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### *Result Phrases and Dative Experiencers in Kannada*

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## Result Phrases and Dative Experiencers in Kannada

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### 1. Overview

This paper discusses two kinds of resultative constructions in Kannada, a Dravidian language of southern India. I first distinguish accomplishment resultatives from achievement resultatives, as suggested in Higginbotham (1999). Kannada is relatively poor in accomplishment resultatives, but rich in achievement resultatives, which denote (in Higginbotham's words) an "instantaneous event" that is "already a result." I explain this asymmetry in terms of the lexical categories and the category-making strategies available in the language.

I explore the idea of an achievement resultative using the first phase syntax of Ramchand (2008), and argue that the dative experiencer construction, traditionally considered an areal characteristic of South Asian languages, is an achievement resultative. This type of resultative is more readily available in Kannada than in (e.g.) English, owing to the *have/ be* alternation: Kannada is a *be* language that expresses possession with dative case. Related to this is the use of nouns rather than adjectives to denote states. I shall argue that the dative experiencer construction has no external argument, and identify its verbal complement with the dative-of-possession small clause in the double object construction (Harley 2002).

Accomplishment resultatives are known to require path-projecting property expressions. In Kannada, such property expressions may be syntactically realized as case-marked nominals.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I distinguish achievement resultatives from accomplishment resultatives. Section 3 turns to the dative experiencer construction by way of a discussion, in Section 3.1, of the event structure of verbs like *come* and *arrive* in English. I show that such verbs may present a result state wherein the subject is non-thematic, and the relation between the state and the entity in that state may be expressed as one of possession. Sections 3.2 -3.3 present the Kannada facts and their analysis. I argue that verbal predicates in Kannada and English differ in the strength of the process sub event they project, in a Ramchand-style first phase analysis of event structure. Sections 3.4 - 3.5 identify the complement of the verb in the dative experiencer construction with the complement of the verb in the double object construction. Given the proposed difference in the event structures allowed by Kannada and English, Kannada allows the double object possession clause to surface as a complement to verbs like *come*, and no external argument is projected.

Section 4 discusses accomplishment resultatives, showing that property nouns that project path occur in them. Unlike English, however, Kannada has no resultatives where the resultee is the reflexive or unselected object of an unergative verb. I argue that (contrary to current assumptions) a transitivity or causativising *v* head must be differentiated from the unergative *v* head in this language, which does not case mark an internal argument.

## 2. Accomplishment Resultatives and Achievement Resultatives

The construction commonly discussed under the rubric “resultative” in the literature on unaccusatives is an accomplishment resultative where the resultee is syntactically an object, and the result state is *caused* by the predicate. Its four subtypes are illustrated in (1). The resultees in (1i-iv) are respectively a transitive object, a reflexive object of an unergative verb, an unselected object of an unergative verb, and an internal argument of an unaccusative (change of state) verb.

1. i. John wiped the table clean.
- ii. John shouted himself hoarse.
- iii. John ran his shoes ragged.
- iv. The bottle broke open.

The resultative in (1i-iv) is diagnostic of accomplishments. In Van Valin’s (1990) system of predicate decompositions, an accomplishment predicate derives from an activity predicate that causes a change of state.<sup>1</sup> Levin and Rappoport-Hovav (1995: 34) describe the resultative as “the state achieved ... as a result of the action denoted by the verb ...,” an expression “in which both the causing event and the change of state are specified, each by a different predicate” (op.cit.: 107). Kratzer (2004) states that semantically, “resultatives are a species of causatives, where the causal relation is always direct causation.”

The notion of a result is not, however, limited to accomplishments. Higginbotham (1999:132) points out that accomplishments and achievements are both telic predicates, but of different kinds. A telic predicate is a predicate that “makes some reference to the notion of an end.” For accomplishments, the end is “of a process given by the verb itself.” For achievements, the end is of a process “recovered by implication.”

Higginbotham’s distinction between the telicity of accomplishments and the telicity of achievements comes in the wake of some confusion whether verbs of inherently directed motion such as *come*, *go* and *arrive* admit resultatives. Levin and Rappoport-Hovav (1995: 55-56) point out that the resultative as they define it does not occur with such verbs: (2) does not mean (3).

2. Willa arrived breathless. ( ≠ (3))
3. Willa became breathless as a result of arriving.

Note that the nonexistent reading (3) is an accomplishment reading. (If the activity of arriving resulted in breathlessness, *arrive* would be an accomplishment verb like *shout* in (1ii) above.)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. clause (d) below, cited from Levin and Rappoport-Hovav (op. cit.: 167):

- a. STATE: **predicate**' (x) or (x, y)
- b. ACHIEVEMENT: BECOME **predicate**' (x) or (x, y)
- c. ACTIVITY (+/- Agentive): ( DO (x)) [**predicate**' (x) or (x, y)]
- d. ACCOMPLISHMENT:  $\phi$  CAUSE  $\psi$ , where  $\phi$  is normally an activity predicate and  $\psi$  an achievement predicate

<sup>2</sup> Verbs of existence and appearance also lack causative uses (as these authors observe), “though cited as bonafide unaccusative verbs” (op.cit.: 81): \**“The magician appeared the rabbit,”* \**“God be-ed the universe.”*

In their explanation of these data, Levin and Rappoport-Hovav implicitly acknowledge a second kind of resultative. They point out that *arrive* is an achievement verb, which specifies an achieved endpoint. (I.e., it is telic.) An eventuality may be associated with at most one delimitation (Tenny 1987). A resultative is a delimiter. Hence achievement verbs, which are already delimited, are incompatible with resultatives.

Contesting this explanation, Tortora (1998:343) argues that goal phrases (*at the airport*) that are compatible with verbs like *arrive* are also delimiters. She concludes that “there does not seem to be a way to straightforwardly maintain that *open* in [*The bottle broke open*] is a resultative but *at the airport* in [*We arrived at the airport*] is not.”

