Resultative Secondary Predicates and Prefixes in German and Dutch

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1 Introduction

Certain prefixed verbs in German are incompatible with adjectival Resultative Secondary Predicates (henceforth RSPs) (Kratzer 2005). While RSPs (1a) and prefixed verbs (1b) may occur individually, they cannot occur in the same phrase (1c).[1,2] This is further illustrated in (2) with the German prefix *er-*. Kratzer (2005) argues that prefixed verbs and RSPs cannot occur in the same phrase in German due to a restriction on the occurrence of transitive verbs and RSPs, with prefixed verbs being obligatorily transitive.

(1) a. Sie haben uns **arm** geraubt.
they have us poor robbed
'They robbed us poor.'
b. Sie haben uns **be**-raubt.
they have us BE-robbed
'They robbed (from) us.'
c. *Sie haben uns **arm be**-raubt.
they have us poor BE-robbed
(Kratzer 2005:181-182)

(2) a. Sie haben ihn **tot** geschossen.
they have him dead shot
'They shot him dead.'
b. Sie haben ihn **er**-schossen.
they have him ER-shot
'They shot him (down).'
c. *Sie haben ihn **tot** **er**-schossen.
they have him dead ER-shot
(Kratzer 2005:181)

In Dutch, a similar effect has long been observed (e.g., Hoekstra et al. 1987, Hoekstra 1988, Neeleman and Weerman 1993). RSPs (3a) and prefixes (3b) may occur in separate phrases, but cannot occur together in the same phrase (3c). The examples in (4) show this with a different prefix. For Dutch, in contrast to the account given for German, it is argued that verbal prefixes, rather than transitive verbs, are incompatible with RSPs (Hoekstra et al. 1987, Hoekstra 1988). Hoekstra et al. (1987) argue that verbal prefixes and RSPs in Dutch occupy the same position in a Small Clause, and are therefore in complementary distribution.

(3) a. Ik heb de tuin **vol** geplant.
I have the garden full planted
'I cultivated the garden entirely.'
b. Ik heb de tuin **be**-plant.
I have the garden BE-plant
'I cultivated the garden entirely.'
c. *Ik heb de tuin **vol be**-plant.
I have the garden full BE-plant
(Hoekstra et al. 1987:70)

(4) a. Jan buigt de stang **krom**.
John bends the bar bent
'John bends the bar, and as a result the bar becomes bent.'
b. Jan **ver**-buigt de stang.
John VER-bends the bar
'John bends the bar.'
c. *Jan **ver**-buigt de stang **krom**.
John VER-bends the bar bent

In this paper, I give a different account for the incompatibility of verbal prefixes and RSPs in German and Dutch. I show that, similar to what has been argued for Dutch, it is not transitivity that precludes RSPs in German, but rather the prefixes themselves. I provide evidence that non-prefixed verbs that obligatorily express their internal argument (such as transitive verbs and unaccusative verbs) can combine with RSPs in German. I argue that this has been overlooked before due to the prevalent occurrence of prefixes in the language, which led researchers to the incorrect conclusion

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[1]The inflectional prefix *ge-* expresses the past participle in these examples. Participles of prefixed verbs in Dutch and German lack the participial prefix *ge-*.

[2]Verbal prefixes and RSPs are indicated in bold face throughout the paper.

that transitive verbs in German cannot combine with RSPs (Wunderlich 1997, Müller 2002, Kratzer 2005, Oppenrieder 1991). I propose that the right generalization for the incompatibility of prefixes and RSPs does not follow from a complementary distribution between the two, as proposed by Hoekstra et al. (1987), but rather follows from a semantic restriction that prevents multiple target states in a single event (cf. Tenny 1987).[3]

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses the previously proposed accounts for German and Dutch in more detail. Section 3 provides evidence against Kratzer's ban on transitives and unaccusatives in German resultatives. I show that verbs expressing an internal argument can occur with resultatives in German, when taking into account the property that prefixes preclude RSPs. Section 4 discusses further consequences of a 'templatic' account, in particular the predictions this account makes with respect to the interpretation of the object. Section 5 describes the new proposal, in which the incompatibility of prefixes and RSPs follows from a semantic restriction on having multiple target states in a single event. Section 6 concludes.

