Adab Al-Rafidain

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Translating English Secondary Predicates into Arabic

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Article Information	Abstract
	This paper aims at investigating the way the translators deal with the non/availability of English secondary predicates (depictives and resultatives) in Arabic. It is hypothesized that despite the existence of depictives in both English and Arabic, their translation from English into Arabic is more problematic than one would expect. Due to the peculiar behaviour of the English depictive, the translators would find difficulty in determining the true referent of the predicate and because of the syntactic similarities between depictives and resultatives, the translators may give a depictive reading for a resultative predicate and vice versa. The study shows that the translators resort to different lexicalization patterns to preserve the resultative meaning. This behaviour is consistent with Talmy's (1985) classification of languages into satellite-framed languages, such as English, and verb-framed languages, such as Arabic.

ترجمة توابع المسند في الانكليزية الى العربية

قصي بشير ابراهيم*

المستخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى تحليل توابع المسند في اللغة الانكليزية والذي يكون على ضربين "الحال" و"المفعول الناتج" لمعرفة الطريقة التي يتعامل بها المترجمون سواء في حالة غياب أو وجود هذه التوابع في اللغة العربية، إذ تفترض الدراسة أن الترجمة تكون أصعب مما يتوقع، بالرغم من وجود "الحال" في اللغتين، فبسبب خصائص "الحال" في الانكليزية، يواجه المترجمون مشكلة في تحديد "صاحب الحال"، ولوجود التشابه الشكلي بين "الحال" و"المفعول الناتج" فإن المترجم قد يترجم متوهمًا المفعول الناتج الى "حال" أو العكس. أظهرت الدراسة أن المترجمين لجأوا الى تركيب مختلف للحفاظ على "الناتج" المتأتي من تأثير الفعل كون اللغة العربية لا تعبر عن المفعول الناتج مباشرة. وتعكس هذه الاستراتيجية تقسيم "تالمي" (1985) للغات إذ يضع اللغة الانكليزية تحت مجموعة اللغات المعبرة عن "الناتج" خارج الفعل واللغة العربية ضمن اللغات المعبرة عنه داخل الفعل.

الكلمات المفتاحية: توابع المسند، الحال، المفعول الناتج، الوقت، ترجمة

1. Introduction:

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According to Rothstein (2011:1442), secondary predicates can be defined as "one place non-verbal predicate expressions which occur under the scope of a main verb. Crucially, they share an argument with the main verb, the subject of the predicate, being either the subject or the direct object of the matrix verb". In other words, secondary predicates are expressions controlled by the main verb and at the same time they modify the subject or the object though they are not the main predicates of the sentence. As such, the main difference between a primary and a secondary predicate is that the former establishes a relationship between a verb (finite or non-finite) and a subject, whereas the latter is a non-verbal relationship that typically holds between an adjective and a subject or an object.

Secondary predicates can be found in many languages, and due to their peculiar behaviour, they have received considerable attention in the literature (e.g. Aarts, 1995; Rothstein, 2011; Irimia, 2012). A number of recent studies on secondary predicates have taken a typological nature. For instance, Hassan (2010) and Amer (2016) study the syntactic and semantic behaviour of resultative secondary predicates in Arabic and English. Riaubiene (2016) investigates the morphosyntactic features of secondary predicates in English and the Baltic languages. Shultze-Berndt (2017) focuses on the structure of depictive secondary predicates across Australian languages. Heidinger (2022) studies secondary predicates in the Romance languages. In spite of the broad spectrum of these studies, several questions discussed in the literature concerning the syntactic status of secondary predicates and the factors that license their formation remain unsettled.

2. Types of Secondary Predicates:

Traditionally, two kinds of secondary predicates are distinguished: depictives and resultatives, as illustrated by the underlined words in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) *The man ate the meat <u>raw</u>. (depictive)*
(2) *The girl swept the floor <u>clean</u>. (resultative)*

Halliday (1967: 63) identifies a third type of secondary predication; 'conditional', as shown in (3):

(3) *The man drinks Pepsi <u>cold</u>.*

The sentence in (3) is considered 'conditional' based on the interpretation that '*the man drinks Pepsi <u>only if it is cold</u>*'. Many linguists, such as Aarts (1995), cast doubt on the treatment of conditional as a secondary predicate. In line with the traditional view, this paper sets the conditional type aside.

