RESULTATIVE SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN SHAOXING WU AND MANDARIN RESULTATIVE VERB COMPOUNDS: A PARAMETRIC VIEW

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the controversy as to whether different types of resultatives can be subsumed under a unified analysis, drawing on new data from the Shaoxing Wu dialect (a Northern Wu dialect spoken in the prefecture-level city of Shaoxing in Zhejiang province), whose most productive form of resultatives is split resultatives, in the form of V(erb)-O(bject)-R(esult). This word order is generally assumed to be the underlying form of Mandarin resultative verb compounds in the order of V-R-O. On the grounds that the object of the resultative construction must be shared by the cause-denoting verb and the result predicate, and that the cause event and the result event form a single event, we argue that Shaoxing resultatives are a type of resultative serial verb construction and can be assigned a VP-shell structure à la Larson (1991). On the theoretical side, based on the observation that resultatives in Shaoxing Wu and

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Mandarin Chinese differ extensively with respect to the thematic restrictions on the subject, possible combinations of V1 and R, and the 'tightness' of the relation between the causing and caused events, which are unexpected due to their parallelism outside the domain of resultative formation, we argue against the uniform analyses that assign the same underlying structure to the two types of resultatives or derive them in the same way, and adopt a modular view on the formation of resultative complex predicates, which is parameterized in the way that while resultatives in the form of serial verb construction in Shaoxing Wu are derived in the syntax, resultative compounds in Mandarin Chinese are better analyzed as lexically formed causative verbs.

KEYWORDS
Resultative construction   **R**esultative serial verb construction   **V**P-shell structure   **A**rgument structure   **C**omparative study

1. INTRODUCTION

A resultative is a complex predicate that consists of two overt predicates, neither of which is introduced by a conjunction or an adposition, as shown in (1), where the two predicates are in bold.

(1) John [**wiped** the table **clean**].

Further, in many cases, the object is selected both by the cause-denoting (henceforth, V1) and the result-denoting verb (henceforth, R). Semantically, a resultative usually denotes a cause-result event, though without any overt marking for the causative meaning. It thus casts an exceptionally bright light on our basic assumptions about argument structure and event structure as a theory of syntax-semantics interface. In this paper, we examine resultatives in Shaoxing Wu, a Northern Wu dialect spoken in the prefecture-level city of Shaoxing in Zhejiang province in Southern China and compare them with Mandarin resultative verb compounds (henceforth, RVC), in an attempt to account for their syntactic and semantic differences under a parametric view.

從參數角度看紹興話連動式結果結構與普通話動結式

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摘要

本文根據吳語紹興方言（在浙江省紹興市使用的一種北部吳語），試圖解決不同類型的動補結構是否能夠統一分析的爭議。紹興方言能產性最高的動補結構是隔開式動補結構 "動詞+賓語+補語"（V-O-R），而漢語普通話動補結構的基本語序是 V-R-O 語序。動補結構中的賓語被致使動詞和結果補語共用，致使事件和結果事件一起組成單一事件。文章認為紹興方言的動補結構是連動結構，適用 Larson (1991) 的 VP-殼理論。從理論上說，紹興方言和漢語普通話的動補結構在主語的題元限制、致使動詞和結果補語的組合可能性、致使事件和結果事件關係的緊密度等方面都大有不同，因此文章反對統一分析，反對賦予兩種類型的動補結構相同的底層結構或是認為它們來源相同。文章認為應該採用模組的觀點，即參數化的分析方法處理不同類型的動補結構：吳語紹興方言的動補連動結構從句法中派生，而普通話的動補結構則是詞匯形式的致使動詞。

關鍵詞

結果結構   **結**果連動結構   **V**P-殼結構   **論**元結構   **對**比研究