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Evidence for the Distinction between Resultative and Consequential Serial Verbs*

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0. Background

The general assumption within generative syntax is that serial verb constructions (SVCs) (1, 2) are distinct from covert coordinations (parataxis) (3) (cf. Déchaine 1993, Baker 1989, Carstens 1988, Collins 1997, Stewart 1996, etc.).

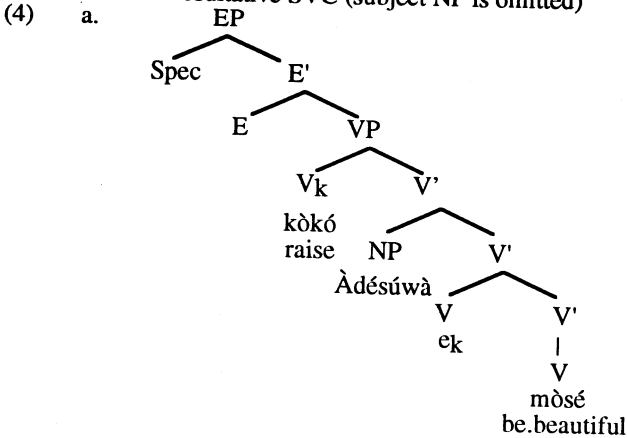
- (1) a. Òzọ kòkó àdésúwà mòsé.
Ozo raise Adesuwa be.beautiful
'Ozo raised Adesuwa to be beautiful.'
b. Òzọ sùá úyì dé.
Ozo push Uyi fall
'Ozo pushed Uyi down.'
- (2) a. Òzọ lé èvbàré ré.
Ozo cook food eat
'Ozo cooked the food and ate it.'
b. Òzọ dé èbé tié.
Ozo buy book read
Ozo bought a book and read it.'
- (3) a. Òzọ gbòṣọ ívìn bòlọ ọkà.
Ozo plant coconut peel corn
'Ozo planted coconut and [he] peeled corn.'
b. Òzọ lé ízẹ ríí ọrè.
Ozo cook rice eat it
'Ozo cooked rice and [he] ate it.'

One basic difference between the sentences in (1, 2) and those in (3) is the fact that there is a single surface object that is assigned the internal thematic roles of both verbs in the former, while each verb has a separate (overt) object in the latter (cf. Déchaine 1993). This phenomenon in which two or more verbs share a single surface object is usually referred to as object sharing, which has been generalized as an internal argument sharing criterion that defines SVCs (cf. Déchaine 1993, Baker 1989, Collins 1997, etc.).

However, there are different views on how best to account for this internal argument sharing condition. For example, Baker (1989, 1991) posits a double-headed VP structure whereby object sharing is derived from a phrase structure condition: the projection principle. Under this analysis, SVCs are assumed to have true internal argument sharing in which the verbs directly theta-mark a single object NP position without an empty category. In contrast, Déchaine (1993) Collins (1997), Stewart (1996), etc. all assume that each verb heads a distinct phrasal projection. Specifically, Collins (1997) posits that object sharing is mediated by an empty category, *pro*. Under this approach, there is actually no true internal object sharing as in Baker (1989).

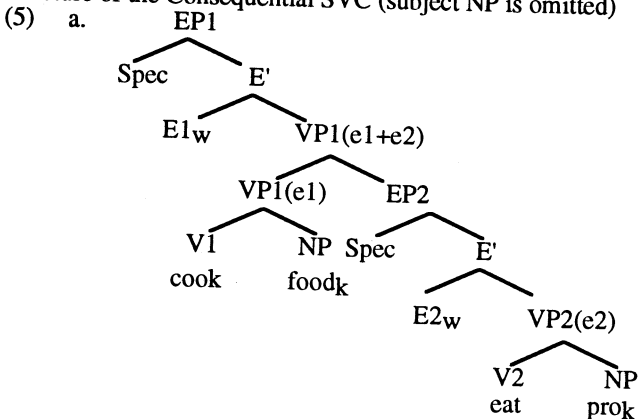
Against this background, this paper explores the basic problem with all of the previous analyses of SVCs by challenging the spurious unification of 1 and 2 as a single class of object sharing SVCs to which a unified analysis is often provided. Based on empirical evidence from Edó language (a Kwa language spoken in Nigeria), I will argue that there are two kinds of SVCs with distinct syntactic structures: (a) Resultative SVCs such as those in (1) have the structure and defining characteristics in (4), (b) Consequential SVC exemplified by (2) have the typical syntactic features that are summarized in (5).¹

