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RAEL: Revista Electrónica de Lingüística Aplicada

Vol./Núm.: 21/1
Enero-diciembre 2022
Páginas: 179-197
Artículo recibido: 13/07/2022
Artículo aceptado: 19/09/2022
Artículo publicado: 31/01/2023
Url: <https://rael.aesla.org.es/index.php/RAEL/article/view/505>
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.58859/rael.v21i1.505>

On the Meaning of Prepositional Resultatives with *hasta* in Contemporary Peninsular Spanish: A Preliminary Corpus-Based Analysis

Sobre el significado de los resultativos preposicionales con *hasta* en español peninsular contemporáneo. Un análisis de corpus preliminar

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This paper offers the most significant results derived from the preliminary semantic analysis carried out on the 455 Spanish prepositional resultatives headed by the telic preposition *hasta* that conform our corpus. Specifically, we will show that their meaning is not homogenous since two clear cases are to be differentiated: on the one hand, those which have literal meaning, like *hasta la muerte* in *La misma asesina, por lo tanto, que torturó a Loperena hasta la muerte*, and on the other, those with a figurative interpretation, like *hasta el agotamiento* in *La curiosidad lo hizo esforzarse hasta el agotamiento*. Though both readings entail a hyperbolic meaning of excess and exaggeration, we will demonstrate, furthermore, that only the latter, called *degree resultatives*, following Hoeksema and Napoli (2019), have recently developed an intensifying function in the language which is increasingly growing as time goes by.

Keywords: *resultative construction; prepositional resultative; hasta; hyperbolic meaning; intensifier*

Este artículo ofrece los resultados más significativos del análisis semántico preliminar que hemos llevado a cabo sobre los 455 resultativos preposicionales españoles introducidos por la preposición tética *hasta* que conforman nuestro corpus. Específicamente, demostraremos que su significado no es homogéneo en tanto que se distinguen dos clases diferentes: por una parte, los que tienen un significado literal, como *hasta la muerte* en *La misma asesina, por lo tanto, que torturó a Loperena hasta la muerte*, y por otra, los que han de interpretarse de manera figurada, como *hasta el agotamiento* en *La curiosidad lo hizo esforzarse hasta el agotamiento*. Aunque ambas lecturas implican un significado hiperbólico de exceso y exageración, probaremos, además, que solo los segundos, a los que llamamos ‘resultativos de grado’ (*degree resultatives*), siguiendo a Hoeksema y Napoli (2019), han desarrollado recientemente una función intensificadora en la lengua que está aumentando con el paso del tiempo.

Palabras clave: *construcción resultativa; resultativo preposicional; hasta; significado hiperbólico; intensificador*

1. INTRODUCTION

The so-called *property resultative construction* (Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004: 536-537) is defined, in general terms, as that one that merges in a simple sentence two different predications: a primary verbal one that indicates the action ('the waiter wiping the table' and 'the vase breaking' in Examples (1) and (2), respectively) which causes the change of state encoded in the secondary predication, which is, in contrast, non-verbal in nature ('the cleanliness of the table' and 'the pieces which the vase turns into' in the two aforementioned examples):¹

- (1) The waiter wiped the table clean.
- (2) The vase broke into many pieces. (Kaufmann & Wunderlich, 1998: 1)

We use English examples to illustrate this kind of resultative construction because English is the *satellite-framed language* in which, due to its noticeable frequency of occurrence, it has been most investigated (Simpson, 1983; Sato, 1987; Yamada, 1987; McNulty, 1988; Bresnan & Zaenen, 1990; Van Valin, 1990; Goldberg, 1991a, 1991b, 1995, 2006; Hoekstra, 1992a, 1992b; Carrier & Randall, 1992, 1993; Bowers, 1997; Wechsler, 1997; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Boas, 2003, 2005, 2008a, 2008b; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004, 2005; Iwata, 2006; Sugayama, 2009).²

Although they usually adopt either adjectival (as in Example 1) or prepositional (see Example 2) form, most studies focus on English adjectival resultatives for being, according to Riaubiené (2015: 65), the prototypical ones and, therefore, for Kaufmann and Wunderlich (1998: 2), the starting point for their research in other languages.³ Consequently, English prepositional resultatives have not been deeply studied (Beavers, 2002: 1). To our knowledge, in fact, only those introduced by prepositions denoting a goal like *to* and *into* (Beavers, 2002: 17) and *till* and *until* (Riaubiené, 2015: 73-74), together with those expressing, in a general sense, the manner how the verbal action is carried out (Riaubiené, 2015: 73-74), have been investigated to date.

According to Verspoor (1997: 120) and Iwata (2006: 450), this fact is attributed to the different treatment that adjectival and prepositional resultatives require: "[they] seem to behave differently in the resultative construction, such that semantically equivalent resultative phrases in one syntactic form are felicitous in one sentence and infelicitous in others" (Verspoor, 1997: 120), as can be seen in Examples (3a) and (3b). Therefore, in agreement with Verspoor (1997: 120), we believe that "reference to the syntactic form of the resultative construction is also critical to the modelling of the resultative construction":

- (3) a. Mary ate herself sick.
b. *Mary ate herself to sickness. (Miyata, 1999: 39)

¹ Therefore, in opposition to Boas (2003) and Riaubiené (2015), it does not include resultative *caused-motion constructions* which, like *The critics laughed the play off the stage*, denote a change of location.

