PREDICATIVE BARE NOUNS IN ROMANIAN RESULTATIVES

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Abstract. The present paper examines Romanian resultative constructions and especially their sentence-final predicative bare NPs, like *spumă* 'foam' in a structure, like *a bate spumă* 'beat (until) foamy' or *măr* 'apple' in a lexicalized (idiomatic) expression, like *a bate măr* 'beat flat//beat as soft/red as an apple'. The discussion in this paper sheds light on the fact that not all such V + (apparently predicative) bare NP combinations are resultative structures.
Key-words: resultative construction, predicative bare NP, small clause, telic, atelic.

1. INTRODUCTION

A resultative construction of the surface form DP_1-VP-(DP_2)-XP is defined as a secondary predicate structure where the sentence-final XP predicate (where XP = NP, PP or AP) describes the literal or metaphorical state (or location) achieved by the (surface) subject (DP_1) or the postverbal DP (DP_2) it is predicated of as a direct consequence of the action denoted by the verb. One relevant Romanian example is given in (1) where the NP predicate *pudră* 'powder' denotes the literal end state of the postverbal DP *cafeaua* 'the coffee' as a direct result of the action of the verb:

(1) Sam a măcinat cafeaua pudră.
Sam has grind PERF coffee-the powder
'Sam has ground the coffee into powder.'

Moreover, there are some less studied Romanian expressions like (2), which are semantically and lexically frozen items, but which follow the pattern and the syntax of resultatives.

(2) Studentul s -a supărat foc.
student-the CL 3rd REFL ACC has get angry PERF fire
'The student has got very angry.'
(The student has got so angry that he became as red as fire.)

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RRL, **LVI**, *3*, p. 277–292, Bucureşti, 2011

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In this case the NP predicate *foc* 'fire' denotes the metaphorical end state of the subject DP *studentul* 'the student' as a direct result of the action of the verb.

The metaphorical effect of these and similar constructions is achieved via association, comparison or resemblance of some of the (resulting) properties of the Agent/Patient argument and some inherent properties of the NP predicate. Their puzzling character is given by the fact that their metaphorical resultative semantics is constructed by the addition of a strictly predicative NP in its default form, characterized by the absence of any type of inflection. Cf. (3) below:

(3)	a se supăra foc	/*focul	/*un foc	/*focuri/*focurile
	to get angry fire	/fire-the	/a fire	/fires /fires-the

The article which focuses on these two types of Romanian resultatives and especially on their secondary predicate is organized as follows: section 2 sets the theoretical framework of the approach. Section 3 is dedicated to a detailed analysis of predicative bare NPs in Romanian resultatives. In section 4 we discuss some apparent exceptions to these V + predicative NP combinations. Finally, section 5 concludes.

2. THE FRAMEWORK

The syntactic structure of resultative constructions has been a matter of lively debate throughout the history of generative syntax, most linguists assigning them a binary branching small clause structure, some considering that they form a binary branching complex predicate, others proposing that they have a ternary branching VP structure and still others suggesting a non-uniform, hybrid account to these predicate structures.

We believe that a uniform small clause analysis is conceptually superior over the other syntactic accounts proposed in the vast literature. The particular small clause proposal that we adopt here is Ramchand's (2008) first phase syntax.

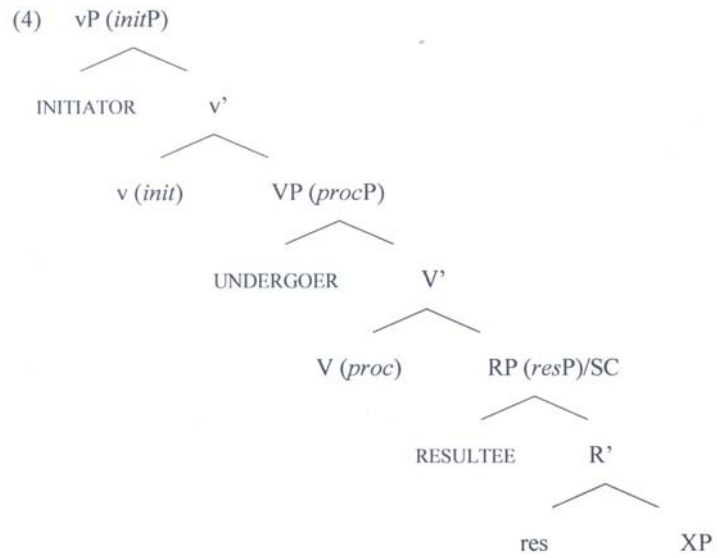
Based on the idea that the syntactic projection of arguments is based on event structure, Ramchand introduces and discusses the following distinct arguments/role types which participate in the construction of eventive predicates: INITIATOR/CAUSER, UNDERGOER, RESULTEE, PATH, RESULT-RHEME, with the possibility of having composite roles: one and the same DP can be both the INITIATOR/CAUSER and the UNDERGOER or the UNDERGOER and the RESULTEE of the action via coindexation, as all heads require a filled Specifier.

