Secondary resultative predication in Baltic

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Outline

1. Secondary resultative predication (SRP)
2. SRP in linguistic theories
3. Encoding of SRP
4. Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
5. Conclusions

Secondary resultative predication
What is predication?

- **Predication:** assigning a property to an argument or relating two or more arguments to each other (1).
  - *John laughed.*
  - *The boy kicked the ball*.

Secondary resultative predication
What is predication?

- **Predicates** are words expressing predication:
  - verbs
  - adjectives
  - adverbs
  - adpositions

Secondary resultative predication
Primary vs. secondary

- Verbs have the categories of mood, modality, tense and therefore express the main, or **primary,** predication of a sentence.

Secondary resultative predication
Primary vs. secondary

- Other predicates express additional, or **secondary,** predication of a sentence:
  - *John laughed <u>angrily</u>*.
  - *John arrived <u>happy</u>*.

Secondary resultative predication
Complement vs. adjunct SP

- Secondary predicates can function as **complements**
  - *The court pronounced John guilty*.
  - *Teismas pripažino Joną kaltu.*

  or **adjuncts**
  - *John arrived happy.*
  - *Jonas atvažiavo linksmas.*

Secondary resultative predication
Depictive vs. resultative

- **Depictive**s describe the state at the time of the relevant action:
  - *John came home <u>tired</u>.*
  - *John ate the fish <u>raw</u>.*
- **Resultatives** describe the state which emerges as a result of the relevant action:

  John wiped the table <u>clean</u>.

Secondary resultative predication
Summary

"Secondary resultative predication expresses the state that is a result of the action denoted by the verb" (Levin & Rappaport 1995: 36), e.g.

John painted the car red.

Mary danced herself tired.

Not taking into account:

Mary danced out of the room.

SRP in linguistic theories

- Generative Grammar
- Cognitive Grammar
- Construction Grammar
- Functional Grammar: MTM

Generative Grammar

- Analysis of SRP in GG fall into two main groups: those which use the notion of ***small clause*** and those which do not.

Generative Grammar

- A semantic relation between the postverbal NP and the result phrase corresponds to the relation between a subject and a predicate:
  - *John wiped [the table clean]:*
  - *the table* – subject
  - *(is) clean* – predicate

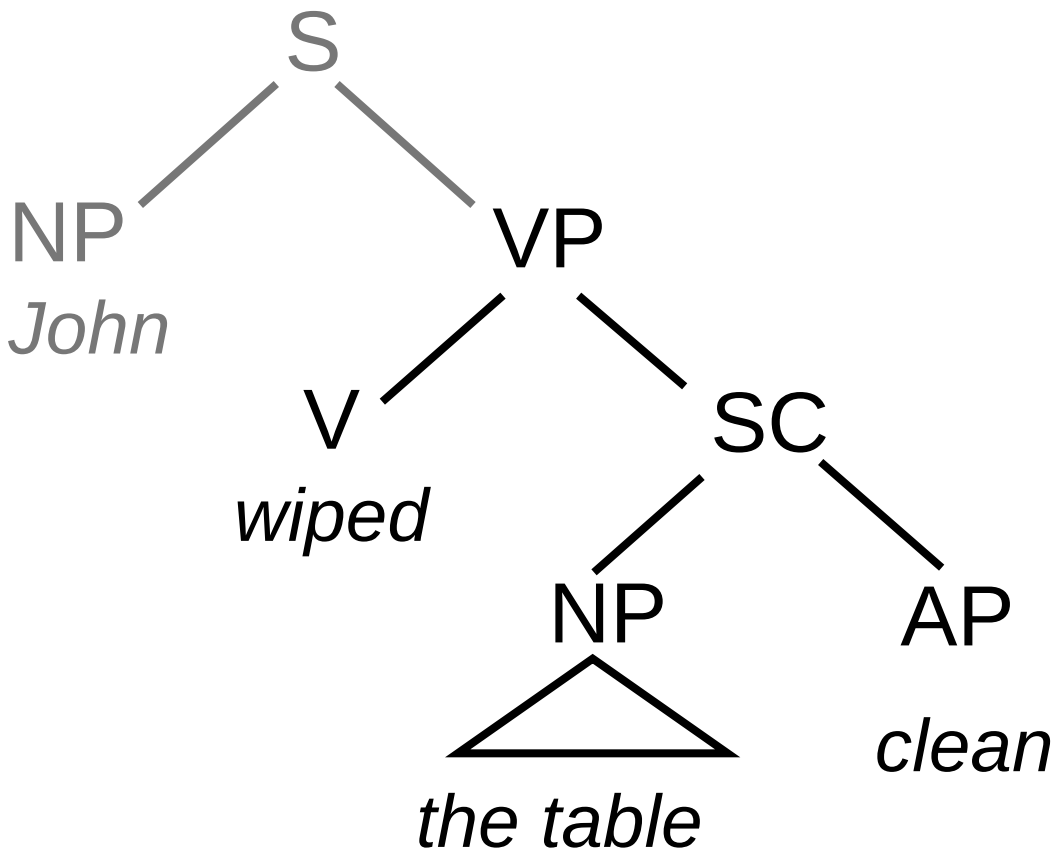
Generative Grammar

- Some generativists assume that this semantic relation must be reflected in the syntactic structure.
- Therefore they propose that the postverbal NP and the result phrase form a single constituent called **small clause** (SC).