Higginbotham deems this a conclusion “that would be unfortunate if true,” pointing out that there are languages (e.g., the Romance languages) that lack resultatives of the *break XP open* type, but have constructions of the type *arrive at XP*. To distinguish them, he proposes to

regard *arrive* as a predicate applying to (instantaneous) events of being at a place, which constitute the terminus or telos of events of journeying to that place, formally as:

$arrive(x, e) \leftrightarrow (E_p [at(x, p, e) \ \& \ (Ee') \ (e' \text{ is a journey by } x \ \& \ (e', e) \text{ is a telic pair})]^3$

If so, then the adjunct [*at the airport* in *They arrived at the airport*, RA] does not express the result of the arrival, but simply identifies the place in question. Furthermore, *arrive* does not admit a resultative, since it classifies events that are themselves already results.

(Higginbotham 1999:134)

Higginbotham thus recaptures and formalizes a distinction between the telicity of accomplishments and that of achievements implicit in Levin and Rappoport-Hovav’s explanation of (2-3) above. To recapitulate, a telic predicate “makes some reference to the notion of an end.” Accomplishments as well as achievements are telic. With accomplishment predicates, the end is of “a process given by the predicate itself.” With achievement predicates, the end is of a process “recovered by implication,” because the predicate does not signify the process that leads to the result: it signifies “an instantaneous event,” and so “classifies events that are themselves already results.”

### 3. Achievement resultatives, possessional states, and dative case

Accomplishment resultatives have received a plausible syntactic account in terms of a “raising” analysis, such that the resultee, though apparently a direct object, does not originate in that theta position. E.g., *the table* in [*wiped [the table clean]*] starts out as an argument of the adjective (Kratzer 2004).<sup>4</sup>

I shall argue that achievement resultatives must have a similar structure. I.e. a verb like *come* in English takes, on at least one of its readings, an infinitival complement whose subject raises to its matrix position; the infinitival predicate denotes a state that the subject is in. This

<sup>3</sup> A “telic pair” of events or situations is semantically interpreted through a mode of composition.

<sup>4</sup> Jayaseelan (1988) discusses similar examples with particles: *He shaved [his beard off]*. Here *beard* cannot be a second argument of *shave* (cf. \**He shaved his beard*). The point is even clearer in *They wrung the truth out of him*.

suggests that *arrive*, which takes a locative complement, similarly requires its subject to raise out of it. In Kannada, a corresponding verb *bar-* ‘come, arrive’ takes a small clause possessional complement whose subject has dative case.

3.1 Let us begin by trying to better understand the notion of “an instantaneous event that is already a result” in terms of the verb syntax in Ramchand (2008). A verb’s event structure consists, in this framework, of the sub events *initiation*, *process*, and *result*. Ramchand (2008:25), following among others Higginbotham (1999), adopts the “widely argued” position that “the combination of ‘process’ and ‘result’ creates complex accomplishments.” It is a clear inference, then, that in order to denote an “instantaneous event,” an achievement verb must either lack the process subevent, or at best project quite an impoverished process subevent. A truncated process gives us an instantaneous event that is already a result.

I shall thus say that achievement verbs may project mainly the result subevent in first phase syntax, differently from Ramchand’s analysis of them as projecting all three subevents *init*, *proc*, and *res*. My analysis assimilates these verbs to Ramchand’s category of ‘light’ verbs, characterized as having a “poor *proc*, rich *res*,” e.g. *get* in *Her boyfriend got arrested*.<sup>5</sup>

For Ramchand, the sentence *Michael arrived* has the representation (4) (=her (34), p.79). The subject initiates the action, undergoes a process of arriving, and as a result is at (an unspecified) place.

4. [<sub>initP</sub> Michael [ arrive [<sub>procP</sub> <Michael> [<arrive> [<sub>resP</sub> <Michael> [<arrive> XP]]]]]]

What I wish to argue is that the subject of *arrive* starts out as the subject of the implicit place argument; that the *proc* sub event is either absent, or poor; and that the subject may not be an initiator, although it raises to the external argument position. (In Ramchand’s system, the initiator is a primitive that distinguishes the external argument.)

Consider thus the event structures of *come* in the English examples (5) and (6). The infinitive in (5) is an infinitive of purpose; the subject of *come*, which controls the subject of the infinitive, is here plausibly an initiator. The subject of the infinitive in (6), however, is not an initiator. The infinitive in (6) cannot be read as an infinitive of purpose.

5. I have come [*e* to see you].

6. I have come to know/ see/ believe/ understand/ realize that ...

The infinitive in (6) denotes a state (of knowledge, belief, ...) that the subject is in. Consequently, the subject of *come* in (6) is not thematic: cf. (7a). *Come* in (6) must thus be a raising verb with a clausal complement (7b).

7. a. It has come to my knowledge that ...

b. come [I to know that ...]

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<sup>5</sup>Ramchand cites the causative counterpart of this sentence (in her discussion of “result augmentation”) to illustrate how “a ‘light’ verb joins forces with a richly contentful final state to create a complex predication:”

i. (=her (96, p.148) ) Rich *res*, poor *proc*: She got her boyfriend arrested.

Here *her boyfriend arrested* is the result phrase, and *she* is the initiator.

Where *come* has no thematic subject, its process subevent is poor (in (7a), perhaps a mere step into a state of knowing), while its result argument is overt and informationally rich. We here have a very close syntactic approximation to the idea that a verb like *come* classifies an event that is already a result.

The “poor *proc*, rich *res*” event structure of *come* and *arrive* is seen in other abstract contexts such as *We came (failed to come) to a conclusion*, *We (failed to) arrive at a resolution*. These (I propose) derive from small clause complement structures like *arrive [we at a resolution]*.