2 Previous accounts

While the incompatibility of prefixes or prefixed verbs and RSPs appears to be of a similar nature in Dutch and German, different analyses have been proposed to account for the same pattern. I focus on two prominent proposals: an influential templatic Small Clause account as argued for by Hoekstra et al. (1987) for Dutch, and a more recent account as proposed by Kratzer (2005) for German.

2.1 A templatic account

Hoekstra et al. (1987) propose that a Small Clause structure is needed for resultative constructions (building on Kayne 1985). Hoekstra et al. argue that prefixes and RSPs in Dutch occupy the same position in a Small Clause. For the examples in (3a) and (3b), this means that the Means verb *plant* selects the Small Clause [*the garden full*] in (3a), and the Small Clause [*the garden* BE-] in (3b). This is illustrated in Figure 1, with the left structure representing a RSP and the right a prefixed verb.

Figure 1: Templatic Small Clause analysis as proposed by Hoekstra et al. (1987).

According to a templatic account, RSPs and prefixes are, thus, in complementary distribution. The fact that RSPs and prefixes are competing for the same position under this analysis, explains why they cannot co-occur (3c).

2.2 A transitivity account

For German, Kratzer (2005) also argues in favor of a Small Clause analysis for resultative constructions. For the example in (5), she argues that the object DP (*die Teekanne* 'the teapot') starts out as an argument of the Result predicate (*leer* 'empty') inside a Small Clause, and crucially not as an argument of the Means predicate (*trinken* 'drink').

[3]Due to space limitations, I focus only on adjectival RSPs, not on PPs such as *into slices* and *in pieces*. I further focus primarily on inseparable prefixes such as *ver-*, *be-*, *ent-*, *zer-*, and *er-*, although the analysis presented here could also be applied to separable prefixes (i.e., particles).

(5) [$_{SC}$ Die Teekanne **leer**] trinken
the teapot empty drink
'To drink the teapot empty.'
(Kratzer 2005:3)

Kratzer (2005:180) argues that the DP *die Teekanne* 'the teapot' then moves up into the functional structure of *drink* to check its accusative case features, as shown in Figure 2.[4] This way, the DP becomes a direct object of the verb, and acquires some of the typical properties associated with direct objects.

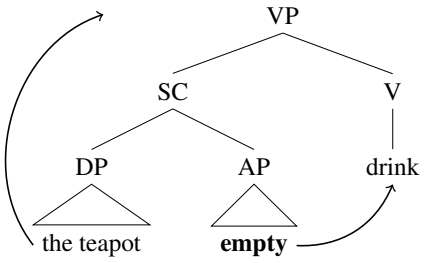

Figure 2: The structure for resultatives as proposed by Kratzer (2005).

An important prediction follows from this analysis regarding the introduction of direct objects. Kratzer argues that the object DP (*die Teekanne* 'the teapot') could only move out of the Result predicate into the projection of the Means verb "because the verb didn't have a direct object of its own" (2005:194). This makes the strong prediction that only unergative verbs can appear in resultative constructions in German. According to this approach, (1c) and (2c) are ungrammatical because prefixed verbs are obligatorily transitive and, hence, do not have unergative uses. The next section tests this prediction, and shows that verbs expressing an internal argument *can* occur with resultatives in German, contrary to Kratzer's prediction.

3 German RSPs and Transitivity

In line with Kratzer's ban on transitives and unaccusatives in German resultatives, it has indeed been argued that German resultatives are only possible with unergative verbs (e.g., Kratzer 2005, Müller 2002, Oppenrieder 1991, Wunderlich 1997). If this were true, German resultative constructions would differ crucially from resultatives in English (e.g., Carrier and Randall 1992, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995) and Dutch (Neeleman and Weerman 1993). In this section, I use transitive verbs (Section 3.1), unaccusative verbs (Section 3.2), and inherently reflexive verbs (Section 3.3) to show that verbs expressing an internal argument can occur with resultatives in German, contrary to Kratzer's prediction. Moreover, I show that once verbs are prefixed, they cannot occur with RSPs.