It is not easy to make a distinction between depictive and resultative secondary predicates in formal terms. For illustration, consider the following examples:

(4) *The man hammered the metal tired.* (SVO<u>Adj</u>) (depictive)

(5) *The man hammered the metal <u>flat</u>.* (SVO<u>Adj</u>.) (resultative)

One of the controversial issues regarding the syntactic status of depictives and resultatives is the kind of relationship they have with the main verb. Arguably, it is assumed that depictives are adjuncts whereas resultatives are complements (see Lee, 1995: 57; Farrell, 2019: 99). This means that depictives add extra information to the sentence, whereas resultatives are an essential part of the sentence. Let us compare (6) to (7).

(6) *She handed the towel <u>wet</u>.* (depictive)

(7) *He laughed himself <u>silly</u>.* (resultative)

In (6), the depictive (wet) is independent of the verb (handed) and can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence, whereas in (7), the omission of the resultative (silly) renders the sentence ungrammatical, as shown in (8):

(8) ** He laughed himself.*

2.1 Depictive Secondary Predicates:

The term 'depictive' was first introduced by Halliday (1967). He states that a depictive secondary predicate is "an attribute which characterizes the attribuant in relation to process, but as a concomitant not as a result of the process" (1967: 63). That is, depictives describe the entity at the moment of initiating the action, as exemplified in (9).
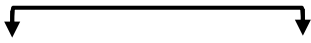
(9) *He drank the coffee <u>cold</u>*.

(9) means that the coffee was cold at the moment of drinking. Depictives can be found in Arabic, as shown in (10). In agreement with many English linguists, Arab scholars treat depictives as adjuncts, since they do not contribute necessary information to the sentence (Abdulhafidh, 2022: 246).

(10)   *(Ali left the house <u>angry</u>.)* غادرَ أحمدُ البيتَ <u>غضبان</u>

Depictives can modify the subject or the object; accordingly, they are sub-classified into subject-oriented and object-oriented depictives, as the examples in (11) and (12) show.

(11) ___The man left the room angry___.   (subject-oriented)

(12) ___The girl ate the meat raw___.   (object-oriented)

The depictives in (11) and (12) are not distinguished by their syntactic behaviour. Rather, they are differentiated semantically. For instance, the attribute of being 'angry' in (11) characterizes the subject 'the man'; for'angry' cannot modify the room because the room is not capable of showing emotions.

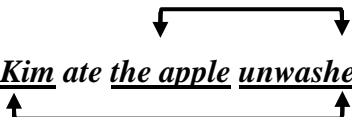**2.2 The Peculiar Behaviour of Depictives:**

At first glance, the presence of depictives in both English and Arabic gives the impression that the translation of these predicates from English into Arabic is an easy task. In addition, depictives, compared to resultatives, receive less attention in the linguistic literature. As a result, one may expect that depictives are not complicated. But the idiosyncratic features of depictives make them act against our expectations. Depictives have certain peculiarities that compel attention. While resultatives can be predicated of objects only (Simpson, 1983: 144), depictives can modify the subject or the object of the sentence. The capability of depictives to modify different arguments of the verb poses a problem. It is true that in many cases meaning can provide a clue to determine the possible referent of the depictive predicate, as the examples in (13) and (14) show:

(13) ___Kim ate the meat raw___. (object-oriented)
(14) ___John ate the meat drunk___. (subject-oriented)

Nevertheless, some cases show that when meaning fails to delimit the correct referent, ambiguity arises, as illustrated in the following examples:
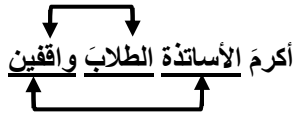
(15) ___Kim ate the apple unwashed___.

(16) ___John saluted Mary drunk___.   (Farrell, 2017:7)

(17) ضربتُ زيداً ضاحكاً   (Khaleel, 2013:161)

(18) أكرمَ الأساتذة الطلابَ واقفين

Another important property of English depictives is that they cannot modify indirect objects (Motut, 2014: 242). Thus, (19) has only one interpretation:

(19) *I told him the news drunk*. (subject-oriented only)

Finally, it is not uncommon for the co-occurrence or stacking of more than one depictive in a sentence , as it is shown in (20):

(20) *John ate the meat raw tender.*

Both English and Arabic impose restrictions on the ordering of depictives. Object-oriented depictives usually precede subject oriented ones, as shown in (21) and (22).

