

Structure of Mandarin V-DE Resultatives

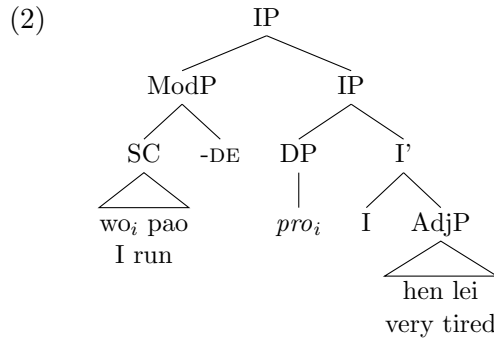
The Mandarin V-DE resultatives have a post-verbal *particle* DE connecting two events, where the first causes the second as a result.

- (1) a. wo pao de hen lei.
 I run DE very tired
 ‘I became tired running.’

Consensus on the structure remains elusive, particularly on:

- 1) Which predicate is the primary predicate?
- 2) How are both object-oriented and subject-oriented readings derived?
- 3) What is the function of DE?

The present study contributes to the debate by offering a novel analysis. As illustrated in (2), I analyze the post-DE chunk as the main clause, while the pre-DE part is a clausal modifier. The particle DE is a linker that marks a modification relation.



The structure is supported by syntactic tests. Constituency tests indicate that the ModP is a constituent. For example, it can be coordinated, and it can undergo clefting.

- (3) Baobao ku-de, xiao-gou jiao-de, mama xing-le.
 baby cry-DE small-dog bark-DE mom wake-PFV
 ‘The baby crying and the puppy barking, the mom waked up.’
- (4) shi baobao ku-de (he) xiao-gou jiao-de mama xing-le.
 COP baby cry-DE and small-dog bark-DE mom wake-PFV
 ‘It is because the baby crying and the dog barking that the mom waked up.’

Extraction test suggests that ModP is an adjunct: adjunct extraction is degraded.

- (5) ??shi [zai yaolan-li] baobao t ku-de mama xing-le.
 COP at cradle-in baby cry-DE mom wake-PFV
 Intended: ‘It is in the cradle that the baby cried and then the mom waked up.’

More tests (the placement of topic makers and aspectual markers, A-not-A question formation) confirm that the verb in V-DE is not a primary predicate.

Without requiring ad hoc manipulations of the first verb’s argument structure, the current analysis derives both object- and subject-oriented resultative readings, with the object in ModP being a *pro*, (6-a), or the subject a *PRO*, (6-b). Furthermore, the first DP, being a topic, is not necessarily an argument of the first verb. Relevant empirical data will be presented.

- (6) Youyou zhui-de Taotao tai-bu-dong tui le.
 Youyou chase-*de* Taotao can't lift leg *le*
 a. 'Youyou chasing (him), Taotao_{*i*} couldn't move his_{*i*} legs.'
 [Youyou *pro_i* chase-DE] Taotao_{*i*} can't lift leg.
 b. 'Chasing Youyou, Taotao_{*i*} couldn't move his_{*i*} legs.'
 [PRO_{*i*} Youyou chase-DE] Taotao_{*i*} can't lift leg.

Since DE merely marks for modification, the analysis predicts that the construction should permit non-resultative readings, like the *while*-reading in (7-b). An example is given in (8), where a simultaneity interpretation is available.

- (7) a. Having finished his work, he went home. [resultative]
 b. The clock ticking, the audience held their breath. [non-resultative]
 (8) ta chi-de hen kaixin.
 3SG eat-DE very happy
 He became happy as a result of eating.//He was happy while eating.

The proposed analysis captures the peculiar properties of V-DE resultatives without introducing additional assumptions, and it potentially allows a unified account of all V-DE expressions, also a broader unification of DE particles in Mandarin.