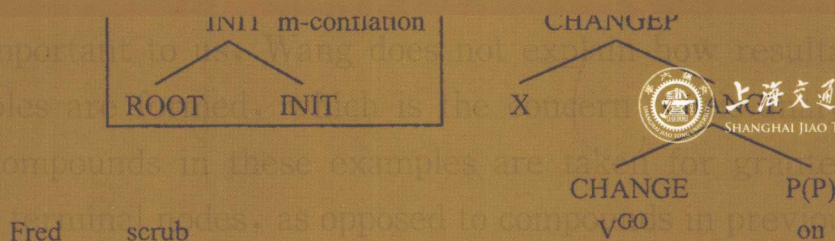


corresponding English sentence of (47a) requires a preposition,  
 Chinese sentence simply lacks one here. There is another  
 that has the sre made concerning pronouns, as shown in (54b).  
 clitic in nature (perhaps due to prosodic reasons), and a causative d  
 added to it to Lao Zhang kan shu kan-huai -le yanjing. (47  
 scrub as an Zhang read book read-bad Aspeys a monosy  
 atrans

王 奇 著

# 动词短语结构研究

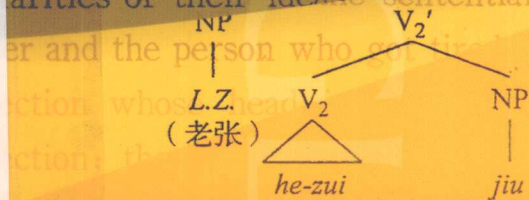
A STUDY ON VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE



According to McIntyre, as elsewhere, the  $V^{go}$  subevent maps onto a change. The specifier of changeP is an empty element (notated as X) representing the theme of the go event (i.e. the coindexed event constituent). McIntyre claims that economizing on X would reduce the mapping to semantics. X occupies the position for the direct object, but McIntyre does not rely on this in explaining intransitivity. He argues, as usual, that the nonhead root cannot license arguments inside the compound, which is the reason why the compound verb is intransitive.

If we compare Mateu's and McIntyre's theories of the structure of verb phrases

and the person who got injured



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# 动词短语结构研究

A STUDY ON VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

王 奇 著

上海交通大学出版社

## 内 容 提 要

本书在生成语法的框架内探讨动词短语的结构。全书共分五章:第一章是导论,主要介绍理论背景;第二章是有关并合(conflation)和复合(compounding)的文献综述;第三章围绕并合和复合探讨跨语言的较简单的动词短语结构;第四章分析较复杂的动词短语结构;第五章是结束语。本书试图在以下几方面抛砖引玉:引进“分布式形态学”等西方生成语言学新理论,分析包括汉语的跨语言语料,对汉语的一些“特殊”语法现象作出非特殊解释;立足汉语语料,对国外新理论进行补充和完善;引起国内语言学界对乔姆斯学派内部非乔式本人的理论的重视。

本书适合语言研究者、高校语言文学类专业师生以及语言爱好者等对语言学感兴趣的读者阅读。

### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

动词短语结构研究/王奇著. —上海:上海交通大学出版社,2010

(当代语言学研究文库)

ISBN 978-7-313-06051-8

I. 动... II. 王... III. 汉语—动词—短语—结构—研究 IV. H146.3

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2009)第 188846 号

### 动词短语结构研究

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上海交通大学出版社出版发行

(上海市番禺路 951 号 邮政编码 200030)

电话:64071208 出版人:韩建民

常熟市梅李印刷有限公司 印刷 全国新华书店经销

开本:787mm×960mm 1/16 印张:11.75 字数:218 千字

2010 年 1 月第 1 版 2010 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

印数:1~2030

ISBN 978-7-313-06051-8/H 定价:30.00 元

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## 前言

本书是笔者在博士论文的基础上修改、扩充而成的,其内容是在生成语法的框架内探讨动词短语的结构。关于动词短语的结构,出现了不少理论。笔者依照 Hale 和 Keyser 以及其他许多学者(主要是持“分布式形态学”观点的生成语法学家)的理论精神,把动词分解成小的基本成分。这样,有助于我们能够解释动词表现的跨语言差别。