Generative Grammar

- According to other proponents of GG, the semantic structure and the syntactic structure do not necessarily overlap and thus do not require an SC constituent.

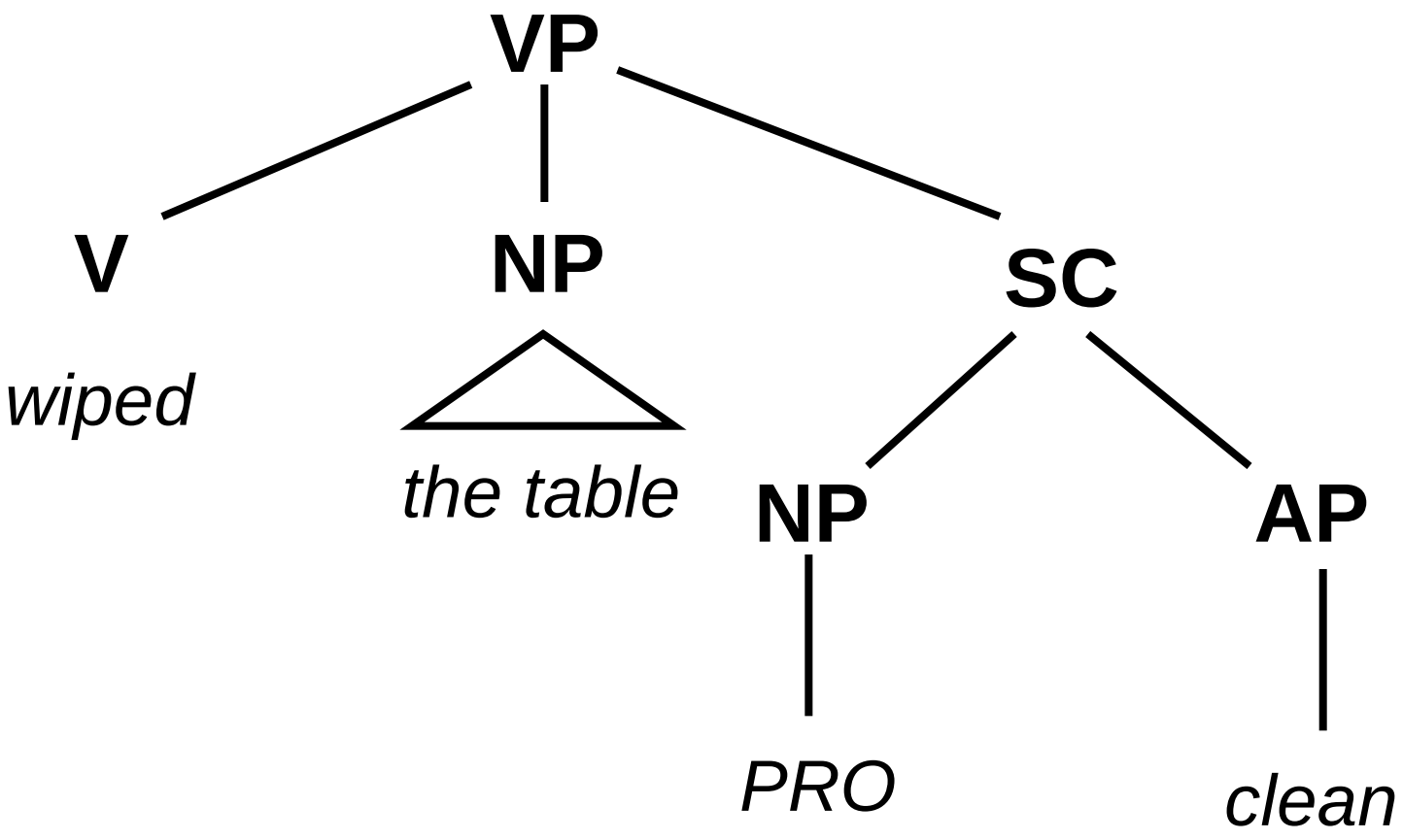
Generative Grammar
The Small Clause Analysis 1
(Kayne 1985, Hoekstra 1988, etc.)