(21) *John ate the meat raw hungry.* (Farrell, 2017:10))

(22) لقيتُ زيداً ماشياً راكباً. *(While I was walking, I met Zaid riding)*

             (Saqar, 2010:1090)

2.3. Resultative Secondary Predicates:

Since Halliday's (1967) work, resultative secondary predicates have been a focus of research for linguists working on syntax – semantics interface (e.g. Simpson, 1983; Boas, 2003; Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004; Rapoport, 2019). According to Simpson (1983:143), resultatives characterize "the state of an argument resulting from the action denoted by the verb", as exemplified by the underlined words in (23).

(23)   *a- John wiped the table <u>clean</u>.*

     b- I shot him <u>dead</u>.

     c- The ice-cream froze <u>solid</u>.   (Simpson, 1983: 143)

Various researchers (e.g. Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 2001:766) extend Simpson's (1983) definition and treat constructions, which denote a change of location as members of the larger family of resultatives, as illustrated in (24):

(24)   *a- The bottle floated <u>into the cave</u>.*

     b- The soldiers marched <u>into the town</u>.   (Farkas, 2013: 196)

A characteristic feature of resultatives is the existence of a resultative phrase, which can be an AP or a PP, as shown in (25).

(25)   *a- Herman hammered the metal <u>flat</u>.*

     b- The critics laughed the play <u>off the stage</u>.   (Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004: 536)

It is interesting to note that although resultatives expressed by PPs usually indicate change in location, sometimes they denote change in state (Farkas, 2013: 68; Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004: 549).

(26)   *a- The professor talked us into a stupor.*

     b- Bill walked himself into a coma.

     c- Sarah cried herself to sleep.

Compared to English, Arabic resultatives are very limited and they are rarely headed by an AP. Even though Amer (2016: 8) emphasizes that a resultative in Arabic must be a noun phrase, (27c & d) contradict this claim.

(27)   *a-* أردوهُ <u>قتيلاً</u>.   *They shot <u>him</u> <u>dead</u>. (RP = NP)*

b- تفجرت الأرضُ عيوناً.   *The ground gushed forth into springs. (RP = NP)*

c- ضربوه حتى الموت.   *They beat him to death. (RP = PP)*

The window broke into pieces. (RP = PP)

d- تكسَّر الشباكُ إلى قطعٍ.

There are certain syntactic and semantic restrictions on the formation of resultative constructions. Simpson (1983: 144) stresses that one of the prerequisites to form resultatives is the presence of an 'object' a resultative phrase needs to be predicated of. Simpson's generalization, following Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 34), has been known as Direct Object Restriction (DOR). Thus, the examples in (28) are unacceptable if they are given a resultative reading.

(28)   *a- Phil sold his car rich.*

     b- Janet missed the train unhappy.   (Aarts, 1995: 83)

Semantically, Simpson (1983: 148) claims that the verb must have a direct effect on the object. Despite the participation of a wide range of verbs in resultatives (see Levin, 1993: 101), verbs of perception are excluded since they do not affect the object. This explains why (29) is ungrammatical.

(29)   *a- *Medusa saw the hero stone/into stone.*   (Simpson, 1983:146)

2.4 Types of Resultatives:

In the linguistic literature, the various types of resultatives are treated as a unified phenomenon. Nevertheless, many linguists deal with resultatives as a 'family of constructions' (Glodberg and Jackendoff, 2004) sharing the characteristic features of resultatives, but differing in some syntactic and semantic aspects. Resultatives are classified according to the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the elements that participate in their formation. Syntactically, based on the type of the verb, resultatives are grouped into transitive resultatives, unaccusative resultatives, and unergative resultatives, as shown in (30), (31) and (32) respectively.

(30)   *a- The winemakers squashed the grapes flat.*

     b- Bill drove the tyres bald.   (Farkas, 2013: 67)

(31)   *a- The safe smashed open.*

         b- The ice froze solid.

(32)   *a- The joggers ran themselves sick.*

         b- The joggers ran the pavement thin.   (Carrier and Randal, 1992: 217)

The main difference between the behaviour of resultatives in (30 a) and (30 b) is that the object in (30 a) is selected by the verb. We can say '*The winemakers squashed the grapes.*' On the contrary, the object in (30 b) is not selected by the verb, since it is impossible to say 'Bill drove the tyres'. Thus, within transitive resultatives there are cases in which the object depends on the construction as a whole instead of the verb. It is interesting to note that although (31) and (32) are intransitive, they can participate in resultatives without violating the direct object restriction (DOR). The sole argument of the unaccusative verbs in (31) is an underlying object that moves to the position of the subject. On the other hand, unergative verbs in (32) have a true subject and they cannot take an object in non-resultative constructions. To satisfy DOR, they require an object to form a resultative predicate. This object is a "fake object" which is very often a reflexive pronoun, as in (32 a), or a non-reflexive fake object, as in (32 b).