Hale 和 Keyser 认为词与句子的构成方式是一致的;这个思路被 Mateu 和 McIntyre 所继承,他们的理论是本书的研究基础。Mateu 认为在加泰罗尼亚语(一种印欧语系拉丁语族语言)中,定点的方向成分并合进了动词,就不可能有其他再并合进动词。由于英语和加泰罗尼亚语在复杂谓语中都没有汉语式的词根复合现象,笔者认为 Mateu 的观点从描写的角度来说是正确的,至少对英语和加泰罗尼亚语及其他罗曼语来说是这样的。Snyder 认为,一种语言只有允许能产性词语复合,才可能有复杂谓语(包括复杂结果式谓语)。然而,虽然他认为英语有能产性的复杂谓语,他承认英语的复杂谓语的两部分是不连续的,于是他推测这两部分在逻辑式部分会成为一个复合词。McIntyre 注意到了 Snyder 的发现,接受了他的基本思想,但对他的(动词成分与结果成分间的)“复合”进行了改造,认为复合是发生在并入的词根和本来没有音系内容的空动词之间。如果仔细考察汉语的相关语料,会发现情况更为复杂。汉语在允许定点成分的能产性并合方面与其说像英语,不如说更像加泰罗尼亚语;然而汉语也有像英语的地方:允许词根并入表致使的轻动词。Mateu 的分析在处理汉语的运动方式句式时,就遇到了麻烦:在这类句子中,方式和运动一路径成分都显性出现,构成一个复合词,而按 Mateu 的分析,方式和路径中只能有一个与轻动词并合,不能两个都与之并合;McIntyre 的理论对这样的汉语语料也没有解释力。在上述理论的基础上,笔者提出了关于并合与复合的新理论。在这个新理论中,笔者对语言类型作了进一步区分。汉语允许能产性连续词根式复合动词,而英语

和以加泰罗尼亚语为代表的罗曼语不允许。在笔者的理论中,这种区分和 Mateu 作的区分一样起重要作用。两种复合,即 Snyder 式复合(实际上是传统式复合)与 McIntyre 式复合(词根与原本没有音系内容的轻动词间的复合),都是笔者理论的组成部分。

英语、汉语和加泰罗尼亚语之间的并合与复合方面的类型差异与两个参数有关:音系式动词能产性的词根连续出现参数,和动词能产性的词根复合参数。汉语既允许音系式部分动词能产性的词根连续出现,又允许动词能产性的词根复合;英语允许后者,但不允许前者;加泰罗尼亚语两者都不允许。允许音系式动词能产性的词根连续出现,造就了现代汉语式致使—结果复合动词,允许动词能产性的隐性词根复合造就了英语式构词性复合,使汉语与英语之间的类型学意义上的表面相似性得到自然的解释。汉语和加泰罗尼亚语有相似的并合机制,这种机制与句法上的并入操作有关。实际上,英语也有这个特点,体现在 enter, exit, ascend, descend 和 cross 等词上。英语和加泰罗尼亚语的差别在于前者的致使义句子和运动义句子允许一种被 McIntyre 称为构词式并合的“插入”式操作。汉语语料清楚地表明,并合与复合都是与音系式有关的句法机制。如果考虑音系式动词能产性的词根连续出现参数的话,并合与复合都可以归结为两个基本的句法操作:合并和移位。