3.1 Transitive verbs

Wunderlich (1997) argues that German transitive verbs with an obligatory object never allow adjectival resultatives. However, this is based on examples as in (6), in which the verb occurs with a prefix. Similarly, Kratzer (2005) gives examples of prefixed verbs (e.g., *be-kochen* 'cook for', *er-schossen* 'shoot dead', *be-rauben* 'rob from', *an-beten* 'admire, worship') to argue that transitive verbs are not acceptable with resultatives, while their intransitive non-prefixed alternants are.

(6) a. *Die Bären **er**-schreckten die Wanderer **sprachlos**.
the bears ER-frightened the hikers speechless
'The bears frightened the hikers speechless.'

[4]Kratzer (2005) also proposes that this may trigger the incorporation of *leer* 'empty' into *trinken* 'drink'.

b. *Sie **be**-ruhigte das Kind **still**.
she BE-calmed the child quiet
'She calmed the child down.'
(Wunderlich 1997:123)

However, these examples are compatible not only with an account that argues that transitive verbs preclude RSPs, but also with an account that argues that prefixes preclude RSPs. Compatible only with the latter view are examples as in (7), which demonstrate that obligatorily transitive verbs like *bend* and *break* (cf. Levin 1999's 'core transitive verbs') can occur with resultatives in German.

(7) a. Hans hat den Stock (ganz) **kaputt** gebrochen.
Hans has the stick completely broken$_a$ broken$_v$
'Hans broke the stick and as a result it became completely broken.'
b. Hans hat den Stock (ganz) **krumm** gebogen.
Hans has the stick completely bent$_a$ bent$_v$
'Hans bent the stick and as a result it became completely bent.'

The examples in (7) contrast sharply with the prefixed versions of these verbs in (8), which are ungrammatical in combination with a RSP.

(8) a. *Hans hat den Stock **kaputt** **zer**-brochen.
Hans has the stick broken$_a$ ZER-broken$_v$
b. *Hans hat den Stock **krumm** **ver**-bogen.
Hans has the stick bent$_a$ VER-bent$_v$

3.2 Unaccusative verbs

In line with Kratzer's proposal, it is argued that resultatives from unaccusative verbs are not possible in German (e.g., Wunderlich 1997:124). However, this is again based on examples as in (9), which occur with a prefix. In fact, the majority of unaccusative verbs in German are prefixed. Some additional examples of high frequent unaccusative verbs are *er-röten* 'blush', *er-wachten* 'wake up', *an-kommen* 'arrive', *ent-gleiten* 'slip', and *zer-brechen* 'break'.[5]

(9) *Der Toast **ver**-brannte **schwarz**.
the toast VER-burned black

One example of a German unaccusative verb that is not prefixed is *frieren* 'freeze', which can combine with RSPs (10). With *freeze* being an unaccusative verb whose subject originates in object position (Perlmutter 1978, Perlmutter and Postal 1984), (10) provides evidence against the claim that verbs in German resultatives never have an internal argument. However, Kratzer (2005:16-17) argues that the German counterpart of *freeze* shows mixed unaccusative / unergative behavior, and that the use of the auxiliary *haben* 'have' in examples like (11) shows that *frieren* 'freeze' has unergative uses.

(10) Das Wasser fror **fest**.
the water froze solid
'The water froze solid.'

(11) Es hat gefroren.
it has frozen
'The temperature was below freezing.'

[5]Examples without prefixes in Wunderlich (1997) are **Die Steine rollten glatt* 'The stones rolled smooth' and **Das ganze Eis schmolz flüssig* 'The whole ice melted liquid'. However, these examples are also ungrammatical under a resultative reading in Dutch and English. These sentences seem to express a Manner reading as opposed to a Result reading in German and Dutch (e.g., stones rolled down the hill in a smooth fashion; corresponding to the reading one gets for English if the adjective is changed into an adverb (i.e., *The stones rolled smoothly down the hill*). It has been shown that manner and result are often in complementary distribution: a given verb tends to be classified as a manner verb or as a result verb, but not both (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1991, 1995). Therefore, it is plausible that the Manner reading precludes a Result reading in these examples.

