



University
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Graduate Studies

Notice of the Final Oral Examination
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

of

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“The Syntax of V-V Resultatives in Mandarin Chinese”

Department of Linguistics

Friday, January 11, 2019

4:30 P.M.

Clearihue Building

Room B007

Supervisory Committee:

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Dr. Ke Xu, Department of Economics, UVic

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Abstract

This is a study on the syntax of the V-V resultative constructions in Mandarin within the generative framework. I investigate three aspects of these constructions: the generation of the resultative V-V compounds, the argument structure of V-V resultatives, and their alternation properties.

First, I investigate in which component of the grammar and with what mechanisms resultative V-V compounds are generated. With regard to the generation of complex words, Marantz (2000) proposes that words are generated in two different syntactic domains (the inner domain and the outer domain), and words thus generated demonstrate different properties. Adopting this proposal, I propose a syntactic analysis of the generation of resultative V-V compounds. One observation of this study is that V-V resultative compounds and another type of V-V compounds in Mandarin, parallel V-V compounds, while seemingly similar, possess systematically different properties. Based on this observation, I argue that resultative V-V compounds are formed in the outer domain, by combining two categorized verbs (vP1 and vP2), while parallel V-V compounds are formed in the inner domain, in which the two acategorical lexical roots ($\sqrt{1} + \sqrt{2}$) combine first to form a root complex, and then merge with little v.

Second, I explore an event-mapping approach to the argument structure of V-V resultatives. Regarding the syntactic representation of the semantic event structures, the isomorphism hypothesis (cf. Lin, 2004; Ramchand, 2008) postulates that there is a transparent correspondence between semantic subevents and the syntactic element of vPs. Particularly, Lin's (2004) isomorphism analysis argues that the two types of V-V resultative constructions, object-oriented and subject-oriented V-V resultatives, have the same event structure, and therefore have the same argument structure, in which three vPs represent three subevents. In the present study, based on adverbial modification properties, I argue that an isomorphism analysis of Mandarin V-V resultatives does not hold, and that the two types of V-V resultatives have different argument structures. To be more specific, while the argument structure of object-oriented V-V resultatives contains two vPs, a vCAUSEP that takes as its complement a

vBECOME_P, the argument structure of subject-oriented V-V resultatives contains a single vBECOME_P. This analysis reveals that, while object-oriented V-V resultatives are causative constructions, subject-oriented V-V resultatives are inchoative unaccusative predicates, despite the 'cause-result' meaning they convey.

Finally, based on the analysis that object-oriented and subject-oriented V-V resultatives have different argument structures, I account for their alternation properties. I propose that the alternative uses of these two types of V-V resultatives fall into two different categorizations: decausativization (of object-oriented resultatives) and causativization (of subject-oriented resultatives). I then argue that (most of) the complex properties of the alternative uses of V-V resultatives have two sources: the distinctive semantic and syntactic properties of subject oriented resultatives, and the Direct Causation Condition on the subject in causatives.