

A comparative study of Mandarin and Wenzhounese resultatives



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1. Introduction

Wenzhounese (温州话)

- A southern Wu dialect
- SVO, with topic prominence (cf. Li & Thompson 1976)
- Form of the resultative verb compound (RVC): V_1 - V_2

(1a) Mandarin

wo **chi** **bao** le
1SG eat full SFP

'I am full as a result of eating.'

(1b) Wenzhounese

ŋ **tɕ^{hi}** **pɔ** ba
1SG eat full SFP

'I am full as a result of eating.'

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2.1 Word order

Mandarin: usually SVO, or *SbaOV* (把字句)

(2a) John **ku** **hong** le **yanjing**

John cry red PFV eye

‘John cried so much that his eyes were red.’

(2b) John ba **yanjing** **ku** **hong** le

John BA eye cry red PFV

‘John cried so much that his eyes were red.’

2.1 Word order

Wenzhounese: obligatory SOV, or *SdeOV* (逮; counterpart of Mandarin *ba*)

The choice depends on

- the **type** of the RVC (Chang, 2003), and
- the semantics of the object

2.1 Word order

Type II: SOV (O = body part) \subset SdeOV

- $V_1\langle\text{SUBJ}_i\rangle$ $V_2\langle\text{SUBJ}_j\rangle$
- RVC $\langle\text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_j\rangle$

(4a) John (de) **ŋətsəŋ** **kʰu** **həŋ** tɕʰi
John DE eye cry red PFV

'John cried so much that his eyes were red.'

(4b) John *(de) **kau-ŋ** **kʰu** **və** tɕʰi
John DE dog-DIM cry annoy PFV

'John cried so much that the puppy got annoyed.'

2.1 Word order

Type III: $SOV \subset SdeOV$

- $V_1 \langle \text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_j \rangle$ $V_2 \langle \text{SUBJ}_k \rangle$
- $RVC \langle \text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_{j=k} \rangle$

(5a) John (de) **p^hai** **sy** **vutsy** hɔ
John DE dish cook burn PFV
'John overcooked the dish.'

(5b) John *(de) **maŋ** **k^hɔ** **p^ha** hɔ
John DE door smash break PFV
'John smashed the door; as a result, the door broke.'

2.1 Word order

Type IV: SOV

- $V_1 \langle \text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_j \rangle$ $V_2 \langle \text{SUBJ}_k \rangle$
- $\text{RVC} \langle \text{SUBJ}_{i=k} \text{ OBJ}_j \rangle$

(6a) John (*de) **səw** **tsʰz** **vɔ** tɕʰi
John DE book read annoy PFV
'John got tired of reading books.'

(6b) John (*de) **hɔ-ŋ** **tɕʰi** **vai** ɦɔ
John DE shrimp-DIM eat tired PFV
'John got tired of eating shrimps.'

2.1 Word order

Type V: *SdeOV* is preferred (according to four informants)

- $V_1\langle \text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_j \rangle$ $V_2\langle \text{SUBJ}_k \rangle$
- $\text{RVC}\langle \text{SUBJ}_i \text{ OBJ}_k \rangle$

(7a) John ?(de) **səu** **ta** **daŋ** ɦɔ

John DE hand hit break PFV

‘John hit something; as a result, his hand broke.’

(7b) John ta vumɛ-dzau ?(de) **ɦa** **ta** **p^ha** ɦɔ

John play feather-ball DE shoe play rag PFV

‘John played badminton; as a result, his shoes became ragged.’

2.2 Reduplication of V₁

Mandarin: highly restricted, if not impossible (Arcodia & Basciano, 2021: 179)

(8a) ?ba diban **sao-sao** **ganjing**

BA floor sweep-RED clean

‘Sweep the floor clean!’

(8b) *John ba wenzi **pai-pai** **si** le

John BA mosquito clap-RED die PFV

Intended: ‘John swatted the mosquito to death.’

2.2 Reduplication of V₁

Wenzhounese: productive (a marker of modality according to Pan 2002)

(9a) de laupɔ sɛ-sɛ lyɔdzei

DE floor sweep-RED clean

‘Sweep the floor clean!’

(9b) John de maŋdʒoŋ p^ha-p^ha sz ɦɔ

John DE mosquito clap-RED die PFV

‘John swatted the mosquito to death.’

