On the Croatian variant of the resultative construction with fake reflexives and its English counterpart

There is a variant of the resultative construction with fake reflexives in Croatian. It is formed by combining *satiation verbs* and reflexive pronoun *se* with resultatives.[1] The construction is based on the collocation with adjective *sit* 'full' (see 1a–b) which seems to facilitate innovative examples by analogy (see 2a–b). Studying the Croatian variant of the construction may help to explain problems tied to its English counterpart. It could help with Oya's (2002) assumption that fake reflexives in German have a wider use in resultative construction because the reflexive pronoun in German functions as a weak form, while the English one is being used only as a strong form and therefore cannot take place within the sphere of the subject, i.e. it cannot come with verbs that denote caring for the body (e.g. *wash, exercise*) or body position verbs (e.g. *sit, lie*). This is partly correct. Verbs of internal motion like *squirm, kick, crawl* readily combine with fake reflexives and resultatives. The same holds for touch verbs like *lick, pinch* and *caress*. English has the potential to combine fake reflexives and resultatives within the sphere of the subject. From our point of view, there are three types of resultative constructions with fake reflexives: (i) the type that represents the transfer of a subject to a physical or abstract location (3a); (ii) the type that represents the change of a subject's state caused by excessive action of the agent (3b); (iii) the type that represents the change of a subject's state caused by saturating the experiencer with a specific sensation (3c). The form of the reflexive pronoun found in types (i) and (ii) can be equally defined as weak and strong, as is suggested by the possibility of their alternation in Croatian (see 4a–b). However, when the experiencer is foregrounded, when the state of the experiencer subject changes through saturation with specific sensation, reflexivity is expressed by the weak form of a reflexive pronoun and the number of possible examples in English is reduced (see 5a–b). It is our understanding that the reflexive pronoun's weak form occurs in correlation with topicalization of the experiencer. Furthermore, we reject Wechsler's (2005: 270–271) assumption that fake reflexive resultatives formed with open-scale adjectives will be atelic. Goldberg (1995: 196) recognized that even open-scale adjectives in resultative construction signify the point after which the action cannot be continued. When combined with fake reflexives, open-scale adjectives signify the point of subject's satiation, which goes in line with action's telicity. We will elaborate our views by relying on the theoretical framework of

[1] Satiation verbs are formed by prefixes *na-/iz-* in combination with the reflexive pronoun *se* and generally carry the meaning of saturation with specific action. For instance, the verb *nahodati se* entails walking significantly more or significantly further than one would consider comfortable.

construction grammar proposed by Goldberg (1995, 1999). The major portion of the language material will come from the *Croatian web corpus* (hrWaC) and the *British National Corpus* (BNC).

Key words: satiation verbs; agent; experiencer; reflexive pronoun; resultative construction

(1) a. *Na kraj-u se sit na-pi-je-m jeftin-og vin-a.*
at end-LOC REFL full-NOM CAUS-drink-PRS-1SG cheap-GEN wine-GEN
'At the end I drink myself full of cheap wine.'

b. *Povremeno se siti na-smi-j-u.*
occasionally REFL full-NOM CAUS-laugh-PRS-3PL
'Occasionally they laugh themselves full [/to their heart's content].'

(2) a. *Na-spav-a-o se trijezan.*
CAUS-sleep-PTCP-1SG REFL sober-NOM.
'He slept himself sober.'

b. *Onda se na-pij-ø-u lude.*
then REFL CAUS-drink-PRS-3PL crazy-NOM.
'Then they drink themselves mad.'

(3) a. [He] has snaked himself into the hearts of our fair admirers. (Peña-Cervel 2016)
b. He has crawled himself into exhaustion. (Peña-Cervel 2016)
c. *Ja se ne mog-u sita na-čudi-ti negativnoj slici.*
I REFL not can-PRS-1SG full-NOM CAUS-marvel-INF negative-DAT image-DAT
'I cannot marvel myself full at the negative image.'
(I cannot overindulge myself in marvel at the negative image.)

(4) a. *Djeca su* ***se/sebe*** *iz-greb-l-a do krvi.*
children-NOM be-PRS-3PL se/sebe-REFL CAUS-scratch-PTCP-N to blood-GEN

'The children scratched themselves bloody.'

b. *Na-hoda-l-e* *su* ***se/sebe*** *do* *besvijesti.*

CAUS-walk-PTCP-F be-PRS-3PL se/sebe-REFL to unconscious

'They walked themselves unconscious.'

(5) a. [*G*]*ovor-eći* *na-mrz-i-o* *se* *preko* *svake* *mjere.*

talk-PTCP CAUS-hate-PTCP-M REFL over every-ADJ-GEN measure-GEN

'By talking he hated himself over the top.'
(Through speech he overindulged himself in hate.)

b. *Jer* *je* *se* *nikako* *ne* *može* *do* *sita* *na-gleda-ti.*

because she-GEN refl in no way no can-3SG to full-GEN CAUS-watch-INF

'Because he can in no way watch himself full of her.'
(Because he cannot overindulge himself in watching her.)

*Examples (1a–b), (2a–b), (3c), (4a–b) and (5a–b) are taken from the *Croatian web corpus* (hrWaC).

**The Abstract is intended for submission category: *talk (20 minutes + 10 minutes for discussion)*.

References:

Goldberg, Adele E. (1995). *Constructions – A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, Adele E. (1999). The Relationships between Verbs and Constructions. Marjolijn H. Verspoor; Kee Dong Lee; Eve Sweetser, ed. *Lexical and Syntactical Constructions and the Construction of Meaning.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 383–398.

Oya, Toshiaki (2002). Reflexives and resultatives: some differences between English and German. *Linguistics* 40(5): 961–986.

Peña-Cervel, M. Sandra (2016). Cognitive Mechanisms Underlying Fake Reflexive Resultatives. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 36(4): 502–541.

Wechsler, Stephen (2005). Resultatives Under the 'Event-Argument Homomorphism' Model of Telicity. Nomi Erteschik-Shir; Tova Rapoport ed. *Deriving Thematic and Aspectual Interpretation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 255 – 273.