The event structure syntax contains three subevental components: the causing subevent (*init*P/vP) which introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument (the INITIATOR in [Spec, vP]); the process-denoting subevent (*proc*P/VP) which specifies the nature of the process and licenses the entity undergoing change

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of process (the UNDERGOER in [Spec, VP]) and the result subevent (*res*P/RP) which gives the result state, the 'telos' of the event and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state (the RESULTEE in [Spec, RP]).

Each of these subevents is represented as its own projection, ordered in a hierarchical embedding relation, with the arguments as the Specifiers of these particular functional projections, a structure that applies to all natural languages in the following way:



Ramchand (2008: 39)

Ramchand's l-syntactic structure of the VP is carried over to resultative constructions, the author embracing the fundamental syntactic model of these predicate structures by assigning them a small clause, labelled SC above. The *res* head, which is meaningful and makes active semantic contribution to the expression in which it appears, is doubly necessary: on the one hand, it licenses the RESULTEE in [Spec, RP] and, on the other hand, it mediates the predication relation between the subject RESULTEE and the XP predicate of the small clause and provides the 'leads to' semantics, by which the RESULTEE acquires the state expressed by the predicate.

In the same way as Rizzi's (1997) left periphery of the phrase, the CP is split up into several phrases; Ramchand's proposal is a maximal possible decomposition of the VP where the lexical semantics of the verb is syntactically represented. VPs are broken down into smaller parts and the lexical-aspectual distinctions between different verb types are built in the grammatical structure. The event structure and the event participants are directly represented in syntax and their semantics is built up compositionally as opposed to being explicitly stated in the lexical entries of the

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verbs. While this system differs from other previous aspectual works, it still captures their basic intuitions and some relationships to the traditional Vendlerian aspectual classes are established. In case the lexical-encyclopedic content of the verb identifies both the initiational transition and the process, the verb is listed as an [init, proc]-type of verb or a verb specified as [+v, +V] and it corresponds to what has been called an activity. The [init, proc]-type of verbs with incremental theme or PATH complements are accomplishments in terms of Vendler (1967). In case the verb identifies the content of all three causationally related subevents, the verb is listed as an [init, proc, res]-type of verb or a verb specified as [+v, +V, +R]. These are the punctual verbs corresponding to Vendler's achievements.

As opposed to Vendler (1967) or Dowty (1979), Ramchand's (2008) decomposition of the VP is done in the syntax. Syntactically representing each projection corresponding to a possible subpart of the whole event, the analysis makes possible a distinction between the l-syntactic representation of true/strong and false/weak resultatives. On the one hand, taken in a very technical sense, resultatives are formed by gluing an activity-type of verb not including change of state in its meaning with a result secondary predicate, where the action denoted by the verb and the state denoted by the predicate are temporally independent of each other. These are the true/strong resultatives built on [(init), proc]-type of verbs where it is only the presence of the secondary predicate which correlates with a structure in which the RP projection is present. On the other hand, taken in a less technical sense, resultatives can also be formed by the attachment to a change-of-state, accomplishment/achievement-type of verb of a result predicate which highlights the degree of the outcome of the event, intensifies the action of the verb or renders the vague endpoint of the event more precise. These are the false/weak resultatives built on [(init), proc, res]-type of verbs where the RP projection is licensed by the verb on its own.

Whereas English and generally all Germanic languages abound both in strong and in weak resultatives, Romanian and generally all Romance languages are restricted to weak resultatives, which, moreover, are subject to further severe constraints.

3. PREDICATIVE NOUNS IN ROMANIAN RESULTATIVES

As far as the type of the Romanian result predicate is concerned, it is mostly expressed by PPs and NPs; some allowing a free variation between a PP and an NP variant, as in (5a); others being very strict in the type of their sentence-final predicate, which can only be either a PP, as in (5b) or an NP, as in (5c) and (5d):[2]

[2] We refuse the view that there are no AP resultatives in Romanian at all; instead, we consider that such resultatives are severely restricted in this language (one relevant example is *a fierbe (ouăle) tari* 'to boil (the eggs) hard'). However, we do not discuss them in this paper.