2.3 Adverbial modification

Mandarin: certain adverbs cannot modify V₂ in the RVC (Liu, 2021: 75)

(10a) yifu **you** shai **gan** le
clothes again air dry SFP

‘The clothes are aired to a dry state again.’

(10b) *yifu **hen** shai **gan** le
clothes very air dry SFP

Intended: ‘The clothes are aired to a very dry state.’

2.3 Adverbial modification

Wenzhounese: the adverb can modify V_2 in the RVC

(11a) jε **he** sa **sε** ba
clothes again air dry SFP

‘The clothes are aired to a dry state again.’

(11b) jε **ei** sa **sε** ba
clothes very air dry SFP

‘The clothes are aired to a very dry state.’

2.4 Potential reading

Mandarin: must be marked by the morpheme *-de* 得 ‘till’

(12a) ni fan **chi-de** bao ma
2SG meal eat-till full Q

‘Can you get full from eating the meal?’

(12b) *ni fan **chi** bao ma
2SG meal eat full Q

Intended: ‘Can you get full from eating the meal?’

2.4 Potential reading

Wenzhounese: optionally marked by the morpheme *-le* 来 ‘come’

(13a) ni vɔ tɕ^{hi}-le pɔ fa
2SG meal eat-come full Q
‘Can you get full from eating the meal?’

(13b) ni vɔ tɕ^{hi} pɔ fa
2SG meal eat full Q
‘Can you get full from eating the meal?’

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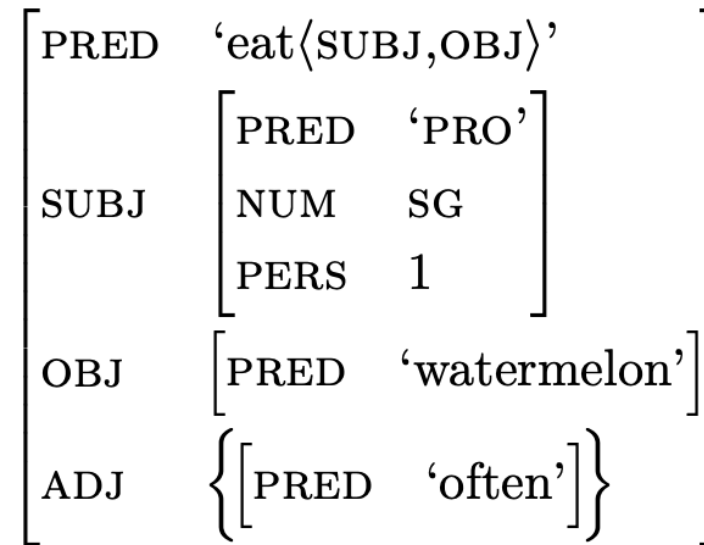
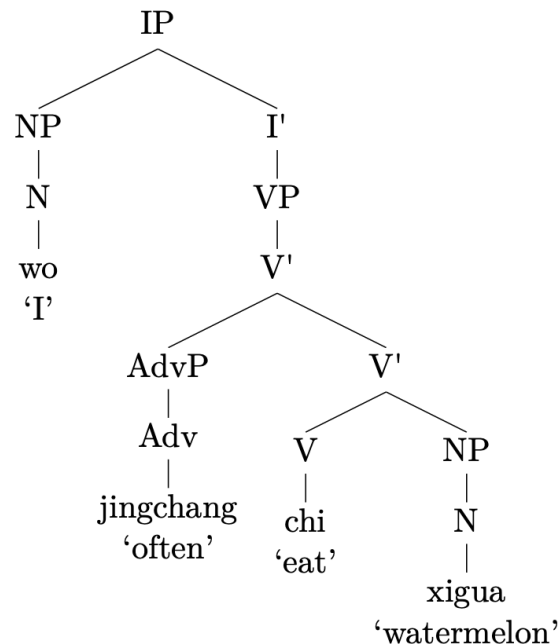
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3. Analysis

Theoretical assumptions:

- LFG (lexicalist, constraint-based; see Dalrymple et al. 2019)
- C(onstituent)-structure, f(unctional)-structure
- No X^0 can be derived in syntax



3. Analysis: Representation

Q1: Are RVCs formed in the lexicon (compound) or in syntax (phrase)?

