

Pure and resultative

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lexicalising just ResP. In fact, in the cases when a resultative participle coexists with an adjective that is inherently resultative, it is very common to use the adjective instead of the participle to express the result of the event, precisely because it is the lexicalisation of the result component present in the verb. That is why examples like (2a) are very infrequent (though possible), in preference of examples like (4). However, the resultative participle is preferably used instead of the adjective when eventive modifiers such as *by*-phrases or manner adverbials are to be added in the structure (5a). In my proposal, this can be explained by the fact that resultant states have ProcP and can admit eventive modifiers, but target states do not (5b).

(5) a. *Aquest equip està **completat** pels guies dels monuments*