Structure of the Resultative SVC (subject NP is omitted)



- b. The second verb is always unaccusative.²
- c. There is a single object NP with no empty category (true object sharing).
- d. The two verbs form a co-headed VP (both verbs are non-distinct).
- e. Both verbs express a single event that is existentially quantified-over by a single event operator, head of EP (Event Phrase).

Structure of the Consequential SVC (subject NP is omitted)



- b. Both verbs must be transitive.
- c. Each verb heads a distinct VP and expresses unique events (e1, e2).
- d. Each event is licensed by a separate event operator, head of EP.
- e. The two (functional) E heads are asymmetric (E1 quantifies over the two events (e1 + e2) and binds E2).
- f. Object sharing is mediated by an empty category, *pro*.

The initial evidence for the distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs comes from observations about verb restrictions and their interpretations discussed in Section 1. Section 2 examines different forms of adverbial modification that are used to introduce some of the fine-grained differences regarding the relations between the verbs with respect to object sharing and the nature of events that the verbs express in the different kinds of SVCs. Section 3 concludes this paper by using the results from the previous sections to show that differences in predicate clefts also correlate with the distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs.

1. Verb restrictions and interpretations

SVCs are generally described as constructions in which two or more verbs occur within a single clause without any form of subordination or coordination. According to Stewart (1963), there are restrictions on the verbal combinations. Therefore, this section examines the issue of restrictions on verb sequencing based on verb type in SVCs (cf. Stewart 1963, Baker 1989, 1991, Campbell 1996, Collins 1997, etc.). For present purposes, I assume that SVCs are minimally composed of two verbs and so the relevant questions to be addressed are: what sort of restrictions regulate verb serialization? Under what interpretations do such restrictions hold? Consider the following:

- (6) a. *Òzó gbé àdésúwà khòṣ.
Ozo beat Adesuwa fierce
'Ozo beat Adesuwa and She (Adesuwa) became fierce.'
- b. *Òzó sùá úyì só.
Ozo push Uyi shout
'Ozo pushed Uyi and he (Uyi) shouted.'
- (7) a. Òzó gbé àdésúwà wú. b. Òzó sùá úyì dé.
Ozo beat Adesuwa die Ozo push Uyi fall
'Ozo beat Adesuwa to death.' 'Ozo pushed Uyi down.'
- (8) a. *Òzó bòṣò isókèṅ vbié.
Ozo comfort Isoken sleep
'Ozo comforted Isoken and she slept'
- b. *Òzó dé ẹmí!lá khián.
Ozo buy cow walk
'Ozo bought a cow and walked it.'
- (9) a. Òzó bòṣò isókèṅ khú --- làdián.
Ozo comfort Isoken pursue out
'Ozo comforted Isoken and drove her out.'

- b. Òzọ dẹ ẹmí!lá kien ---
 Ozo buy cow sell
 'Ozo bought a cow and sold it.'

(6) shows that an unergative verb cannot occur as the second verb in SVCs that express a resultative meaning. A resultative SVC is one in which the second verb expresses the result of the action of the first verb based on an action-result relation. For example, in (6a) the intended meaning is that Ozo's (constant) beating of Adesuwa made her (Adesuwa) become fierce, and this sentence is ungrammatical as a SVC. Furthermore, the sentences in (6) also show that an unergative verb cannot occur in the second position in an object sharing SVC such as a resultative. For example, (6b) cannot have the interpretation in which the subject of the unergative verb 'so' (shout) is the object of the transitive first verb 'sùá' (push). However, if we replace the unergative verbs in (6) with unaccusatives as in (7), then the sentences become grammatical as both object sharing and resultative readings are now permitted. For example, (7a) has the reading in which Ozo beat Adesuwa to death, where the unaccusative second verb expresses the result of the action of the first verb. The generalization that emerges from this contrast is that in SVCs expressing result where the first verb is transitive, the second verb is typically unaccusative, but never unergative. This accounts for the ungrammaticality of (8a) but not (8b) and (9) where the verbs express sequences of events based on a precedence-consequence (consequential) relation rather than action-result (resultative).