My answer: **in syntax**, as opposed to Her (2007) and Li (1995)

(Consequently, “RVC” is not an appropriate label)

3. Analysis: Representation

Evidence 1: That an adverb can modify V_2 shows that RVC's internal structure is visible to syntax (cf. Liu, 2021: 72)

(14a) John **you** ba zhuozi zhuang **dao** le
John again BA table knock fall PFV
'John knocked down the table again (The table fell before).'

(14b) John **he** de tǎu dzu **fo** hǎo
John again DE table knock fall PFV
'John knocked down the table again (The table fell before).'

3. Analysis: Representation

Evidence 2: In WZ, an adverb has the same distribution in other **phrases**

(15a) jε ɛi sa sɛ ba
clothes very air dry SFP
'The clothes are aired to a very dry state.'

(15b) John ɛi zei k^ha
John very run fast
'John runs very fast.'

3. Analysis: Representation

Evidence 3: Question formation can access the internal structure of the RVC

- (16) jε sa sε ba mei a
 clothes air dry SFP NEG Q
 ‘Have the clothes been aired to a dry state?’
 (V₂ is questioned, while V₁ is presupposed)

3. Analysis: Representation

Q2: Which element is the head, V_1 or V_2 ? (see Li 2009 for an overview)

My answer: V_2 is the head of the VP

Evidence 1: adverbs can modify V_2 , suggesting that adverbs are structurally closer to V_2 , despite their linear adjacency to V_1

3. Analysis: Representation

Evidence 2: The choice of the perfective marker is determined by V_2

Two perfective markers exist in WZ, with subtle semantic distinctions

- **hɔ** implies negative consequence or decrease in quantity

mɛ hɔ bad PFV ‘become worse or spoiled’

za hɔ thin PFV ‘become thinner’

- **tɕ^{hi}** implies positive consequence or increase in quantity

hɛ tɕ^{hi} good PFV ‘become better or recovered’

tɕu tɕ^{hi} strong PFV ‘become stronger or fatter’

3. Analysis: Representation

(17a) John jɔ tɕ^{hi} hɔ/*tɕ^{hi} ba
John medicine eat PFV SFP
'John has taken the medicine.'

(17b) tɕ^{hi} tɕu tɕ^{hi}/*hɔ vs. tɕ^{hi} za hɔ/*tɕ^{hi}
eat strong PFV eat thin PFV
'get stronger via eating' 'get thinner via eating'

3. Analysis: Word order

The ostensible SOV order in Wenzhounese is TSV

The RVC is **PASSIVISED!** (cf. Tan's 1991 unmarked passive)

- (18) [John]_{Topic} [p^hai]_{Subject} sy vutsey ho
John dish cook burn PFV
'As for John, the dish was overcooked (by him).'

3. Analysis: Word order

Evidence 1: the sentence-initial *John* cannot bind the subject-oriented reflexive *zz* ‘self’

(19) ?*[**John**]_{Topic} **zz**-da [p^hai]_{Subject} **ɛy** **vutɛy** hɔ
John self-place dish cook burn PFV

Intended: 'As for John, his own dish was overcooked (by him).'

(unless we use the causative marker *de*)

3. Analysis: Word order

Evidence 2: *John* cannot control adjuncts like *dede-naŋ* ‘deliberately’ or *fu ləusaŋ* ‘carelessly’, but *p^hai* ‘dish’ can (cf. Tan 1991: §2.2.2).

(20a) *[John]_{Topic} **dede-naŋ** [p^hai]_{Subject} **ɛy** **vutɛy** hɔ
John deliberately dish cook burn PFV

Intended: ‘As for John, the dish was deliberately overcooked (by him).’

(20b) [p^hai]_{Subject} **fu** **ləusaŋ** **ɛy** **vutɛy** hɔ
dish NEG careful cook burn PFV

‘The dish was carelessly overcooked.’

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4. Conclusion

1. RVCs are phrases, not compounds
2. V_2 is the head of the phrase
3. In Wenzhounese, RVCs are obligatorily passivised, while they can remain active in Mandarin. This is reflected by the difference in word order SOV (actually TSV) in Wenzhounese vs. SVO in Mandarin

Thank you!

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