3.2 Consider the event structures of the Kannada verb *bar-* ‘come’ in (8) and (9). (8) is a “nominative” construction, and (9) is a “dative” construction. The nominative subject of *bar-* in (8) may be said to initiate an action of motion. Then *bar-* projects *init*, *proc*, and *res* in (8). The place that the subject is at as a result of its motion can occur optionally as a dative NP.

8. naanu (mane-ge) bande.  
 I.nom (house-dat.) came  
 ‘I came (home).’

In (9), on its literal reading, an experience (anger, sleep) “comes” to an experiencer.

9. a. nan-age koopa bantu.  
 I-dat. anger came  
 ‘I felt/ got angry.’ (Lit. Anger came to me.)  
 b. nan-age nidde bantu.  
 I-dat. sleep came  
 ‘I felt/got sleepy.’ (Lit. Sleep came to me.)

But an experience cannot initiate an event of coming. The verb *bar-* in (9) must therefore differ from *bar-* in (8) in its lack of the *init* feature. This suggests that these verbs may differ in the way that *come* in (5) differs from *come* in (6). And indeed, the nominative subject of *bar-* in (8) controls a purposive infinitive (10), but the (putative) nominative argument in (9) cannot do so (11):<sup>6</sup>

10. naanu [PRO ninn-anna nooDuvud-ikke] mane-ge bande.  
 I PRO you-acc. see-nom.-dat. house-dat. came  
 ‘I came home to see you.’  
 11. \* nidde [PRO nann-annu bayy-is-uvud-ikke] nan-age bantu.  
 sleep PRO I-acc. scold-caus-nom.-dat. I-dat. came.  
 \*‘Sleep came to me (in order) to get me scolded.’

*Bar-* in (9), then, does not project *init*. It does not literally signify a motion event, and so its dative argument does not merely specify an end location. Rather, in the Kannada (9) as in the English (6), the result sub event is the emergence of a state: a cognitive state in (6), an experiential state in (9). The two readings of *come* in (5-6) thus correlate respectively with the occurrence of nominative and dative “subjects” for the verb *bar-* in Kannada in (8-9).

<sup>6</sup> Nor can the dative argument: \**nanage [PRO kanasu kaaNuvudikke] nidde bantu* \*‘I got sleep in order to see dreams.’

3.3. What “comes about” in the dative experiencer construction (9) is a relation between an experiencer and an experience.<sup>7</sup> This relation, let us note, can be expressed as one of possession. Thus in (7a) above (“It has come to our knowledge that...”), a relation between the cognitive state and the holder of that state is expressed as a relation of possession: *our knowledge* (= ‘we know’).

Now, dative case in Kannada expresses a relation of inalienable possession; Kannada does not have the verb *have*.

12. naayi-ge      baala    ide.  
       dog-dat.      tail      be.3sg.n.  
       ‘The dog has a tail.’ (lit. ‘To the dog is a tail.’)

Assuming the analysis of Kayne ([1993] 2000), *have* derives from *be* by the incorporation of a prepositional dative P<sub>dat</sub>. In Kannada, dative case does not incorporate into *be*, but surfaces on the possessor.<sup>8</sup>

The dative experiencer construction is thus an achievement resultative that presents an experiential result state as a state of possession, in a small clause complement. English, too, uses *have* to express experiential states; cf. the translations of the Kannada examples below.

13. a. [nan-age      ondu kanassu ]      bantu.  
       I-dat.      a      dream      come.pst.3sg.n.  
       ‘I had a dream.’ (Cf. ‘There came to me dream.’)
- b. [avan-ige      ondu khayile/ rooga/ jvara/ negaDi]      bandide.  
       he-dat.      an illness/ disease/ fever/ cold      has.come  
       ‘He has an illness/ a disease/ a fever/ a cold.’
- c. [avan-ige      English]      bar-utt-e.  
       he-dat.      English      come-nonpst-3sg. n.  
       ‘He knows English;’ but cf. ‘He has (no) English,’ ‘English comes to him easily.’

Given these parallelisms, we may ask where the obvious differences in the Kannada and the English experiencer constructions lie. I suggest they stem from four interlinked properties that nevertheless do not obviously cohere into a parameter.

The first one, obviously, is in the manifestation of dative case: in Kannada, on the experiencer in a sentence with a *be* predicate, but in English, assuming the Kaynean *have~be* relation, in the verb *have*. The second is the poor incidence of the lexical category Adjective in Kannada, and the consequent expression of experiential states by nouns rather than adjectives, as observed in Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003; henceforth A&J). If, as A&J

<sup>7</sup> In English, a phrasal verb may indicate the emergence of such a relation, cf. the English translation of (i):

i. ivan-ige      yeenu      bantu?  
    he-dat.      what      come.pst.3n.sg.      ‘What has come over him?’ [Lit. ‘What came to him?’]

<sup>8</sup> English has a vestigial, restricted dative of possession construction (ib); compare the Kannada (ii).

i. a. This must have a lid (to it).  
    b. There must be a lid to this.  
 ii. ida-kke      ondu      muccaLa      ira      beeku  
    this-dat.      one      lid      be      must  
    ‘(There) must be a lid to this.’

Cf. Amritavalli and Jayaseelan (2003:20).

propose, an adjective is a noun that incorporates case, these two properties are related; i.e. dative case does not incorporate into V or into N in Kannada.

A third difference is in the predicates that manifest the “poor *proc*, rich *res*” event structure in the two languages. Kannada readily accommodates verbs other than *be*, e.g. the unaccusative verb *bar-* ‘come’ of inherently directed motion, in this structure. English accommodates inchoative *get*, but otherwise prefers to not attenuate the process sub event of a motion verb. To express states, English uses unambiguously stative verbs like *be*, along with its lexical resource of the adjectival category.

