell phone that was old/outdated”) or as a depictive secondary predicate (“Mary bought the cellphone old/used”). This second meaning is the one available in (16b).

²⁰ Some people prefer a different choice of AP, such as *plano* ‘plane’; *fino* ‘thin’; *amassado* ‘kneaded’.

²¹ An issue arises here regarding the Italian examples above—(1), (11) and (12). If the present analysis is correct, it predicts that the attributive-resultative distinction should work in Italian too. However, as the examples show, the APs in Italian do not seem to work attributively. I have consulted two native speakers on this and they reported that the choice of adjective plays an important role. According to their judgments, it would be possible to say the following.

(viii) Ho stirato la camicia liscia/liscia liscia
(I) have ironed the shirt flat/ flat flat

If the AP *liscia* ‘smooth’ is reduplicated, the resultative reading prevails, as expected, otherwise the interpretation is “I have ironed a shirt that has been ironed (smoothed out) before”. These facts suggest that Italian indeed patterns with BP. I thank Nelma Pieroni and Lello Pollina for their judgments.

Now let us look into examples with a verb that in principle would appear in resultatives, such as ‘sprinkle, water’.

- (17) a. NON-MODIFIED AP
 O jardineiro regou a terra molhada. ATTRIBUTIVE OR DEPICTIVE
 the gardener watered the soil wet
 ‘The gardener watered [the wet soil/ the soil while it was wet]’
- b. MODIFIED AP
 O jardineiro regou a terra bem molhadinha. RESULTATIVE
 the gardener watered the soil very wet.DIM
 ‘The gardener watered the soil really wet’

Again, modification is responsible for making the interpretation of the resultative secondary predicate more prominent.²²

3. GRADABLE ADJECTIVES AND RESULTATIVITY

In this section, I turn to an explanation of why the aforementioned strategies favor a resultative interpretation. I build on Napoli’s (1992) claim that modification draws attention to the endpoint of the action, though for now I would like to shift the focus from the verb (i.e., the ‘action’) to the adjective—I return to Napoli’s claim at the end of this section.

Gradable adjectives, according to Kennedy & McNally (2005), are sensitive to two parameters: (i) a scale, that can be open or closed, and (ii) a standard of comparison, that can be relative or absolute. With respect to (i), the authors provide the following typology of scale structures (Kennedy & McNally 2005: 354).

- (18) a. (totally) open scale: no minimal or maximal elements (‘tall’, ‘short’).
 b. lower closed scale: minimal element (‘loud’, ‘quiet’).

²² Example (14b) was adapted from a real example:

(ix) Você pode regar a massa do seu bolo molhadinho com vários tipos de caldas.
 you may water the dough of.the your cake wet.DIM with various types of syrup
 ‘You may moisten your cake with different types of syrup’

Online access at <https://guiadacozinha.com.br/dicas-de-cozinha/bolo-molhadinho-os-melhores-truques-para-umedecer-a-massa/>.

- c. upper closed scale: maximal element ('safe', 'dangerous').
- d. (totally) closed scale: minimal and maximal elements ('full', 'empty')

Regarding (ii), relative adjectives vary from one context to another, like 'tall' or 'expensive', whereas absolute adjectives are context independent, like 'empty' "which simply requires its argument to be devoid of contents" (Kennedy & McNally 2005: 348).²³ This latter type may impose maximum or minimum standards, as exemplified below in (19).

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|
| (19) a. The baby is awake. | MINIMUM STANDARD |
| b. The glass is full. | MAXIMUM STANDARD |

According to Kennedy & McNally (2005: 356), 'awake', in (19a), "simply means that the baby has a nonzero level of awakesness", and 'full' in (19b) requires that its argument has "a maximal degree of the property in question" (i.e., that the glass is totally full).

Going back to the BP examples in (15), we are dealing with a very limited number of adjectives: *chato* 'flat', *limpo* 'clean', *molhado* 'wet', as well as color adjectives. These predicates can be associated with the following scales.

- (20) a. lower closed scale: minimal element (*molhado* 'wet').
- b. upper closed scale: maximal element (*chato* 'flat', *limpo* 'clean', *verde* 'green').