² Talmy's typological distinction (1985, 2000) between *satellite-* and *verb-framed languages*, to which Germanic and Romance languages do, respectively, belong, is originally based on the way they lexicalize the different components of motion events. As illustrated in the prototypical pair of examples *The bottle floated into the cave* and *La botella entró en la cueva flotando*, in English the manner how the motion event is performed is expressed in the verb and in Spanish by means of an adverbial or a gerund; the path, for its part, is encoded through a satellite in English and in the verb in Spanish.

³ Though also possible, for Farkas (2010: 216) nominal resultatives are not productive in English for being the result of elliptical prepositional phrases (PPs).

In Spanish, however, adjectival resultatives have been less investigated because, being a *verb-framed language*, they are generally described as completely non-existent or extremely marginal (Demonte, 1988; McNulty, 1988; Aske, 1989; Bosque, 1990; Mallén, 1991; Washio, 1997; Demonte & Masullo, 1999; Sanz, 2000; Mateu, 2000; Mateu & Rigau, 2002; Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002, 2004; Mendívil Giró, 2003; De Cuyper, 2004; Morita, 2009; Armstrong, 2012).⁴

In recent times, nevertheless, prepositional resultatives in different Romance languages have been brought to light (Legendre, 1997; Kaufmann & Wunderlich, 1998; Folli, 2002; De Cuyper, 2004; Folli & Ramchand, 2005; Morita, 2009; Farkas, 2010; Irimia, 2013; Riaubiené, 2015); in Spanish, in particular, those introduced by *hasta* (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2014, 2022). By incorporating into their verbal meaning a manner component, (4-5), and thus representing a new case of mixed behaviour between Talmy's typologies (1985, 2000), they seem to challenge this well-known typological distinction. Therefore, as Irimia (2013: 1) states in her study on Romanian resultatives, "languages which might be classified as 'verb-framed' under other diagnostics do tolerate some restricted types of resultativity":⁵

(4) *El acusado la estranguló hasta la muerte.*⁶ (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2014: 143)

(5) *Aparecen desde el silencio para montar jaleo, bailar hasta el desmayo.*
(Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2022: 150)

The meaning of this particular kind of Spanish prepositional resultatives is the main focus of the present paper. Specifically, we want to show that they are not semantically homogeneous since their attributes are to be interpreted either literally, as in Example (6), or figuratively, in Example (7):

(6) [...] *un toro era lanceado hasta la muerte en Tordesillas.* (CORPES XXI: prensa, 2009) → "[...] *un toro murió en Tordesillas tras ser lanceado.*"

(7) *Se esforzó hasta la extenuación en ser el fotógrafo americano.* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2009) → "*Se esforzó mucho en ser el fotógrafo americano.*"

To get our aim, the paper is structured in two other sections, besides this introduction and the final concluding remarks. Section two offers a review of the treatment given in the literature to Spanish adjectival and prepositional resultatives, in which the constraints that operate on the former and the recent findings concerning the latter are highlighted. Section three presents, for its part, the most important results of the semantic analysis carried out, in which especial emphasis is given to the similarities and differences observed between the literal and figurative readings of the *hasta* prepositional resultatives.

⁴ This same productivity contrast has also been attested in other Germanic and Romance languages, like German (Boas, 2003) and Dutch (Hoekstra, 1988; Hoeksema & Napoli, 2019), on the one hand, and Italian (Napoli, 1992; Folli, 2002; Folli & Ramchand, 2005) and French (Guimier, 1980; Rivière, 1981; Legendre, 1997), on the other. For a cross-linguistic analysis of resultatives, see Kaufmann and Wunderlich (1998), De Cuyper (2004), and Riaubiené (2015).

⁵ Talmy's typologies (1985, 2000) are also called into question in recent studies on movement constructions (Filipovič, 2007; Beavers, Levin & Tham, 2010; Croft, Barðdal, Hollmann, Sotirova & Taoka, 2010; Martínez Vázquez, 2013) and reaction object constructions (Martínez Vázquez, 2014, 2016).

⁶ Although the English translations of the Spanish examples provided would have been desirable, for reasons of space we leave them out of our work.

2. ON SPANISH PROPERTY RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

English adjectival resultatives do not constitute a homogeneous linguistic phenomenon (Goldberg, 1995; Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 1999; Boas, 2003, 2008a, 2008b; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004), since they comprise two different variants which, *grosso modo*, correspond to Washio's (1997) *weak/strong resultatives* and Dimitrova-Vulchanova's (2016) *radical-disconnected/conservative-connected resultatives*: i) the transitive variant, built around transitive, (8a), and unaccusative, (9a), verbs; ii) and the intransitive one, created, for its part, with unergative, (10a), and pseudo-intransitive, (11a), verbs:⁷

- (8) a. I tied the door shut. (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002: 402)
- (9) a. The oil has frozen solid. (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002: 367)
- (10) a. I had screamed myself hoarse. (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002: 371)
- (11) a. Lila sneezed their neighbours sick. (Boas, 2003: 283)

Though both classes present the same structural configuration, their syntactico-semantic behaviour is radically different: whereas in transitive resultatives the direct object participant is a prototypical patient that belongs to the verb's argument structure, in intransitive resultatives it is an unexpected patient which, despite taking part somehow in the verbal event described in the primary predication, is not subcategorized for by its verb (Boas, 2003: 155). Hence, its classification as a *fake object*, necessary, however, to syntactico-semantically host the resultative attribute (Rapoport, 1990: 36; see Examples 10b and 11b):⁸

- (8) b. I tied the door.
- (9) b. The oil has frozen.
- (10) b. *I had screamed myself.
- (11) b. *Lila sneezed their neighbours.