English verbs of inherently directed motion thus gain in acceptability in the “poor *proc*, rich *res*” event structure if the event’s semantics is tweaked to enhance the process sub event (or conversely, to emphasize the stativity of the event). This is illustrated in the pairs below (cited from Amritavalli 2014).

14. a. ?Wisdom came to him.  
 b. Wisdom came to him late in life. (*proc* enhancement by time adverbial)
15. a. ??Sleep came to him.  
 b. Sleep eluded him (*proc* enhancement by lexical encoding of avoidance of pursuit)<sup>9</sup>
16. a. ?A dream came to me.  
 b. Dreams come to us from the collective unconscious. (stativity-enhancing generic subject and locational source)

The choice of stative versus motion verbs in the experiencer construction in Kannada corresponds to the degree of attenuation of the process sub event. This is obvious in (17a-b), where the English translations faithfully reflect the Kannada event structures for the two verbs.

17. a. nan-age      buddhi      ide.  
 I-dat.      wisdom      be.3sg.n.  
 ‘I am wise/ I have wisdom.’
- b. nan-age      buddhi      bantu.  
 I-dat.      wisdom      came. 3sg.n.  
 ‘I got wisdom/ I became wise.’

But in (18a-b), verb choice in Kannada differentiates the continued possession of a metaphorical dream from the possession of a dream during a single event of dreaming.<sup>10</sup>

18. a. [naavu ondaagi iruttiivi anta]      nan-age ondu kanassu ide.  
 we      one-prt. shall be that      I-dat.      a dream      be  
 ‘I have a dream [that we shall remain united].’
- b. (= (13a)) nan-age      ondu kanassu      bantu.  
 I-dat.      a      dream      come.pst.3sg.n.  
 ‘I had a dream.’ (= I dreamed.)

<sup>9</sup> Compare also *Wisdom dawned on him* with (14a) for lexical encoding of unfolding process.

<sup>10</sup> Some Indian speakers of English differentiate (18a-b) in terms of ‘having a dream’ and ‘getting a dream,’ perhaps on the analogy of ‘have a headache,’ ‘get a headache.’

A fourth difference is that “poor *proc*, rich *res*” verbs in the two languages take different kinds of complements, perhaps due to differences in case licensing possibilities. English *come* takes an infinitive complement in (6), and raises the subject out of it (7b) (repeated below as (19a,b)). A small clause complement to *come* is possible only in the presence of a preposition or particle; cf. n. 7 above.

19. a. I have come to know/ see/ believe/ understand/ realize that ...  
 b. come [I to know that ...]

Kannada *bar-* ‘come’ in the experiencer construction takes a small clause complement, and the experiencer is case-licensed within it. This verb does not allow raising out of an infinitival complement. An infinitive complement to *bar-* can only be interpreted purposively, with a PRO subject; i.e. the verb does not case-license a non-thematic nominative subject. Thus the Kannada counterpart to (19a) would have the odd reading ‘I have come in order to know ...’<sup>11</sup>

19. c. ?# naanu<sub>i</sub> [PRO<sub>i</sub> tiLiuvud-akke ] bandiddiini.  
 I<sub>i</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> know-nom.-dat. have come

3.4 We noted in section 3.2 a correlation between a nominative subject for *bar-* ‘come’ and the projection of an *init* sub event by the verb. This correlation is seen again in (20a-b) below.

20. a. idu vaasane bar-utt-ide.  
 this.nom. smell come-nonpst.-3n.sg.  
 ‘This is stinking.’ [Lit. ‘This (is) smell coming.’]  
 b. nan-age vaasane bar-utt-ide.  
 I-dat. smell come-nonpst.-3n.sg.  
 ‘I am getting a smell.’ [Lit. ‘[To me (a) smell] coming.’]

Ramchand defines the initiator of unergative intransitives (e.g., *he stank*) as “an entity whose properties/ behaviour are responsible for the eventuality coming into existence” (2008: 24); and the initiator of a stative predicate as “the entity whose properties are the cause or grounds for the stative eventuality to obtain” (p. 107). These are indeed appropriate characterizations of the nominative subject *idu* ‘this’ of *vaasane bar-utt-ide* ‘smell coming’ in (20a). But in (20b), the dative experiencer is not an initiator. What about the noun ‘smell’? This noun is clearly a part of the predicate, in (20b) as in (20a). Thus there is no initiator in (20b).

<sup>11</sup> Kannada does not in general allow raising out of infinitive complements, e.g. complements to *seem*-type predicates (Amritavalli 2014). Compare (i) and (ii):

- i. [avanu bandanu anta] toorutte / kaaNutte  
 he came COMP seems/ appears ‘(It) seems/ appears that he has come.’  
 ii. \*avanu<sub>i</sub> [t<sub>i</sub> baruvud -akke] tooruttaane / kaaNuttaane.  
 he come.NONFIN.-DAT. seems / appears \*He seems/ appears to have come.’

Raising is possible only out of copular complements with no overt copula (Amritavalli 1977). In (iv), the verbs *seem*, *appear* agree with *he* (they are marked 3msg), arguing that the subject has raised out of the complement.

- iii. [avanu oLLeyavanu anta] toorutte/ kaaNutte. ‘(It) seems/ appears that he is a good man.’  
 iv. avanu<sub>i</sub> [ t<sub>i</sub> oLLeyavan-aagi] tooruttaane / kaaNuttaane. ‘He seems/ appears to be a good man.’