While it is true that (11) shows unergative behavior, this does not necessarily mean that the verb in (10) is unergative. Crucially, when forming a perfect out of (10), the auxiliary *be* must be selected, as shown in (12a). The auxiliary *have* is ungrammatical in this case (12b). This suggests that the verb in (10) is truly unaccusative, and not unergative. Moreover, the past participle of *frieren* in (10) can be used as an attributive adjective (13), which is known to be impossible with unergative verbs. Finally, the interpretation of (10) is one in which the water is not the agent of the freezing event, which also corresponds to an unaccusative frame.

(12) a. Das Wasser ist **fest** gefroren.
the water is solid frozen
b. *Das Wasser hat **fest** gefroren.
the water has solid frozen

(13) Das **fest**gefrorene Wasser.
the solid-frozen water
'The water that is frozen solid.'

3.3 Inherently reflexive verbs

Müller (2002:216), following Oppenrieder (1991), argues that inherently reflexive verbs cannot appear in resultative constructions "since the reflexive pronoun is obligatory and hence [inherently reflexive verbs] do not have intransitive versions". Müller gives the prefixed verb in (14) as an example to illustrate this.

(14) *Karl **er**-holt sich **ausgeruht / gesund**.
Karl relaxes REFL rested / healthy
Intended: 'As a result of relaxing Karl gets rested / healthy.'
(Müller 2002:216)

As with transitive and unaccusative verbs, many German inherently reflexive verbs are prefixed. Some examples other than the verb in (14) are *sich verspäten* 'be late', *sich erkälten* 'catch a cold', *sich versprechen* 'be mistaken, misspeak', *sich ergeben* 'give up', and *sich verfahren* 'get lost'. It is, therefore, hard to find examples of reflexive verbs in German that may occur with a RSP, but not impossible. The examples in (15) illustrate that resultatives in German can occur with reflexive verbs like *schämen* 'be ashamed', as long as these verbs are not prefixed.[6]

(15) a. Sie haben sich **krank** geschämt.
they have REFL sick shamed
'They were ashamed to the point of sickness.'
b. Sie haben sich **krank** gesehnt.
they have REFL sick yearned
'They have yearned (for something) themselves sick.'
c. Da kann man sich beim Lesen schon **tot**schämen.
there can one REFL while reading really dead.shame
'So while reading (this) you can really be ashamed to death.'[7]

In sum, when taking into account that prefixes preclude RSPs, it is evident that resultatives in German *can* occur with verbs that obligatorily express an internal argument, such as transitive verbs, unaccusative verbs, and inherently reflexive verbs. Therefore, it is not the case that RSPs in German may not occur with transitive verbs. It is plausible that this fact has been overlooked due to the prevalent occurrence of prefixes in the language in general, and the fact that many of the verbs that express their internal argument occur with a prefix in German. The occurrence of adjectival resultatives with verbs that express an internal argument goes against the predictions of the specific implementation of a Small Clause analysis by Kratzer (2005). The next section discusses further consequences of a templatic account, as proposed by Hoekstra et al. (1987).

[6] I thank Beatrice Santorini for these examples.
[7] http://www.geolitico.de/2014/03/23/beim-lesen-totschaemen/; retrieved April 4, 2018.

4 Interpretation of the object

In a templatic account of the incompatibility of prefixes and RSPs, the elements occupy the same position in a Small Clause (Hoekstra et al. 1987, Hoekstra 1988), as was shown in Figure 1. However, a Small Clause account for resultative constructions makes other predictions as well. Specifically, in a Small Clause analysis, the Result predicate and the Object DP form a Small Clause to the exclusion of the Means predicate, as illustrated in Figure 3. This predicts that the object never holds a relationship to the Means predicate (i.e., the object is 'unselected'), as the object DP is not a syntactic argument of the verb, but an argument of the Result predicate instead (Hoekstra 1988, Kratzer 2005). Whenever the object *is* related to the Means predicate, Small Clause accounts argue that this is *pragmatic* in nature. Hoekstra (1988), for instance, argues that this follows from a 'shadow-interpretation' that can be cancelled. In a similar vein, Kratzer (2005) argues that when the object is related to the Means predicate, this follows from a pragmatic inference.[8]

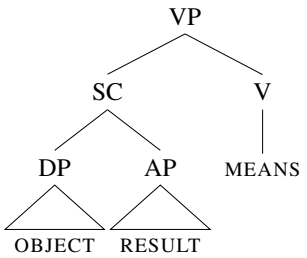

Figure 3: Illustration of constituency according to a Small Clause account.

