

canonical bare accomplishment. In (4a), when the object is ‘a bag of chips,’ the adverbial ‘at 7 o’clock’ can only modify the event’s initial point. (4b) yields only the *counterfactual* reading and lacks the *incompletive* reading. Both tests show that bare accomplishments although being telic lack linguistic final points.

- (4) a. wo yiban qidian chi yi bao shupian. b. wo chadian chi na bao shupian.
 I usually 7.o’clock eat one bag chips I almost eat that bag chips
 ✗ ‘I usually finish eating a bag of chips at 7 o’clock.’ ✗ ‘I almost finished eating that bag of chips.’
 ✓ ‘I usually start to eat a bag of chips at 7 o’clock.’ ✓ ‘I almost started to eat that bag of chips.’

In contrast, the same tests show that resultatives have linguistic final points.

- (5) a. X yiban qidian jiao-xing wo. b. X chadian jiao-xing wo.
 X usually 7.o’clock yell-awake me X almost yell-awake me
 ✓ ‘X usually wakes me up at 7 o’clock.’ ✓ ‘X tried to wake me up and I almost awoke.’
 ✗ ‘X usually starts to yell at me at 7 o’clock.’ ✗ ‘X almost started to yell and wake me up.’

I argue that resultatives and *-wan* actually instantiate the aspectual property *resultativity* (see Folli & Harley 2005, 2006), which serves as the linguistic representation of final points.

Counterexamples. English bare accomplishments seem to violate the OTPH. For example, Dowty (1979:58) notes that in *John almost painted a picture*, *almost* can target either the initial point of the event, resulting in the counterfactual reading (“John almost started to paint”), or the final point, resulting in the incompletive reading (“John almost finished painting a picture”). This suggests that bare accomplishments have both initial and final points.

Explanation. I argue that English bare accomplishments are actually structurally ambiguous: one structure aligns with Mandarin bare accomplishments, which only project linguistic initial points, the other corresponds to Mandarin resultative accomplishments, which project only linguistic final points. Evidence for this comes from a class of accomplishments called *defeasible causatives*. They implicate event culmination (i.e., a result), which can, however, be cancelled when the subject is volitional. For example, in English, the verb *teach* allows both volitional and non-volitional subjects (6a-b). However, only when the subject is volitional can the sentence be followed by an explicit denial of the result that the learner learned something.

- (6) a. *Ivan* taught me Russian, but I did not learn anything.
 b. *Lipson’s textbook* taught me Russian, #but I did not learn anything. (Martin and Schäfer 2017:87)

I argue that the predicate in (6a) is a bare accomplishment, while the predicate in (6b) is a resultative accomplishment. Evidence comes from the Mandarin counterpart verb in (7). In this language, the verb ‘teach’ is a bare accomplishment. It can only take a volitional subject, and result cancellation is possible (see (7a) and (7b), where *X* stands for a personal name). When the resultative ‘know’ is added, the predicate can take either a volitional or non-volitional subject, and the result cannot be cancelled any more (see (7c). This suggests accomplishments are ambiguous in English. As a result, they are not counterexamples to the OTPH.

- (7) a. X jiao-le wo eyu, dan wo shenme ye mei xuehui. b. *na ben shu jiao-le wo eyu.
 X teach-PFV me Russian but I didn’t learn anything that CL book teach-PFV me Russian
 c. X/na ben shu jiao-hui-le wo eyu, #dan wo shenme ye mei xuehui.
 X/that CL book teach-know-PFV me Russian #but I didn’t learn anything

Conclusion. I proposed and empirically motivated a constraint on the linguistic representation of transition points, the OTPH, which posits that each event can linguistically represent at most one transition point. This hypothesis has significant implications for predicate classes. First, it

implies that predicates should be classified based on resultativity rather than telicity. Second, accomplishments are not a uniform class and may align more closely with other classes.