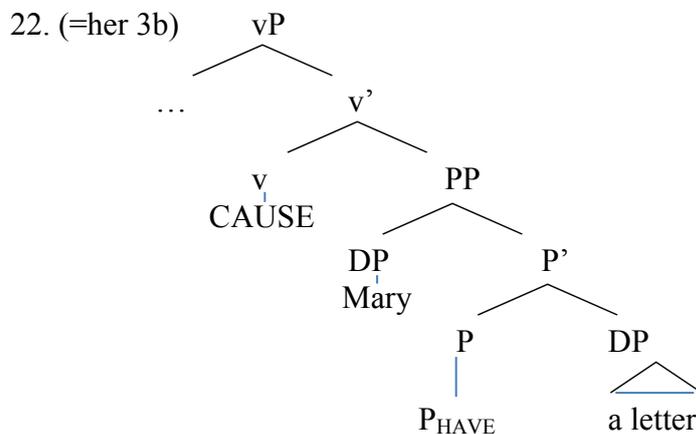
If we assume that PRO receives null case, whereas raising is out of a caseless position, this suggests that the Kannada infinitival verb must case mark its subject; and that the copula is defective in this respect.

The initiator is a primitive that distinguishes the external argument in Ramchand's system. The fact that the dative experiencer construction does not have an initiator suggests that this construction has no external argument. To substantiate this argument, I turn now to the double object construction and the place of the dative-of-possession small clause in it.

Consider the pair of Kannada examples (21a, b), and their English renderings.

21. a. [nan-age dhairya] ide.  
 I-dat. courage be.3sg.n.  
 'I have courage.'
- b. [nan-age dhairya] baral-i  
 I-dat. courage come.inf.-modal (permissive)  
 'Give me courage.' (lit. 'Let courage come to me')

English uses a double object verb *give* in (21b) where we expect a *let* causative use of *have*. Now it has been argued that the two objects of *give* are related by a covert preposition of possession (Harley 2002). The structure Harley proposes for *give Mary a letter* is (22):



Harley proposes a covert  $P_{HAVE}$ , but as Kayne (2010) observes, the silent element in (22) is more likely a verb *BE* than *HAVE*. Kayne points out that a silent matrix *have* is unattested, while matrix *be* is left unpronounced in many languages. He suggests that the possessor “already has, within the small clause, its dative Case.” Adopting Kayne’s modification of (22), the double object construction has a dative-of-possession small clause embedded under a causative verb. In our terms, it is an accomplishment resultative.

Of interest to us is that the double object verb *give* does not necessarily project an initiator argument. To see this, let us first recall Richards’ (2001) observation that (23a,b) share an idiom.

23. a. The Count gives everyone the creeps.  
 b. You get the creeps (just looking at him).

Richards points out that the idiom sharing in (23) supports Harley’s analysis; and he argues for an idiomatic component *have the creeps* in (24a, b), common to the structures in (23).

24. a. [<sub>vP</sub> The Count [<sub>v'</sub> CAUSE [<sub>PP</sub> everyone *HAVE* the creeps]]]  
 b. [<sub>vP</sub> You [<sub>v'</sub> BECOME [<sub>PP</sub> *HAVE* the creeps]]].

As I have argued above, the component common to (23a,b) must be a dative-of-possession small clause *To X be the creeps*. In (24b), then, the possessor is thematically licensed in the PP, and surfaces as an external argument.

Now what Richards does not mention is that the idiom in the double object construction (23a) can have a pleonastic subject:

25. It gives me the creeps (just to look at him.)<sup>12</sup>

This evidence that the double object verb *give* does not necessarily project an *initP* in its event structure shows that the possessor remains in its thematic position, even in English, in this structure. We have the following event structure, which surfaces syntactically with a pleonastic subject:

26. *procP* [give *resP* [*me*<sub>dative</sub> BE the creeps]]

In (26), we have an analogue in English to the “dative experiencer” construction in Kannada.<sup>13</sup>

Crucially, English requires a pleonastic subject in (26). But in a language that does not have expletive subjects, the subject could be a *pro*. Or the subject may not be projected at all; and this may correlate with the poor *proc* event structure found in such languages. If such a language were also linearly SOV, we would obtain the order of arguments in (27):

27. [ [*me*<sub>dative</sub> BE the creeps] *resP* give ] *procP*

Jayaseelan (1990), in a parametric approach to the experiencer dative construction cast in the mould of pro-drop and scrambling, had postulated just such a “complex predicate” structure formed by the experiencer and the experience for this construction-type. In that analysis, which predated the Kaynean approach to the *have/be* alternation, the nature of the relation between these arguments was (however) left unspecified.

3.5 The double object construction *Perfume gives Mary a headache* is an accomplishment resultative, and *Mary has a headache* is (I have argued) an achievement resultative, with a dative-of-possession complement to a “poor *proc*, rich *res*” verb. This predicts that the dative experiencer construction in languages like Kannada should attest causative counterparts to it. Indeed, a canonical ditransitive counterpart to the experiencer dative construction is attested in many languages (Shibatani ). Consider thus the Kannada pair (28, 29).

28. nan-age tondare aayitu.  
I-dat. trouble happened.3sg.n.  
'I had trouble.'

29. adu nan-age tondare koTT- itu.  
that.nom I-DAT. trouble gave- 3sg.n.  
'That gave me trouble.'

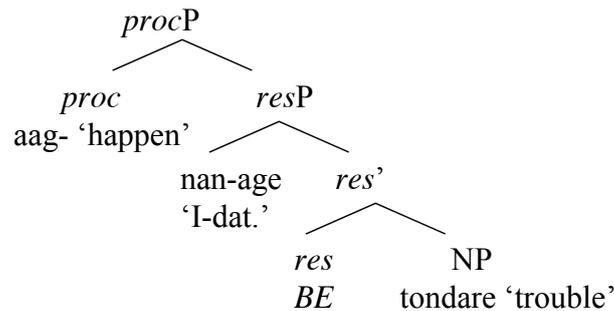
<sup>12</sup> Cf. also 'It gives me great pleasure (when ... / to... )'

<sup>13</sup> In Ramchand's system, inflection is responsible for nominative case, and *init* for internal structural case (p. 62). Note that there is no internal structural case in (25).

