

The nature of cognate objects

A syntactic approach

Cristina Real Puigdollers

This paper provides an analysis of the so-called C(ognate) O(bject) C(onstruction) (*eg. He sighed a weary sigh*) on the basis of a syntactic theory of lexical decomposition. I examine the main properties of this construction and the differences it shows with respect to another one that has been related in the literature and that I will call the H(yponymic) O(bject) C(onstruction). Once these two structures are analyzed independently, we observe a difference between English and Romance with respect to their distribution. Finally, the paper is devoted to analyzing the cross-linguistic distribution of COs and to their co-relations with other unselected objects.

1. Introduction

This paper provides a survey of the Cognate Object Construction (COC) exemplified in (1):

- (1) a. John died a gruesome death.
b. Harry lived an uneventful life.

(Jones 1988:89)

COs have received widespread attention in the lexical(/syntax)-semantics literature. The discussion has been focused on the borderline status of COs regarding the argument/adjunct dichotomy. In general terms, three proposals have been put forth: (i) those that analyze COs as arguments (Massam 1990; Hale & Keyser 1997; Pham 1998; among others), (ii) those that consider COs as adjuncts (Jones 1988; Zubizarreta 1987; Moltmann 1990; Mittwoch 1998) and, finally, (iii) those that argue that there are two types of COs, adjunct and argument COs (Pereltsvaig 1999a, 1999b, 2001; and Nakajima 2006).

One of the main problems in the discussion lies in the multiple meanings that the term *cognate* receives. As has been frequently pointed out (e.g. Jones 1988 or Pereltsvaig 2001), the different approaches in (i) and (ii) are based on the examination of different constructions. Theories of the (ii)-type take into account COs that are clearly adjuncts of the verb (see the examples in (2)), as shown by different properties such as case marking or the lack of selection restrictions; that is, they can appear with all kinds of predicates: unergatives, unaccusatives, passives, transitives, adjectives, stage-level and individual-level predicates.

Several languages such as (Modern and Biblical) Hebrew make extensive use of this construction to express manner adverbial modification. Due to lack of space, I will leave aside this kind of COs .

- (2) a. Ein hu mofi'a hfa'a taxbirit ba-mišpat. [Hebrew]
 not it appears appearance syntactic in-the-sentence
 'It does not appear syntactically in the sentence.'
 (Mittwoch 1998:314)
- b. Ivan ulybnulsja šťastlivoj ulybkoj. [Russian]
 Ivan-NOM smiled happy smile-FEM-INSTR
 'Ivan smiled a happy smile.'
 (Pereltsvaig 1999b:273)

Besides the examples in (2) the term CO has been applied to other construction type that displays different properties. This construction is exemplified in (3). I will refer to this construction as the Hyponymic Object (HO) construction since the object does not need to be morphologically related to the verb, but it can be any noun (or a CP in some cases, see (3c)), which is understood as a hyponym of the verbal root.

- (3) a. Sam danced a jig.
 b. Bill dreamed a most peculiar thing.
 c. Bill dreamed that he was a crocodile.
 (Jones 1988:89)

For example, Jones (1988) treats COs and HOs as different constructions. For him, the former, (1), is a genuine CO and is analyzed as an adjunct, while the latter, (3), is described as an ordinary object. Jones sustains this hypothesis on empirical grounds that I summarize in (4) and (5).

- (4) CO PROPERTIES
- a. *A silly smile was smiled. [Passivization]
 b. *A silly smile, nobody smiled. [Topicalization]
 c. *Maggie smiled a silly smile and then her brother smiled. [Pronominalization]
 d. *He smiled the smile for which he was famous. [Definiteness Restriction]
 e. *What did he die? [Questioning]
 f. ?He died a death. [Modifier obligatory]
 g. *He died a suicide/ a murder. [Object necessarily cognate]
- (5) HO PROPERTIES
- a. The Irish jig was danced by Bernardette Dooley. [Passivization]
 b. The Irish jig, nobody danced. [Topicalization]
 c. I sang the aria then Tosca sang it. [Pronominalization]
 d. Fred danced the slow number. [No Definiteness Restriction]
 e. What did he sing? [Questioning]
 f. She sang a song. [Modifier non obligatory]
 g. He sang an aria / a song. [Object not necessarily cognate]
 (adapted from Massam 1990:164-165)

objects found in English, such as Reaction Objects (e.g. *Mary smiled her thanks*) or Effected Objects (e.g. *Mary baked a cake*), which could be argued to be interpreted as events following Marantz (2005b). The contrast with Romance COs resides in the impossibility in these languages to have unergative verbs with complement DP objects interpreted in this way.

Having stated the puzzle, I argue that the contrast between English and Romance can be related to another kind of Unselected Objects, such as those that appear in resultative constructions. I observe that there is a cross-linguistic correlation between these constructions, a fact already observed by Tenny (1994) and Horrocks & Stavrou (2006). My proposal tries to give a unified account of the full range of phenomena mentioned above.

2. English cognate objects

COs have been classified as adjuncts because they show properties that are not characteristic of prototypical objects, as summarized in (4). Most of these properties, however, have been questioned in the literature. For example, as shown by MacFarland (1995) the lack of passivization is not a characteristic of all COs. The scarcity of examples is due to the non-referential status that these objects are frequently associated with, which makes them non-suitable for being topics in English. If we make the CO referential by adding a restrictive relative clause, for example, the result is perfectly grammatical. On the same grounds, lack of topicalization is available for COs under the same conditions (10).