Due to the different status of their patient participant, for Kaufmann and Wunderlich (1998) both kinds of resultatives encode different event types; in transitive resultatives, specifically, simple events which, through a secondary predication, denote a change of state that is the logical result of the verbal action described in the primary predication; and in intransitive resultatives, for their part, complex events which express a change of state that, not being *a priori* lexically associated with the action stated in the main predication, is not the result of a direct cause and effect relationship.

As (12b) shows, adjectival intransitive resultatives are non-existent in Spanish, due to morphological reasons (Beck & Snyder, 2001: 1; Mendivil Giró, 2003: 26). In opposition, however, to Beck and Snyder (2001: 1), who associate their absence with the low productivity of compounding in Spanish, the linguistic traits that, in our view, prevent their expression in Spanish are its rich and developed inflectional morphological system and, consequently, its flexible word-order:

⁷ Resultative patterns with pseudo-intransitive verbs —transitive verbs lacking direct object complementation, according to Lyons (1968: 373)— are not included in the second group of resultatives identified by Yamada (1987: 74) and Wechsler (1997: 309); respectively, *True/Fake Resultative Constructions* and *Control/Exceptional Case Marking Resultatives*. In Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004: 536), in another respect, resultatives with unaccusative verbs are classified as intransitive.

⁸ Consequently, in Construction Grammar, intransitive resultatives are said to provide the construction not only with the attribute, as in the transitive variant, but also with its patient participant (Goldberg, 1995; Kaufmann & Wunderlich, 1998).

- (12) a. I cried my eyes blind. (Simpson, 1983: 145)
 b. **Lloré mis ojos ciegos.*

Though both features also account for the marginality of Spanish adjectival transitive resultatives, this particular variant is, furthermore, subject to several semantico-pragmatic restrictions which constrain their presence to three specific semantic fields: i) the culinary and gastronomic field, (in Example 13); ii) the one that describes chromatic alterations by means of colour change of state verbs, (in Example 14; Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002, 2004); iii) and finally, the so-called *cognate participle construction* (Bosque, 1990; Dibo & Mare, 2020; see Example 15). Their resultative nature has not been, however, the object of consensus in the literature. Whereas those belonging to the second class are usually accepted as authentic resultatives, the structures in the first and third groups are considered *spurious resultatives* (Washio, 1997: 17) since they contain *pseudoresultative* attributes (Demonte & Masullo, 1999; Levinson, 2010) which in the former pattern express the way how the verbal action has been carried out,⁹ and in the latter, for their part, the repetition of the final state:¹⁰

- (13) *Se cuecen unos huevos duros.* (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002: 461)
 (14) *Se tiñe el pelo de rubio.* (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2002: 430)
 (15) *Raid las mata bien muertas.* (Bosque, 1990: 196)

The recent studies on Spanish prepositional resultatives with *hasta* (Rodríguez Arrizabalaga, 2014, 2022) have revealed, notwithstanding, several features about resultativity in this particular Romance language which deserve special attention, for being unknown to date for two main reasons; first, because most of the studies on Spanish resultatives deal with adjectival patterns; and second, because prepositional resultatives have received, even in English, scarce attention in the literature.¹¹

The first finding put forward in Rodríguez Arrizabalaga's corpus-based analysis (2022) concerns the kind of constructions which *hasta* prepositional resultatives enter.¹² Besides

⁹ They refer, specifically, to the resultative patterns with creation verbs, like *John sliced the tomato very thin/El tomate se pica bien finito.*

¹⁰ Due to the modifying function of their participle, Armstrong (2012: 18-19) also excludes these patterns, which he calls *Verb Adjective Root Identity (VARI) Constructions*, from the realm of resultative structures. Notwithstanding, he does not consider them pseudoresultatives, but a special case of Washio's (1997) *weak resultatives*.

¹¹ For Bigolin and Ausensi (2021), however, the *hasta la muerte* phrases analysed in Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (2014) are not resultatives, but external adjuncts which bind the eventuality they denote.

¹² The corpus of examples examined in Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (2022), from which this study derives, consists of the 455 resultative patterns comprised in the 163,536 concordances retrieved from the initial simple search for the preposition *hasta* which the author has carried out in the variety of Peninsular Spanish included in the last update of the *CORPES XXI* corpus (0.94 beta version [2021]), after several filters have been applied. By means of the proximity criterion which the corpus offers, the grammatical categories of conjunction and verb have been selected and placed to the right of *hasta* in order to exclude those examples, like *Yo no conecto mi móvil hasta que llegue al aeropuerto* (*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2001) and *El ronroneo de Paula fue creciendo hasta hacerse susurro* (*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2001)], in which *hasta* functions as a conjunction, thus considerably reducing the initial number of examples to 119,967 concordances. Due to the nominal status of the complement of prepositional resultatives, the noun has been chosen among the word categories listed in the *CORPES XXI* afterwards, so as to discard those examples in which *hasta* is complemented by adverb phrases (*¿Y por qué no me has dicho nada hasta ahora?* [*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2001]), prepositional phrases (*Yo francamente te prefiero como acabo de verte hace un ratito, ahí llorando, por Guadalupe o incluso hasta por mí* [*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2004]), and noun phrases with personal pronouns as heads (*Se lo había prometido si me llevaba hasta ti* [*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2001]), usually of adverbial nature. The noun has been located specifically at an interval of two places to the right of *hasta* with the intention of obtaining not only those concordances in which it is introduced by any kind of determiner (*Esa tarde fuimos dos niños dorados con un juguete en las manos que parecía irrompible, y jugamos hasta el agotamiento* [*CORPES XXI*: Novela, 2005]), but also those without determiners (*Se debe a la disminución*

attested in transitive resultatives with both transitive, (Example 16), and unaccusative verbs, (Example 17), as expected, *hasta* prepositional resultatives have also been documented, contra expectation, in intransitive resultatives built around unergative, (Example 18), and pseudo-intransitive verbs, (Example 19). This result questions, hence, two of the outcomes concerning Romance resultatives put forward in the literature: first, the complete absence of their intransitive variant; and second, Moritas's (2009: 45-46) generalization which postulates that prepositional resultatives are only present in languages that lack intransitive resultatives:

- (16) *Ataca piel y mucosas hasta la necrosis [...]. (CORPES XXI: prensa, 2019)*
 (17) [...] *pero el rostro de Jonet se ensombreció hasta la negrura. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2002)*
 (18) *A estas alturas de la prueba, José Luis había sudado hasta la sobriedad [...]. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2004)*
 (19) [...] *y aspira profundo hasta el mareo. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2013)*

The second result evidences the non-applicability in Spanish of the *Direct Object Restriction*, which, nevertheless, does explain the behaviour of English resultatives, since in this particular Germanic language they can only be predicated of direct object noun phrases (Simpson, 1983; Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995). Notice, first, that, owing to the absence in them of a fake object to host the attribute —characteristic, however, of their English counterparts—, the participant which performs this function in *hasta* intransitive prepositional resultatives is their grammatical subject, (Example 18 and 19). And second, that many Spanish prepositional transitive resultatives have as their attribute host a participant different from the direct object, (as in Examples 20 and 21).¹³ Spanish prepositional resultatives differ, in sum, not only from their English counterparts, but also from their Italian equivalents which, according to Kaufmann and Wunderlich (1998: 14), cannot be predicated of an agentive participant:

- (20) *Claude me dejaba cepillar su cabello hasta la extenuación, [...]. (CORPES XXI, relato, 2005).*
 (21) *Pop chicloso que te hipnotiza tus oídos y te obliga a tararear la melodía hasta el aburrimiento. (CORPES XXI, web, 2011).*

The number of resultatives registered in Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (2022) —124 in total— reveals, in another respect, the great lexical diversity and productivity of *hasta* prepositional resultatives in Spanish. Therefore, they cannot be considered as restricted as Riaubiené (2015: 128) suggests in the comparison she establishes between them and their French counterparts. It should be noticed at this point, moreover, that most of them —86, in particular— have been found, as illustrated in Table 1, on one single occasion. At the opposite extreme just four prepositional resultatives —namely, *hasta el delirio*, *hasta el*

o ausencia de la enzima lactasa en el conducto digestivo, enzima encargada de hidrolizar la lactosa hasta glucosa y galactosa [CORPES XXI: Prensa, 2001]). After this second search the number of examples in the corpus amounts to 79,100 concordances, which have been, finally, manually analysed in order to select only the attestations with a clear resultative interpretation and, consequently, to disregard those which, like *Los médicos tendrán que informar hasta la saciedad a sus pacientes (CORPES XXI: Prensa, 2002)*, *Se levantó entonces, se estiró y fue hasta el balcón (CORPES XXI: Novela, 2001)* and *Vivió en París desde la primera juventud hasta la muerte (CORPES XXI: Prensa, 2011)*, contain *hasta* prepositional phrases adverbial in meaning.

¹³ This same fact is also observed in Romanian by Farkas (2010: 217), who, as a consequence, considers this particular kind of transitive patterns “false resultatives or not even resultatives.”

agotamiento, *hasta la muerte*, and *hasta la extenuación*— are to be located, since they are the only ones that have yielded more than ten instances. An intermediate position is occupied by the 24 *hasta* prepositional resultatives which have derived between two and ten examples:

Table 1: *Prepositional property resultatives attested in the corpus*

NUMBER OF PPS	EXAMPLES	NUMBER OF CASES
86	<i>hasta la adoración, hasta el silencio, hasta la esquizofrenia, hasta la oscuridad, hasta la popularidad, hasta el aplastamiento, hasta la sumisión, hasta el infarto, hasta el ataque de nervios, hasta la transparencia, hasta la obscenidad, hasta el desvanecimiento, hasta la aniquilación, hasta el desastre, hasta la deformación, hasta el estropicio, hasta el ensueño, hasta la hipnosis, hasta la congestión, hasta el rubor, hasta la esclavitud, hasta el temblor, hasta la hipertrofia, hasta el sonrojo, hasta la indignidad, hasta el babeo, hasta la miseria, hasta la alucinación, hasta la emoción, hasta la carcajada, hasta el negro, hasta la insolencia, hasta la animalidad, hasta el orgasmo, hasta la monotonía, hasta su desecación, hasta el espasmo, hasta la letargia, hasta el abandono, hasta la irritación, hasta la ronquera, hasta la necrosis, hasta mi desvelo, hasta la destrucción, hasta el desgaste, hasta la consistencia, hasta la podredumbre, hasta la negrura, hasta la invisibilidad, hasta la</i>	Hapax legomena
86	<i>deshidratación, hasta su absorción, hasta el colapso, hasta el tedio, hasta el vahído, hasta el desgarró, hasta el atragantamiento, hasta la enajenación, hasta la fealdad, hasta la demencia, hasta el desfallecimiento, hasta la afinación, hasta el desaliento, hasta el aturdimiento, hasta la perfidia, hasta el olvido, hasta el arrebató, hasta el empacho, hasta la empachera, hasta la histeria, hasta el ridículo, hasta la ruina, hasta la repulsión, hasta su curación, hasta la inanición, hasta la sobriedad, hasta la taquicardia, hasta el desaliño, hasta la exaltación, hasta la convicción, hasta el estrabismo, hasta el raquitismo, hasta su desintegración, hasta la congelación, hasta el agobio y hasta la extravagancia.</i>	Hapax legomena
17	<i>hasta la tortura, hasta la desesperación, hasta la angustia, hasta el ahogo, hasta la intoxicación, hasta la estridencia, hasta el vaciamiento, hasta el desvarío, hasta el hastío, hasta la dislocación, hasta la obsesión, hasta la ansiedad, hasta la expiración, hasta la humillación, hasta el vértigo, hasta el embeleso y hasta su disolución.</i>	2
3	<i>hasta el empalago, hasta la ebullición y hasta el exterminio</i>	3
4	<i>hasta el cansancio, hasta la desaparición, hasta la saturación y hasta la embriaguez</i>	4
1	<i>hasta el mareo</i>	5
3	<i>hasta el desmayo, hasta el dolor y hasta el éxtasis</i>	6
1	<i>hasta el llanto</i>	7
2	<i>hasta la locura y hasta el aburrimiento</i>	8
1	<i>hasta la extinción</i>	9
2	<i>hasta la asfixia y hasta la exasperación</i>	10
1	<i>hasta el delirio</i>	15
1	<i>hasta el agotamiento</i>	28
1	<i>hasta la muerte</i>	59
1	<i>hasta la extenuación</i>	83