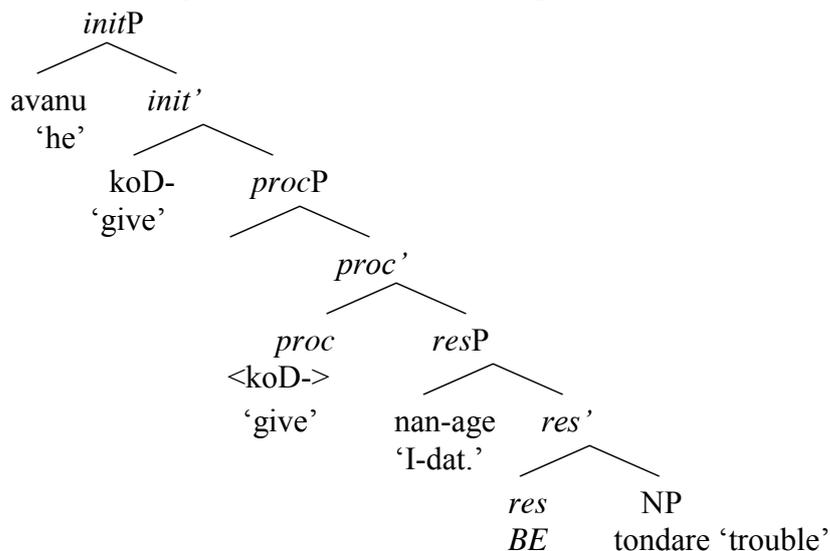
(25) is cognitively synonymous with *I get the creeps*. It is not clear to me why *get* does not allow a double object complement to surface with a pleonastic subject: *\*It gets me the creeps* (cf. *It gets cloudy*).

Up until now, (28) has been described as a “dative subject” construction, and (29) as a “dative object” construction. As such, the two structures have been thought to differ radically, and their dative arguments to have very different properties. I propose that they differ only in the lexicalization in (29) of an *init* subevent and a normal *proc* subevent by *koD-* ‘give,’ as opposed to the “poor *proc*, rich *res*” projected by *aag-* ‘happen’ in (28). Then the dative experiencer construction (30) is in truth a subcomponent of the double object construction (31) in Kannada.<sup>14</sup>

30. nan-age tondare aayitu ‘I had trouble.’



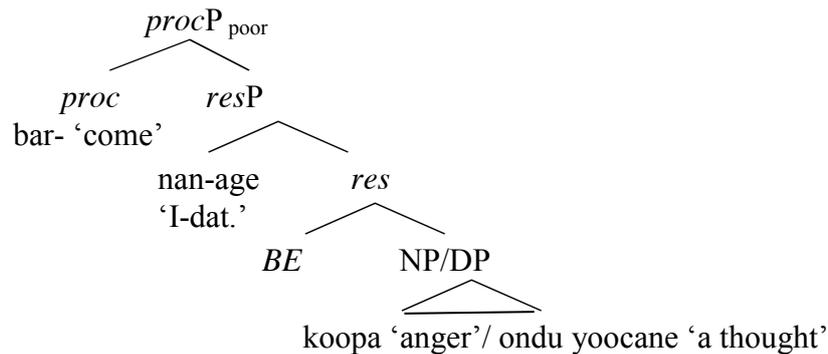
31. adu nan-age tondare koTT- itu ‘That gave me trouble.’



To conclude this section, I have presented evidence to suggest that the process sub event in first phase syntax might need to be decomposed further: into a poor process or no process at all, with no initiating sub event; and a process sub event as it is currently understood, i.e. an initiated, caused sub event complement to an *init* projection. On the eventivity versus stativity dimension of event structure, English-type languages prefer to encode the semantic type of state with a stative verb that takes as its complement the predicative category Adjective. Kannada on the other hand allows unaccusative verbs of motion to project the poor *proc* sub event, and take a dative-of-possession complement. A verb in the dative experiencer construction thus projects only the poor process sub event, and a result complement: cf. (32).

<sup>14</sup> On this analysis, the so-called subject properties of the dative experiencer (such as its “control” properties in participial clauses, and its ability to antecede “subject oriented” reflexives) must follow from it being the most prominent argument - indeed the sole argument - of the construction, rather than its occupying a designated subject position in the syntax.

32.



‘I got angry/ I had a thought’ (lit. ‘My anger/ my thought came to be’)

#### 4. Accomplishment resultatives and Path projecting adjectives

Not all languages freely allow accomplishment resultatives. Their availability has been suggested to correlate with the nature of adjectives: accomplishment resultatives require gradable adjectives that project a path (Ramchand 2008:121-125). In Italian, a simple adjective *piatto* ‘flat’ cannot occur in a resultative; it must be reduplicated (33). This is explained if the adjective denotes a “static situation with no path structure,” and reduplication creates structure that “allows property-scale denotations to be constructed from simple static properties.”<sup>15</sup>

33. Gianni ha martellato el metalo \*piatto / piatto piatto.  
 John has hammered the metal flat  
 ‘John hammered the metal flat.’

Turning to Kannada, accomplishment resultatives can be found where the resultee is a transitive object (cf. 1i above), or an internal argument of an unaccusative verb (cf. 1iv above). Unergative resultatives (with the resultee as reflexive object or unselected object, as in (1ii) and (1iii) above) are however not available at all. This, I suggest below, may be due to purely syntactic considerations of case licensing of the resultee. For the resultatives that do occur, the gradability of property-denoting expressions is indeed relevant.

Kannada (we have said) is a language that is poor in the lexical category Adjective. (There are a few basic attributive adjectives, but even these do not occur predicatively; they need to be nominalized.) Perfect participles in Kannada, as in English, can however function as adjectives, predicatively (with *be*) as well as prenominally (in a reduced relative clause).