除了致使句、肇始句、运动动词句,本书也涉及一些带复杂动词短语的句子,包括双宾句和方位动词句。就含换手义的双宾句而言,笔者区分带与不带“给”(give)的句子。笔者认为不带“给”(give)的双宾句不含真正的换手义,这类句子与状态变换双宾句类似。就含方位动词的句子而言,笔者分析了汉语式的分析性句子,并把它们与在英语中典型的、汉语中也有的综合式句子加以对照。这些句子除了跟并合有关,多数还涉及各种表应用的中心成分(Applicative)。汉语式复合也存在于上述(至少部分)句子中,这跟汉语允许音系式中动词能产性的词根连续出现有关。

本书试图在以下几方面抛砖引玉,为国内语言学研究作出贡献:引进“分布式形态学”等西方生成语言学新理论,分析包括汉语在内的跨语言语料,对汉语的一些“特殊”语法现象作出非特殊解释;立足汉语语料,对国外新理论进行补充和完善;引起国内语言学界对乔姆斯基学派内部非乔氏本人的理论的重视。

# 英汉缩略语/术语对照表

A	adjective	形容词
AP	adjective phrase	形容词短语
Appl	applicative	应用因子
ApplP	applicative phrase	应用因子短语
Asp	aspect marker	体貌标记(助词“了”)
Cl	classifier	分类词(量词)
D	determiner	限定词
DE		助词“得”
DO	direct object	直接宾语
DOR	direct object restriction	直接宾语限制
DP	determiner phrase	限定词短语
ECM	exceptional case marking	例外格标记
GB	government and binding	管辖与约束
GE		“个”字
INITP	initiation phrase	引导成分短语
IO	indirect object	间接宾语
LF	logical form	逻辑式
N	noun	名词
NP	noun phrase	名词短语
P	preposition	介词
PF	phonetic form	语音式
POSS	possessive marker	领属标记(助词“的”)
PP	preposition phrase	介词短语
PRO		大记号
PSPO sentence	Possessor-as-Subject-Possessee-as-Object sentence	领主属宾句
Root		词根
SOV	subject-object-verb	主语-宾语-动词

*v*

*v*P

V

VV

verb

verb-verb

小 *v*

小 *v* 短语

动词

动词-动词

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# 1 Introduction

The syntax of verb phrases has attracted the attention of linguists of various theoretical backgrounds, and debates are still going on concerning the nature of verb phrases, especially that of complex verb phrases. This book is mainly concerned with how verb phrases are derived differently among languages, with special attention to English secondary predicates and Chinese compounds verb. The theoretical framework adopted is the Chomskyan generative grammar, which has dominated the linguistic research ever since its birth in the fifties of the twentieth century.

Related to the syntax of verb phrases are the discussions of the syntax-semantics interface; argument structure, event structure, aspect structure (Aktionsart), telicity and delimitation. In the literature of linguistics of the Chinese language, which is typologically different from English and other familiar European languages, there is still another focus of debating: the nature of compound verbs. Are they formed in the lexicon or syntax? Which element of the verb compound is the head? What theta-roles are determined by the elements of the compound verb? In this book, we will touch upon the above mentioned issues, and, basing on recent theories in the generative tradition, especially minimalist syntax (Chomsky, 1995 and thereafter), distributed morphology (Halle and Marantz, 1993, Marantz, 1997, among others), and Hale and Keyser's theory of argument structure (Hale and Keyser, 1993, 2002), work out a theory of our own, which can better explain typological differences among the structures of verb phrases of languages of different types, especially the differences between English and Chinese. The data are mainly from English, Chinese and Catalan.

## 1.1 Theoretical Background

This book is based on recent generative theories related to verb phrases. In recent years, researchers in various fields, including syntax, morphology and lexical semantics, have achieved much progress concerning the nature of verb

phrases. Central in this domain of study is the nature of argument structure. Closely related to this is the relation between primary and secondary predicates in English-type languages, and the nature of verb compounds in Chinese-type languages. Here we give a brief overview of the literature of these topics.