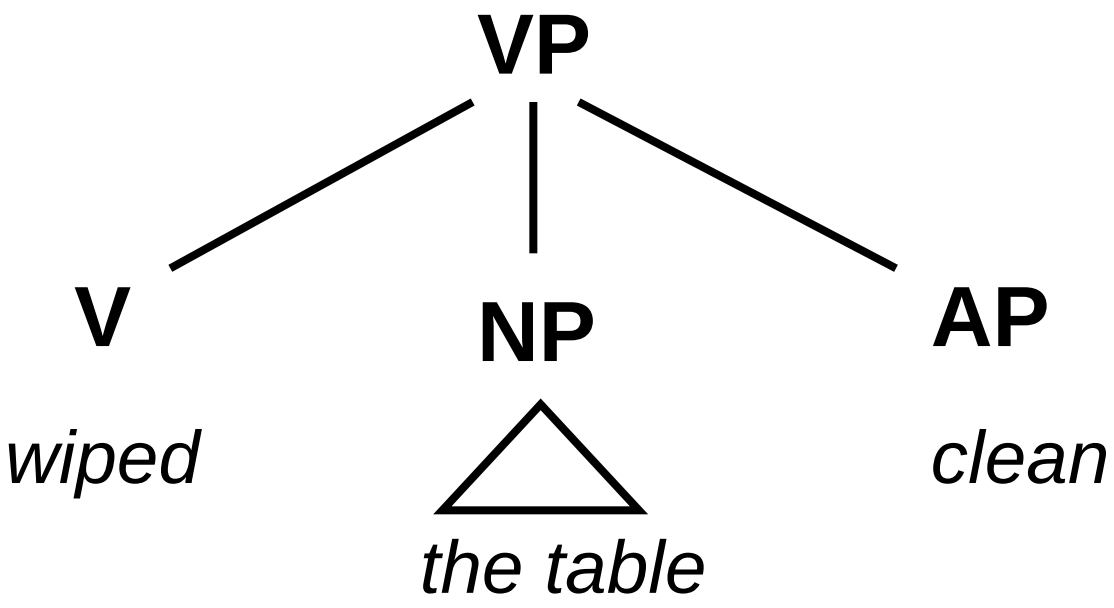
Generative Grammar

The Small Clause Analysis 2

(Hornstein & Lightfoot 1987)



Generative grammar
The Ternary Analysis
(Green 1972, Carrier & Randall 1992, etc.)



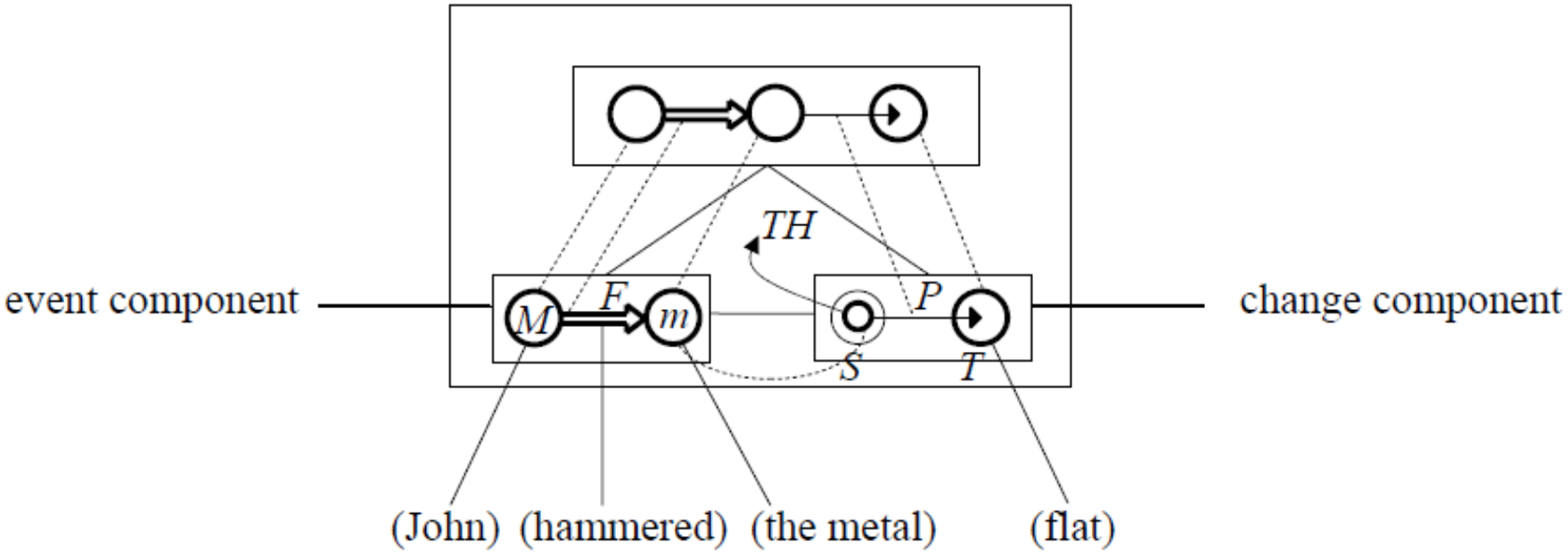
Cognitive Grammar

- SRP is explained in terms of The Force Change Schema (the billiard-ball model).