I propose that (8b) and (9) illustrate a distinct class of object sharing SVC: the consequential SVC. Just as with SVCs expressing resultative meaning, those that express sequential precedence-consequence relation also exhibit verb sequencing constraints. Thus, it is ungrammatical for an unergative verb to occur in the second verb position. For example, (8b) cannot have the object sharing consequential SVC reading where Ozo bought a cow and walked it (the cow). We can generalize, therefore, that unergative verbs never occur in the second verb position of object sharing SVCs. On the other hand, when a transitive verb occur in similar position, the sentences are grammatical as shown in (9a,b). Consequently, while the second verb of the resultative SVC must be unaccusative, that of the consequential SVC must be transitive. I turn very briefly to the first verb position.

As it turns out, the transitive verb constraint extends beyond the second verb in the consequential SVC. It is important to note that whereas the first verb in SVCs expressing result could be of any verb type (transitive as in (7), unaccusative as in (10a), and possibly unergative in sequences such as bird fly exit), only transitives are allowed in SVCs expressing sequential actions. These facts regarding the restriction on both the first and second verbs in object sharing SVCs reflect the underlying difference between the resultative and the consequential: the verb positions in resultative SVCs are rigidly defined aspectually to express an accomplishment so they must contain a process first verb part (transitive, unaccusative, or unergative) and a result second verb part (unaccusative). On the other hand, there are no rigid aspectual constraints to be observed in consequential SVCs. Rather, there is only the syntactic constraint that the verbs match in transitivity values. The immediate consequence of these observations about verb sequencing and interpretations is the conclusion that resultative SVCs must be composed of two verbs (maximally and minimally) as shown in 10, while consequential SVCs may allow stacking of transitive verbs as illustrated in 11.

- (10) a. àkhé ghuòghò kànmwán.
 pot break be.short
 'The pot broke into small pieces.'
- b. *Òzó gbé àkhé ghuòghò kànmwán.
 Ozo hit pot break be.short
 'Ozo broke the pot into small pieces.'
- (11) a. Òzó dé iyán lé.
 Ozo buy yam cook
 'Ozo bought the yam and cooked it.'
- b. Òzó dé iyán lé - ré -
 Ozo buy yam cook - eat -
 'Ozo bought the yam, cooked and ate it.'

Thus, we conclude based on the contrasts from verb sequencing and interpretation that resultative SVCs are different from consequential SVCs both only similar in that they are constrained by an object sharing condition which rules out unergatives from occurring in the second verb position.

2. Adverbial Modification

2.1. Object sharing and empty category

This section provides evidence that reconciles the divergent views between Baker (1989) and Collins (1997) on the unified analysis of object sharing in SVCs. This is based on the behavior of an adverbial particle 'tòbòrè' which has the properties of an anaphor, and whose distribution is consistent with my proposed distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs. Consider the following:

- (12) a. Àdésúwà_k dé t_k tòbòrè_k
 'Adesuwa fell, herself (alone).'
- b. Òzó gbé ékítà_k nè úyì tá wẹ́ẹ̀ ìsòkẹ̀n hòó *pro*_k tòbòrè_k
 Ozo hit dog that Uyi say that Isoken want *pro* itself
 'Ozo beat the dog that Uyi said that Isoken wants (itself).'

I adopt a general analysis of anaphors based on the simplest assumption about Condition A of the binding theory (Chomsky 1981) that requires it to be locally bound within the governing category. In particular, I assume a strict locality condition such that 'tòbòrè' is licensed as a right-adjunct to an NP that is its antecedent. Thus, in (12a) 'tòbòrè' can occur after the unaccusative verb in a simple sentence and ambiguously takes either the subject or the trace of the object of an unaccusative verb as its antecedent. Similarly, in (12b) we observe that 'tòbòrè' can also be licensed by an empty category, *pro*, that is the object of the transitive verb in the embedded clause. Conclusively, we observe that the distribution of 'tòbòrè' can be used to reveal the position of an otherwise null NP. Against this background, let us now examine its distribution in the two kinds of SVCs:

- (13) a. *Òzó sùá ògók dé pro_k tòbòrè_k
 Ozo push bottle fall itself
 b. Òzó dé iyánk dùnmwún pro_k tòbòrè_k
 Ozo buy yam pound pro itself
 'Ozo bought the yam and pounded it (itself).'