I follow Kennedy & McNally's (2010) proposal that color adjectives are gradable and that they split between two readings: color quantity and color quality. I am considering that the interpretation of *verde* 'green' (as well as other color adjectives) in Brazilian Portuguese resultatives involves the color quality reading, which encompasses "degree of hue, color saturation and brightness" (Kennedy & McNally 2010: 90). I am assuming, then, that color adjectives behave like upper closed scale adjectives—see (20b)—, premised on the idea that "[i]f the quality

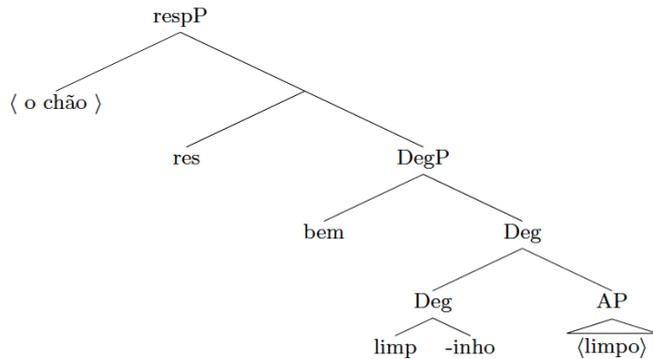
²³ The predicate *empty* however can also have imprecise uses—see Kennedy & McNally (2005: 357) for a discussion.

reading involves a measurement of proximity to a prototype, we might expect the scales used on these readings to have maximum values corresponding to a perfect match with the prototype”.

The idea is that the modification strategies seen in (15) raise the degree of the adjective, pointing to the highest value in its scale. By making the scalar structure of the adjectives explicit, and particularly by indicating a point that is close to its maximal value, degree modification highlights the fact that an entity has undergone a change of state as the result of taking part in an event. For an adjective with a minimal endpoint like *molhado* ‘wet’, from example (15b), this means that the soil has a great degree of wetness (i.e., above the minimal) from participating in an event. For a maximal endpoint adjective like *limpo* ‘clean’ (and color adjectives), from example (15d), this means that the table has come close to a maximal degree of cleanliness.

It is now possible to reassess Napoli’s (1992) claim that modification draws attention to the endpoint of the action. Modification actually draws attention to the maximal value of the adjective, which, in turn, provides a bound to the event (i.e., the action) by being coerced into a result. Concretely, I propose that the modified AP, hosted by the degree phrase, provides the bounded path to the event denoted by the main predicate. In an example like (2c) above, “João varreu o chão bem limpinho” (John wiped the floor (very) clean), the activity verb is turned into an accomplishment by unifying with the degree phrase. The structure of the result phrase that unifies with the main predicate is represented in (21) below.

(21) Result phrase



An anonymous reviewer points out that Knöpfle’s (2014, 2018) work on resultatives in West Germanic languages poses a potentially interesting question for the present analysis. Knöpfle (2014, p. 64) questions whether “(modified) transitive BP resultatives” are “genuine resultatives” and draws the following comparison.

- (22) a. João varreu o chão bem limpinho
John swept the floor very clean.DIM
‘John swept the floor (very) clean’
- b. * João varreu o chão bem sujinho
John swept the floor very dirty.DIM
Intended: ‘John swept the floor, as a result the floor became dirty’
- (23) a. Hans hat den Fussboden sauber gefegt.
Hans has the floor clean swept
‘Hans swept the floor clean.’
- b. Hans hat den Fussboden schmutzig gefegt.
Hans has the floor dirty swept
‘Hans swept the floor, as a result the floor became dirty.’

According to Knöpfle (2014, p. 65), the paradigm above shows that in BP the AP does not denote a final state—since the AP *sujo* ‘dirty’ is not licensed, even when modified (see *sujinho* above), unlike in German. Based on this contrast, she concludes that “modified transitive ‘resultatives’ in BP” do not have the same structure as “genuine” resultatives. A question that arises is how this proposal fares

with the following English examples, originally from Green (1972) and discussed by Wechsler (2001, p. 10).

(24) He wiped it clean / dry / smooth / *damp / *dirty / *stained / *wet.

The example above shows that English also rejects the AP ‘dirty’, but this language notably allows (genuine) resultatives. With respect with the contrasts in (24) Wechsler (2001, p. 10) argues that:

The adjectives clean, dry, and smooth are all maximal endpoint closed-scale adjectives, which thus provide suitable bounds for the event. In contrast, the adjectives damp, dirty, stained, and wet are minimal endpoint adjectives—what I have called de facto open-scale adjectives. Their inherent standards are too low to be useful, so contextual standards normally prevail. But inherent standards are needed in order to serve as suitable telic bounds. Since resultative constructions must be telic, these sentences fail.

