The Paradox of Subject-Oriented Resultative Compounds in Taiwan Southern Min

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Abstract
Adopting Control Theory, this paper proposes that subject-oriented resultative compounds in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) have a biclausal structure with PRO as the subject of the second verb. According to the Principle of Minimal Distance (Rosenbaum 1967, 1970), PRO should be controlled by the closest c-commanding antecedent. Therefore, the closest NP, even if it is not the object, can also control the PRO. Subject-oriented resultatives thus should not be considered exceptional. The syntactic derivation proposed in this paper can not only explain the orientation of the resultatives in TSM but also account for their syntactic behavior of allowing other syntactic elements in between.

1 Introduction
“...A resultative attribute describes the STATE of an argument resulting from the action denoted by the verb” (Simpson 1983: 143). For English resultatives, the resultative phrase is predicated of the object. For example, the resultative in (1a) is predicating of the object the car. When the sentence involves an intransitive change-of-state verb, the resultative is then predicated of the subject as in (1b). According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter 1978), since (1b) involves an unaccusative verb, the surface subject is actually an object in the underlying structure. Therefore, the resultative in (1b) is also predicated of the object underlyingly. That is, the resultative in (1b) modifies the subject he, which is the underlying object. As Simpson (1983) states, “resultative attributes in English are subject to the SYNTACTIC constraint that they must be controlled by an OBJECT, whether underlying or surface” (p. 148), which is referred to as the Direct Object Restriction (DOR) by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995). Subject-oriented resultatives are thus often considered exceptions or ungrammatical as in (2). In consequence, Mateu (2005) argues that DOR is strictly observed in English.

(1) a. I painted the car yellow.
   (Simpson 1983: 143 (1))
   b. He flushed/blushed red.
   (Simpson 1983: 144 (9a))

(2) *I danced/laughed/logged/walked/worked tired.
   (Simpson 1983: 145 (15))

Chinese resultatives are manifested in two forms—de construction as in (3) and V-V compound as in (4).

(3) Zhangsan zhui de Lisi hen lei.
   Zhangsan chase DE Lisi very tired.
   ‘Zhangsan chased Lisi and as a result Lisi got tired.’

(4) Zhangsan da-po-le beizi.
   Zhangsan hit-break-ASP cup
   ‘Zhangsan broke the cup.’

In (3) the resultative lei ‘tired’ is predicating of the object Lisi, and the resultative in (4), po ‘broken’, is also predicating of the object beizi ‘cup’. It seems that the two types of resultative do follow DOR. However, there exist other types of resultative in Chinese, as in (5) and (6). The resultative lei in (5)
is predicated of the subject Zhangsan, and the resultative in (6), ni ‘tired’, is also predicated of the subject Zhangsan.

(5) Zhangsan zhui Lisi zhui de hen lei. (cf. (3))
Zhangsan chase Lisi chase DE very tired.
‘Zhangsan chased Lisi and as a result Zhangsan got tired.’

(6) Zhangsan ting-ni-le na shou ge.
Zhangsan listen-ASP tired that
‘Zhangsan got tired of listening to that song.’

These two types of resultative seem to imply that DOR is not applicable in Chinese. As pointed out by Huang (2006), Control Theory can account for resultative constructions in Chinese better than DOR. Examples (3-6) all involve Pro, and according to the Principle of Minimal Distance (Rosenbaum 1967, 1970), Pro is controlled by the closest potential antecedent which c-commands it. Huang (2006) cites (7), which is proposed by Tang (1997), to be the structure for resultatives in Chinese. In de construction F is occupied by de, while in compounds F is empty. In (7), when the main verb is transitive, Pro is controlled by the object, and when the main verb is intransitive, Pro is then controlled by the subject. Examples (3-4) are well accounted for by Control Theory. In (5) the verb is reduplicated and the object does not c-command Pro, and thus it is the subject that c-commands Pro. Example (5) is also accounted for by Control Theory.