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(5) a. Măcelarul a tăiat carnea [$_{PP/NP}$ (în) felii].
butcher-the has cut PERF meat-the in slices
'The butcher has cut the meat into slices.'
b. Mi -am aranjat părul [$_{PP}$ *(într-un) coc].
CL 1st SG DAT have arrange PERF hair-the in a chignon
'I have arranged my hair into a chignon.'
c. Copiii au spart geamul [$_{NP}$ (*în) țăndări].
children-the have break PERF window-the in splinters
'The children have broken the window into splinters.'
d. Am răcit [$_{NP}$ (*în) cobză]. [3]
have catch a cold PERF in kobsa
'I have caught a terrible cold.'
(I have caught such a terrible cold that my voice sounded like a kobsa.)

Whereas non-metaphorical NP predicates, like *țăndări* 'splinters' in (5c) have correctly been argued by Drăgan (2005) to be the result of an elliptical PP, as the presence of a modifier requires a PP variant, as shown in (6a); metaphorical NP predicates, like *cobză* 'kobsa' in (5d) are not elliptical PPs and do not allow any modification, as illustrated in (6b).

(6) a. Copiii au spart geamul [$_{PP}$ *(în) mii de țăndări].
children-the have break PERF window-the in thousands of splinters
'The children have broken the window into thousands of splinters.'
b. *Am răcit (*în) cobză tare.
have catch a cold PERF in kobsa strong
'I have caught a terrible cold.'

This means that not all NP resultatives in Romanian behave in the same way.

As far as the governing verb is concerned, the generalization about Romanian resultatives is that they are mostly built on verbs specified as [+v, +V, +R] which independently incorporate the RP projection in their l-syntactic structure and identify a result or entail the notion of change; or, at worst, verbs specified as [+v, +V, (+R)] which optionally encode a result, but show some kind of directionality towards a possible end state.

Two relevant examples are given in (7a) and (7b), with the latter illustrated in (8):

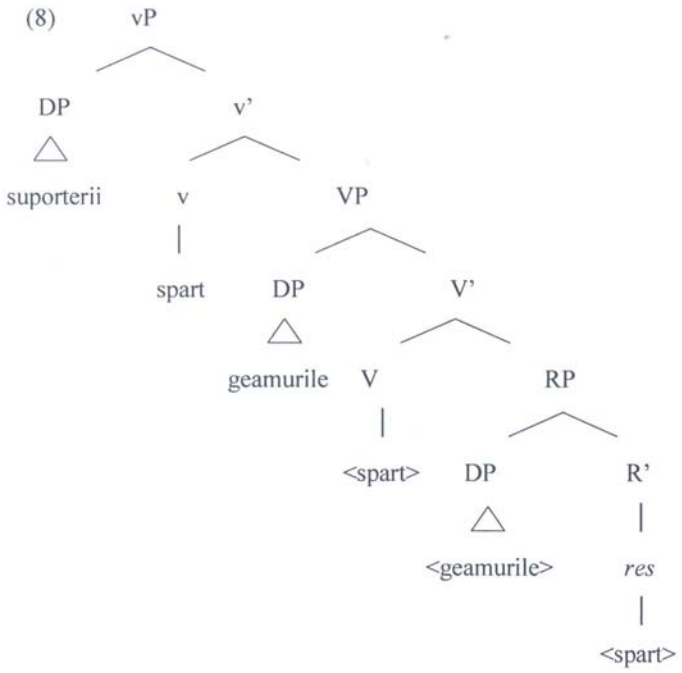
(7) a. Lacul a înghețat [proc, res].
lake-the has freeze PERF
'The lake has frozen.'

[3] In such and similar lexicalized (resultative) examples an analogy is constructed between the Patient/Theme argument and the sentence-final NP predicate and the metaphorical effect is achieved via association, comparison or resemblance of some of the (resulting) properties of the Patient/Theme argument and some inherent properties of the NP predicate. Throughout the paper we give our semantic interpretation of the underlying comparison in brackets.

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b. Suporterii au spart [init, proc, res] geamurile.
fan-PL-ART have break PERF window-PL-ART
'The fans have broken the windows.'

(8)



Since the matrix verbs in (7) already independently identify a result, all the added sentence-final predicates in (9) do − as the complement of the RP projection − is to intensify the action of the matrix verb by the underlying comparison established between some properties of their denotation and some properties of the Agent/Patient argument, as in (9a) or to specify the result of the action of the verb/render the vague endpoint of the event more precise, as in (9b):

(9) a. Lacul a înghețat [proc, res] bocnă.
lake-the has freeze PERF bone
'The lake has frozen solid.'
(The lake has frozen as solid/hard as the bone.)
b. Suporterii au spart [init, proc, res] geamurile țăndări.
fans have break PERF windows splinters
'The fans have broken the windows into splinters.'