The conclusions drawn by Knöpfle (2014) based on the above comparison between BP and German, (22)-(23), are hard to maintain in face of (24). Though now I am left with a new challenge, to explain why a minimal-endpoint adjective like ‘wet’ can be licensed through intensification in BP (see (17b) above), but ‘dirty’ is not. A possible explanation might be the close semantic entailment relationship between the main predicate *regar* ‘to water’ and the secondary predicate *molhado* (i.e., *molhadinho*) ‘wet, moist’. I leave this issue for future work. Whatever direction the answer to this question takes, the important point here is that the contrast between (22)-(23) does not prove that modified transitive ‘resultatives’ in BP are so different from ‘genuine resultatives’. They might be different after all, but not on the basis of the aforementioned comparison.

CONCLUSION

In this paper I have shown how intensification strategies previously reported in the literature (Napoli 1992, Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfle 2014, 2017) work in Romance to improve the interpretation of a subset of AP resultative secondary predicates. I have shown that this subset patterns with Ramchand's (2008) path resultatives. Building largely on Napoli's (1992) original observations, I have argued that such strategies make reference to the top value of the scale underlying the adjective, following the theory of gradable predicates by Kennedy & McNally (2005).

I also showed that they are used to eliminate the attributive interpretation (and simultaneously induce a resultative interpretation of the modified predicate) capitalizing on previous studies in Brazilian Portuguese (Marcelino 2000, Lobato 2004, Knöpfle 2014, 2017). By making the scalar structure of the adjectives explicit, and particularly by indicating a point that is close to its maximal value, degree modification highlights the fact that an entity has undergone a change of state as the result of taking part in an event. It is precisely this strategy that induces a resultative interpretation. This idea was made explicit in this paper by the implementation offered in (5) and (21) above, based on Ramchand's (2008) model of event decomposition.

To conclude, this paper contributes to our understanding of the severe restrictions imposed on resultative secondary predication in Romance and the strategies used to circumvent them.

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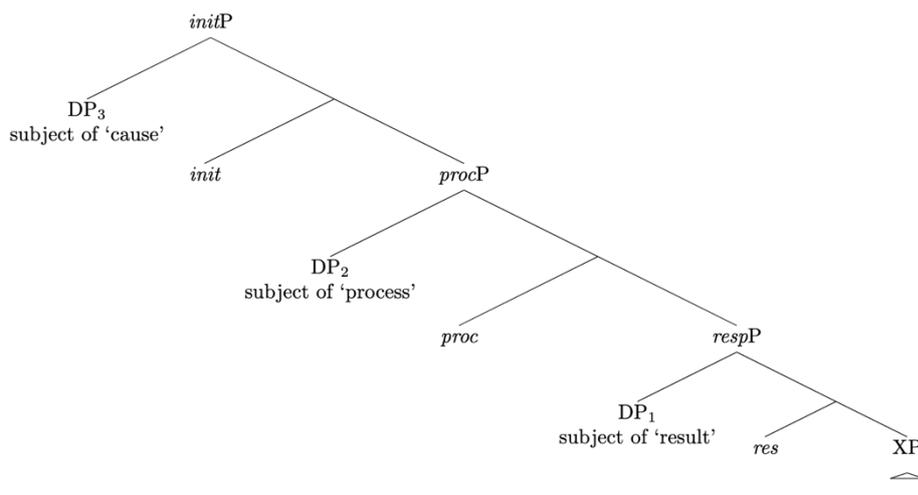
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APPENDIX

The event-structure syntax proposed by Ramchand (2008: 39) is composed of three projections, as represented below in (A).

(A) first-phase syntax



The initiation projection (*init*) heads the causing subcomponent of the event and introduces the external argument (or the Initiator). The process projection (*proc*) represents dynamicity and introduces the Undergoer participant of the event. Finally, at the bottom, the result projection (*res*) introduces the Resultee participant.

As previously mentioned, the notion of V is (maximally) split up into these three projections, and event participants can take composite roles. An English verb that identifies all of the three projections above is *defuse*: [*init*, *proc*, *res*], with the following participant roles: INITIATOR, UNDERGOER_{*i*}, RESULTEE_{*i*}. An expression like “defuse the bomb” would have an INITIATOR, and “the bomb” would take a composite role UNDERGOER-RESULTEE, signaled by the co-subscripting. Different verb classes identify different heads (stative verbs, for instance, only identify *init*)—see Ramchand (2008) for further details of this model.