(7) \[vP \text{Subject} [v \text{v} [vP \text{Object} [v V1 [FP F [Result Pro V2]]]]]]

However, example (6), where the resultative is predicated of the subject, is still not accounted for. Moreover, the ambiguity of (8) is also a problem.

(8) Zhangsan zhui-lei Lisi.
Zhangsan chase-tired Lisi
‘Zhangsan chased Lisi and as a result Lisi got tired.’
‘Zhangsan chased Lisi and as a result Zhangsan got tired.’

Subject-oriented resultative compounds such as (6) are always an issue. There also exist subject-oriented resultative compounds in Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), a Chinese language spoken by more than 80% of people in Taiwan (Cheng 1985), as in (9-10).

(9) [i] tsiah-pa tioh tng-lai a.¹
he eat-full then return PRT
‘As he got full after eating, he returned.’
(10) i soah ko-su-khi.
he unexpectedly sue-lose
‘He unexpectedly lost the lawsuit.’

In comparison with Chinese, subject-oriented resultative compounds are relatively rare in TSM because cause-result relation is often expressed by kah construction in TSM. To illustrate, jiok-thiam ‘chase-tired’ is not available in TSM; instead, kah construction is adopted as in (11). Subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM have not aroused much discussion. Lin (2007) mainly discusses object-oriented resultative compounds. Therefore, this paper aims to look into subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM, discussing their derivation.

(11) i jiok kah cin thiam.
he chase KAH very tired
‘He got tired from chasing someone.’

2 Literature Review

2.1 Zhang (2007)

Adopting Zou (1994) and Sybesma (1999), Zhang (2007) proposes that the V-V resultative constructions in Chinese are derived via head movement in syntax. To illustrate, (12) has (13) as its deep structure, and zhui-lei ‘chase-tired’ is derived after lei adjoins to zhui. According to equi-distance theory of Chomsky (1993, 1995), the control domain is extended to vP after the movement, and within the extended domain, Baoyu and Daiyu are of equal distance to PRO and both can control PRO. The ambiguity of (12) is thus explained.

(12) Baoyu zhui lei le Daiyu.
Baoyu chase tired PRF Daiyu

¹ The romanization used in this paper for Taiwan Southern Min examples is according to the Taiwan Southern Min Romanization Proposal（臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音符號方案），which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 2006.
Zhang’s proposal wrongly predicts that as long as there is no semantic anomaly, the V-V resultative construction should all be ambiguous. However, only the object-oriented meaning is allowed in (14).

(14) Baoyu zhuang dao le Daiyu.
   Baoyu collide fall PRF Daiyu
   ‘Baoyu collided with Daiyu and as a result Daiyu fell.’
   ‘*Baoyu collided with Daiyu and as a result Baoyu fell.’

2.2 Bi and Pan (2018)

Bi and Pan (2018) classifies subject-oriented resultatives in Chinese into three types according to three criteria—agentivity of the subject, stativity of the complement, and causal relation between V1 and V2. Xie-lei ‘write-tired’ type has all three features, while kan-dong ‘read-understand’ type has none of the three features. As to ting-fan ‘hear-annoyed’ type, it is ambiguous. The following table summarizes the results of the tests:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>xie-lei ‘write-tired’</th>
<th>kan-dong ‘read-understand’</th>
<th>ting-fan ‘hear-annoyed’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agentivity of the subject</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stativity of the complement</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the three types, Bi and Pan only regard xie-lei ‘write-tired’ type as resultative, which is derived from its object-oriented counterpart with biclausal meaning. Adopting Pylkkänen (2002), Bi and Pan proposes (15) as the deep structure of xie-lei ‘write-tired’, where the surface subject Lisi takes the object position and then is raised to the subject position. Since the resultative is predicated of the object in the deep structure, DOR is observed.