- (9) a. One of the silliest smiles I've ever seen was smiled by Mary.
 b. On the parade grounds commands must be roared, not whispered

- (10) The big cheery smile, Fran smile: it was Elsie who smiled the insipid smirky smile.
 (Massam 1990:181)

The lack of passives within the COC is one of the main arguments of the advocates of the adjunct CO hypothesis. For example, Jones (1988) defends the idea that COs are caseless based on the following proof: COs do not need to A-move for case reasons, since as NP adjuncts (adopting a modified version of the Case Filter), they do not need to receive case. As we have seen, the restriction in passivization can be explained in other grounds without the need to postulate any reduction of the Case Filter. Furthermore, it seems false that COs are caseless. If we compare their behavior with that of other modifiers and adjuncts, we can conclude that COs do receive structural objective case in English. For example, see the contrast between COs ((11a) and (12a)) and verbal modifiers ((11b) and (12b)): COs are not compatible with direct objects and impose a strong requirement of verbal adjacency (cf. Massam 1990).

- (11) a. *Mordred killed the knight a gruesome kill.
 b. Mordred killed the knight gruesomely.

- (12) a. Let Ben run (*quickly) a little run.
 b. Ben always runs (quickly) that way.

(Massam 1990: 166)

The rest of the properties, like the Definiteness Restriction (DR) or the impossibility of resuming these objects with a pronoun can be explained following the same reasoning, namely, the semantic interpretation of the CO, which is not understood as a referential object. However, as pointed out by Massam (1990), the referential reading of the cognate is always a possibility and, hence, it is easy to find counterexamples to the properties discussed above.

Another special property of COs is that it is impossible for these complements to be resumed with a pronoun. Crucially, this test has also been argued to distinguish HOs from COs (cf. Jones 1988; Massam 1990).

- (13) a. I sang the aria then Tosca sang it.
b. *Maggie smiled a silly smiled and then her brother smiled it.

Once more, this property can be linked to the eventive interpretation of COs. Actually, pronominalization is possible with these objects in those cases where event anaphora is possible (as shown in the example below from Mittwoch 1998).

- (14) a. A: John didn't wash his hands. B: Yes, I saw it.
b. Mona smiled a tantalizing smile. Penelope noticed it and decided immediately that she would photograph it.

(Mittwoch 1998: 310)

Therefore, the contrast stated in (13) only shows that COs do not refer to entities but to events. However, as we have seen, the contrast vanishes if COs are made referential.

- (15) Mary screamed a blood-curdling scream and she screamed it practically in my ear.
(Kuno & Takami 2004:132)

One of the properties that have been used as an argument against the argumenthood of COs is their aspectual contribution to the interpretation of the predicate. At first sight, COs seem to behave in a different way than HOs, which clearly induce telic readings, as can be seen in the contrast between (16) and (17).

- (16) a. She danced for hours / #in one hour.
b. She danced a polka for hours / in one hour.
- (17) a. She smiled for ten seconds / #in ten seconds.
b. She smiled a winning smile for ten seconds / #in ten seconds.

As before this property could be reduced to the semantic properties of COs. Thus, it is well known that the denotation of the direct object contributes to the aspectual interpretation of the predicate (Krifka 1998, Verkuyl 1999, among others). As shown before, prototypical COs do not denote objects and thus they do not serve to delimit the event denoted by the verb.

However, several authors (e.g. Tenny 1994; MacFarland 1995; Horrocks & Stavrou 2006) have pointed out that COs delimit the event denoted by the verb despite their incompatibility with frame adverbials (cf. 17b). These authors argue that the activity of smiling in 17b seems to provide a limit that is imposed by the CO, and the incompatibility of the frame adverbial is due to the fact that it is not an incremental theme (i.e. the fact that it is not the progressive creation/consumption of the object what leads to the culmination of the event). They argue

that the fact that these objects somehow structure the event (the event of smiling arrives to a culmination when the smile is complete) can induce a telic effect. As shown in the examples below, if the verb does not have an object, the event is not structured and no modifier can appear referring to parts (or subparts) of it. The contrast in 18 illustrates this point.

- (18) a. He was in the middle of sighing a weary sigh when the phone rang.
 b. #He was in the middle of sighing when the phone rang.

(Horrocks & Stavrou 2006:3)

However, it is not clear why, if the CO was able to measure the event, the construction remains still incompatible with frame adverbials, contrary to what happens with HOs. Actually, the notion of Incremental Theme as stated by Dowty (1991) establishes that in certain predicates there is a homomorphism between the physical extent of the argument and the temporal progress of the event (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2002). Formally, the relation between the predicate and the object would be a ‘part-of’ relation defined by Dowty (1991) in these terms, ‘If x is part of y , then if a telic predicate maps y (as Theme) onto event e , it must map x onto an event e' which is part of e ’ (Dowty 1991:567). For example, in an event of “writing a letter” parts of the letter corresponds to subevents that are part of the whole event of writing a letter. If we apply this reasoning to a predicate such as “to sigh a weary sigh”, we see that parts of the sigh do not correspond to parts of the event of sighing, instead in this sentence a part of a sigh corresponds by itself to a complete event of sighing.

Let us focus now in a predicate such as “to dance a dance”. This predicate is ambiguous in this respect. In one reading, the reading in which “a dance” is understood as an event, it is not true that parts of the dance are homomorphic with parts of the event of dancing, since the object denotes a complete event of dancing by itself. In other words, the assertion that “when the event of “dance a dance” is half over, we can say that there exists a half dance” is false, since even when the event is half over we can say that there has been a complete event of dance.

