Verb-Copying Resultatives in Colloquial Singapore English
This paper presents novel evidence for the existence of verb-copying resultatives (VCRs) in Colloquial Singapore English (CSE), as in:

(1) He eat rice eat full already.
   ‘He ate rice until he was full.’ [Colloquial Singapore English]

Extremely similar VCRs have been studied in Mandarin Chinese:

(2) ta chi fan chi-bao le
    he eat rice eat-full PFV
    ‘He ate rice until he was full.’ [Mandarin]

This research proposes a featural analysis of (1) that builds on Cheng (2007)’s account of resultative compounds in Mandarin. Under the binary branching constraint (Kayne, 1984), the verb ‘eat’ cannot be in a ternary branching relationship with both DP ‘rice’ and PredP ‘full’. First, I propose that verb-copying occurs to allow for the valuing of features, where ‘rice’ has a [uCase] feature and ‘eat’ a [uTop] one. To this end, Last Resort results in Sideward Movement (Nunes, 2004): ‘eat’ is copied and merged into a separate syntactic tree with the object ‘rice’, projecting a vP which then merges into [Spec, TopP]. Thus, the higher verb copy satisfies the object’s need for Case. Furthermore, there may exist an additional [uTop] feature on the matrix subject ‘he’, given optionality regarding whether it is pronounced low in [Spec, TP] (e.g. ‘eat rice he eat full already.’) or high in [Spec, TopP] as in (1). Hence the following derivation:

(3)

Secondly, I argue that this multiple copy spell-out is facilitated by morphological fusion (Nunes, 2004), where the [v + object] combination ‘eat rice’ is fused and rendered invisible to the Linear Correspondence Axiom. Evidence for this arises from the ungrammaticality of VCRs with heavy DPs (e.g. ‘spaghetti with meatballs’), paralleling constraints on multiple spell-out of wh-phrases in German (McDaniels, 1986). Furthermore, to avoid violations of the Final-Over-Final Constraint (Biberauer et al., 2007), this paper incorporates Erlewine (2017)’s proposal of a low Sentence Final Particle (SFP) in clause-medial position to explain the importance of the particle ‘already’ in fulfilling an aspectual relation in the tree.