(13a) shows that it is ungrammatical for 'tòbòrè' to occur after the unaccusative verb in the resultative SVC. This contrasts with the simple sentence in (12a) where we observe that the particle can occur after an unaccusative verb. This contrast implies that there is no empty category (trace or *pro*) in resultative SVCs. This conclusion is consistent with my proposal that the two verbs form a syntactic compound and assign their internal theta roles (object sharing) to a single object NP, i.e. true internal object sharing that does not involve any empty category. Contrastively, in consequential SVCs where the second verb must be transitive we observe that the particle can occur after the verb (13b). This implies that there is an empty category, *pro*, to which the particle right-adjoins.

In conclusion, we note that the licensing and distribution of the adverbial particle 'tòbòrè' provides clear and consistent evidence for the distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs: the former involves sharing of a single NP, while object sharing in the latter is mediated by an empty category serving as the null object of the (transitive) second verb.

2.2. The distribution of manner adverb

This section deals with the interaction between adverbial modification and relations between the verbs in the different kinds of SVCs, both in terms of syntactic structure and the representation of the event or events that they express. One type of manner adverb in Èdó is illustrated in (14) (cf. Stewart 1996).

- (14) a. Òzó giégìé kòkò ògó (*giégìé). non-past tense
 Ozo quickly gather bottle (*quickly)
 'Ozo is quickly gathering the bottles (*quickly).'
 b. Òzó gié!gié kó!kó ògó (*gié!gié). past tense
 Ozo quickly gather bottle (*quickly)
 'Ozo quickly gathered the bottles (*quickly).'

The adverb in (14) can only occur in the INFL position between the subject and the verb, i.e. to the left of a verb, but never in sentence final position. Observe further that the adverb in (14) may vary for tense as realized by the different tones in (14a, b). For descriptive clarity, I propose to classify this adverb as an INFL-type adverb (henceforth I-type adverb) because it exhibits signs of being linked with tense both by its position and by varying for tense tones like verbs. The generalization arising from this description is that there are syntactic conditions that regulate the distribution of the I-type adverb. It can only occur as an adjunct to a syntactic position that is tense-related, i.e., a syntactic position where tense features can be checked. Consequently, I propose that the I-type adverb is licensed as a left-adjunct to the head of EP which is a tense-related functional projection (cf. Travis 1994). Furthermore, I follow Parsons (1990) and assume an account in which adverbs are predicates of events that are denoted by verbs. This is based on Davidson (1967), who proposes that verbs explicitly stand for kinds of events, so

that a sentence containing such a verb states implicitly that there is an event of that sort. Therefore, the presence of an adverb indicates that there is an event of which it is predicated, i.e., an adverb modifies (is predicated of) an event that is denoted by the verb. Given these assumptions about the licensing of I-type adverb, let us now examine what they can tell us about SVCs.

2.2.1 I-type adverb: Events and functional structure

The section illustrates the structural prediction that the distribution of the I-type adverb will provide evidence for functional structure, i.e. EP. The assumption is that since the EP is taken to represent an event in the syntax, the distribution of I-type adverb will match up with the number of EPs to reflect one or two events with respect to the distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs. There are two possible positions for the adverb: before both verbs (pre-first verb) and before the second verb. I begin with the pre-first verb position:

- (15) a Òzó gié!gié kó!kó Àdésúwà mól!sé
 Ozo quickly raise Adesuwa be-beautiful
 'Ozo quickly raised Adesuwa to be beautiful'
- b. Òzó gié!gié dú!nmwún èmà khién
 Ozo quickly pound yam sell
 'Ozo quickly pounded the yam and sold it'

(15) shows that the I-type adverb can occur in the position before the verbs in both kinds of SVCs. This is compatible with the interpretation of the adverbs. For example, in both examples in (15) the adverb modifies the actions denoted by both verbs necessarily. Thus, (15a) has the reading that the raising and the becoming beautiful were quick, while (15b) has the reading that both the pounding and the selling were quick. I conclude, based on Parsons (1990), that there must be a sense in which the verbs in (15) express a single event of which the I-type adverb is a predicate. This implies that there is always a projection of EP that dominates the verbs in SVCs. Now let us examine the possibility of an I-type adverb before the second verb which is more interesting because we will be able to tease apart a double-headed VP structure from that involving separate VP projections.