34. *oNagi ide* ‘is dried,’ *tegedu ide* ‘is opened,’ *haridu ide* ‘is torn,’ *kudidu ide* ‘is boiled’

These participles do not occur in the resultative construction because they do not project Path. The status of (34) is parallel to that of English *\*He patted the cloth dried*, which (as noted in the literature) contrasts with *He patted the cloth dry*.

35. \**avanu roTTi-yannu oNagi (-ide) taTTida*  
 he bread-acc. dried (-be.pres.) patted  
 \*‘He patted the bread dried.’

<sup>15</sup> Comparative inflection, or modification with *too*, are also said to create such a structure.

Property-encoding nouns may fulfill an adjectival function in Kannada, as we have seen in the section above on the dative experiencer construction. Such nouns may occur predicatively as complements to the verb *be*; they must then be case-marked dative. Or they may occur attributively, and be case-marked genitive. In (36), the property noun *dappa* ‘thickness, fatness’ occurs predicatively and inflects for dative case; in (37) it occurs attributively and inflects for genitive case.

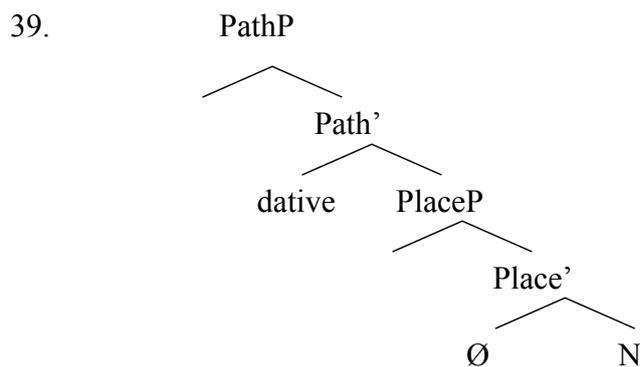
36. a. kaDDi / roTTi dappa-kke ide.  
 stick / bread thick-dat. be.agr  
 ‘The stick/ bread is thick.’
- b. huDuga dappa-kke iddaane.  
 boy thick-dat. be.agr  
 ‘The boy is fat.’
37. dappa-da kaDDi / roTTi /huDuga  
 thickness-gen. stick / bread/ boy  
 ‘a thick stick/ thick bread / a fat boy.’

Thus property concepts may be nominally instantiated and function adjectivally when genitive- or dative- case marked.<sup>16</sup>

(38) illustrates a Kannada accomplishment resultative where the resultee is a transitive object. The noun that fulfills the adjectival function is here case marked dative.

38. avanu roTTi-yannu dappa -kke laTTisida.  
 he bread-acc. thickness-dative rolled out  
 ‘He rolled the bread out thick.’

Developing on the suggestion in A&J, we may analyze Dative case in (38) as the head of a Path projection above N, with perhaps an intervening Place projection: [[[thickness]<sub>N</sub> Ø<sub>PlaceP</sub>] dative<sub>PathP</sub>], as illustrated in (39) below.



Given that N in (39) occurs in a Path projection, its occurrence in a resultative construction is to be expected. Other such N in Kannada are *guND-ige* ‘round’ (lit. ‘globe-dat.’), *udda-kke* ‘high’ (lit. ‘height-dat.’), *saNN-ige* ‘thin’ (lit. ‘thinness-dat.’)

<sup>16</sup> A&J therefore suggest that the category “adjective” has its genesis in a noun that incorporates case, as noted above. On genitive marking for property concept nouns, cf. also Koontz-Garboden and Francez 2010.

Note that locutions exist in English where path-projecting *to NP* phrases function adjectivally. The underlined expressions in (40) are resultatives that, sometimes in the absence of an appropriate path-projecting adjective, are instantiated as *to NP*.<sup>17</sup>

40. hone a skill to perfection (\*perfect)  
 drive X to distraction (\*distracted) / drive X to tears (\*tearful)  
 bore/ flog X to death (?dead)  
 grow to a great height (ok tall)

A second, more common morphological marker of the adjectival occurrence of N in Kannada is the suffix *-aagi*, a frozen past participle of the verb *aag-* ‘become.’ Example (41) illustrates N-*aagi* in a resultative.<sup>18</sup>

41. avanu roTTi-annu doDDa-d-aagi / cikka-d-aagi taTTida  
 he bread-acc. big-Nom.-ppl. / small-Nom.-ppl. patted  
 ‘He patted the bread big/ small.’

The morphology of *-aagi*, literally ‘having become,’ must thus encode path.

We have now illustrated, in (38) and (41), N-*dative* and N-*aagi* in resultatives where the resultee surfaces as a transitive object. These N occur also in unaccusative resultatives where the resultee is an internal argument of the verb:

42. roTTi guND-ige/ dapp-kke ubbitu.  
 bread globe-dat./ thick-dat. puffed up  
 ‘The bread puffed up round/ thick.’
43. roTTi doDDa-d-aagi / cikka-d-aagi ubbitu.  
 bread big-Nom.-ppl. / small-Nom.-ppl. puffed up  
 ‘The bread puffed up big/ small.’

However, resultatives with reflexive or unselected objects of unergative verbs do not occur even where a path projecting property expression with N-*dative* and N-*aagi* is present.

44. \*avanu tann-annu gaNTaLu dappa-kke kirchida / kirch-is-ida  
 he self-acc. throat thick-dat. shouted / shout-caus-pst.agr  
 \*‘He shouted himself hoarse.’
45. \*avanu chapli-annu theLL-age ooDida / ooD-is-ida.  
 he slippers-acc. thin-dat. ran / run-caus-pst.agr  
 \*‘He ran his slippers thin.’