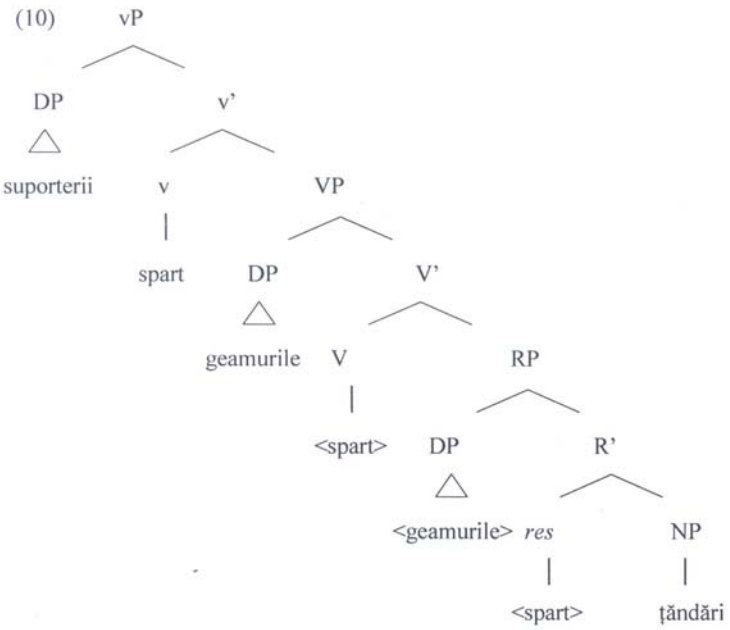
As redundant information is avoided in resultative constructions, apparently redundant result predicates, like *bocnă* 'bone' or *țăndări* 'splinters' above are intensifiers or specifiers.

Ramchand's (2008) system of composed thematic relations makes it possible to have one and the same DP as both the internal argument of the transitive verb (in

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[Spec, VP]) and the subject of the nonverbal predicate (in [Spec, RP]). However, owing to the extra predicational structure because of the licensing and identification of *res*P in the structure, there is evidence of extra predicational structure, since the already existing object − the DP *geamurile* 'windows' in (9b) − picks up additional semantic entailments and acquires the state denoted by the NP predicate.

The sentence from (9b) is schematized below:



That Romanian resultatives are mostly based on [init, proc, res]-type of verbs is also proved by state resultatives built on denominal and deadjectival verbs.[4] For instance, the deadjectival verb *a (se) îmbăta* 'get drunk' and the denominal verb *a (se) îndrăgosti* 'fall in love', both formed by means of prefixation and both describing changes of state semantically have the meaning 'cause to become A/in N' (transitive) and 'become A/in N' (intransitive), where A/N stand for the adjective/noun the respective deadjectival and denominal verb is derived from.

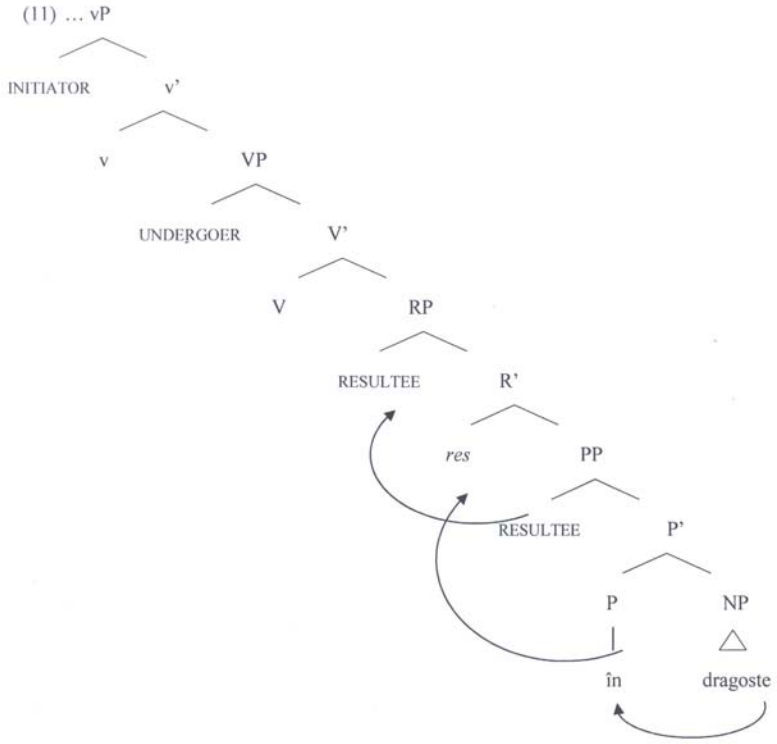
In tackling the issue of such verbs, Ramchand (2008) follows the theory of lexical decomposition put forth by Hale and Keyser (1993) who define these classes of verbs as derived by movement (incorporation) of lexical material from complement position into the abstract, phonologically empty head of the verbal projection, according to principles of syntactic movement. More precisely, in Ramchand's (2008) theory deadjectival and denominal verbs are the result of rhematic material moved from the complement position and incorporated into the

[4] We limit ourselves to denominal and deadjectival verbs derived by means of the verbal prefixes *în-/îm-*, where the allomorph is phonologically conditioned.