There is consensus that unselected objects are possible with unergative verbs. Therefore, I focus on transitive verbs here. For English, it has been shown that the object needs to be 'selected' with obligatorily transitive verbs (Carrier and Randall 1992, Dowty 1979, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, Simpson 1983).[9] Below, I show that this holds for German and Dutch as well.

Hoekstra (1988), for Dutch, analyzes the object in resultatives as always unrelated to the Means event; i.e., objects are always 'unselected'. To show that this holds even with transitive verbs, Hoekstra provides examples such as (16).

(16) a. Hij at zich **moddervet**.
he ate REFL very fat
'He made himself be fat by eating (a lot).'
b. Zij schilderden de verfpot **leeg**.
they painted the paint pot empty
'They made the paint container be empty by painting.'
c. Zij maaide de zeis **bot**.
she mowed the scythe dull
'She made the scythe be dull by mowing.'
(Hoekstra 1988:116)

[8]In particular, for a sentence like *the butler wiped the table clean*, in which *the table* is selected, Kratzer (2005) argues that this follows from an cancellable inference that *the table* was wiped, even though the DP *the table* does not start out as an argument of *wipe* in her analysis. Kratzer (2005:198) argues that the denotation of such a sentence describes "a property of actions that is true of any action that is a wiping activity and is also a completed action of causing the table to be clean." Therefore, it can be inferred that "if a wiping activity was identical to a completed action of causing the table to be clean, then what was wiped was bound to be the table."

[9]Hoekstra (1988) argues that unselected objects can also be found with transitive verbs in English: e.g., *he washed the soap out of his eyes*, *he shaved his hair off*, and *he rubbed the tiredness out of his eyes* (Hoekstra 1988:116). However, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995:66) show that these examples should not be considered instances of the Resultative construction. Rather, these verbs have undergone a meaning shift, and became verbs of removal (*wipe*-like verbs as in *he rinsed the dye out of his clothes*), which project their arguments differently.

If these examples are indeed transitive, this would mean that unselected objects are allowed with transitive verbs in Dutch. However, it seems like the verbs in (16) have at least some unergative uses, as illustrated in (17).

(17) a. Ze waren nog aan het eten toen wij aankwamen.
'They were still eating when we arrived.'
b. Jan is vandaag aan het schilderen.
'Today, John is painting.'
c. De hele middag wordt er gemaaid.
'All afternoon, there will be mowing.'

Instead, we should consider transitive verbs that do not have unergative uses, such as *break*. Neeleman and Weerman (1993:455) show that with obligatorily transitive verbs, the object cannot be interpreted as an instrument (i.e., as an unselected object) in a resultative construction (18a). In contrast, (18b) shows that *break* is grammatical with a selected object (i.e., the stick gets broken).

(18) a. *Jan heeft zijn handen **moe** gebroken.
John has his hands tired broken
Intended: 'John made his hands tired from breaking something.'
b. Jan heeft de stok **kapot** gebroken.
John has the stick broken$_a$ broken$_v$
'John broke the stick to pieces.'

Similarly, for German it is easy to maintain that the object DP is never related to the Means predicate, if it were indeed true that transitive verbs cannot occur in resultatives. However, in the previous section I showed that transitive verbs can occur with resultatives in German. Similar to Dutch, verbs like *break* cannot occur with an unselected object (19a), and instead need to occur with a selected object (19b). A clear contrast arises when we substitute *break* (19a) with a verb that has at least some unergative use, like *arbeiten* 'work' in (19c).