- “We think about the world in terms of energetic interactions between entities resulting in some change in their properties (because such entities are affected).” (Broccias 2004: 6)

Cognitive Grammar
Force Change Schema
(Broccias 2004: 6)

John hammered the metal flat.

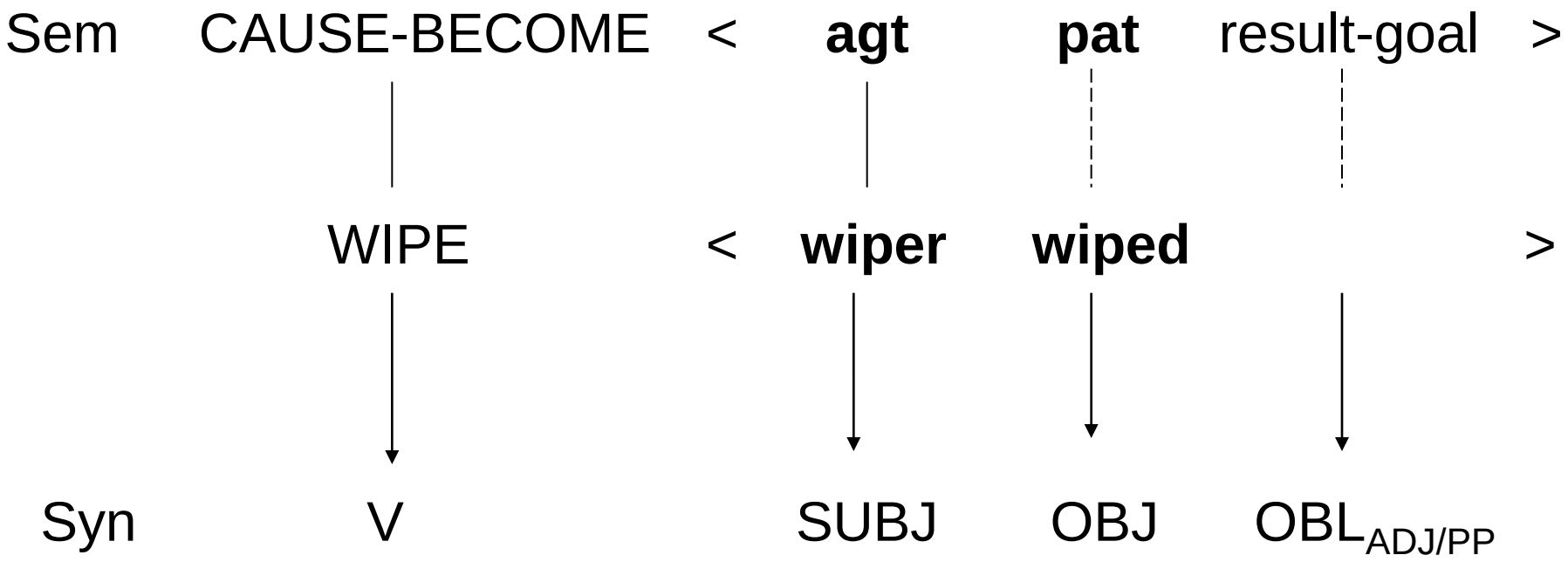


Construction Grammar

- **Construction** is a structure which has its own form and meaning and exists independently of particular verbs. (Goldberg 1995: 1)

Construction Grammar
Resultative construction
(Goldberg 1995: 190)

John wiped the table clean.



Meaning ↔ text model (MTM)

- MTM analyses how the meaning is encoded in the text and how the text conveys the meaning, i. e. it is the model of encoding and decoding.
- The theory “models only the FUNCTIONING of a language rather than its real structure in the brain” (Mel’čuk 1998: 1).