The last finding concerns the number of transitive verbs with prepositional resultative complementation identified in our corpus, since it suggests, in opposition to what Legendre (1997: 46) postulates for French, that in Spanish they do not conform a small group. We have found, specifically, 174 transitive verbs, whose distribution is as follows: i) 134 verbs registered on one single occasion: *abatir, ablandar, abrazar, brillantar, abrir, aburrir, acelerar, acuchillar, adelgazar, admirar, adular, agredir, ahogar, alargar, alborotar, aligerar, apartar, aplastar, apuñalar, arañar, arrasar, arrastrar, arruinar, atacar, aterrar, atraer, aturdir, atrapar, autosugestionar, batir, besar, calentar, caldear, cebar, cepillar, cerrar, cobrar, comprimir, conmocionar, consumir, cultivar, cumplir, defender, deformar, desarrollar, desfondar, despinzar, devastar, diluir, discutir, disparar, doblar, domesticar, empujar, enarbolar, enfurecer, engalanar, ensoberecer, entrenar, esclerotizar, escuchar, esgrimir, espesar, espolear, estigmatizar, estirar, estrangular, estremecer, estropear, exacerbar, financiar, follar, forzar, frotar, hartar, hechizar, hidrolizar, hilar, hiperexcitar, hostigar, humedecer, hundir, idealizar, imitar, impresionar, inciensar, incrementar, inquietar, interpretar, irritar, lancear, lanzar, leer, limpiar, linchar, machacar, machetear, mamar, manipular, manosear, marginar, martirizar, masacrar, mediatizar, mimar, morder, observar, obsesionar, odiar, oprimir, orquestar, pellizcar, picotear, planear, popularizar, presionar, querer, ralentizar, recrear, reducir, remover, reproducir, revisar, roer, satisfacer, seducir, subdividir, subir, sumergir, tatarear, trabajar, usar, vitorear y voltear; ii) 23 verbs attested in two different examples: *afilar, agradecer, ampliar, asfixiar, atezar, azotar, cazar, comer, degradar, enamorar, enternecer, entremezclar, ensayar, estrujar, halagar, intentar, interrogar, pegar, penetrar, prolongar, reiterar, tirotear* and *trastornar*; iii) ten verbs documented in three concordances: *apalea, beber, ceñir, conmovier, cuidar, debilitar, disfrutar, excitar, exprimir* and *lapidar*; iv) three verbs found in four instances: *agotar, amar* and *perseguir*; v) and four verbs found in a higher number of concordances: specifically, *emocionar* (eight cases), *golpear* (nine instances), *torturar* (11 examples), and *repetir* (15 concordances).*

3. ON THE MEANING OF SPANISH PREPOSITIONAL RESULTATIVES WITH *HASTA*

The preliminary semantic analysis carried out examines the meaning of the 455 *hasta* prepositional resultatives that conform our corpus in Rodríguez Arrizabalaga (2022).¹⁴ As Table 1 shows, most of the prepositional property resultatives analysed have as head of the noun phrase complement of the preposition *hasta* a singular abstract noun that refers to a specific state, whose reference is determined by the definite article, (see Example 22). Only in six concordances it has been found introduced by a possessive determiner, (as in Example 23):

- (22) *Solo estaba satisfaciendo su necesidad de agobiarme hasta la ansiedad.* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2019)
- (23) *Y también, una vez colado el consomé, y en caliente, añadir la gelatina removiendo hasta su disolución.* (CORPES XXI: libro, 2001)

In the same vein, thus, as Morita (1998: 321) observes in their English counterparts, we believe that the resultative value of this kind of Spanish resultatives comes from combining the transitional and telic value of the preposition *hasta* in its primary spatio-temporal meaning —“1. prep. Indica el límite final de una trayectoria en el espacio o en el

¹⁴ See footnote number 13.

tiempo. *Trabajan hasta las tres. Llegaremos hasta la cima*” (RAE, 2014)— with the state referred to by its nominal complement:

Most of the prepositional resultatives given in the literature contain prepositions like *to*, *into*, *on to*, *off*, *out off*, and so on, which do not in themselves denote a state so much as a change of state or location. It is the NP complement of P that denotes the state that result from the action named by the main predicate. [...] Or rather, they appear in the resultative construction with the help of P that denotes the idea of a change of state or location. In other words, the prepositional resultative consists of P and NP, the latter of which designates a resultant state, with the former denoting a transition to such a state. (Morita, 1998: 321)

Denoting, thus, a “change of state without recourse to main verbs unlike adjectival resultatives” (Morita, 1998: 322), property prepositional resultatives have in Spanish, as well as in English, a wider distribution than adjectival ones (Morita, 1998: 320-322; Kaufmann & Wunderlich, 1998: 9; Vanden Wyngaerd, 2001: 71; Beavers, 2002: 17; Riaubiené, 2015: 73-74). In our corpus, in fact, they have been attested, as earlier stated, with transitive, unaccusative, unergative, and pseudo-intransitive verbs, (as in Examples 16 to 19).