However, in the other sense, the predicate acts as an Incremental Theme. In the reading in which the object is understood referentially, we observe that it is true that parts of the dance (e.g. some parts of a polka) can be identified with parts of the event. In other words, when the event of “to dance a (concrete, specific) dance” is half over, then it is true that there is a half of this specific dance (e.g. a polka) that has been completed. For this reason the sentence in (19) is compatible with both a frame adverbial (with a specific reading of a concrete dance (a polka)) and a durational adverbial.²

- (19) She danced a beautiful dance in an hour/ for an hour.

Therefore, in the case of “sigh a weary sigh” the object does not act as a measurer of the event. Instead, what the contrast in (18) crucially shows is the existence of event complexity in the COC. When the CO appears, the event denoted by the whole vP is structured allowing the modifier “in the middle of” to refer to any subpart of the event. In this case, the CO does not measure the event, but introduces another one, which the modifier can refer to.

The ambiguity of COs is made evident again by the two interpretations the adjectival modifier is subjected to. In the eventive interpretation, the adjectival modification of the noun

² Note that only if *dance* is understood as an event we obtain an atelic interpretation of the predicate. When “a dance” is interpreted as specific, we obtain a repetitive reading with the durative adverbial like in 15b. That is, we understand that she danced a (completed) polka again and again for hours.

in (20b) is understood as semantically equivalent to the verbal modification of the derived adverb of manner in (20a), (see Jones 1988; Massam 1990; Mittwoch 1998; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; among others).

- (20) a. He grinned wickedly.
b. He grinned a wicked grin.

Instead, in the referential interpretation, the nominal just denotes an entity to which the adjectival modifier denotes a property (see Mittwoch 1998, for more details). For example, the sentence in (21) denotes a contradiction in the eventive meaning, but it is completely adequate in the referential interpretation of the nominal. Thus, in the sentence in (21b), the adjective *merry* denotes a property of an entity (a dance) and says nothing about the manner in which the event is achieved; ie. there is not contradiction in dancing sadly a dance that happens to have the characteristic of being merry.

- (21) a. #She danced sadly a merry dance. (CO)
b. She danced sadly a merry dance. (HO)

One more time we observe that the English CO is ambiguously standing in between a HO (in which the object has a referential reading) and a CO (with an eventive meaning). These two readings can be disambiguated through the presence of a manner adverb with a meaning opposite to the one denoted by the adjectival modifier. In the CO the interpretation is incoherent, while it is totally appropriate in the HO one.

As shown by Massam (1990), the Definiteness Restriction (DR) of the nominal is crucially linked to their eventive meaning. As opposed to event nominalizations, which ban the presence of weak determiners (see Grimshaw 1990; Alexiadou 2001), nominals that refer in their unmarked case to a concrete object must be indefinites in order to receive an eventive meaning.

- (22) a. The destruction of the city took place yesterday.
b. A / *The nice peaceful smoke would make me feel better.
c. A / *The carrot juice would be nice. (in the eventive sense)

(Massam 1990:186)

As we have observed, the DR can be cancelled out by making the CO referential, resembling HOs, ie. they can appear with definite determiners as in (23a), universal quantifiers as in (23b), and they can establish wide scope readings as in (23c).

- (23) a. Who sneezed the high-pitched sneeze?
b. Tom sneezed every sneeze that we heard that day.
c. People are smiling a dumb smile these days.

(Massam 1990:169)

As we have argued this is due to the fact that COCs allow two possible construals as COs and as HOs, when the context allows it.

3. Cognate objects as events

The question now is whether the referential CO and the non-referential/eventive one have two different derivations. Massam (1990) and Horrocks and Stavrou (2006) reject this proposal. They defend the view that there is a single process by which a transitive verb is created from an intransitive one, namely, lexical subordination. In the case of the COs there is an additional subpart that derives the eventive nature of the object by a mechanism of coindexation with the manner component added by lexical subordination (Levin & Rapoport 1988). This coindexation is not present in HO, a fact that explains the contrast between HOs and COs in the passivization of the object. Then in Massam's proposal, HOs and COs have the same Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) with the only difference that the internal argument is coindexed with the subordinated action.

- (24) a. Tosca sang.
b. LCS: [x verb]
- (25) a. Tosca sang an aria.
b. LCS: [x CAUSE [y BECOME EXPRESSED]]by [x verb]
- (26) a. John laughed.
b. LCS: [x verb]
- (27) a. John laughed a beautiful laugh.
b. LCS: [x CAUSE [y_i BECOME EXPRESSED]]by [x verb]_i

Massam explains the lack of passivization by the mechanism of coindexation, establishing the generalization that direct objects cannot passivize if they contain a bound variable. This generalization can explain why the sentences in (28) are ungrammatical. Note that the bound variable does not need to be syntactically explicit (see (28b)) as in the case of COs.

- (28) a. *His way was moaned out the door by Alfred.
b. *A way was moaned out the door by Alfred.
c. *Her thanks were smiled by Rilla.
d. *A silly smile was smiled by John.
- (29) a. Matilda was waltzed across the floor by Bill.
b. A hole was poked in the screen by Linda.
c. The Irish jig was danced by Bernadette

(Massam 1990:180)

The fact that inside the direct object there is bound variable that become free in a passivization structure explains the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (28) in contrast with (29). However, as seen in the preceding section, it seems to be unnecessary to appeal to binding theory to explain the above-mentioned contrast since lack of passivization is cancelled when the object is made referential. Nevertheless, in Massam's terms the eventive interpretation of the nominal is precisely a consequence of the mechanism of coindexation depicted in (27b). The problem of her account lies in the difficulty to explain how a lexical process (in the LCS) can produce a result similar to the one produced by the violation of the

binding principles, which apply to syntactic structures. Furthermore, this mechanism as stated in Massam can be said to be a stipulation of the theory in order to account for the above-mentioned facts. In this paper, I will endorse a modified version of Massam's proposal, assuming the existence of a process by which the descriptive insight of Massam can be captured without having to postulate an additional device, such as coindexation. Actually, as I assume, contrary to Massam, that arguments are projected directly into syntax without a mapping process from LCSs to argument structure representations, I put forth the proposal that COs and HOs correspond to different derivations. In the first case the object is interpreted as an event and this event interpretation is represented structurally. In the second case, the object is interpreted as referential. I will argue that both readings are obtained by the positions these elements occupy in the structure, assuming a strong version of homomorphism between syntax and semantics.