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head. This results in verbs specified as [(+v), +V, +R], since the rhematic material identifies the result state.

Focusing on the above-mentioned denominal verb, we note that the nominal the verb is derived from functions as the complement of the PP which is identified by *în-*. This is the so-called RHEME of result which further describes the final state/location, as opposed to RHEME of process which further describes the process by expressing manner or path. The process of formation of this denominal verb, as depicted below in (11) involves first the incorporation of the noun *dragoste* 'love' from complement-to-P position into the phonologically realized P head and then the P + N compound into the upper *res* head of the verb. This movement is triggered by the need to have the verb supplied with a phonological matrix in order to receive an interpretation at PF. Furthermore, [Spec, PP] rises to [Spec, RP] and, in case the RESULTEE is the same as the UNDERGOER and the INITIATOR (in intransitive sentences), it further rises to higher (Specifier) positions.



In this interpretation, the denominal verb *a (se) îndrăgosti* 'fall in love' behaves like a location verb where the locational P *în-* establishes a relation between the [Spec, PP] and the NP complement (*fata în dragoste* 'girl in(to) love').

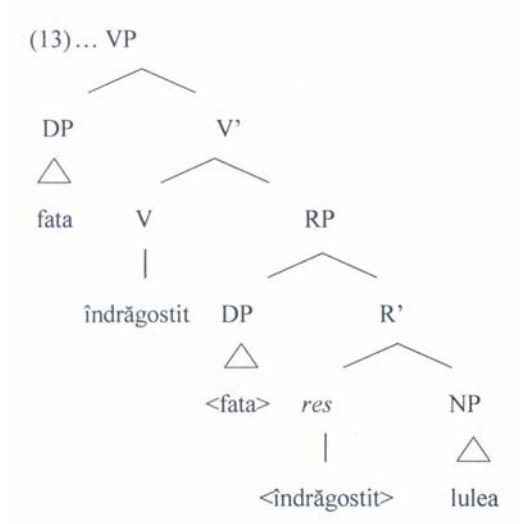
We argue that resultative predicates can occur with denominal and deadjectival verbs − which are otherwise inherently delimited − in which case the added predicate acts either as a further specification of the resulting state inherent

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in the meaning of the verb or as an intensifier of the action of the verb, as in most of the cases. In other words, a result predicate can occur with such verbs precisely because it is not a delimiter of the action of the verb. This is borne out by the following Romanian examples:

(12) a. Ion s -a îmbătat criță.
John CL 3rd REFL ACC has get drunk PERF steel
'John has got very drunk.'
(John has got so drunk that he became as tough/harsh as the steel.)
b. Fata s -a îndrăgostit lulea.
girl CL 3rd REFL ACC has fall in love PERF pipe
'The girl has fallen deeply in love.'
(The girl has fallen so deeply in love that smoke came out of her ears, like from a pipe.)

As expected, in (12b) the verb identifies *res* and the bare NP *lulea* 'pipe' − as the intensifier of the action of the verb − is the complement of the RP projection, as illustrated below:



However, we would like to emphasize that the range of such denominal and deadjectival verbs occurring in resultative pattern is extremely restricted.

Naturally, not all verbs can uniformly be classified as either [+v, +V] or [+v, +V, +R], as some of them can have a context-dependent heterogeneous behaviour. For instance, the verb *a freca* is somewhere intermediate between a pure activity ([init, proc]) reading and an accomplishment/achievement ([init, proc, res]) interpretation and hence, as shown in (14) by the compatibility of the VP both with the *in*- and the *for*-time adverbials, it does or it does not (necessarily) entail that a final state has been reached.

