



[Cause Result] resultatives can also be shown to contain a complex predicate. Sentence (1a) cannot be analyzed as underlyingly HANS [<sub>sc</sub> SHOE POLISH] SHINY with an extraposed small clause and a patient that raises for case assignment. As (4a) demonstrates, DGS does not allow subject-to-object raising. This leaves a complex predicate analysis for [Cause-Result] constructions, which receives further support from the fact that no material can intervene between causing and result predicates. An intervening modal in (4b) is judged unacceptable.

- (4) a. \*IX-1 HANS<sub>i</sub> WANT [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> WORM EAT]  
intended: ‘I want Hans to eat a worm.’
- b. \_\_\_\_\_ y/n  
\*IX-1 PLATE LICK MAY CLEAN  
‘May I lick the plate clean?’

**Argument realization.** Following Neeleman & van de Koot’s (2002) analysis of Dutch resultatives, I propose that the argument structure of a complex predicate in DGS is derived as follows: The event structures of both predicates are combined through identification of the result’s state with the state supplied by the verb (assuming that states can be embedded under activities but not vice versa). Their thematic roles then collapse into one, and the resulting two  $\theta$ -roles for initiator and patient are ordered according to the thematic hierarchy. The process may be formalized as illustrated for POLISH SHINY in (1a) in Figure 1.

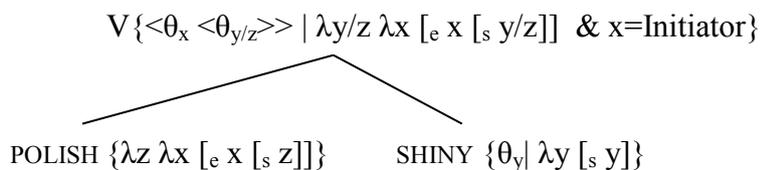


Figure 1: Complex predicate formation via copying and thematic mapping

The complex predicate analysis proposed here accounts for the matrix object position of arguments that are only selected by the result (e.g. FRIDGE in (1b)). The result predicate contributes one  $\theta$ -role to the complex, which is outranked by the initiator role and whose argument therefore maps onto the direct object in the syntax. It further explains why subject-oriented resultatives in DGS require mediation via reflexive marking. Since the complex predicate necessarily assigns two  $\theta$ -roles (causing and result subevents cannot be identified, therefore neither can their  $\theta$ -roles), two syntactic arguments are required. I argue that reflexivity has to be marked as agreement with the signer’s body (-bd) on both the causing and the result predicates (cp. Mehling 2010, Meir et al. 2007). Examples (5a & b) exhibit this marking, licensing a subject-oriented resultative, while (5c) does not. The lack of reflexive morphology expressing the patient argument renders (5c) unacceptable, since the complex verb’s  $\theta$ -grid requires two overtly marked arguments. In (5a & b), agreement with the signer’s body indicates the co-referentiality of causer and patient, while no such marking is present in (5c).

- (5) a. YOU BECOME.FAT-**bd** EAT-**bd** MAY.NOT  
‘You’re not allowed to eat (until you’re) fat.’
- b. ?SABRINA EAT-**bd** BECOME.FAT-**bd** MUST.  
‘Sabrina must eat (until she’s) fat.’
- c. \*SUSI FAMOUS JUMP CAN  
‘Susi can jump (herself) famous.’

## References

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