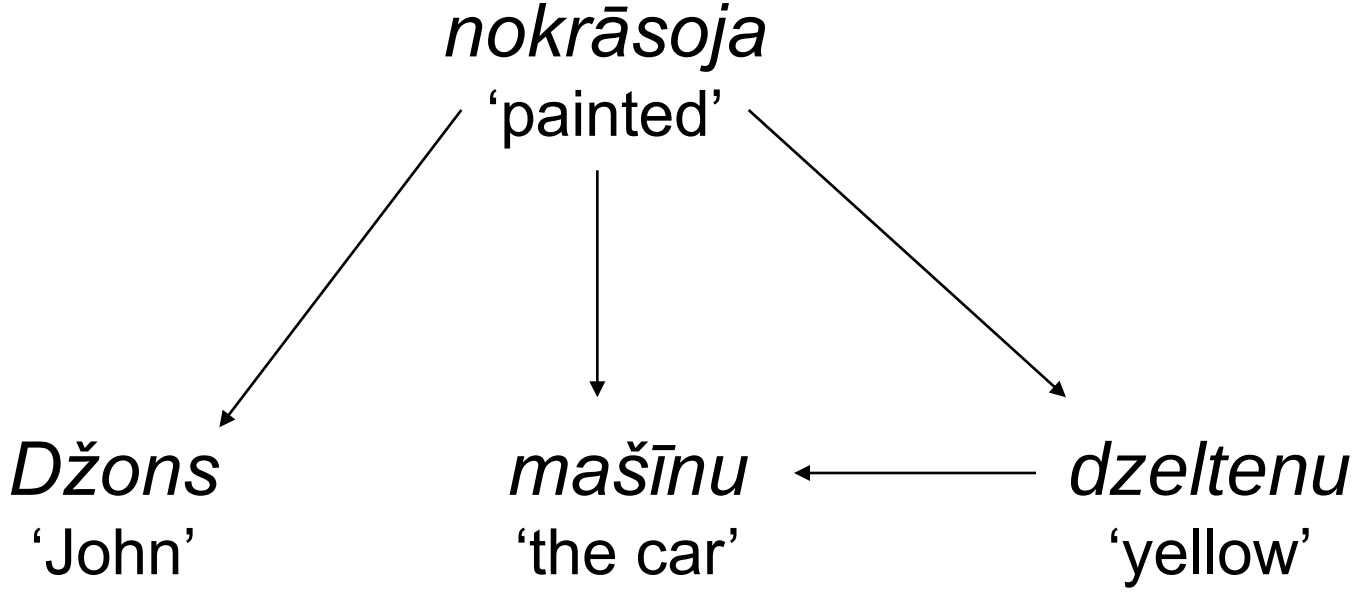
Meaning ↔ text model

- MTM strictly separates semantic, syntactic and morphological levels of a sentence representation (Melč'uk 1998: 2, Holvoet 2003: 67).
- The relations between words in a sentence are formalized as semantic, syntactic and morphological **dependencies**.

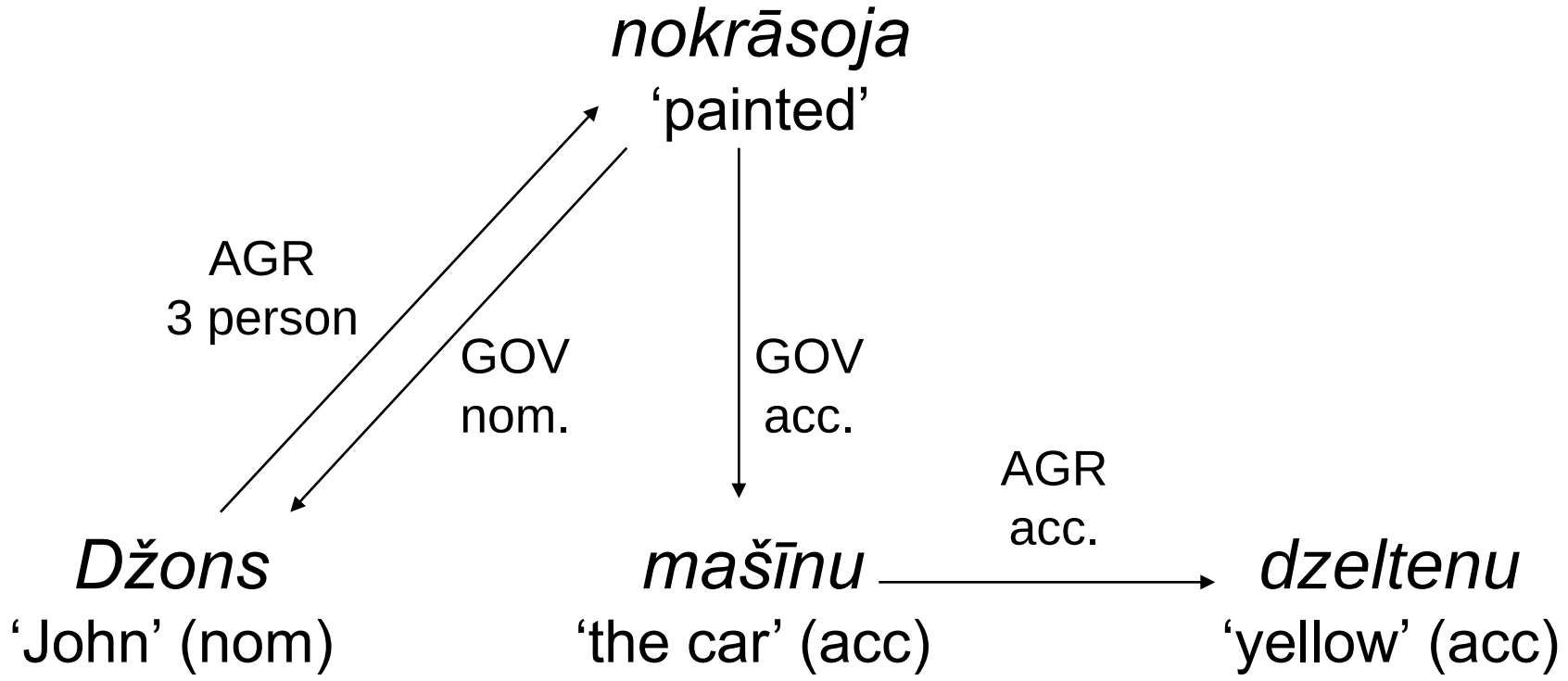
Meaning ↔ text model
Semantic dependency