Semantically, Washio (1997**:**28) draws a distinction between strong and weak resultatives. When the meaning of the resultative depends on the meaning of the verb, a weak resultative is produced, but when there is no connection between them, a strong resultative occurs. Let us compare.

(33) *He sharpened the pencil pointy*.   (Washio, 1997: 28)

(34) *The planes flew the ozone layer thin*.

  (33) exemplifies a weak resultative since the meaning of the adjective 'pointy' is implied in the meaning of the verb 'sharpened'. (34) illustrates a strong resultative as it is difficult to guess what would be the state of the object depending on the meaning of the verb 'flew'.

3. Secondary Predicates and Telicity:

Verbs can be viewed as events that occur in time. According to time, verbs are classified into telic and atelic. For Krifca (1992: 30), a verb is regarded telic if it has a temporal endpoint and atelic if it

includes no temporal endpoint. The typical diagnostic test for telicity distinction is the co-occurrence of telic verbs with the time adverbial (in-phrase) and atelic verbs with the time adverbial (for-phrase) (Vendler, 1957), as (35) and (36) show.
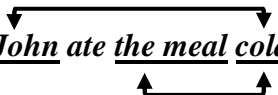
(35)   ***Mary crossed the finish line in/*for an hour.***   (telic)

(36)   ***Mary pushed the cart *in/for an hour.***   (atelic)

Secondary predicates provide evidence that verbal telicity may contribute to understanding distinct but related linguistic phenomena like depictives and resultatives.

3.1 Depictives and Telicity:

Many suggestions have been made to account for the relationship that holds between a depictive and its referent. Linguists agree that object-oriented depictives are more restricted than subject-oriented depictives. It is argued that the restrictions imposed on the existence of object-oriented depictives are usually related to the telicity of the main verb. More specifically, depictives can modify the object if the verb is telic/durative (Irimia, 2012; Motut, 2014). This explains why (37) is ambiguous, while (38) has only one reading

(37)   ***John ate the meal cold.***

(38)   ***John carried Jane drunk.***   (Farrell, 2019: 99)

(37) means either John or the meal is cold; whereas (38) means only it is John who is drunk because 'ate' is a telic verb, whereas 'carried' is atelic, as confirmed by the in/for adverbial test.

(39)   ***John ate the meal cold in/*for an hour.***   (telic)

(40)   ***John carried Jane drunk *in /for an hour.***   (atelic)

Arabic depictives are not sensitive to telicity, and objects can be modified as freely as subjects. In Arabic, case markers can sometimes determine the referent of the depictive because the Arabic depictive shows agreement with its argument in number and gender. Thus, although (41) has two possible readings, only one reading is acceptable in (42):

(41)   **لقيتُ زيداً راكباً.**

a- I met Zaid while I was riding.

b- I met Zaid while he was riding.

(42) لقيتُ رقية راكبة. *(I met Ruqayya while she was riding.)*

3.2 Resultatives and Telicity:

Resultatives occur with atelic verbs only (Rapaport and Zarka, 2021: 3), and it is uncontroversial that the addition of the resultative state converts the sentence into telic (Boas, 2003: 134), as shown in (43) and (44).

(43) *Mary shakes Jones *in/for ten minutes.* (atelic)

(44) *Mary shakes Jones awake in/*for ten minutes.* (telic)

Telicity can be used to account for the distinction between strong and weak resultatives. Weak resultatives, unlike strong resultatives, do not lead to an aspectual shift, since they usually occur with telic verbs, as illustrated in (45) and (46).

(45) *John sliced the bread in 5 minutes.* (telic)

(46) *John sliced the bread thin in 5 minutes.* (telic)

4. Translation of Secondary Predicates:

The syntactic and semantic analysis of secondary predicates presented so far serves as a basis for understanding the process of translation. Since depictives are available in both English and Arabic, literal translation is expected. Yet, if the translators are unaware of the behavioural mismatch between English and Arabic depictives, faulty translation is produced.

The translation of resultatives is more complicated. The resultative predicate consists of two components: cause and result. In English, a manner verb is used to lexicalize the cause component; while a secondary resultative predicate lexicalizes the result. In Arabic, the resultative construction is almost not available. According to Levin and Rapapport Hovav (2019: 395), languages may use the same components but with different distributions to describe the same event. In this regard, Talmy (1985), according to the way languages lexicalize components, classifies languages into verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. In Talmy's typology, English is regarded as a satellite language and Arabic as a verb-framed language. Talmy first used motion verbs to make his generalization. In satellite

languages, the path component of the motion verb is expressed outside the verb by a satellite that is usually a particle, a preposition, etc. In verb-framed languages, the path component is conflated in the verb. Let us compare English (47) to its Arabic equivalent (48).