In order to show this point, let me first introduce Marantz's (2005b) theory of objects as events. The fact that DPs can be interpreted as events is analyzed in Marantz (2005b), which gives us two useful diagnostics in English: *re*-prefixation and the allowance of a benefactive double object construction. Both tests also show that the DP is interpreted as if it were linked to some event: similar to an event of creation. For Marantz (2005a, 2007) the prefix *re* always quantifies the inner subevent (below vP). For this reason *re* is only allowed with verbs that have a direct object (Horn's generalization) linked to some internal event. There is a contrast between incremental theme verbs (e.g. *bake*) and verbs of change of state (e.g. *open*). In the first case *re* quantifies over the object (over the change of state that has as result state the DP object). In the second, *re* quantifies over the change of state event that has as a result the state denoted by the root. Compare (31a) with (31b).

(30) *John re-smiled. (but ^{OK}John smiled again).

(31) a. I re-built the house. (→ end state: a house)
b. The door re-opened, I re-opened the door. (→end state: open)

(Marantz 2005:1)

Another way to identify DP objects that are interpreted as events is to observe closely the distribution of Benefactive Double Object (BDO) constructions. For Marantz, the BDO is a kind of high/low applicative in the sense that as a high applicative it relates an event with a DP, but as a low applicative it is attached below vP. For this reason, BDOCs require the presence of an internal subevent in order to be licensed. Again we observe that incremental themes of the kind discussed by Marantz can appear in this construction.

(32) John baked Mary a cake.

As pointed out by Marantz, COs in English behave as verbs of creation³.

(33) a. John smiled Mary a wicked smile.
b. John danced me a nice dance.
c. John re-danced the dance.

³ The analysis of English COs proposed allows to capture the meaning of creation observed in the literature on English COs (Jespersen 1961; Quirk et al. 1985; Massam 1990; Nogawa 1995, 1996; Horrocks & Stavrou 2006; but see Mittwoch 1998 for arguments against this view).

From these examples we can conclude that English COs are linked to some subevent of change of state: COs add an eventive layer to the unergative verbal structure. Nevertheless, there is still the question whether there is a structural difference between COs and HOs. The difference between COs and HOs is expressed overtly in Icelandic since the two constructions are morphologically distinguished by case marking on the object. Thus, Svenonius (2001:17) points out that there are two kinds of COs⁴ in Icelandic: one that bears dative case (34a) and another that bears accusative (34b).

- (34) a. Hún grét sárum gráti. [Icelandic]
 she cried bitter tears-DAT
 ‘She cried bitter tears’
 b. Synja sönginn.
 sing song-acc

(Svenonius 2001: 15-16)

The difference between them is related to the referential properties of the object. Svenonius (2001) shows that when an adjective referring to a physical property (excluding, then, the eventive interpretation of the nominal) modifies the object, dative case is not licensed.

- (35) a. Hann dreynd hálfan draum. [Icelandic]
 he dreamt half dream-ACC
 b. *Ham brosti hálfu brosi.
 he smiled half smile-DAT

(Svenonius 2001:16)

Svenonius argues that Dative objects and Accusative objects display a different behavior from the point of view of the aspectual contribution of the object. Thus, Dative Objects are interpreted always as linked to an event that is independent to the one expressed by the verbal predicate. This point is clarified by observing other Dative Objects in Icelandic. A broad set of Dative Objects is found in constructions in which the object undergoes a change of location. As in the example below, dative objects are licensed when a PP expressing a change of location of the object appears.

- (36) a. Hann sló köttinn. [Icelandic]
 he hit the.cat-ACC
 b. Hann sló kettinum í vegginn.
 he hit the.cat-DAT against the.wall

(Svenonius 2001: 4)

Furthermore, dative-accusative alternation is found in the locative alternation: again, when the object denotes the location or the target of movement, it bears accusative case; while when the object expresses the undergoer of the change of location, it appears with dative case.

⁴ It seems that Icelandic has also adjunct COs in the sense described in the introduction and found in languages like Hebrew. The fact that these elements bear dative must not be understood as being like adjunct COs. Actually, dative objects do not behave as prepositional phrases: (i) they undergo object shift, (ii) they can be passivized and (iii) they show the same behaviour as accusative objects regarding particle shift (see Svenonius 2001, for more discussion).

- (37) a. Vid hlódum vagninn med heyi. [Icelandic]
 we loaded the.wagon-ACC with hay-DAT
 b. Vid hlódum heyinu à vagninn.
 we loaded the.hay-DAT on the.wagon-ACC

(Svenonius 2001: 9)

Svenonius points out that dative objects are “only licensed in verb phrases which have two parts, an initiation of an event, and some result of that initiation” (Svenonius 2001:5). This contention, explicit with respect the examples in (37a) and (37b) in which we have an overt PP expressing the change of state event (in this case a change of location), can be generalized to cover Dative COs: in this case, the CO expresses the result of a change of state from non-existence to existence. In conclusion, the fact that in Icelandic there is a different case marking between these two COs might support the hypothesis that referential COs and eventive COs are in two different structural positions.