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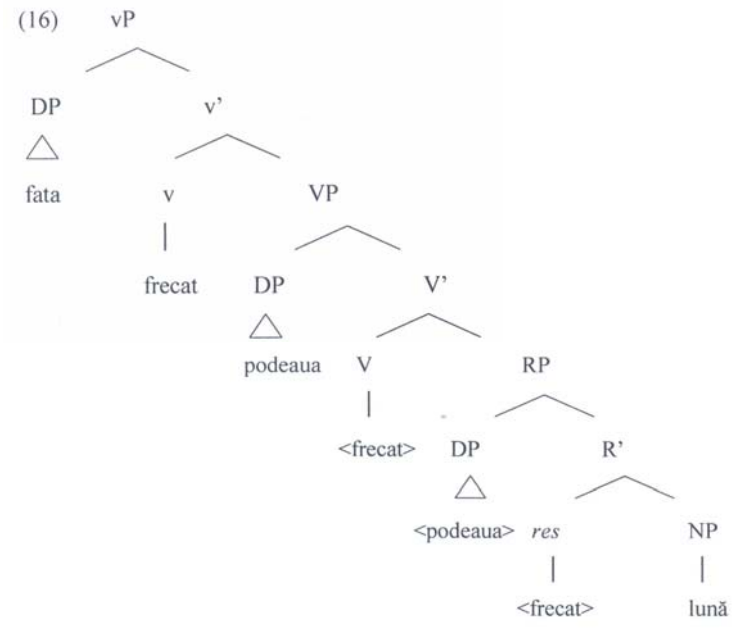
(14) Fata a frecat [init, proc, (res)] podeaua în /timp de zece minute.
girl has scrub PERF floor-the in/for ten minutes
'The girl has scrubbed the floor in/for ten minutes.'

Whereas with the *in*-time adverbial the verb denotes an accomplishment eventuality and on this reading the sentence presents an event with a final endpoint, with the *for*-time adverbial the verb denotes a set of simple activity events without entailing a resulting state in the contacted surface.

Now, given the aspectuality of resultatives according to which these predicate constructions are always telic − that is, they always describe events with a definite endpoint − the addition of the NP result predicate *lună* 'moon' derives a telic structure from an atelic or an aspectually ambiguous VP, as in (15). Proof of this is the compatibility of the constructions only with the *in*-time adverbial:

(15) Fata a frecat podeaua lună în /*timp de zece minute.
girl has scrub PERF floor-themoon in /time of ten minutes
'The girl has scrubbed the floor clean in/*for ten minutes.'
(The girl has scrubbed the floor as clean/shiny as the moon.)

Based on the generalization about Romanian resultatives where the *res* head is most of the time incorporated in the verb heading the construction, we suppose that the l-syntactic structure of this resultative is as schematized in (16), where *res* is, again, identified by the verb:



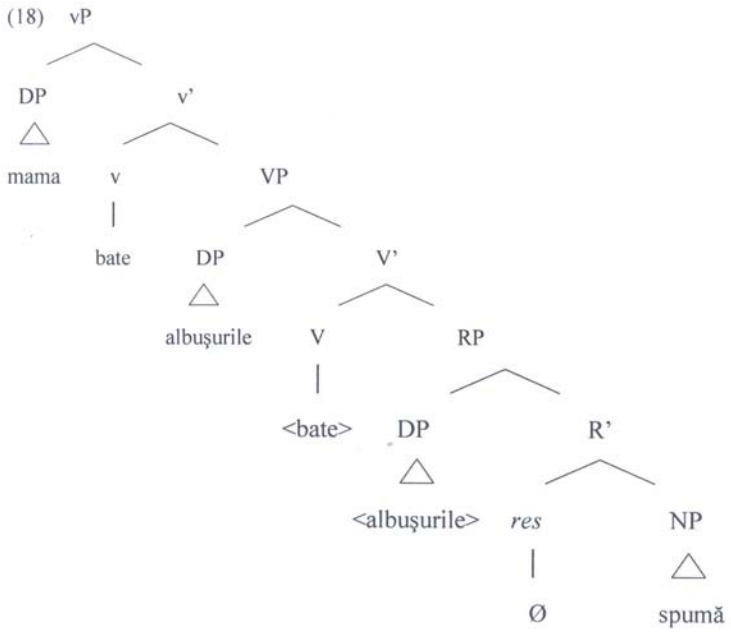
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Probably the only constructions where the verb is indeed specified as [+v, +V] are the different resultatives built on the transitive verb *a bate* 'beat', taking the NP predicates *spumă* 'foam', *măr* 'apple' (as soft/red as an apple) or the PP predicate *la sânge* 'at blood'.

While outside a resultative context the VP headed by this matrix verb is compatible with the *for*-time adverbial (cf. (17a)); in a resultative context it is compatible only with the *in*-time adverbial (cf. (17b)), where we have a true/strong property resultative where *res*P is not identified by the verb, as shown in (18):

(17) a. Mama a bătut [init, proc] albuşurile timp de/*în zece minute.[5]
mother has beat PERF egg whites-the time of/in ten minutes
'Mother has beaten the egg whites for/*in ten minutes.'

b. Mama a bătut [init, proc] albuşurile spumă *timp de/în zece minute.
mother has beat PERF egg whites-the foam time of/in ten minutes
'Mother has beaten the egg whites (until) foamy *for/in ten minutes.'