(47)   ***Ahmed sneaked into the room.***

(48)   دخل أحمدُ الغرفةَ خِلسةً.

In English, the path component is expressed outside the verb (satellite) by the preposition 'into' and the manner is encoded in the verb 'sneaked'; in Arabic, the path component is provided by the verb 'دخل' (entered)and the manner is expressed outside the verb by the adverb 'خلسة' (furtively).

As with motion verbs, this paper claims that the difference in lexicalization patterns extends to the resultative events and it follows that the translators are obliged to use different strategies to reflect this distinction.

To substantiate our claim, 10 sentences containing different subtypes of secondary predicates are selected from the linguistic literature (e.g., Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004; Farrell, 2019). They are analyzed and compared with their equivalents presented by two translation teachers.

(49)   ***Sasha fed Melina the meat drunk.***

a- ساشا أطعمت ملينا اللحم سكرانة.

b- ساشا أطعمت ملينا اللحم ثملة.

At first glance, (49) is ambiguous between two possible readings. It may be a subject-oriented or an object-oriented depictive. However (49) is a double object construction with '*Melina*' as an indirect object. Since depictives in English cannot modify indirect objects (see 2.2), the object-oriented reading is excluded and (49) only can have the meaning '*Sasha, while she was drunk, fed Melina the meat*'. Thus, (49) is unambiguous.

Compared to the original English text, the translations provided in (49 a) and (49 b) are considered ambiguous for two reasons. First, Arabic depictives can be predicated of subjects and indirect objects without restrictions. Second, as the subject 'Sasha' and the object 'Melina' of the original text are feminine, Arabic case markers, which usually signal the difference in meaning, play no role here. This means that the adjectival depictive shows agreement with both the subject and the object, and ambiguity arises. Back translation of the Arabic texts would be either (A) or (B):

(A): ***Sasha, who was drunk, fed Melina the meat.***

(B): *Sasha fed Melina, who was drunk, the meat.*

Briefly, while the original text is unambiguous, the translations show an ambiguity between two differently oriented readings. The proposed translation would be: (ساشا **وهي سكرانة** أطعمت ملينا اللحم)

(50)   *John ate the salad undressed.*

a- أكل جون السلطة غير متبّلة.

b- تناول جون السلطة غير متبّلة.

In (50), it is important to note that since the adjectival predicate 'undressed' has multiple meanings; it can be predicated of the subject and the object. Furthermore, the verb 'ate' in (50) is telic, since it can co-occur with the in-phrase, as shown in (51):

(51)   *John ate the salad in/*for an hour.*

This means the verb 'ate' imposes no restriction on the object-oriented reading (see 3.1). From these observations, it is apparent that (50) actually has two readings.

(A) John was undressed when he ate the salad.
(B) John ate the undressed salad.

Since the context in (50) fails to delimit the possible meaning, it is hard for the translators to capture the intended referent of the depictive predicate. The literal translations proposed in (50 a & b) yield an object-oriented reading only. This assumption is based on two observations. Syntactically, the feminine marker (ـة) at the end of the Arabic depictive 'غير متبّلـة' (undressed) shows agreement with the feminine object 'سَلَطَة' (salad) and disagreement with the masculine subject 'John'. Semantically, this depictive is compatible with food only and cannot modify persons like John. It seems that the translators opted for the object-oriented interpretation only because Arabic speakers tend to prefer the entity that is close to the adjective. This example shows that the strategy adopted in the previous example (49) is reversed. The translators produced an unambiguous sentence as an equivalent to an ambiguous one.

(52)   *She kissed him unconscious.*

a- قبلته وهو غائب عن وعيه.

b- قبلته من غير وعي.

In (52), assigning the secondary predicate to the depictive or resultative is not an easy task. The adjectival predicate 'unconscious' can be equally treated as depictive or resultative. Consequently, at a superficial level, four interpretations are possible:

(A) *While she was unconscious, she kissed him*. (subject-oriented depictive).