Džons nokrāsoja mašīnu dzeltenu.

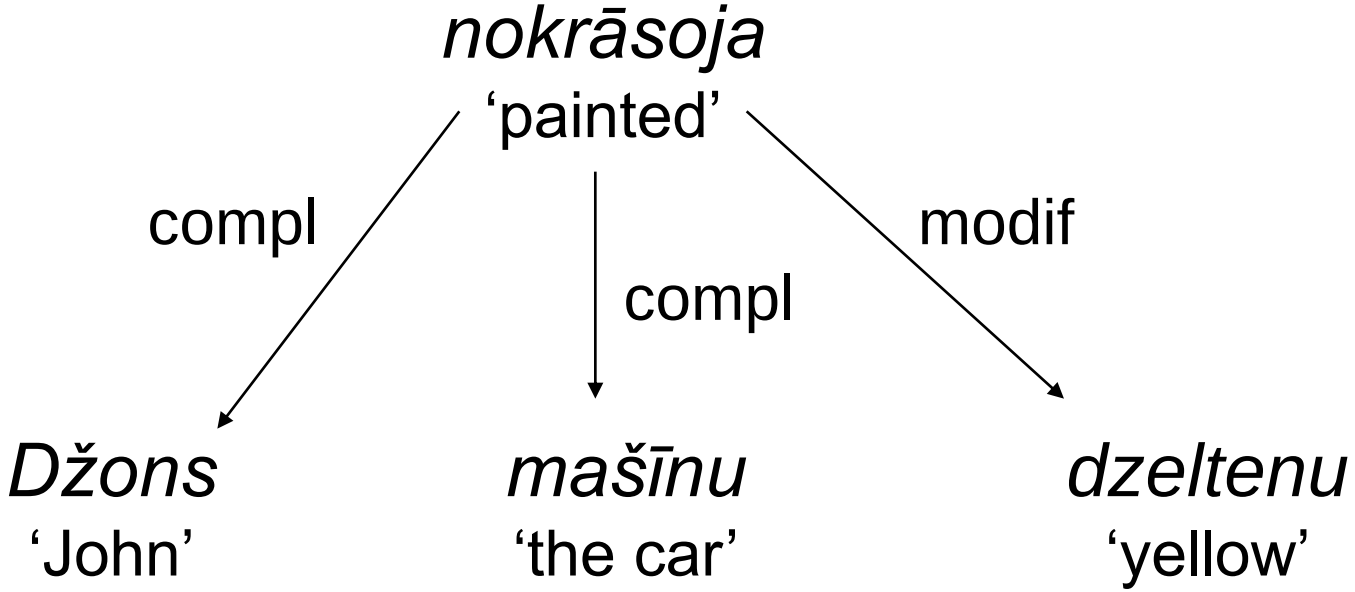
'John painted the car yellow.'



Meaning ↔ text model
Morphological dependency



Meaning ↔ text model
Syntactic dependency



Other theories

- Categorial Grammar (Wunderlich 1997)
- Head Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (Wechsler 1997, 2005)
- Relational Grammar (Nichols 1978)
- etc.

Summary

- Generative Grammar concentrates on syntax
- Cognitive Grammar pays attention to the cognitive background of the phenomenon
- Construction Grammar and MTM link syntax to semantics to account for linguistic issues

Encoding of SRP

- **Encoding of SRP**
  - in European languages
  - in Lithuanian
  - In Latvian

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- There can be several strategies for the encoding of SRP in a language.
- Sometimes it is possible to establish the main strategy but quite many languages have two (or three) strategies that are more or less equally employed.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Adjectival predicative**: English, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Dutch, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, Irish, etc.

Estonian:

Jaan	*värvis*	*auto*	***punaseks****.*
John	painted	car.GEN	red.TR

John painted the car red.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Reflexive + adjectival predicative**: English, Danish, Norwegian, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, etc.