[5] However, even here some native speakers judge that the governing verb is in fact an [init, proc, (res)]-type of verb. If this is true, the (telic) sentence in (17a) − provided it has a result interpretation − is compatible with the *in*-time adverbial even in the absence of an overt result predicate/of a result context.

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This tree diagram shows not only that the *res* head is null, but also that it is only the presence of the NP predicate *spumă* 'foam' which derives a telic construction from an atelic, or, at worst an aspectually ambiguous VP.

Interim Conclusions

A closer look at Romanian resultative constructions reveals that these predicate structures are mostly built on verbs which independently incorporate − at least optionally − *res*P in their structure. Hence, all the added result predicate does is (i) to intensify the action of the verb, (ii) to specify/lexicalize the final state inherent in the semantics of the governing verb or (iii) to render the vague endpoint of the event more precise.

In what follows, we turn to some apparent counterexamples to this generalization.

4. APPARENT COUNTEREXAMPLES

Interestingly, there are some metaphorical 'expressions' (given with our direct translations), like *a curge gârlă* 'to flow brook', *a dormi tun/buştean* 'to sleep cannon/log', *a tăcea chitic* 'to keep quiet fish' or *a tremura vargă* 'to shiver/tremble rod' which seem to follow the pattern of resultatives under consideration. At first sight, they seem to support the existence of true/strong resultatives in Romanian, because they are built on unergative and − what is even more important − atelic, [proc]-type of verbs. This is illustrated in the following where the verbs are compatible only with a durative time adverbial:

(19) a. La nuntă vinul a curs $_{[proc]}$ timp de /*în două zile.
at wedding wine-the has flow PERF time of /in two days
'At the wedding the wine has flown for/*in two days.'
b. Bolnavul a dormit $_{[proc]}$ toată ziua/*în cinci minute.
sick man-the has sleep PERF all day /in five minutes
'The sick man has slept all day/*in five minutes.'

As shown in these sentences, the verbs *a curge* 'flow' and *a dormi* 'sleep' are atelic activities which do not manifest any inherent ending/culmination point when the event lexicalized by them would end.

But at a closer inspection we notice that the addition of the NP *gârlă* 'brook' to the atelic verb *a curge* 'flow' in (20a) and that of the NP *buştean* 'log' to the atelic verb *a dormi* 'sleep' in (20b) does not modify the Aktionsart of the event denoted by the verb; i.e. these bare NPs do not derive telic constructions from atelic VPs, as the resulting constructions remain all atelic. This is shown, again, in the felicitous combination of the VPs only with a durative time adverbial:

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(20) a. La nuntă vinul a curs [proc] gârlă timp de /*în două zile.
at wedding wine-the has flow PERF brook time of / in two days
'At the wedding the wine has flown abundantly for/*in two days.'
(At the wedding the wine has flown like water for two days.)
b. Bolnavul a dormit [proc] buştean toată ziua/*în cinci minute.
sick man-the has sleep PERF log all day /in five minutes
'The sick man has slept like a log all day/*in five minutes.'
(The sick man has slept as insensible/motionless as a log all day.)

Based on the uncontroversial aspect of resultatives in matter of telicity − they describe events with a definite endpoint − we cannot take these and similar constructions into consideration.

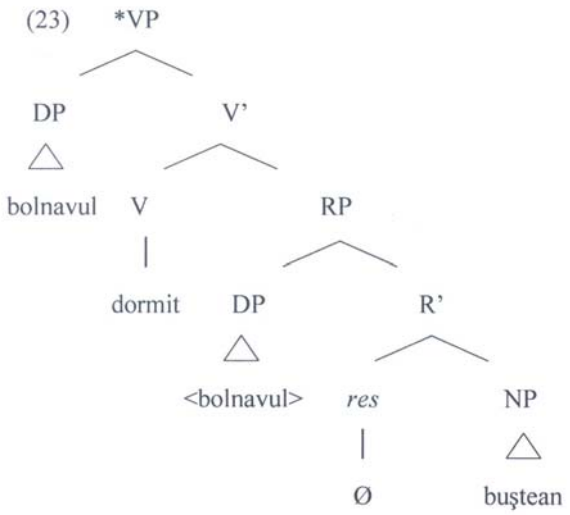
Moreover, the NPs *gârlă* 'brook' and *buştean* 'log' − although intensifying the action of the verb − do not denote the (metaphorical) end state of the subject DPs as a direct consequence of the action of the verb; but they function either as adverbials showing the way the action of the verb occurred/was carried out − compare in this sense the French (21a) and the Spanish (21b) structures with the Romanian (20b), as well as the free variation between the NP and the *ca* + DP variant in (22) − or as depictives denoting the (metaphorical) state of the subject DP during the action of the verb.