(19) a. *Hans hat seine Hände **müde** gebrochen.
Hans has his hands tired broken
Intended: 'John made his hands tired from breaking something.'
b. Hans hat den Stock **kaputt** gebrochen.
Hans has the stick broken$_a$ broken$_v$
'Hans broke the stick to pieces.'
c. Hans hat seine Hände **müde** gearbeitet.
Hans has his hands tired worked
'Hans worked (a lot) and as a result his hands were tired.'

Similar to English,[10] thus, in German and Dutch the object needs to identify the patient of the Means event and cannot be unrelated to the Means predicate when a verb does not have an unergative use. Small Clause accounts as offered by Hoekstra et al. (1987), Hoekstra (1988), and Kratzer (2005), which argue that cases in which the object is related to the Means predicate follow from a pragmatic implication, miss the important generalization that when a verb does *not* have an unergative use, the object *needs* to identify the patient of the Means event and cannot be unselected.

4.1 A note on cross-linguistic differences with unselected objects

While I showed above that German and Dutch are like English, there are also differences. Claims that resultatives in German and Dutch may always occur with unselected objects stem from the observation that German and Dutch seem more liberal when it comes to which verbs may occur with unselected objects (see Embick 2004, Hoekstra et al. 1987). For instance, the English equivalents of the examples in (16) are only marginally acceptable. Similarly, Embick (2004:378) points out

[10]See Carrier and Randall (1992) for similar arguments against a (binary) Small Clause analysis for resultatives in English.

that, in English, the sentence in (20a) has a dominant interpretation in which the construction workers literally woke me by hitting me with hammers. This reading corresponds to a selected object. In contrast, the dominant reading in German (20b) and Dutch (20c) is one in which the object is unselected, i.e., I was awakened by the sound of the worker's hammering.

(20) a. The construction workers hammered me **awake**.
✓✓ SELECTED OBJECT; ✓ UNSELECTED OBJECT [*English*]
b. Die Bauarbeiter hämmerten mich **wach**.
the construction workers hammered me awake
✓ SELECTED OBJECT; ✓✓ UNSELECTED OBJECT [*German*]
c. De bouwvakkers hamerden mij **wakker**.
the construction workers hammered me awake
✓ SELECTED OBJECT; ✓✓ UNSELECTED OBJECT [*Dutch*]

This difference seems to follow from the fact that more verbs in German and Dutch allow unergative uses (i.e., are activity-like), and therefore allow unselected objects, compared to English (in line with Carrier and Randall 1992).[11] Note that, given the fact that unselected objects are so frequent in German and Dutch, it is even more striking that unselected objects are not possible with obligatory/core transitive verbs.

5 Proposal: A Semantic Account

In the previous sections, I showed that similar to Dutch, in German prefixes preclude RSPs, and not transitive verbs as proposed by Kratzer (2005). In contrast to predictions by a Small Clause account, I showed that not only unergative verbs occur in resultative constructions in German. I further showed that the object needs to identify the patient of the Means event when the means verb is obligatorily transitive. In this section, I give an alternative to templatic and transitivity accounts, and propose that the incompatibility of verbal prefixes and RSPs in German and Dutch follows from a semantic restriction on the occurence of multiple states in a single event.

5.1 Resultative prefixes

It is well-known that resultative constructions express a causative relation between an event (i.e., the Means predicate) and its end state (i.e., the Result predicate) (e.g., Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995). Similarly, the meaning of prefixed verbs in German (21) and Dutch (22) can be characterized as resultative, denoting a complex eventuality that includes an end state (e.g., McIntyre 2003, Svenonius 2004, Van Kemenade and Los 2003).

(21) a. Ich hammere an die Wand.
I hammer on the wall
'I hammer on the wall.'
b. Ich **zer**-hammere die Wand.
I ZER-hammer the wall
'I hammer the wall to pieces.'

(22) a. Ik graaf naar de schat.
I dig to the treasure
'I dig for the treasure.'
b. Ik **be**-graaf de schat.
I BE-dig the treasure
'I bury the treasure.'