Danish:

John	*skreg*	***sig***	***hæs***.
John	shouted	REFL	hoarse.SG.C

John shouted himself hoarse.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Time clause**: Italian, Portuguese, Albanian, Basque, Maltese, Turkish, etc.

Turkish:

John	***temizlenene***	***kadar*** *masa-yı*		*kurula-dı.*
John	become.clean	until	table-ACC	wipe-PST

John wiped the table clean.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

Talmy 1991

- **Satellite-framed**: manner – primary pred.
  result – secondary pred.

  John wiped the table clean.

- **Verb-framed**: manner – secondary pred.
  result – primary pred.

  John cleaned the table with a cloth.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Verb-framed**: Italian, Portuguese, Basque, etc.

Basque:

Jonek metala mailu batekin ***zapaldu zuen***.

John.ERG metal.ABS hammer with flattened AUX

John hammered the metal flat.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Prefix + adverb/PP**: Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Polish, etc.

Russian:

Джон ***на****-грузил* *повозку* ***доверху***.

John PREF-loaded wagon.ACC full.ADV

John loaded the wagon full.

Encoding of SRP
European languages

- **Prefix + reflexive + adverb/PP**: Russian, Ukrainian (Polish, Czech to a lesser extent), etc.

Polish:

Jans	***na**-jadł*	***się***	***do***	***syta**.*
John	PREF-ate	REFL	to	fullness.GEN

John ate himself full.

Summary
European languages

- Adjectival predicative
  - Reflexive + adjectival predicative
- Time clause
- Verb-framed structure
- Prefix + adverb/PP
  - Prefix + reflexive + adverb/PP

Encoding of SRP
Lithuanian

- The main strategy – **prefix + adverb**:

Jonas	***nu**-dažė*	*mašiną*	***raudonai***.
John	PREF-painted	car.ACC	red.ADV

John painted the car red.

Encoding of SRP
Lithuanian

- **Prefix + reflexive + adverb/PP**:

Jonas ***sočiai*** ***pri-si****-valgė*.
John full.ADV PREF-REFL-ate
John ate himself full.

Encoding of SRP
Lithuanian

- **Time clause**:

Jonas *šaukė,* ***kol*** ***užkimo***.
John shouted until became.hoarse

Jonas *šaukė* ***iki*** ***užkimimo***.
John shouted until hoarseness.GEN
John shouted himself hoarse.

Encoding of SRP
Lithuanian

- **? Prefix + adjectival predicative**:

Jis	***pri**-pylė*	*stiklinę*	***pilną***.
he	PREF-filled	glass.ACC	full.ACC

He filled the glass full.

Encoding of SRP
Latvian

- The main strategy – **prefix + adjectival predicative**:

Džons	***no**-krāsoja*	*mašīnu*	***dzeltenu***.
John	PREF-painted	car.ACC	yellow.ACC

John painted the car yellow.

Encoding of SRP
Latvian

- **Prefix + reflexive + adjectival predicative/PP**:

Džons	***pār**-ēd-**ās***	***līdz***	***nelabumam***.
John	PREF-ate-REFL	until	sickness.DAT

John ate himself sick.

Encoding of SRP
Latvian

- **Time clause**:

Džons	*kliedza*	***līdz***	***aizsmakumam***.
John	shouted	until	hoarseness.DAT

John shouted himself hoarse.

Encoding of SRP
Latvian

- **Prefix + adverb**:

Džons	***sa**-grieza*	*tomātu*	***plāni**.*
John	PREF-cut	tomato.ACC	thin.ADV

John cut the tomato thin.

Summary
Baltic languages

LITHUANIAN	LATVIAN
PREF + adverb	**PREF + adjective**
PREF+REFL+adverb/PP	PREF+REFL+adjective/PP
time clause	time clause
? PREF + adjective	PREF + adverb

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic

- The core meaning of SRP is **causation**.
- The meaning of resultatives can be paraphrased as

  ‘X causes Y to become Z’.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Implicational causation

- In both languages nearly all instances of SRP encoded by the main strategy express the “normal” causation which can be perfectly paraphrased according to the above pattern.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Implicational causation

Lithuanian:

Jonas	***nu**-šluostė*	*stalą*	***švariai***.
John	PREF-wiped	table.ACC	clean.ADV

'John caused the table to become clean.'

Latvian:

Džons	***pie**-krāva*	*vagonu*	***pilnu**.*
John	PREF-loaded	wagon.ACC	full.ACC

'John caused the wagon to become full.'