(21) a. dormir comme une souche
'sleep like a log'
b. dormir como un tronco
'sleep like a log'
(22) a tremura vargă/ca varga
'shiver/tremble rod/like a rod'

Leaving the formal details of both proposals for future research, we emphasize that from a semantic point of view these and similar constructions are not resultatives.

Last, but certainly not least, even if some may argue that predicate structures involving the English *as* or *for* or the Romanian *ca* 'as', *de* 'as' or *drept* 'for' can be assigned a syntactic small clause structure based on predication (usually a CP where these preposition-like elements identify the C head), we can surely not assign the sentences from (20) Ramchand's (2008) small clause structure that we have adopted throughout this paper. That is, (20b) cannot be assigned a small clause structure, like (23) where the predication relation between the (possible) subject *bolnavul* 'the sick man' and the (possible) predicate *buştean* 'log' of the (possible) small clause (RP) is mediated by the *res* functional head; because the NP *buştean* 'log' does not denote the resulting state of the subject DP.

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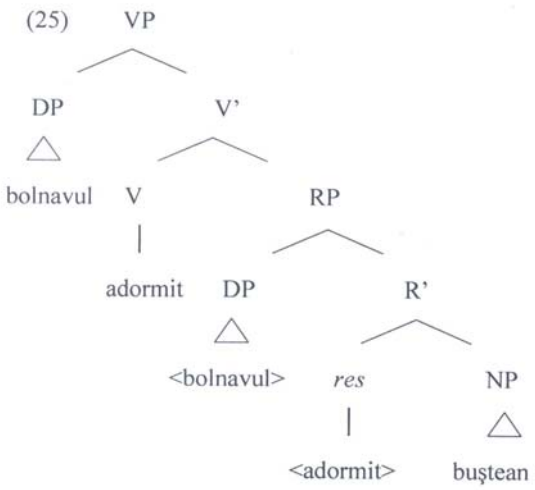
In other words, even if some may argue that sentences, like (20) are small clauses, they are surely not result small clauses.

Now, compare the previous example from (20b) based on the (atelic) activity/[proc]-type of verb *a dormi* 'sleep' with the following examples built on the (telic) achievement/[proc, res]- type of verb *a adormi* 'fall asleep'. The telicity effects of the latter sentences arise precisely because of the nature of the governing verb which independently entails a change in state − it can roughly be paraphrased as 'come to be in a sleeping state' and in this sense it is similar to denominal and deadjectival verbs derived by means of prefixation − and thus it can be assumed to incorporate *res*P in its structure also in the absence of a result predicate, as shown in (24a). Hence, all the sentence-final NP predicate *buştean* 'log' does in (24b) is 'simply' to intensify the event of the verb by denoting the metaphorical end state of the subject DP.

(24) a. Bolnavul a adormit [proc, res] *toată ziua/în cinci minute.
sick man-the has fall asleep PERF all day /in five minutes
'The sick man has fallen asleep *all day/in five minutes.'
b. Bolnavul a adormit [proc, res] buştean *toată ziua/în cinci minute.
sick man-the has fall asleep PERF log all day /in five minutes
'The sick man has fallen into a (very) deep sleep *all day/in five minutes.'
(The sick man has fallen into such a deep sleep that he became as insensible as a log.)

That in (24b) *res*P is indeed incorporated in the verb is shown in the following tree diagram, where the NP predicate *buştean* 'log' is the complement of RP:

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What we conclude from here is that in Romanian − probably with the exception of the different constructions built on the verb *a bate* 'beat' − resultatives do not derive telic constructions from atelic VPs; or, to put it in other words, do not derive accomplishments from activities, accomplishments being understood as comprising an activity and a state, where the activity is the cause of bringing about of the state.

5. FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In the present paper we have examined Romanian canonical and less studied resultative constructions, with special focus on their sentence-final bare NP predicate.

The generalization about Romanian is that the list of verbs that enter into resultative constructions is reduced to those which are (change-of-state) [(init), proc, res]-type of verbs which show a certain disposition towards a resulting state or, at worst, verbs which are ambiguous between an [(init), proc, res] and an [(init), proc] interpretation. Then, the bare predicative NP denoting the literal or metaphorical end state acts either as an intensifier of the action of the verb by denoting a metaphorical end state or a further specification of the resulting state inherent in the meaning of the matrix verb. The discussion has also shed light on the fact that not all such V + (apparently predicative) bare NP combinations are resultative structures.

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