(B) *She kissed him while he was unconscious*. (object-oriented depictive)

(C) *She kissed him and as a result, she became unconscious*. (subject-oriented resultative)

(D) *She kissed him and as a result, he became unconscious.* (object-oriented resultative)

The verb 'kissed' in (52) is atelic, since it can be compatible with the for-phrase, as illustrated in (53):

(53) *She kissed him* in/for five minutes.*

As a result, the aspectual behaviour of the verb prevents the availability of the object-oriented depictive (B) (see 3.1). In addition, resultatives cannot modify the subject in transitive sentences (see 2. 3). Given this, the subject-oriented resultative reading (C) is disallowed. Actually, only two possible readings are available: the subject-oriented depictive (A) and the object-oriented resultative (D). The translations stated in (52 a & b) favour the depictive reading only and the resultative meaning is completely dropped out. This behaviour backs up the claim that resultatives are not found in Arabic. However, (52 a) and (52 b) differ in the orientation. Mistakenly, (52 a) chooses the object-oriented reading (B), which is incompatible with the English verb 'kissed', as shown above. This strategy reflects the translator's unawareness of the peculiar behaviour of English depictive predicate. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that in English the object-depictive meaning with the verb 'kiss' can be realized by a non-depictive construction: 'She kissed him while he was unconscious'.

(54) *The girl wiped the table clean.*

a - نظفت البنت المنضدة

b- نظفت البنت المنضدة

In (54), the resultative secondary predicate (clean) characterizes an object of a transitive verb. The manner component of the resultative construction is encoded in the verb (wiped) and the result component is expressed outside the verb by the adjectival predicate 'clean'. The construction that pairs the form (SVOAdj) with the resultative meaning is not found in Arabic. As a result, literal translation is ungrammatical as shown in (55):

(55) ***She wiped the table clean.***

'مسحت المنضدة نظيفة'*

This means that in translation it is impossible to preserve the resultative meaning without modifications. The translations given in (54 a) and (54 b) are identical. The distribution of elements that are used to realize the resultative construction components (manner and result) is different from the original text. In the translation, the result component is encoded in the verb" نظفت " (cleaned) and the manner component is omitted. The main difference between English text (54) and the given translations is that in (54) the sentence specifies how the girl caused the table to become clean. It is important to note that in Arabic the component of manner can be expressed by a prepositional phrase, as shown in (56):

(56)   نظفت البنتُ المنضدة بمسحها

(*The girl cleaned the table by wiping*)

Nevertheless, the omission of manner in the given translations (54 a & b) seems more appropriate for two reasons. The presence of the prepositional phrase makes the sentence sound heavy and less natural. More importantly, the manner can be understood although not expressed because the table is usually made clean by the act of wiping. This example shows that Arabic behaves like verb-framed languages and conflates the result component inside the verb, while English prefers to locate the result component outside the verb (satellite). This difference in lexicalization patterns confirms Talmy's generalization.

(57) ***She sliced the carrots thin.***

a- قطّعت الجزر شرائح صغيرة

b- قطّعت الجزرَ قِطعاً صغيرةً

Despite the structural similarity between (57) and other types of resultatives, (57) should be treated as a weak resultative for at least two reasons. First, the adjectival result (thin) does not add a new meaning. Rather, it specifies a result that is implied in the verb. Second, unlike other types of resultatives, the attainment of the resultative (thin) does not change the telicity of the sentence. Let us compare (58) to (59):

(58) ***a- She sliced the carrots in an hour.***   ***(telic)***

b- She sliced the carrots thin in an hour.   ***(telic)***

(59)   *a- John hammered the metal for an hour.   (atelic)*

   b- John hammered the metal thin in an hour.   (telic)

More importantly, the verb (sliced) in (57) is an example of implicit creation verbs. These verbs, according to Levinson, "entail the creation of an entity, but this entity is not expressed by an argument of the verb." (2007: 17). She explains further that the created thing is derived from the root of the verb. That is, 'to slice' means to create a slice. Based on this analysis, what becomes thin in (57) is not the carrots, but the slices, which are created by the act of slicing and derived from the root of the verb 'slice'. As a result, the resultative predicate (thin)in(57) implicitly modifies 'slices'.

The translations proposed in (57 a and b) confirm this analysis. By the addition of the elements 'شرائح' or 'قطع' (slices), the implicit created element becomes explicit, as shown in the back translation 'She sliced the carrots into thin slices'. It is to be noted that although the translators add certain elements to the original text, literal translation 'قطعت الجزر ناعماً'is acceptable, supporting the claim that weak resultatives can be found in Arabic.