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Implicational causation

Lithuanian:

Jis	***pri**-pylė*	*stiklinę*	***(pilną)***.
he	PREF-filled	glass.ACC	full.ACC

He filled the glass full.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- Examples with a reflexive particle and a time clause contain the same verbs (intransitive or optionally transitive) in both languages:
  - *valgyti*, *ēst* ‘eat’
  - *šokti*, *dejot* ‘dance’
  - *šaukti*, *kliegt* ‘shout’
  - *skaityti, lasīt* ‘read’, etc.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- The constructions they enter are not “truly” causative in a sense that the affected object of the causation (the causee) is at the same time a causer:

  ? ‘X caused X to become Z’

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- The overlap of the causer and the causee is expressed

  by a fake reflexive in Germanic languages:

  *John ate **himself** sick*.

  *Mary danced **herself** tired*.

  and

  by the reflexive pattern and the time clause strategy in Baltic languages.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

Lithuanian:

Jonas	***sočiai***	***pri-si****-valgė*.
John	full.ADV	PREF-REFL-ate

John ate himself full.

Jonas	*šaukė,*	***kol***	***užkimo***.
John	shouted	until	became.hoarse

John shouted himself hoarse.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

Eng. **John ate himself*.
Lith. **Jonas valgė-si*.
John ate-REFL

Cp. Normal reflexive verbs:
Eng. *John washed himself*.
Lith. *Jonas prausė-si*.
John washed-REFL

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- The reflexive pattern is used with the verbs *prisivalgyti*, *pieēst* ‘eat enough ’, *persivalgyti*, *pārēst* ‘overeat’, *prisigrūsti*, *piebāzt* ‘pack‘, etc.

- Other instances of the indirect causation employ the time clause strategy (*šokti*, *dejot* ‘dance’, *šaukti*, *kliegt* ‘shout’, *skaityti, lasīt* ‘read’, etc.)

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- In sentences like the following all relevant information is conveyed by the verb and its prefix. The adverb or adjective here is redundant.

  Lith. *Jonas pri-sivalgė (sočiai).*

  ‘John ate himself full.’

  Latv. *Autobuss pie-bāžas (pilns).*

  ‘The bus was packed with people.’

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- In the following sentence the adjunct conveys some kind of new information but on the other hand, this information is predictable from the meaning of the verb.

  Jonas per-sivalgė (iki vėmimo).

  ‘John ate himself sick.’

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Indirect causation

- Differently from verbs like *valgyti* ‘eat’, the verbs *šokti* ‘dance’, *šaukti* ‘shout’, *skaityti* ‘read’ do not imply any kind of result.

- Baltic languages opt to use the reflexive pattern for encoding an implied result and the time clause strategy for an unpredictable result.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Metonymic causation

- There are some examples in Latvian which follow the “Lithuanian” pattern (PREF + adverb):

Džons	***sa**-grieza*	*tomātu*	***plāni**.*
John	PREF-cut	tomato.ACC	thin.ADV

John cut the tomato thin.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Metonymic causation

- They are peculiar in that they cannot be paraphrased:

  ?John caused the tomato to become thin.
- ‘Thin’ is a property of the slices of the tomato, but not of the whole tomato.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Metonymic causation

- In some languages this kind of SP is or can be expressed by the adjectival predicative (English ?, Hungarian, Estonian?, etc.)
- Usually manner adverbs mark a property which is not semantically related with the object: *John read the poem quickly*.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Metonymic causation

- In the relevant examples the adjunct is semantically related both to the verb and to the object.
- Latvian generally uses an adverb in cases of metonymic causation.
- Lithuanian does not have such a choice because the adverb is its main encoding strategy.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Secondary causation

- Secondary causation includes cases with the verbs *piekaut*, *primušti* ‘beat’, *nospardīt*, *suspardyti* ‘kick’, *sasist*, *nukalti* ‘hammer‘, etc.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Secondary causation

Jonas	***negyvai***	***pri****-mušė*	*vyrą.*
John	dead.ADV	PREF-beat	man.ACC

John beat the man to death.

Džons	***sa****-sita*	*metālu*	***plakanu****.*
John	PREF-hit	metal.ACC	flat.ACC

John hammered the metal flat.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Secondary causation

- Resultatives usually contain telic verbs (accomplishments) which have incremental themes, ex. *nokrāsot mašīnu, nudažyti mašiną* ‘paint the car‘.

Interpretation of SRP in Baltic
Secondary causation

- Cases like *primušti žmogų*, *piekaut vīrieti* ‘beat the man’ are atelic (activities), and their themes are not incremental.

- Activities become telic and respectively causative when the result phrase is added: *primušti žmogų* ‘beat the man’ + *negyvai* ‘to death’.

Conclusions

- The main strategies – PREF + adverb in Lithuanian and PREF + adjective in Latvian are used to encode implicational causation.
- Indirect causation is expressed either by the reflexive pattern (for implied result) or by the time clause strategy (for unpredictable result).

Conclusions

- Metonymical causation which is semantically related both to the object and to the verb in the Baltic languages emphasizes the latter relation and therefore is encoded by the adverb.
- Secondary causation does not have its typical coding strategy but semantically clearly differs from the other types.

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