- (16) a *Òzó sùá Àdésúwà gié!gié dé.
 Ozo push Adesuwa quickly fall
 'Ozo pushed Adesuwa down quickly.'
- b. Òzó dùnmwún èmà gié!gié khién
 Ozo pound yam quickly sell
 'Ozo pounded the yam and quickly sold it'

(16) shows a clear contrast between resultative and consequential SVCs. In the resultative SVC (16a), we observe that an I-type adverb cannot occur before second verb in contrast to the consequential SVC (16b). (16b) has the interpretation that Ozo pounded the yam (perhaps rather slowly) and quickly sold it. Now, the ungrammaticality of (16a) suggests that there is no EP dominating the second verb in the resultative SVC. In contrast, (16b) implies that consequential SVCs have an EP before the second verb. The generalization from this in terms of meaning is that although both kinds of SVCs may express a single event based on (16), they differ, however, with respect to the internal composition of the single event. This is

consistent with the previous generalization in Section 1 that resultative SVCs express an accomplishment, i.e. the meaning/function of each verb is determined by the event ontology of an accomplishment. Consequential SVCs on the other hand are composed as a single 'complex' event without any rigid aspectual conditions and each verb express a unique event which are then linked together.

2.3. Iterative morpheme and event composition

This section provides further evidence in support of the distinction between the two kinds of SVCs based on the distribution and interpretation of the iterative morpheme *ghá*. This will also shed some light on the exact nature of the licensing of the complex single event in the consequential SVC. One quirky fact in the Èdó language is that the iterative morpheme requires the presence of an I-type adverb to occur in the higher EP position. Now, consider the following:

- (17) a. Òzó fẹ̀!kó ghá sùá ọ̀gọ́ dé.
 Ozo slowly Iter. push bottle fall
 'Ozo carefully pushed the bottle down repeatedly.'
- b. *Òzó sùá ọ̀gọ́ (fẹ̀!kó) ghá dé.
 Ozo push bottle slowly Iter. fall
- (18) a. Òzó fẹ̀!kó ghá dún!mwún èmà khiến. = a whole event (e1+e2)
 Ozo slowly Iter. pound yam sell
 'Ozo pounded the yams and sold it repeatedly.'
- b. Òzó dúnmwún èmà fẹ̀!kó ghá khiến. = part event, only (e2)
 Ozo pound yam slowly Iter. sell
 'Ozo pounded the yams and repeatedly sold it.'

Following Jackendoff (1990) I assume that iteration applies to events and so I propose an analysis for the iterative morpheme by base-generating it in the head of the functional projection of EP. In (17a) and (18a), we observe that the iterative morpheme *ghá* can occur before the two verbs, modifying both of them. For example, (17a) means that Ozo pushed the bottle down again and again (push-fall is iterated). Similarly, (18a) implies that Ozo pounded the yam and sold it again and again (pounding and selling are iterated). Therefore, we generalize that the operator in the head of the (higher) EP obligatorily takes scope over the event(s) which the verbs express in both SVCs. However, the iterative morpheme cannot occur before the second verb in the resultative SVC (17b), while (18b) shows that this is possible in the consequential SVC. This difference between (17b) and (18b) is consistent with the proposal that there is no EP projection between the verbs in resultative SVCs compared with consequential SVCs. Therefore, resultative SVCs have a representation as in (19).

- (19) $(\exists e) [\text{Push-Fall}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e, \text{Ozo}) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{ọ̀gọ́})]$.