(60)   *The door slammed shut.*

   a-   انغلق الباب بقوة

   b-   انصفق الباب

The sentence in (60) exemplifies an intransitive resultative construction. Although the verb (slammed) is not followed by a direct object, this construction does not pose a problem for the direct object restriction because 'slammed' in (60) behaves as an unaccusative verb. In the deep structure, 'slammed' takes an object and no subject. This explains why the transitive and the corresponding intransitive counterpart have almost the same meaning and should be treated one.

(61) Someone slammed the door.

(62) The door slammed.

It is interesting to note that the verb 'slammed' implies the closing of the door. Thus, (60), which is repeated here as (63), and (64) can be regarded equivalents:

63 The door slammed shut.

64 *The door slammed.*

The only difference between (63) and (64) is that (63) focuses on final state of the door, whereas (64) focuses on the manner by which the action is carried out.

Concerning the given translations, it is clear that they preserve the resultative meaning regardless of the different syntactic means they use. (60 a) is much in line with Talmy's generalization. The result component is encoded in the unaccusative verb 'انغلق' (became close) and the manner component is expressed by means of a prepositional phrase 'بقوة' (forcibly). In (60 b), the accusative verb 'انصفق' (to be closed forcibly) is sufficient to convey both manner and result.

(65)   *He drank the cup empty.*

a-   شربَ الكأس كاملاً

b-   شربَ القدح كاملاً

(65) has two interpretations. It may have a depictive reading, which can be paraphrased as: 'He drank the cup while it was empty' or a resultative reading meaning: 'He drank the cup and, as a result, it became empty'. The former interpretation is excluded for semantic considerations; it is anomalous. The resultative reading requires further investigation.

The examples on resultatives usually show that there is an argument shared by the primary and secondary resultative predicate. For instance, the argument 'truck' in (66) is modified by the resultative predicate (full) and at the same time is affected by the verb 'loaded', as shown in (66 a and b).

(66)   *John loaded the truck full.*

a- John loaded the <u>truck</u>.

b- The <u>truck</u> became full.

The situation in (65) is different. In (65), it is observed that the entity 'cup', which is modified by the resultative 'empty', is not directly affected by the verb. The verb 'drink' affects the liquid (e.g. water) in the container rather than the container itself; hence, the object 'cup' is not selected by the verb.

Resultatives with unselected verbs are not found in Arabic. A literal translation of (65) produces a grammatical but an illogical depictive meaning, 'شرب الكأسَ فارغاً'. In order to solve this problem, the

translators resorted to an adverbial construction to express the resultative meaning indirectly. Back translation of (65 a and b) would be: 'He drank the cup completely'.

(67)   ***The dog barked the neighbour awake.***

a-   أيقظ الكلبُ الجيران بنباحه.

b-   ظل الكلب ينبح حتى أيقظ الجيران

Since the verb 'barked' in non-resultative sentences never takes an object, (67) represents an unergative-based resultative. To satisfy the direct object restriction (DOR), the object 'the neighbour' is obligatorily inserted after the verb in order to introduce something the resultative can modify. 'The neighbour' is a fake object, as the omission of the resultative renders the sentence ungrammatical: *(*The dog barked the neighbour).*

Compared to English, Arabic disallows fake objects. This means that an Arabic structural equivalent to (67) is unacceptable: '*نبح الكلبُ الجيرانَ يقظين'. In the translation, different lexicalization patterns can be observed. In the original English text, the manner component is expressed by the verb 'barked' and the result is provided by the secondary predicate (awake). In (67a), the meaning components are differently distributed. The result component is expressed by the transitive verb 'أيقظ' (awoke) and the manner is expressed outside the verb by the prepositional phrase 'بنباحه' (by barking). In (67 b), the same meaning is described from a different perspective. As is the case with the original English text, the manner component is encoded in the verb 'نبح' (barked), but the resultative component is realized by a clause introduced by the particle 'حتى'/ *hatta*/ (until). Here, although the original transitive sentence is translated as intransitive, the resultative meaning is preserved. The insertion of the periphrastic verb 'ظلّ' (remained) seems necessary to reflect the iterative nature of barking.

(68)   ***The drunkard drank himself under the table.***

a-   شرب حد الثمالة

b-   سكر حد الثمالة

(68) is also an unergative-based resultative. The verb 'drank' when used unergatively, requires a fake-object to trigger the resultative meaning of the sentence. Here, the entity that takes the object function is a reflexive pronoun, which must be co-referential with the subject to produce the interpretation that the subject undergoes the change of state. When an unergative verb and a reflexive pronoun come

together, the sentence carries a literal and a metaphorical meaning. This means that (68) has two interpretations. Literally, it can be paraphrased as: 'The drunkard drank excessively and as a result he fell under the table'. Metaphorically, the drunkard did not actually pass out and fall under the table. Rather, his falling under the table may be taken as a sign of losing composure after he became very drunk.