Therefore, in this paper, I propose to extend a modified version of the analysis of creation verbs by Mateu (2003) and Marantz (2005) to English COs. The analysis put forward here assumes a view of argument structure inspired in the works of Hale & Keyser (1991, 1993a, 1998, 1999, 2002); Mateu & Rigau (2000) and Mateu (2002). However, with Marantz (1993) among others, I depart from their assumptions in the fact that I consider the difference between l-syntax and s-syntax in Hale & Keyser’s terms spurious: it reduces to the phase in which syntactic operations take place, below or above v^* . Lexicon then is not generative, it has no syntax and it is comprised of roots⁵, which bear pure conceptual content, functional heads and grammatical features.

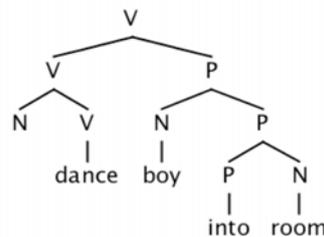
The analysis of English COs I want to endorse share some properties with the one proposed in Mateu & Rigau (2002) and Mateu (2000, 2002) for unselected objects (UO) of resultatives. Mateu & Rigau propose that resultatives are not obtained by the addition of a resultative phrase into a process event, as aspectual approaches commonly assume. Resultatives are rather analyzed in inverse terms: it is the process event what is added by lexical subordination into the resultative structure. However, in their theory, the mechanism of lexical subordination (to which I refer as manner incorporation) is a syntactic device: it follows from the general syntactic operation of *Merge*. Lexical subordination of the manner consists in taking two syntactic objects as in (38) (from Mateu 2000) and fuse them resulting in (39).

⁵ I follow some of the assumptions stated in Mateu (2002) theory of argument structure. The (non-trivial) assumption behind Mateu’s theory is that roots are opaque elements to syntax and they cannot entertain any syntactic (and thus semantic in his isomorphic theory) relationship unless mediated by a relational (functional head). Roots then cannot project and always appear in complement position. This conception of roots departs substantially from commonly assumed perspectives on roots are those endorsed by Distributional Morphology theories in which roots can project (Marantz 1993, among other works). The distinction in Mateu aims to establish a crucial difference between the group of functional and lexical categories.

(38)



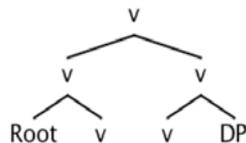
(39)



Crucially, in line with Massam (1990) the common process between the structure in (39) and the COC is the lexical subordination of the manner component into an event of causation or creation, respectively. However, lexical subordination as understood here is not a lexical rule but it is general syntactic process as in Mateu & Rigau's proposal, with the only difference that in the proposal defended here this process is seen as the direct adjunction of a root (and not of a lexically marked unergative verb) into the *v* head.

In order to present the analysis of COs, let me first introduced the analysis of Mateu (2003) and Marantz (2005b) of creation verbs. Abstracting away from the details, both authors assume that, contrary to affected objects, objects of creation verbs are not in a local relation with the verbal root (not in the specifier nor in the complement position).

(40)



Marantz (2005b) establishes that the DP object is understood as an event in these cases, which can be interpreted semantically as denoting a change of state from non-existence to existence. In his proposal this interpretation is not obtained by any functional projection, but by the position in which the object remains. Marantz argues that in order to postulate any covert functional projection it is necessary to have a paradigmatic or a theoretical justification. As verbs of creation do not show any overt morpheme cross-linguistically, the presence of a change of state head is not justified.

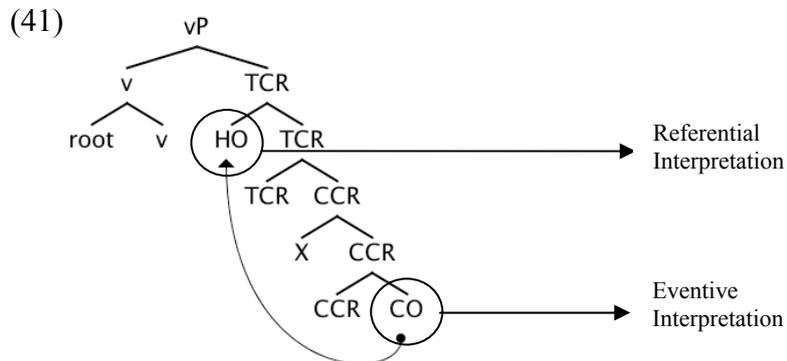
However, as argued in Acedo Matellán (2008), the presence of a functional head denoting the change of state event could be justified on empirical reasons, since it would give a unified

account for the cross-linguistic distribution of resultatives and verbs of creation⁶ attested in the literature. If we assume that creation verbs involve a functional head denoting a change of state, we can account for the cross-linguistic distribution of these constructions in an unified way: Romance languages need to incorporate this functional head of change of state (or location) into the verbal head, avoiding manner incorporation. In Marantz's theory it is difficult to determine how such process is ruled out in Romance if verbs of creation do not have a parallel structure to the one observed in the resultative family of constructions. For this reason I would endorse the analysis of Acedo Matellán (2008) for creation verbs, departing from Mateu (2003) and Marantz (2005b) in this respect. I will label this functional head as a Terminal Coincidence Relation (TCR) (see Hale 1986 or Hale & Keyser 2002), a functional head that denotes an event of change of location in which there is a relation between two elements, a figure and a ground, such that the edge of the figure coincides with the edge of the ground. Assuming a localist view of argument structure, in which a change of state is said to be derived from an abstract change of location, the functional projection interpreted semantically as a change of state event is identical to a preposition that denotes a change of location of the type previously described.