### 1.1.1 Argument Structure: An overview

#### 1.1.1.1 Thematic Roles

Argument structure is an important part of any theory of syntax. From the early days of generative grammar, various proposals have been put forward concerning how NPs with different thematic roles (theta-roles or  $\theta$ -roles) can be associated with a verb. Though  $\theta$ -roles play an important part in many theories, there is no consensus among linguists about the nature and number of thematic roles. Here we will have a brief look at such a research trend.

Fillmore's theory of thematic relations (Fillmore, 1968) has been the foundation of the  $\theta$ -Theory in the mainstream GB literature since Chomsky (1981). Fillmore assumes that whether an NP is a subject or an object is only a surface phenomenon. In his theory, there is a deep structure where the arguments are positioned in a flat manner. In the early stage of generative grammar, flat structure analysis was wide-spread, which means that a mother node can dominate more than two daughter nodes, all in one level; nowadays (Chomskyan) syntacticians usually adopt binary structures, in which a mother node dominates at most two daughter nodes. In Fillmore's theory, thematic roles include Agentive, Instrumental, Dative, Factitive, Locative, Objective, and Comitative (Fillmore, 1968). These names are different from the now familiar names widely used in the generative literature. For example, instead of Agentive, the now widely used term is Agent. The thematic structure of both the sentences *John killed Bill*. (约翰杀死了比尔。) and *Bill was killed by John*. (比尔被约翰杀死了。) is something like kill <John, Bill> or kill V <Agent, Patient>. In this tradition, thematic roles are primitives, which occupy distinct positions in the deep/D structure of a sentence.

As for what argument is realized as the subject of a sentence, Fillmore (1968) has a hierarchy stipulation:

### (1) Subjectivization Hierarchy

If there is an [Agentive], it becomes the subject; otherwise, if there is an [Instrumental], it becomes the subject; otherwise, the subject is the [Objective].

In Fillmore's theory, as other theories at that time, due to flat structure analyses, stipulation like the Subjectivization Hierarchy is unavoidable. The X'-theory of GB (Chomsky, 1981) and the binary-branching condition of Kayne (1984) make it necessary to generate all the arguments according to a hierarchy. Baker (1988), following the Universal Theta Alignment Hypothesis of Pulmutter and Postal (1984) in relational grammar, introduces into the GB framework the Universal Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH):

### (2) Universal Theta-Assignment Hypothesis

Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure.

It is generally agreed that Agent occupies the top of the hierarchy, but it is still controversial what occupies the rest of the hierarchy, as a result of data of different sources and different analyses. The following are three positions (Baker, 1997):

### (3) Thematic Hierarchies

- a. Agent > Benefactive/Goal > Theme > Location

Kiparsky (1987)—(English idioms)

Bresnan and colleagues—various Bantu facts, indirectly

Machobane (1989)—various Bantu facts

- b. Agent > Goal/Experiencer/Location > Theme

Jackendoff (1972)—binding of English reflexives

Grimshaw (1990)—Light verbs in Japanese, psych verbs

Li (1990)—Chinese compounds

Foley and Van Valin (1984)—(various)

- c. Agent > Theme > Goal/Benefactive/Location

Carrier-Duncan (1985)—Tagalog Morphosyntax  
Larson (1988)—(English idioms)  
Baker (1989)—Serial verbs in Kwa, Creoles

It can be seen from (3) that linguists differ sharply from each other about both the number and the nature of thematic roles. In view of this, some linguists claim that argument structure theories based on thematic roles are problematic. We will present some of the problems concerning these theories.

Psych verbs present a difficult case for  $\theta$ -role analyses. These verbs, when used in sentences, usually take two  $\theta$ -roles: Experiencer and Theme. However, both of them can function as the subject of a sentence:

- (4) a. John's future worried Mary. (约翰的前途使玛丽担心。)  
b. Mary worried about John's future. (玛丽为约翰的前途担心。)

This case apparently violates the UTAH or similar constraints. In solving this problem, Belletti and Rizzi (1988) give the same underlying structure for both sentences. But Pesetsky (1995) argues against this claim, leaving the hierarchical  $\theta$ -role analysis of argument structure vulnerable.

