

## Argument realization in composed events: A closer look at resultatives in German Sign Language (DGS)

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**Background.** In resultative constructions, a main verb such as POLISH in (1a) takes a result phrase (SHINY) as its complement. The result XP describes a change of state in an affected participant (SHOE) that comes about as a result of the verbal action. Resultatives are single-clause causatives whose causee (patient) can either be selected by the verb and the result phrase (1a), or only by the result phrase. In (1b), FRIDGE is not an argument of the verb EAT (whose patient argument is suppressed), but of EMPTY.

- (1) wh  
a.  $t_{\text{who}}$  SHOE POLISH SHINY WHO [DGS]  
'Who polished (their) shoes (until they were) shiny?'
- b. HANS FRIDGE EMPTY EAT CAN  
'Hans can eat (until) the fridge (is) empty.'

**Goals.** In this paper I first show that DGS has two variants of the resultative construction that differ only in the order of causing and result predicates (see (1a) vs. (1b)). I then present a syntactic analysis of DGS resultatives in terms of complex predicates. This analysis can account for argument realization in DGS resultatives, specifically a) for the syntactic expression of patients that are not s-selected by the verb, and b) for the obligatoriness of reflexive marking in subject-oriented resultatives.

**Methods.** The dataset consists of grammaticality judgments (GJ) from 6 native DGS signers on 44 resultative constructions embedded in various syntactic constructions.

**Monoclausality.** I argue that resultatives with [Cause-Result] order are single clauses since they allow rightward *wh*-movement (1a). Example (2a) shows that rightward movement across an embedded clause is ungrammatical in DGS, suggesting that (1a) is monoclausal. The monoclausality of [Result-Cause] constructions is evinced by the fact that CPs cannot be center-embedded in DGS (2b), hence patient and result cannot form a full embedded clause in [Result-Cause] constructions such as (1b).

- (2) a.  $*t_{\text{who}}$  BELIEVE [<sub>CP</sub> HANS WORM EAT] WHO  
'Who believes that Hans ate a worm?'
- b. \* HE [<sub>CP</sub> YOU 2-HELP-3 MUST] SAY  
'He says that you must help him.' [adpt. from Pfau & Steinbach 2005 : 516]

**Complex predicate analysis.** Separability facts suggest that both resultatives in DGS contain a complex predicate. In contrast to main verbs and the head of a small clause complement (3a), [Result-Cause] constructions allow fronting of the predicate complex (3b,c). Some signers further indicate that fronting only the causing predicates in (3b & c) is unacceptable. These judgments are in line with Müller's (2002) claim that the head of a complex predicate cannot be fronted without the embedded non-head.

- (3) a. ??DANCE SEE, SUSI EMIL FINISH  
'Susi has seen Emil dance (context: but she hasn't heard him come home.)'
- b. YES, WET SPRAY YOU MY HAIR MAY  
'Yes, you may *spray* my hair *wet*.'
- c. top  
EMPTY EAT YOU FRIDGE MAY-NOT  
'You may not *eat* the fridge *empty*.'

[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.

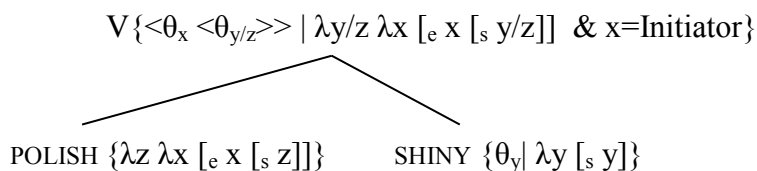


Figure 1: Complex predicate formation via copying and thematic mapping

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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