The symmetry between the CP and the vP domain can be strengthened if we observe that the two different interpretations associated with HOs and COs are similar to the thetic vs. categorical interpretations of sentences. These two interpretations are associated with the absence/presence of an explicit subject respectively. According to this distinction, in the thetic interpretation, the sentence *There arrived a man* is interpreted as being all a predicate. Instead, in the categorical interpretation, in the sentence "A man arrived", there are two assertions: the assertion of an entity, the subject, and the assertion of a property about it. Drawing a strong parallelism between the clausal level and the verbal domain, we assume that eventive COs are in the complement position of the TCR head, leaving the subject position of the predicative structure empty (in a parallel way as it happens in the clausal domain, see Cardinaletti 2004), obtaining thus a thetic interpretation of the object. That is, an interpretation in which "an assertion is being made as to the existence of an object or of an event involving the object" (Basilico 1998:542). In contrast, when the object moves up to the specifier/subject position of the change of state event, the object is singled out from the event and it is assigned a property to it, obtaining the categorical interpretation of the object, that can be linked to the hyponymy semantic relation widely observed in the literature. The HOC is then obtained by the movement of the CO from the complement position to the specifier of the TCR head, in which it arrives to a subject position of a change of state event. From this position it receives all its characteristic properties such as referentiality, the measuring out of the event, passivization, etc. Note that this movement salvages anti locality (Abels 2003) since as assumed by Hale & Keyser (2002) the TCR is a complex head that involves a Path

⁶ The cross-linguistic distribution of these constructions is related to the satellite-framed vs. verb-framed distinction stated by Talmy (2000) that split languages in two groups according to how languages expresses the different components of a motion event. This classification for example distinguishes Romance languages (verb framed) from Germanic languages (satellite framed) since the former expresses motion and path within the verb, while the latter expresses the path in an element outside the verb. This distinction has been extended to cover other constructions that do not involve motion, such as adjective resultative constructions (Mateu 2002) or Effected Objects Constructions (Mateu 2003; Acedo Matellán 2008). In this paper I will follow these latter works. Actually the contrast observed between English and Romance in the paper can be said to be derived from the same principles governing the satellite/verb framed distinction.

and a Place component, identified here with a Central Coincidence Relation (CCR) head and a TC one respectively as depicted in the figure below⁷:



In this analysis the CO receives an eventive interpretation by being in the complement relation of a head denoting a change of state event. Then the stipulative mechanism of co-indexation of Massam is understood in this approach as a consequence of the structural position of the object. Lack of passivization is explained also on these grounds, since from this internal position the object cannot reach the edge of the vP phase in order to move up to the clausal domain.⁸

4. Cognate objects in Romance

As mentioned in the introduction, Romance languages have few examples of COs (apart from the widespread HOs like Cat. *ballar una sardana* ‘to dance a sardana’). The few examples we may find are very restricted, non-productive and only used in very literary contexts. Actually Romance COs depart from English COs, in that the former displays properties commonly associated with HOs. For example, Romance COs do not show a definiteness restriction (42a), they can be pronominalized (with no need of having an event anaphora context) (42b) and, crucially, they never show ambiguities in the interpretation of the adjectival modifier (42c).

⁷ I adopt here Acedo Matellán’s analysis of Complex Effected Object Constructions for COs, see for more details Acedo Matellán (2008). However, I depart from his assumptions in that I am assuming that not all Ground Objects undergo a movement to the specifier of a Path head, instead COs are characterized by being in a subject defective structure in the vP domain.

⁸ I leave open here the possibility of relating the dative/accusative alternation of cognate objects in Icelandic with the more general case of alternation between accusative and dative in the prepositional domain, attested in some Indo-European languages, such as German or Latin. In these languages, ambiguous prepositions between a locative and directional meaning are disambiguated by the case marking in the object. In the locative interpretation the object of the preposition receives dative case, while in the directional preposition the object receives accusative case, as in the German example below.

- (i) a. auf dem Berg [German]
 on the-dat mountain (locative interpretation)
 b. auf den Berg
 on the-acc mountain (directional interpretation) (den Dikken 2003:22)

In a parallel way, in the analysis developed above, Dative Cognate Objects are located in the complement position of a central coincidence head, which can be identified with a locative preposition, while Accusative Cognate Objects are in the specifier position of a Terminal Coincidence Relation, that can be understood as a directional preposition.

- (42) a. Pleurer toutes les larmes de son corps [French]
to.cry all the tears of his body
‘Crying all the tears of his/her body’
- b. Si tu pots viure la ciutat jo també la vull viure. [Catalan]
if you can live the city I too it will live
‘If you can enjoy the city, I want to enjoy it too.’
- c. Juan bailaba tristemente un baile alegre. (never contradictory) [Spanish]
Juan danced sadly a dance merry
‘Juan was sadly dancing a merry dance.’

Since we have stated that there is a difference between COs and HOs and that this difference is syntactically represented in English, let us consider whether COs can have an eventive meaning in Romance.

Firstly, the example in (42c) shows that Romance COs do not received an eventive interpretation. In the English example, COs sentences are ambiguous between an interpretation in which the adjective scopes over the event and another in which the adjective modifies the nominal. However, in Romance, the first interpretation is never available as can be showed by the fact that the sentence in (42c) is never ambiguous in these languages.