An even more serious problem with  $\theta$ -role analyses of argument structure is the number and the nature of  $\theta$ -roles, as mentioned above. Though it is general consensus that Agent is the most prominent role of a sentence, the nature and position of other roles are a subject of debate among scholars of  $\theta$ -role. Various names are used for the roles by different linguists, and the number of roles differs among different theories. It seems that some linguists use the terms Agent, Theme, Goal, Experiencer, etc., but no one has given a complete list of thematic roles. Obviously, naming all the roles is a difficult task to fulfill. What are the criteria that should be used to define and distinguish between  $\theta$ -roles? Should every distinction be marked by role names? It seems that up to now linguists have only concentrated on the study of familiar roles; no one has tried to give a complete list of  $\theta$ -roles. The following are some examples, in which arguments cannot easily be assigned thematic roles familiar to us:

- (5) a. Bill resembles his father. (比尔像他父亲。)

- b. The child wanted a candy. (孩子想要糖果。)
- c. John promised Mary to return the next day.  
(约翰答应玛丽第二天回来。)
- d. Mary persuaded John to give up smoking.  
(玛丽说服了约翰不再抽烟。)
- e. John makes a good husband. (约翰具有好丈夫的素质。)
- f. Mary is a good wife. (玛丽是个好妻子。)
- g. I have a dream. (我有一个梦想。)

Each of these sentences contain at least two arguments, and at least one of these two arguments cannot easily be given a role name. If all these arguments must have a role name, no one knows how long the list of role names will be. Even if we do have such a complete list, we still have a question that must be answered: How does a child learning his/her native language, making decisions about how a predicate (a verb, for example) choose among so many thematic role grids? For language acquisition to work, this list of roles cannot be unlimitedly long. But the situation researchers of thematic roles face is that no matter how many roles they propose, there always seem to be new roles in need of names.

Unlike Fillmore, some linguists do not regard thematic roles as linguistic primitives, however. Dowty (1991) is an extreme example of this idea. This author distinguishes between two proto-roles: Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient, each having a list of properties. Most arguments have some properties of both Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient roles. The argument that has the most properties of Proto-Agent role occupies the subject position, and the argument that has the most properties of Proto-Patient role occupies the object position. The rest arguments are realized as PPs. Dowty's (1991) entailments of Proto-Agent role and Proto-Patient Role are list as follows<sup>①</sup>:

#### (6) Proto-Agent

- a. volitional involvement in the event or state
- b. sentience (and/or perception)

---

<sup>①</sup> Dowty is not committal as to whether (6e) and (7e) should be included among the properties of Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient roles, so curled brackets are used.

- c. causing an event or change of state in another event
  - d. movement (relative to the position of the event named by the verb)
  - (e. exists independently of the event named by the verb)
- (7) Proto-Patient
- a. undergoes change of state
  - b. incremental theme
  - c. causally affected by another participant
  - d. stationary relative to movement of another participant
  - (e. does not exist independently of the event, or not at all)

Given this list, an argument can function as the subject or object of a sentence according to how many Proto-Agent and Proto-Patient properties they have. All the properties are equal in position; all that is important is the number of each of the properties an argument have. In this system, there are only two proto-roles, each having at most five properties.

Although Dowty's approach solves the second problem posed by Fillmorean analyses, i. e. greatly reduced the number of (proto-)roles to two, it still cannot solve the psych-verb problem in a satisfactory way. Besides, there are more challenging question about this theory that need answering: Why are these properties chosen instead of others? What are the criteria of property classification?

We thus seem to have come to the conclusion that, if arguments are projected into positions of sentences according to their semantics, thematic roles are not the relevant primitives of argument structure theory. Other approaches have to be tried.