(19) illustrates the fact that resultative SVCs express a single event and that the verbs are non-distinct from each other; they form some sort of syntactic compound as represented in the structure in (4). Thus, the ungrammaticality of (17c) is consistent with the fact that we would not expect to iterate one part of a resultative (accomplishment). However, nothing prevents this sort of discrete modification in

the consequential SVC that is made up of unique events. The question, then, is what licenses the complex single event in the consequential SVC. Consider the following:

- (20) a. *Òzó fẹ̀!kó ghá dún!mwún èmà ghá khién.
 Ozo slowly Iter. pound yam Iter. sell
 'Ozo repeatedly pounded the yams and repeatedly sold it.'
- b. *Òzó fẹ̀!kó dún!mwún èmà fẹ̀!kó khién.
 Ozo slowly pound yam slowly sell
 'Ozo carefully pounded the yams and carefully sold it.'
- c. Òzó gẹ̀llé dún!mwún èmà fẹ̀!kó khién.
 Ozo truly pound yam slowly sell
 'Ozo truly pounded the yams and carefully sold it.'

(20a) shows what happens when the heads of the two EPs are simultaneously filled by tokens of the same thing, in this case the iterative morpheme. The ungrammaticality of (20a) is unexpected under an analysis in which the events in the consequential SVCs are in a conjoined structure. However, (20b) provides evidence that there is an asymmetric relation between the EPs and, by implication, the events that they represent. This is based on the simultaneous distribution of the same I-type adverb which is ungrammatical (20a, b). Crucially, however, when there are different tokens of the manner adverb as in (20c), the sentence is grammatical. Thus, (20c) shows that what is relevant is not the fact that the head of two EPs cannot be filled, nor is it a problem of adverb hierarchy as in Cinque (1997), whereby adverbs are ordered with respect to each other. If the latter approach were correct, then we would expect that the reversal of the adverbs in (20c) would be ungrammatical which is contrary to fact as illustrated in (21).

- (21) Òzó fẹ̀!kó dún!mwún èmà gẹ̀llé khién.
 Ozo slowly pound yam truly sell
 'Ozo carefully pounded the yams and truly sold it.'

Consequently, I propose that the ungrammaticality of (20a, b) provides the vital clue regarding the internal structure of the complex single event. This can be derived from a parallel problem in Formal Semantics as shown in (22).

- (22) $\forall x (Fx \text{ -----} \rightarrow \exists x G(x))$ Formal Semantics parallel

According to (22), there are two quantifications present and both target the same variable $G(x)$. However, it is only the closest (lower) quantifier that counts as the binder for $G(x)$. I adopt a similar approach to the ungrammaticality of (20a, b) and propose a parallel representation as shown in (23) for the consequential SVC.

- (23) $\exists x (Fx \text{ -----} \rightarrow \exists x G(x))$ consequential SVC

In simple terms, (23) expresses the fact that there are two quantifications over one complex event, one which quantifies over the entire event and the other which is restricted in scope to the lower (part of the) event. Therefore, a consequential SVC like (2a) will have the formal representation in (24).

- (24) $\exists_E (\exists e_1 \exists e_2 [\text{Buying}(e_1) \ \& \ \text{Agt}(e_1, \text{Ozo}) \ \& \ \text{Th}(e_1, \text{èbè})]$
 $\& [\text{reading}(e_2) \ \& \ \text{Agt}(e_2, \text{Ozo}) \ \& \ \text{Th}(e_2, \text{èbè})]$
 $\& [E \text{ "consists of" } (e_1, e_2)]$

(24) implies that there is a single complex event in the consequential SVC that is made up of two events (e_1) and (e_2) expressed by each of the verbs. Both events are thus linked together by the fact that the first EP obligatory takes scope over the two verbs ($e_1 + e_2$), while the lower EP takes scopes over only the lower verb. These are realized structurally via an adjunction structure where the lower EP adjoins to the first VP as illustrated in (5), rather than a conjoined structure.

In conclusion, we see that the distribution and licensing of I-type adverb and iterative morphemes distinguishes single event resultative SVCs from two-event consequential SVCs.