The examples in (21) and (22) illustrate that the prefix renders the verb it attaches to resultative. In (21a) and (22a), the *hammering* or *digging* event takes place without result, while in (21b) and

[11] It is not immediately clear how this cross-linguistic difference is compatible with an approach as offered in Levin (1999) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998), who distinguish between *non-core transitive verbs* (NCTV) and *core transitive verbs* (CTV). For them, NCTVs are found with unselected objects in resultatives, while CTVs must express both participants in the syntax—and as a result, they are not found with unspecified objects. However, under their account, languages are expected to show considerable agreement as to the make-up of their set of CTVs, so it would be unexpected to find cross-linguistic differences as a result of what verbs count as CTV.

(22b), the prefix adds a result state to the event. I acknowledge that the prefixes contribute a more specific meaning that may differ for the different prefixes, and for different prefix+*v*+Root combinations.[12] However, the crucial point here is that verbal prefixes share a common core meaning which denotes a state. The next section outlines how this accounts for the observation that prefixes preclude RSPs.

5.2 Tenny's Generalization

I propose that the incompatibility of prefixes and RSPs follows from a principle according to which a state cannot be built on top of an already existing (target) state. Such a principle on state uniqueness was also proposed by Tenny (1987) and was later dubbed Tenny's Generalization (Kratzer 2005, Giannakidou and Merchant 1999), as formulated in (23).

(23) Tenny's Generalization: Only one result (i.e., (target) state) is possible per (complex) event (Tenny 1987, Giannakidou and Merchant 1999).

Tenny (1987:40) shows that there may be only one 'delimiting' to a verb phrase. A delimited event is defined as an event with a temporal endpoint, and crucially, an event that achieves a result is always a delimited event. Verb particles (e.g., *look up a name*, *think up an answer*, *eat up an apple*) are argued to have the semantic property of imposing delimitedness on the event described by a verb phrase or sentence, and similarly, RSPs are delimiting expressions. Tenny uses (23) to account for the observation that there may only be one resultative per sentence in English, explaining the ungrammaticality of sentences like **John washed the clothes clean white* (1987:44).

Giannakidou and Merchant (1999) link the incompatibility of Greek verbs with RSPs to Tenny's generalization. In Greek, RSPs of the English type are unavailable (24). However, Greek productively employs resultative suffixes such as *-ise* in (24), and Giannakidou and Merchant (1999) argue that a verb like *skup-ise* denotes a complex eventuality that includes an end state. The incompatibility of suffixed verbs with RSPs, expressing another state, then follows from the ban on multiple result states in a single event.

(24) O Giannis skup-**ise** to piato tu (***katharo**).
the Giannis wiped the plate his clean
'Giannis wiped his plate clean.'
(Giannakidou and Merchant 1999: example (7))

The same generalization can be applied to account for the incompatibility of German and Dutch RSPs with prefixes. As prefixes encode a state (or impose a 'delimitedness' in Tenny's approach), it follows that no additional RSP, which also encodes a state, is possible as per the generalization in (23). The incompatibility of prefixes and RSPs, thus, follows from the fact that both prefixes and RSPs express a result state, and the requirement that no event predicate can characterize more than one target state. Under this account, there is no need to assume that transitivity precludes resultatives, or that prefixes and RSPs occupy the same position in a Small Clause. I also do not assume different accounts for German and Dutch. Rather, a semantic generalization –a ban on multiple target states in a single event– that has been shown to explain a range of phenomena, accounts for the observation that German and Dutch RSPs are incompatible with prefixes.

6 Conclusions

In this paper, I have given an alternative and unified explanation for the observation that verbal prefixes preclude RSPs in German and Dutch. While it follows from the proposal by Kratzer (2005) that German resultatives cannot occur with transitive verbs, I argued that German resultatives can occur with verbs that express their internal argument, not just with unergative verbs. I further showed that

[12] I assume that the specific interpretation of the prefix+Root does not follow from a typical decompositional meaning, but is contextually determined based on the combination of a specific Root with a specific prefix.

the interpretation of the object with transitive verbs is incompatible with a Small Clause account (Hoekstra 1988, Hoekstra et al. 1987). Finally, I argued that prefixes preclude RSPs in German and Dutch due to a semantic restriction on the occurrence of multiple states in a single event (Tenny 1987). If this proposal is correct, German and Dutch resultatives are more similar to English resultative constructions than has been previously argued.

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