Resultatives with unergative verbs constitute a strong type of resultatives. Accordingly, literal translation is unacceptable 'شرب نفسه تحت المنضدة*'. In (68), the reflexive pronoun does not have a meaning. Syntactically, it intensifies the action and solves the problem of the DOR. Thus, in translation, it must be dropped out. The translated texts are identical. They convey the metaphorical resultative meaning, since 'الثمالة' /althumala/ in Arabic shows both excessiveness of drinking and the loss of awareness. However, in translation not only the metaphorical meaning, but also the literal meaning should be conveyed.

69   *They marched into the city.*

a-   زحفوا صوب المدينة

b-   دخلوا المدينة زاحفين

Since the resultative phrase in (69) is expressed by a PP, it is usually a change of location resultative. (69) can be constructed as: 'They entered the city as a result of marching'. The verb 'marched' in (69) does not have an object. It is directly followed by a PP resultative that modifies the subject (they) undergoing the change of location. Unlike the unergative verb 'barked' in (67), the verb 'marched' does not require a fake object to form the resultative construction. The contrasting behaviour of 'barked' and 'marched' resides in the fact that 'barked' is a change of state verb, whereas the verb 'marched' is a change of location. According to Levin and Rapoport Hovav (1995), when the verbs in resultative secondary predicates express a change of location rather than a change of state, they are no longer unergatives; they behave like unaccusatives. This claim explains why the same verb 'run' in (70) needs an object, and in (71) needs not.

(70) *They ran the pavement thin.* (Change of state)

(71) *They ran into the room.*   (Change of location)

The literal translation given in (69 a) does not convey the resultative meaning. The preposition 'صوب' (towards) merely refers to the direction of motion without specifying the endpoint of this motion. In other words, it does not indicate that the persons really entered the city (no location endpoint). The failure of transferring the resultative meaning into Arabic is because prepositions in English are accomplishments (Farkas, 2013: 236) that can denote the endpoint of the motion, whereas Arabic prepositions cannot, since they are locative. In (69 b), to preserve the resultative meaning, the English resultative components (manner

and result) are realized in a different way. The result is expressed by the verb 'دخلوا' (entered) which entails the direction of motion, and the manner is expressed by the adverb 'زاحفين'. Back translation would be 'they entered the city marching'. This difference in lexicalization patterns reflects Talmy's (1985) observation.

5. Conclusion:

Based on the observations presented in this paper, it seems that the translation of English secondary predicates into Arabic is not an easy task for several reasons. First, it is difficult to make a structural distinction between the two types of secondary predicates: depictive and resultative. Consequently, the translations show that sometimes the resultative predicate is translated mistakenly as depictive but not the opposite. Second, when the sentence is ambiguous between a depictive or resultative reading, the translators tend to convey the depictive meaning only, leaving out the resultative interpretation. This behaviour substantiates the claim that resultatives are not found in Arabic. Third, despite the availability of depictives in the two languages, English imposes more restrictions on the formation of object-oriented ones. Due to the translators' unawareness of the idiosyncratic behaviour of English depictives, the translators fail to capture the intended referent of the depictive state.

The translation of resultative predicates is more complicated and the degree of translation difficulty is correlated with resultative type. When the meaning of the resultative predicate is implied in the meaning of the verb (weak resultative), literal translation is acceptable. Since strong resultatives expressed by APs are disallowed in Arabic, the translators are forced to use different lexicalization patterns to realize the basic components of resultatives (manner and result). In accordance with Talmy's (1985) typology that treats English as a satellite-framed language, the translations show that Arabic behaves like a verb-framed language. While English tends to lexicalize the resultative component outside the verb via a satellite, Arabic prefers to conflate the resultative component in the verb (verb-framed). Nevertheless, when the resultative component cannot be provided by the Arabic verb, the resultative meaning is conveyed by a resultative clause introduced by the particle 'حتى' /hatta/ (until).

Another strategy that is identified in this study is omission. When the information of manner is inferred from context, the translators opt for omitting the manner component to produce a more natural translation. However, they find themselves obliged to omit the fake reflexive object when present.

Finally, due to the limited scale of this study, scholars are encouraged to investigate the issue more broadly to increase the reliability of the obtained results.

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