3. Predicate clefts and event(s)

This section shows that the distinction between resultative and consequential SVCs and the analysis proposed have significant consequences for the interaction between predicate clefts and the representation of event(s). The phenomenon of predicate cleft is a way of focusing a verb that involves moving a category that is associated with it (cf. Koopman 1984, Lefebvre 1994, Manfredi 1993, etc.). Consider the following:

- (25) a. $\text{Òzó sùá} \quad \text{Àdésúwà.}$
 'Ozo pushed Adesuwa.'
- b. $\text{ùsuámwèn} \quad \text{òré} \text{ Òzó sùá} \quad \text{Àdésúwà.}$
 nom-push-nom Foc. Ozo pushed Adesuwa.'
 'It is pushing that Ozo pushed Adesuwa'
- (26) a. $\text{Àdésúwà dé. b.} \quad \text{ùdémwèn} \quad \text{òré} \text{ Àdésúwà dé.}$
 Adesuwa fall nom-fall-nom Foc. Ade. fall
 'Adesuwa fell.' 'It is falling that Adesuwa fell.'

As (25b) and (26b) show, predicate cleft is the movement to sentence initial position of some item that is morphologically cognate to the verb. This applies to all types of verbs (compare the transitive verb in (28b) and the unaccusative verb in (29b)). I assume that the morphologically cognate item that is moved in predicate cleft is the nominal argument of the event denoted by that verb (cf. Bamgbose 1972, Manfredi 1993, Lefebvre 1994). I propose an analysis in which the nominal argument of an event is base-generated as a complement within the VP. However, when predicate cleft applies this event argument must move at LF through the Specifier of EP, after the relevant verb has been raised into the functional head, in order for it to be licensed under Spec-head. In this way, I equate the possibility of predicate cleft with the presence of EP. Crucially, I assume that there is no adjunction to Specifier. Thus, both (25b) and (26b) contain a single EP projection and predicate cleft is properly licensed under Spec-head by the LF raising of the event argument and the verb which denotes such an event. Now, consider predicate cleft possibilities from resultative and consequential SVCs respectively:

- (27) a. *ùsuámwèn òré Òzó sùá Àdésúwà dé
 nom-push-nom Foc. Ozo push Adesuwa fall
 b. *ùdémwèn òré Òzó sùá Àdésúwà dé
 nom-fall-nom Foc. Ozo push Adesuwa fall
- (28) a. ùlémwèn òré Òzó lé èvbàré ré
 nom-cook-nom Foc. Ozo cook food eat
 'It is cooking that Ozo cooked the food and ate, (not shredding it).'
- b. ùrémwèn òré Òzó lé èvbàré ré
 nom-eat-nom Foc. Ozo cook food eat
 'It is eating that Ozo cooked the food and did, (not selling it).'

(27a, b) shows that it is ungrammatical to cleft either of the verbs from the resultative SVC, while similar clefts from the consequential SVC are grammatical (28a, b). The generalization that emerges from this contrast is that predicate cleft is constrained in a single-event (resultative) SVC but possible in two-event consequential SVC. Based on my analysis, this difference between the two kinds of SVCs comes from the fact that there is a single EP in the resultative SVC, while there are two in the consequential SVC. The two verbs in the resultative SVC form a syntactic compound that act as a unit, therefore when the event argument of one of the verbs raise to Spec EP at LF there can be no appropriate Spec-head matching since there are two verbs that must have raised to the functional head and so one of the verbs will fail to license its event argument. Consequently, the predicate cleft of either verbs in the single-event resultative SVC will be ungrammatical as shown in (27a,b). On the contrary, there are two EPs in the two-event consequential SVC and so it is possible to cleft either of the verbs since the event argument will be properly licensed under Spec-head in the different EPs. Thus, once again we observe that resultative SVCs pattern differently from consequential SVCs.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented clear empirical evidence from Èdó which distinguish resultative SVCs from consequential SVCs. Several theoretical consequences are derived from this distinction including the unaccusative vs. transitive verb contrast, the nature of object sharing, and the representation of event(s) denoted by the verbs. Based on these facts, two distinct syntactic structures are proposed, contrary to the generally assumed unified analysis.

Notes

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¹ Structurally, I omit the functional projections TP and VoiceP simply because the subject NP is not directly relevant to the issues raised in this paper, however see Stewart (1998) for discussion.

¹ This includes stative verbs. See Baker and Stewart (1997)

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