Our corpus includes, furthermore, 50 other prepositional resultatives with concrete nouns as heads of the noun phrase complement of the preposition *hasta*, (as in Examples 24 and 25), completely unnoticed to date. Since they allude to the beginning of a new activity, caused by the verbal action described in the primary predication, and not to any particular state, we call them dynamic/process resultatives in order to be distinguished from property resultatives:

(24) *Y si a pesar de todo era torturado hasta la confesión*, [...]. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2015)

(25) *Aquella atmósfera [...] me enterneció hasta las lágrimas*. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2016)

Although a greater variety of syntactic patterns has been found in this new kind of resultatives (Table 2), the most common one, attested in 24 instances, also has a singular noun introduced by the definite article as head:

Table 2: *Syntactic configuration of prepositional dynamic resultatives*

SYNTACTIC PATTERN	NUMBER OF CASES
Definite article + singular noun	Hapax legomena (8 PPs): <i>hasta la espuma</i> , <i>hasta la sangre</i> , <i>hasta la eructo</i> , <i>hasta la vomitona</i> , <i>hasta el cuchicheo</i> , <i>hasta la sonrisa</i> , <i>hasta el grito</i> , <i>hasta la confesión</i> .
	Two cases (4 PPs): <i>hasta la lágrima</i> , <i>hasta la hemorragia</i> , <i>hasta el chillido</i> , <i>hasta el suspiro</i> .
	Four cases (2 PPs): <i>hasta el vómito</i> , <i>hasta el susurro</i> .
Definite article + plural noun	Four cases (1 PP): <i>hasta las cenizas</i>
	Nineteen attestations (1 PP): <i>hasta las lágrimas</i>
Indefinite article + adjectival modification	Hapax legomena (3 PPs): <i>hasta un jadeo asfixiante</i> , <i>hasta un susurro inaudible</i> , <i>hasta un susurro confidencial</i>

A careful look at both kinds of resultatives reveals that there is a clear gradation between them, since some of the *hasta* prepositional phrases with concrete nouns—specifically, *hasta un jadeo asfixiante*, *hasta el suspiro*, *hasta un susurro inaudible/confidencial*, *hasta el cuchicheo*, *hasta el grito*, *hasta el chillido*, *hasta la espuma*, *hasta las cenizas* and *hasta glucosa y galactosa*— cannot be interpreted as

dynamic resultatives, as could be thought at first sight, but as property resultatives. Notice that their head nouns can be paraphrased by synonymous state nouns, when available, as *destrucción* in (26b), or be preceded by a change of state attributive verb like, for example, *convertirse en*, (27b):

- (26) a. *La ciudad de Troya se vio devastada hasta las cenizas por los griegos.*
(CORPES XXI: prensa, 2002)
 (26) b. *La ciudad de Troya se vio devastada hasta su destrucción por los griegos.*
 (27) a. [...] *el ritmo crece hasta un jadeo asfixiante.* (CORPES XXI: libro, 2006)
 (27) b. [...] *el ritmo crece hasta convertirse en un jadeo asfixiante.*

In our view, this gradience is possible because, besides their formal resemblance, the nouns in both resultative patterns are semantically quite similar. In property resultatives they are usually deverbal nouns with negative connotations which refer to mental (*hasta la locura, hasta la enajenación, hasta la ansiedad*, etc.) and body states (*hasta la muerte, hasta la asfixia, hasta el agotamiento*, etc.) that are not under the control of an agentive participant, and in dynamic resultatives, for their part, to the outcomes of physical actions that, though somehow controllable, are not willingly performed by a potential agent, owing to their adverse meaning (*hasta la hemorragia, hasta el eructo, hasta el vómito*, etc.). In agreement, thus, with Hoeksema and Napoli's (2019: 258) statement about this class of English resultatives, we conclude that "these predicates never denote more controllable or behavioural properties (such as rich, good, sweet, polygamous)."

No matter their classification as property or dynamic resultatives, their interpretation always entails the hyperbolic meaning which Goldberg (1995: 184-186) only observes in English intransitive property resultatives. This nuance, which implies a sense of repetition and reiteration, provides them, moreover, with the same durative character which Beavers (2002: 14) and Riaubiené (2015: 74), among others, confer upon English prepositional resultatives introduced by *to*, and which, according to Broccias (2004: 13-14), distinguishes them from their adjectival counterparts. Hence, their attestation in the subcategorization frame of the three durative aspectual verbal classes distinguished by Vendler (1957)—namely, states, (as in 28), activities, (in 29), and accomplishments, (in 30)—which questions Hoeksema and Napoli's assertion (2019: 236) that states that "[in] Romance, most secondary resultative predicates can occur only with endpoint-oriented or accomplishment verbs":

