Satellite-framing in French. A view on *en*-resultatives and creation events

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This contribution investigates the availability of satellite-framing in present-day French, that is the combination of a MANNER verb with a non-verbal RESULT constituent. The starting point is Talmy's (e.g. 1985) seminal distinction between satellite-framed (SF) and verb-framed (VF) languages and the observation that SF-languages typically encode MANNER inside the verb root and the RESULT outside, while VF-languages such as French prefer the opposite pattern. Studies building on Talmy's original typology have shown that languages are usually not exclusively SF or VF, but that S-framing and V-framing tend to be available across language types, however, in varying degrees and under different conditions (e.g. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2019). French is known to be a quite restrictive VF-language and it is not entirely clear under which conditions non-verbal RESULT constituents can appear within the VP.

The present study focuses on resultative PPs headed by the preposition *en* (henceforth *en*-resultatives) in present-day French. It is often assumed that *en*-resultatives are mainly compatible with unambiguous RESULT verbs such as *casser* 'to break', (1), as, in these cases, the PP does not introduce, but only specifies a RESULT that is already encoded in the verb.

(1)   Il a cassé la branche *en deux morceaux*.
      'He broke the branch into two pieces.'

It is an open question whether and under which conditions *en*-resultatives are also compatible with verbs that lexicalize a MANNER component. To approach this issue, this study examines to what extent *en*-resultatives can express the RESULT of a creation event taking two verb classes into consideration. Class I includes MANNER verbs that allow for both activity readings and affected objects as well as creation readings and effected objects, (1)a vs. b. These verbs bring up the question of whether the variant with an affected object can also be augmented by a resultative PP to express a creation event, (2).

(1)   a. Marie a sculpté le bois.   b. Marie a sculpté une poupée.
         'Marie carved the wood.'   'Marie carved a doll.'
(2)   ?Marie a sculpté le bois en (une) poupée.
      'Marie carved the wood into (a) doll.'

Class II includes MANNER verbs that usually allow for affected, but not effected objects in Hexagonal French, (3)a vs b. These verbs, thus, denote activities and a resultative PP constitutes the only option for expressing the a creation event, (3)c.

(3)   a. Les enfants ont plié le papier.   b. ?/*Les enfants ont plié un avion.
         'The children folded the paper.'   'The children folded a plane.'
      c. Les enfants ont plié le papier {*en un avion / en avion / en avions*}.
         lit.: 'The children folded the paper into {a plane / plane / planes}.'

The question of whether the above-mentioned verbs allow for resultative PPs is pursued by a corpus study based on > 500 *en*-resultatives that were extracted from the frenchweb 2017-corpus via Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2014). Class I is represented by verbs such as *façonner* 'to manufacture', *modeler* 'to model', *sculpter* 'to carve' and *tresser* 'to braid'. Class II includes verbs such as *mélanger* 'to blend, mix', *rouler* 'roll', *plier* 'to fold', and *scier* 'to saw'. Both classes include verbs that allow for both agent and causer subjects (e.g. *sculpter* and *mélanger*) as well as verbs that are usually restricted to agentive subjects (e.g. *façonner* and *scier)*. The verbs under investigation were selected and coded for their semantic and syntactic properties based on the searchable version of *Les verbes français* (cf. Dubois & Dubois-Charlier 1997). The corpus findings were coded for referential properties of the subject (causer vs. agent) and syntactic properties of the resultative. The DPs/NPs in the complement position

of *en* were coded with respect to the presence and type of determiner and/or quantifier as well as number. The analysis of the data points to the following results: With the majority of *en*-resultatives, the RESULT is expressed by a bare noun, i.e. a bare plural, (4) or a bare singular count noun, (5).

(4)   Dans les greniers, on tressait le maïs *en nattes*.
        'In the granaries, the corn was woven into mats.'
(5)   […]et elle y tresse les herbes *en bracelet.*
        lit.: '[…] and she braids the herbs into bracelet.'

En-resultatives that embed a full DP are attested less frequently. They do occur with causer subjects, (6), even with verbs that usually combine only with agentive subjects such as *façonner*, (7). This observation might be related to the fact that MANNER verbs often entail a RESULT if the subject is an inanimate causer (cf. Alexiadou, Martin & Schäfer 2017).

(6)   […] et les courants océaniques ont littéralement sculpté le sable *en un accordéon géant*.
        '[…] and the ocean currents have literally carved the sand into a giant accordion.'
(7)   […] le temps et l'eau se sont alliés pour façonner la roche *en une multitude de formes, vasques ou marmites*.
        '[…]time and water have united to shape the rock into a multitude of shapes, ponds or pots.'

En-resultatives with a full a DP-complement and an agentive subject co-occurred in small numbers and often alternated with a parallel structure in which the *en*-resultative is a bare PP, (8)a vs b.

(8)   a. Roulez la pâte *en un boudin*.   b. Roulez la pâte *en boudin.*
            'Roll the dough into a sausage.'   lit.: 'Roll the dough into sausage.'

The most frequent *en*-resultatives were bare PPs of the type '*en forme de* + bare noun', which express that the RESULT of the event is a modified form of the UNDERGOER argument, (9).

(9)   Comme chaque automne, les enfants ont sculpté les arbres *en forme de dindes*.
        'Like every fall, the children formed the trees into the shape of turkeys.'

The corpus findings show that the result of a creation event can expressed as an *en*-resultative, but that fine-grained restrictions regarding animacy and referentiality are involved, which might not yet be fully understood. *En*-resultatives appear to be particularly compatible with causer subjects and the complement position of the preposition is most often occupied by a bare NP, which distinguishes French from SF languages such as English or German.

Selected References
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