Secondly, Marantz’s tests discussed above are difficult to check in Romance. On the one hand, the BDO does not have an exact counterpart in these languages and therefore cannot be used for our purposes. On the other hand, *re* prefixation can have different properties in Romance languages.⁹ However, in Iberoromance languages, although *re* is not very productive, *re* prefixation is similar to English since it can be attached to change of state predicates, but not to unergative ones. In the case of COCs, we observe that *re* cannot be prefixed in these constructions ((43a) vs. (43b)), despite appearing with a direct object, a fact that could serve to prove that in these languages COs are not linked to events.

- (43) a. *rebailar un baile / *rereír la risa de un niño [Spanish]
re-dance a dance / re-laugh the laugh of a child
- b. reabrir un caso
re-open a case
‘to open a case again’

At this point, it is crucial that we observe that in these languages reaction objects (RO), effected objects (EO) and certain kinds of Incremental Themes, which show a similar behavior (see Marantz 2007), are not attested (see also Atkins, Kegl and Levin 1988, Martínez Vázquez, Mateu 2006, Acedo Matellán, 2008).

- (44) a. *Juan asintió su aprobación. [Spanish]
John nodded his approval

⁹ For example, in French, where *re* is more productive, *re* is different from the English counterpart, since it allows prefixation of unergative verbs (contra Horn’s generalization) and gives rise to repetitive readings.

(i) Il faut qu’on redanse à Valence [French]
It is necessary that we re-dance in Valence

- (48) a. Era la noche lo que Juan quería vivir. [Spanish]
 was the night what John wanted to live
 ‘It was the night that John wanted to enjoy.’
 b. ?Lo que Juan lloraba eran lágrimas de gloria.
 what John cried were tears of glory

Therefore, it seems that Romance COs differ substantially from English COs. I suspect that this distinction could be extended to Icelandic Dative COs, although a deeper analysis should be made in order to defend such claim. Interestingly, though, some of the objects that appear with dative case in Icelandic are not found in Romance, such as the dative object in the locative alternation, exemplified before in (37) and repeated here in (49), below.

- (49) a. Vid hlódum vagninn med heyi. [Icelandic]
 we loaded the.wagon.ACC with hay.DAT
 b. Vid hlódum heyinu à vagninn.
 we loaded the.hay.DAT on the.wagon.ACC

(Svenonius 2001:9)

As observed by Acedo Matellán (2008), languages that lack resultative constructions, such as Romance, also lack the locative alternation. See for instance the example in Catalan below. As we have observed, Catalan lacks the alternant in which the object is understood as the undergoer of the change of location and that in Icelandic bears dative case.

- (50) a. *En Marc va ruixar aigua sobre la planta [Catalan]
 the Marc AUX spray water onto the plant
 b. En Marc va ruixar la planta amb aigua.
 the Marc AUX spray the plant with water.
 ‘Marc sprayed the plant with water.’

(Acedo Matellán 2008:11)

As opposed to English and Icelandic, then, and in Svenoniu’s terms, we can say that Romance lacks the possibility of having a DP associated with an event (of change of state) that is not identified with the event introduced by *v*. That is, DP objects cannot be licensed if there is no event identification (Kratzer 1996).

In the light of the above-mentioned evidence, the fact that Romance languages lacks (eventive) COs can be understood in a wider perspective, the one that seeks to explain the cross-linguistic distribution of resultatives (and similar) constructions among languages.

5. An analysis of Romance cognate objects

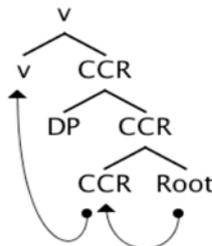
As seen in the previous section, Romance COs do not seem to be interpreted as events. Moreover, contrary to change of state verbs, COs, despite containing a direct object, seem to be simple from the eventive point of view. Let us observe the contrast between a change of state verb and a CO in Romance in the *again*-test (von Stechow 1996). The application of this test shows that the CO is not linked to any eventive functional head.

(51) *Again-test*

- a. Juan abrió otra vez la puerta. [Spanish]
 Juan opened again the door
 ‘Juan opened the door again’
 = again can modify the change of state (restitutive reading, quantification over the change of state event)
 = again can modify the causative event (repetitive reading, quantification over the agentive/initial event)
- b. Juan bailó otra vez la polka.
 Juan danced again the polka
 ‘Juan danced the polka again’
 = again can modify the change of state (restitutive reading)
 = again can modify the causative event (repetitive reading)

Consequently, if there is no any subevent of change of state within COCs, which is the relation that holds between the verb and the object in these structures? As observed by Hale & Keyser (2002), COs can be analyzed as establishing a semantic relation of hyponymy between the verbal root and the object. This predicative relation comes up by a head denoting a central coincidence relation (Hale 19986) similar to the predication head put forth in Bowers (1993). The CCR head denotes an abstract relation of semantic coincidence between the figure (the CO) and the ground (the root), similar to the part/whole relation. Therefore, the example, Cat. *El Joan balla les taronges* ‘John dances oranges’, is coerced as if the oranges were a kind of dance that happens to have this name. Note, also, that the reluctance of Romance COs to be non-referential can be derived from their structural position, since COs are subjects of a predicative structure.