In (44-45) we see a choice illustrated between morphologically intransitive and morphologically transitive verbs. The latter are marked with the suffix *-is*. This suffix, which

<sup>17</sup> *To* in English has been analysed as the head of a path projection (Svenonius 2004). Ramchand (2008: 118-9) suggests that *to* is the head of a result phrase that contains a place specification: [<sub>procP</sub> V [<sub>resP</sub> to [<sub>placeP</sub> AT DP]]]. She earlier notes the example *The sun dried the leaves to a crisp* (her (8b), p.68), parallel to (40) in the text. We may note also the expression *generous to a fault* (= *too generous / excessively generous*), where a degree path (cf. n. 14 above) manifests as *to NP*.

<sup>18</sup> N-*aagi* forms are ambiguous between adjectival and adverbial readings, but can be disambiguated by controlling for their compatibility with the verb. In (i), thus, an adverbial N-*aagi* modifies the process:

- i. avanu roTTi-annu sari-aagi / cenn-aagi taTTida  
 he bread-acc. right-aagi/ goodness-aagi patted  
 ‘He patted the bread well.’

is also the causative suffix, is possibly an overt transitivity *v* head. The sentences are ungrammatical either way.<sup>19</sup>

With the intransitive verb, (44-45) are totally uninterpretable. The structure that is unavailable to Kannada is presumably (46), where the resultee originates in a clause that is an internal argument of the unergative verb.

46. [<sub>vP</sub> John [<sub>v</sub> ooD- ‘ran’ [<sub>VP</sub> ~~ooD-~~ SC [chapli theLL-age ‘slippers thin’]]]]

I suggest that the unergative verb is unable to case-license the unselected object in (46). (The dative case in the small clause is – as in (38) and (42) – a Path projection of the predicate noun, and so cannot license the noun *chapli* ‘slippers.’)<sup>20</sup>

With the transitive verb, the sentences (44-45) tend to receive an interpretation as (degenerate) analogues to *He made himself shout*,<sup>21</sup> *He made the slippers run*.

The latter readings would follow straightforwardly from structures like (47), where the transitivity head *-is* hosts the external argument, and case licenses the argument of the corresponding unergative verb. Note that currently, transitives and unergatives are both assumed to project *v*; but in (47) these heads are differentiated. Kannada unergatives are never overtly marked with *-is*.<sup>22</sup> This argues for differentiating the Kannada unergative *v* head from the transitivity/ causativity *-is* head.

47. a. [<sub>vP</sub> John [<sub>v</sub> -is ‘caus’ [<sub>VP</sub> tann- ‘self’ [<sub>v</sub> kirch- [<sub>VP</sub> ~~kirch-~~ ‘shout’]]]]]]

‘John caused himself to shout’

b. [<sub>vP</sub> John [<sub>v</sub> -is ‘caus’ [<sub>VP</sub> chapli ‘slipper’ [<sub>v</sub> ooD- [<sub>VP</sub> ~~ooD-~~ ‘run’]]]]]]

‘John caused his slippers to run’

The absence of the resultative readings again argues for the unavailability of the structure (48) (=46, with an extra *vP* layer).

48. [<sub>vP</sub> John [<sub>v</sub> -is ‘caus’ [<sub>v</sub> ooD- ‘ran’ [<sub>VP</sub> ~~ooD-~~ SC [chapli theLL-age ‘his slippers thin’] ] ]

In sum, English does not allow *\*John ran his slippers* (= ‘John made his slippers run’) but allows *John ran [his slippers thin]*, while Kannada does precisely the opposite. The Kannada unergative *v* remains intransitive in its inability to case-license an unselected object. This, coupled with the fact that the unergative *v* is never overtly instantiated, argues for differentiating it from the transitive/ causative *v -is*.

<sup>19</sup> Though not all transitive verbs in Kannada are morphologically marked with *-is*, transitive and intransitive verb pairs typically differ morphologically in this way.

<sup>20</sup> The verb *ooD-* ‘run’ in Kannada can take a cognate object (cf. n. 22 below). I assume that cognate objects are part of the predication and do not need case-licensing. The range of nouns the corresponding verb can license is severely restricted (*dance a jig*, *\*sleep a nap*); cf. Ramchand’s (2008) account in terms of Underassociation of the corresponding lexical items, subject to interpretive unification. Note that English *run* has an unaccusative use: *the road runs from X to Y*, *the argument ran thin*, ... *run out of XP*, suggesting the availability of the structure [<sub>vP</sub> John [<sub>v</sub> ‘ran’ [<sub>VP</sub> ~~ran~~ SC [his slippers thin]]]].

<sup>21</sup> This sentence, awkward in Kannada (*avanu tann-ann-ee kirch-is-ida*), is possible if we assume that the subject dissociates his consciousness from the entity that screams.

<sup>22</sup> Even when they take a cognate object: *avanu ondu nooTa nooDida* ‘He looked a look,’ (= took a look/ gave a look), *avanu ondu ooTa ooDida* ‘He ran a running’ (= he ran such a running!). The transitive/ causative counterparts of these verbs are marked with *-is*: *nooD-is* ‘make/ have *x* look,’ *ooD-is* ‘make *x* run.’

## 5. Conclusion.

Our discussion of Kannada resultatives has drawn on the idea of a PP of possession (*to Mary be a letter*) in languages as diverse as Kannada, English and French. When the possessive PP is a complement to the verb *be*, we have in Kannada the dative of possession, and in English and French a *have* construction. When this PP is embedded under a causative verb, we have the double object construction, e.g. *Perfume gives Mary a headache*. The event structure of *give* here projects a causative process and a result, the combination of which gives us an accomplishment resultative. What I have argued for is a structure in which the possessive PP is a complement to a “poor *proc*, rich *res*” verb. This event structure gives us the achievement resultatives *Mary has a headache* or *Mary got a headache* in English, and the dative experiencer construction in Kannada. The Kannada clause, I claim, does not project an external argument in this construction.

Kannada appears to distinguish an unergative *v* from a causative or transitivity *v*. This is reflected in its allowing the causativization of unergative verbs, but prohibiting resultatives with unergative verbs, differently from English-type languages.

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