### 1. 1. 1. 2 Aspect and Event Structure

Having seen the drawbacks of using thematic roles as the basis for argument structure, we now have a brief look at another trend of investigation into the syntax-semantics-lexicon interface. Aspectual (Aktionsart) properties<sup>①</sup> of the event denoted by predicates (or verbs) are proposed as playing a central part in determining the behavior of predicates (verbs) in the sentence (Jackendoff, 1990, Grimshaw, 1990, Tenny, 1994, Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995, Pustejovsky,

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① "Aspect" here refers to lexical aspect (Aktionsart), as opposed to viewpoint (sentential) aspect.

1995, van Hout, 1996, Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 1998, 2001, Ritter and Rosen, 1998, McKoon and McFarland 2000, among others). This approach is known as “lexical semantics”, which classifies verbs into different types according to their semantics (cf. Levin, 1993). Verbs of the same kind share the same aspectual type (cf. Vendler, 1957). Other semantic components shared by the same class of verbs, such as movement, emission, existence or appearance, are regarded as primitives. Such semantic features of the verb are said to be relevant for the behavior of the verb as the predicate, defining the event template of the verb (predicate). Thus, each predicate is associated with a kind of event template, and the behavior of a predicate can be said to be determined by its event template. For predicates to project semantics to syntax, Levin and Rappaport Hovav develop a linking theory composed of linking rules and well-formedness conditions. The following are linking rules given in Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995):

(8) a. Immediate Cause Linking Rule

The argument of a verb that denotes the immediate cause of the eventuality described by that verb is its external argument.

b. Directed Change Linking Rule

The argument of a verb that corresponds to the entity undergoing the directed change described by that verb is its internal argument.

c. Existence Linking Rule

The argument of a verb whose existence is asserted or denied is its direct internal argument.

d. Default Linking Rule

An argument of a verb that does not fall under the scope of any of the other linking rules is its direct internal argument

In this approach, arguments are determined by the semantics and the aspectual type of the predicate. Verbs of varying behaviors are considered to be polysemous, and verbs that have multiple options of argument expressions are thought to have multiple lexical semantics. As a concrete example, let us see Rappaport Hovav and Levin’s (1998) theory of event templates:



- (9) a. [ $x$  ACT<sub><MANNER></sub>] (activity)  
 b. [ $x$  <STATE>] (state)  
 c. [BECOME [ $x$  <STATE>]] (achievement)  
 d. [ $x$  CAUSE [BECOME [ $y$  <STATE>]]] (accomplishment)  
 e. [[ $x$  ACT<sub><MANNER></sub>] CAUSE [BECOME [ $y$  <STATE>]]] (accomplishment)

A verb's meaning is composed of a constant and an event template from the above inventory. Semantically, constants are open-class items drawn from a fixed ontology (manner, instrument, state, etc.) and are marked with angle brackets in the event template. Phonologically, each constant is associated with a name (phonological string). Rappaport Hovav and Levin proposes a process called "Template Augmentation" that allows basic event templates to be freely augmented to any other event template (Rappaport Hovav and Levin, 1998, 2001):

(10) Template Augmentation

Event structure templates may be freely augmented up to other possible templates in the basic inventory of event structure templates.

This process accounts for the resultative form of surface contact verbs such as sweep. In this case, the augmentation of the basic template of an activity like the manner verb sweep by adding to it the template of an achievement by means of the linking head CAUSE results in an accomplishment through the addition of another subevent, i.e., the floor becoming clean:

- (11) a. Phil swept the floor. (菲尔扫了地。)  
 [Phil ACT<sub><SWEEP></sub> floor]  
 b. Phil swept the floor clean. (菲尔把地扫干净了。)  
 [[Phil ACT<sub><SWEEP></sub> floor] CAUSE [BECOME [floor <CLEAN>]]]

Though this approach to argument structure is attractive, it is not without problems. The most serious problem is that Vendler's classification does not apply to verbs in isolation; other elements, such as direct objects, must be taken into consideration as they influence the aspectual type of the sentence. These factors are not reflected in the system presented above. For example, the plurality of the