(52)



Thus, the parallel derivation between English COs and resultative constructions presented in section 3 allows us to capture the similar cross-linguistic distribution of both types of constructions, a fact generally observed in other works on COs, such as Massam (1988), Tenny (1994), Felser and Wanner (2001) or Horrocks and Stavrou (2006). If COs and UOs of resultatives share a similar derivation, the cross-linguistic distribution of COs is placed in a wider perspective. The question now can be rephrased as what determines the presence/absence of resultative constructions (and related phenomena) in some language. In other words, the proposal aims to explain why Romance languages generally disallow unergative predicates to enter in transitive constructions of change of state with the result state expressed outside the verb (by an AP, PP or DP). On this perspective the descriptive generalization stated in the unergative restriction of COs¹¹ and resultatives receives a

¹¹ Nakajima (2006) argues that the unergative restriction on COs does not even hold in English, since some unaccusative predicates can take a cognate object. He gives the following examples:

(i) The apples fell just a chore fall to the lower deck.

theoretical explanation: unergative verbs are the simplest verbal forms consisting of a *v* head merged with a root, a result that is achieved by manner incorporation.

As pointed out in the section 3, Svenonius (2001) explains dative/accusative alternations in Icelandic, which correlate with a different aspectual interpretation of the predicate, from differences in the mechanism of *event identification* (in the sense of Kratzer 1996), which brings about the temporal identification of two subevents: the initial event introduced by *v*^{*} and the lower subevent of change of state, introduced in our proposal by the TCR head. As we have seen, the class of English COs examined here is interpreted as linked to an independent event, like the Icelandic Dative objects. In this paper, I argue that *event identification* is cancelled in these cases since manner incorporation takes place. When this process occurs, it is the adjoined root that identifies the initial subevent, avoiding identification with the lower one.

Unlike in English and Icelandic, the eventive interpretation of the CO is not available in Romance. As manner incorporation never happens in these languages, event identification always takes place, preventing Romance languages to have DP objects linked to an independent event. But, what prevents Romance to have manner incorporation? If we look at the derivation in (52), we observe that the root moves into the CCR head and, then, moves to the *v* head above. This mechanism of head movement prevents insertion of the root directly into the *v* head. Parametric variation can be stated in these terms: in Romance the functional head below *v* must move and adjoin to *v*, while in English this functional head can stay in situ, allowing the root to be adjoined to *v*.

In Romance manner incorporation is disallowed, since there is already one element adjoined to *v*, and under the assumption that recursive left-adjunction is prohibited (Kayne 1994). As in the syntactic domain, lexical differences among languages are related to their morphological properties. The requirement of head movement in this case can be seen as a morphological property: in some languages certain heads are affixal and must move, while in others they can stay in their base position. On these grounds, the differences between Romance and Germanic languages reduce to differences in the choice of inflectional features¹², a desirable conclusion on minimalist grounds (cf. Chomsky 1995 and further works). Within this approach parametric variation in the domain of the lexicon is treated in a uniform way with other domains of the syntax, in concordance with the perspective taken here that the systematic properties of lexical items are syntactic in nature.

(ii) The stock market dropped 250 points.

His contention is based on the assumption that the underlined complements, which are extent predicates (often expressed by a Measure Phrase), are a kind of Cognate Object. Again, the analysis he gives lies on the granularity of the term *cognate object*. Thus, a coarse-grained interpretation of the term can be semantically appropriate to define a wide range of phenomena that does not need to be syntactically uniform. It is true that extent predicates share certain properties with COs: they are non-obligatory complements, they can measure the event denoted by the predicate, and they can be argued to establish a tight semantic relationship with the verbal root. However, if the unergative restriction is to be challenged by the sentences in (i) and (ii), a deeper analysis is required in order to determine to which verbal type these predicates belong, since extent complements of this kind are not present with the whole class of unaccusatives, but exclusively with those that express a scalar change of state (degree achievements, in Dowty 1979's Terminology), which are aspectually ambiguous between an achievement and an activity interpretation.

¹² Recall that the heads below *v* assumed here are considered to be pure functional heads.

6. Conclusions

In this paper I have argued that Romance languages lack the COCs of the type found in English. The COs examples attested in Romance are obtained in two ways; by adjunction, leading then to an adverbial meaning (adjunct Cognate Object), an option always available, or by creating a predicative relation between the object and the root denoting a semantic relation of hyponymy. In contrast, English COCs are obtained by manner incorporation into a transitive structure of change of state, a process not available in Romance languages. On our account, lack of manner incorporation is explained on morphosyntactic grounds. The analysis of English COs proposed here allows capturing the meaning of creation observed in the literature of COs (Jespersen 1961; Quirk et al. 1985; Massam 1990; Nogawa 1995, 1996; Pham 1998; Horrocks & Stavrou 2006; and also Marantz 2005).

The proposal defended here predicts the correlation of resultatives and COs (of this specific kind) among languages, a fact already observed by different authors, such as Tenny (1994) or Horrocks and Stavrou (2006). We leave for further research an exhaustive survey of this prediction. However, the works examined so far prove that this is the case. For example, Greek lacks both resultatives (Horrocks & Stavrou 2006; Giannakidou & Merchant 1999) and COs (Horrocks & Stavrou 2006). On the other hand, the prediction holds true for Chinese (resultatives (Huang 2006) and COs (Hong 1998)), German (see Kratzer 2004 for resultatives and Moltmann 1990 for COs) or Icelandic (Svenonius 2001).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Víctor Acedo Matellán, Marcel den Dikken, Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Txuss Martín, Richard Kayne, Gemma Rigau, and the audiences of the XVII Colloquium of Generative Grammar and the ConSOLE XVI for useful comments and discussion. Thanks finally to Michalis Kyratsous and Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga for proofreading the paper.

Cristina Real Puigdollers
 Centre de Lingüística Teòrica
 Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Cristina.real@campus.uab.cat; cris.realp@gmail.com
<http://seneca.uab.es/ggt/membres/doctorands/real.html>

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