- (28) *Que le amó hasta la locura.* (CORPES XXI: prensa, 2015)
 (29) *Cogí el mando de la tele y zapeé hasta el aburrimiento [...].* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2017)
 (30) [...] *antes de ser tiroteado hasta la muerte.* (CORPES XXI: prensa, 2014)

It should be noticed, furthermore, that their hyperbolic meaning is usually overtly expressed through syntactic resources that manifest their excessive and exaggerated meaning; in our corpus, specifically, i) the use of lexical verbs which entail a repeated action, such as *repetir, insistir, reiterar* and *hartar*, (as in Example 31); ii) the employment of durative aspectual periphrases of the type of *seguir/continuar* + gerund, (in 32); iii) the reduplication of the verbal unit, (in 33); iv) and, finally, the use of manner or quantity adverbials, like *incesantemente* (in 34), which emphasize the intensity of the verbal action:

- (31) *Afirmaba Nerón [...] que las mujeres le habían hartado hasta la repulsión.*
(CORPES XXI: novela, 2003)

- (32) [...] *no se puede seguir intentándolo hasta el agotamiento o la menopausia.* (CORPES XXI: relato, 2003)
- (33) *Elena frota y frota hasta el cansancio, sin levantar la cabeza.* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2013)
- (34) [...] *aprenden de memoria sencillos eslóganes que repiten incesantemente hasta el agotamiento.* (CORPES XXI: web, 2012)

According to Beavers (2002: 17), nevertheless, English prepositional resultatives lose their durative meaning to acquire a metaphorical or even idiomatic reading when complementing verbs that denote punctual actions.¹⁵ In Spanish, however, this situation does not hold true, since the figurative interpretation referred to has also been documented in predicates that are not punctual, (35-36):

- (35) *Había revisado aquella caja hasta la extenuación.* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2018)
- (36) *Alejandro Súa (Hotspur) grita hasta el espasmo.* (CORPES XXI, prensa, 2011)

Despite underlying both readings, the aforementioned traits of excess and exaggeration coexist in non-figurative *hasta* prepositional resultatives, as Miyata (1999: 30) observes in their English equivalents, with their literal meaning. This literal interpretation is to be ascribed just to dynamic resultatives, (as in Example 37), and to the transitive variants of property resultatives with a real or underlying object as host of their attributes —the former kind with transitive verbs, (as in 38), and the latter with unaccusatives, (in Example 39)— since they are the *hasta* resultatives in our corpus which, similarly to Miyata's (1999: 28-31) English *result-focus resultative constructions*, describe telic eventualities in which the reach of the state denoted by the resultative attribute puts an end to the verbal action denoted in the primary predication:

- (37) [...] *pesadillescos verdugos de cartón azotan hasta la sangre a un Cristo también de cartón.* (CORPES XXI: prensa, 2002) → “Un Cristo también de cartón sangra tras ser azotado mucho.”
- (38) [...] *donde habían apaleado a sus hermanos hasta la muerte.* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2020) → “[...] donde mataron a sus hermanos apaleándolos/a base de (muchos) Palos.”
- (39) [...] *el último ejemplar de un libro se mojaba hasta la podredumbre [...].* (CORPES XXI: libro, 2019) → “[...] el último ejemplar de un libro se pudría por mojarse tanto [...].”

Figurative *hasta* prepositional resultatives, which only connote repetition and exaggeration, are present, for their part, in the intransitive variants of property resultatives, (as in Example 40), and in the transitive ones whose attribute is predicated of a participant different from the direct object, (as in Example 41), as they focus, in contrast to literal ones, on the excessive manner how the verbal action described in the clause has been carried out. Hence, the name of *manner-focused resultatives* given to their English equivalents by Miyata (1999: 32). This hyperbolic meaning, usually referred to as the *degree interpretation of resultatives*, makes them function as intensifiers which, as suggested for English by Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 228, 233), denote a high degree within a scale.¹⁶ Notice, in fact, the presence of degree

¹⁵ The studies devoted to the idiomatic reading of English prepositional resultatives mainly focus on the phrase *to death* (Morita, 1998; Miyata, 1999; Beavers, 2002).

¹⁶ See Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 230) for their similarities with other types of intensifiers.

adverbs and lexicalized adverbial expressions, like *mucho*, *hasta la saciedad* and *hasta la náusea*, in their paraphrases:¹⁷

- (40) *Hemos hablado hasta el aburrimiento*, [...]. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2010) → “Hemos hablado mucho/hasta la saciedad/hasta la náusea.”
- (41) [...] y *combatía con su espada hasta el agotamiento*. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2020) → “[...] y combatían con su espada mucho/hasta la saciedad/hasta la náusea.”

Their figurative meaning is, moreover, reinforced by their partial formal equivalence with the first of the six patterns of English degree resultatives identified by Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 238-244), in which an intransitive verb subcategorizes for a fake reflexive object and a resultative secondary predicate, (42-44):¹⁸

- (42) *Bebed hasta la embriaguez, porque el tiempo de la sequía ha concluido*. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2002)
- (43) *Se trata de beber una gran cantidad de alcohol –generalmente hasta la intoxicación*. (CORPES XXI: libro, 2009)
- (44) They drank themselves absolutely silly. (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2019: 237)

Degree resultatives express, in sum, atelic events which, in contrast to literal ones, do not necessarily imply the reach of the final state denoted by the attribute. This fact is evidenced by our corpus examples with the degree adverb *casi* as a premodifier of the *hasta* prepositional attribute, (Examples 45-46). Therefore, the *end-of-scale constraint* which, according to Goldberg (1995: 195-197), determines the use of English adjectival resultatives, and in our view, also that of the Spanish prepositional resultatives with a literal meaning, has no validity in the domain of figurative prepositional resultatives. Consequently, as Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 236) remark for their English equivalents, “what is important” also in this kind of Spanish resultatives “is not the endpoint itself, but the scale”:

- (45) *¿Cómo podía haberlo humillado y sometido casi hasta la esclavitud [...]?* (CORPES XXI: novela, 2017)
- (46) *La visión me trastornó casi hasta el desmayo*. (CORPES XXI: novela, 2020)

Since some of the differences between the literal and figurative readings of the Spanish *hasta* prepositional resultatives reflect the behaviour ascribed to their English counterparts by Hoeksema and Napoli (2019), we could predict that non-literal resultatives are also *second-order constructions* since they derive from literal ones:

Under our analysis, degree resultatives are second-order constructions that rise piggyback on ordinary resultatives (first-order constructions); they derive from ordinary resultatives and, therefore, cannot exist without them. Thus, if a language lacks literal resultatives, it will also lack intensifying degree resultatives, and if it has restrictions on literal resultatives, we expect those

¹⁷ Notice, in fact, their inclusion as such in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (RAE, 2014): *Hasta la saciedad*, “1. Loc. Adv. Hasta no poder más, plenamente”; *Hasta la náusea*, “1. Loc. Adv. En exceso, hasta resultar molesto.”

¹⁸ Besides this one, Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 238-244) identify five other patterns: i) Verb + X’s body part + {off/out} (*The visitor was talking my ears off*); ii) Verb + [the + taboo term] + [out of NP] (*scare the hell out of someone*); iii) Verb + NP + predicate (*Your parents must be worried sick*); (iv) Verb + NP + [out of X’s body part] (*The sheriff scared her out of her wits*); v) Verb + the {clothing/body part} + [off NP] (*{charm/annoy/scare} the pants off somebody*).

restrictions to hold for intensifying degree resultatives as well. (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2019: 234-235)

Nevertheless, to prove the veracity of this hypothesis, we should carry out a diachronic corpus-based analysis in the same vein as Hoeksema and Napoli (2019: 258), which, for reasons of space, is left for future research. Owing, however, to the number of degree resultatives attested in contemporary Peninsular Spanish to date, we can anticipate that, as in English and Dutch, they will be increasingly growing as time goes by: “unlike what is often suggested in the literature, degree resultatives are more than a bunch of idioms. They show productivity [...] and form an increasingly important alternative to adverbs of degree” (Hoeksema & Napoli, 2019: 281).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The preliminary semantic corpus-based analysis carried out on the Spanish prepositional resultative construction with *hasta* has demonstrated, first of all, that it exists in Spanish with a wider distribution than its adjectival counterpart, which, in contrast, is quite restricted or completely non-existent. Their presence both in the transitive and the intransitive variants of the property resultative construction questions, therefore, those studies that defend the utter absence in Spanish of Washio’s (1997) strong resultatives or Dimitrova-Vulchanova’s (2016) radical or disconnected resultatives, thus challenging Talmy’s (1985, 2000) typological distinction between satellite and verb-framed languages. In this regard, our results confirm, in the same vein as Martínez Vázquez (2016: 108), that Talmy’s (1985, 2000) typologies have to be understood as “tendencies or preferences.” Therefore, as Croft et al. (2010: 19) remark, we believe that they have to be applied “to individual complex event types within a language, [and] not to languages as a whole.”

The concordances in our corpus have revealed, in the second place, that, besides property resultative constructions of the type of *A él y a su amigo de la infancia, Wilson Morales, les “machetearon” hasta la muerte*, in which a new body or mental state is reached as a consequence of the verbal action denoted in the main predication, another resultative structure, unnoticed so far, also manifests in Spanish, if with a lower frequency of occurrence. We have labelled this new pattern, illustrated in *Bebíamos hasta la vomitona torrencial o el desmayo de la borrachera*, ‘dynamic’ or ‘process’ resultative, since the performance of the verbal action it encodes leads to the beginning of a new activity. It is worth noticing in this respect that, whereas the former pattern has been registered in 405 out of the total number of examples that conform our corpus, with 124 different prepositional attributes, the latter has been attested in the 50 remaining concordances, with 19 distinct resultatives. The amount of *hasta* prepositional resultatives attested in our corpus proves, in short, their great lexical diversity and productivity in Spanish.

On another note, our corpus-based analysis has shown that, similarly to their Dutch and English counterparts, the Spanish *hasta* prepositional resultatives are not semantically homogenous, since they comprise two different classes of resultatives: on the one hand, those that, like *hasta la ansiedad* in *Conocía ese momento en el que el deseo de avanzar espolea la mente hasta la ansiedad*, have to be interpreted in a literal way; and on the other, those with a figurative reading, like, for example, *hasta la extenuación* in *Lancome cuida hasta la extenuación sus envases y sus impecables anuncios*, which, for their part, have an intensifying degree resultative as attribute.

Their literal interpretation, aspectually classified as telic, has been identified, in particular, in those transitive property resultatives which have their direct object as the host of

the attribute, as well as in all dynamic or process resultatives. Their degree meaning, for its part, has been found in property resultatives; specifically, in their intransitive variant and in the transitive ones which have the resultative attribute predicated of a participant different from the direct object. In opposition to literal resultatives, figurative ones express atelic events, since, as the examples with *casi* as a premodifier of the prepositional resultative attested in the corpus evidence, the ‘end-of scale’ constraint does not hold true in them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research has been funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Regional Government of Andalusia (FEDER Andalucía 2014-2020), project number UPO-1254742.

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