Under Bi and Pan’s unaccusative analysis, (15) has (16) as its causative counterpart. They further conclude that in Chinese all resultative constructions have corresponding subject-oriented resultative construction as derived constructions.
Under Bi and Pan’s analysis, resultatives should all have causative counterparts. However, this proposal does not apply to TSM data. To illustrate, thiann-sian ‘listen-tired’ in (17a) does not have a causative counterpart as the ungrammaticality of (17b) shows.

   Ong-e listen-tired PRT
   ‘Ong-e got tired of listening to something.’

b. *tsit siu kua thiann-sian Ong-e a.
   this CL song listen-tired Ong-e PRT
   ‘This song got Ong-e tired of listening to it.’

As to kan-dong ‘read-understand’ type, Bi and Pan argue that they are not resultative constructions but simple verbs, and propose (18) to be their structure. That is, kan-dong ‘read-understand’ is a compound formed in the lexicon and inserted under a V node in syntax. As to the ambiguous ting-fan ‘hear-annoyed’ type, they have either (15) or (18) as their structure.

2.3 Lin (2007)

Lin (2007) discusses three types of verb complex in TSM: phasal complexes, resultative complexes, and directional complexes. For resultative complexes, Lin proposes that they are compounds derived in the syntax. To illustrate, (20) is the underlying structure of (19). In (20) si⁰ in V2 moves up to V1 to incorporate with phah⁴. The resultative compound phah⁴-si⁰ ‘hit-dead’ is then derived.

(19) gua² phah⁴-si⁰ hit⁴ ciah⁴ la⁵ gia⁵.
   I hit-dead that CL spider
   ‘I killed that spider.’ (Lin 2007: 340 (8b))

(20) hit⁴ ciah⁴ la⁵ gia⁵ V1
    a³ NP
    phah⁴ V2
    si⁰ NP
    V1
    V2

Lin’s syntactic proposal can account for the intervention of hoo, e, be, and bo between V1 and V2 as in (21). As demonstrated in (22), an extra phrase is projected between the two verbs.

(21) hit⁴ ciah⁴ la⁵ gia⁵ li² ai³ phah⁴-hoo⁷-si⁰.
   that CL spider you must hit-CAUS-dead
   ‘You must kill that spider.’
   (Lin 2007: 352 (30))
3 The Proposal

According to Huang (2006), Control Theory can better account for the orientation of the resultative. Adopting Lin's (2007) syntactic approach for the derivation of object-oriented resultative compounds in TSM, this paper proposes that subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM such as tsiah-pa ‘eat-full’ in (23) are derived in syntax and have a bi-clausal structure with PRO as demonstrated in (24). According to the Principle of Minimal Distance (Rosenbaum 1967, 1970), PRO should be controlled by the closest c-commanding antecedent. Therefore, the closest NP, even if it is not the object, can also control the PRO. Subject-oriented resultatives thus should not be considered exceptional.

(23) i tsiah-pa a.
    he eat-full PRT
    ‘He was full after eating.’

For a subject-oriented resultative compound which takes an object such as (25), its structure is proposed to be (26). A subject-oriented resultative compound such as thiann-sian ‘listen-tired’ involves a psychological verb sian ‘(mentally) tired, fed up’ as the resultative verb; a causative phrase is thus proposed to be the structure for sian ‘(mentally) tired, fed up’. The meaning represented by (26) is that he listened to this song so often that this song caused him to become tired. For the PRO in NP3 in its control domain ASPP, it is controlled by the closest c-commanding antecedent, tsit siu kua ‘this song’. As to the PRO in NP4, it does not have an overt controller, and its reference is determined by pragmatic consideration. Since it is only reasonable that the subject of the sentence i ‘he’ is the one affected, sian is predicated of the main subject. The proposal that a causative phrase is involved is supported by the possible overt occurrence of the causative marker hoo as in (27).

(25) tsit siu kua  Ong-e thiann-sian a.
    this CL song Ong-e listen-tired PRT
    ‘Ong-e got tired of listening to this song.’
Resultative compounds in TSM are also peculiar in that extra syntactic elements can be inserted between V1 and V2 as shown in (28), where the syntactic element be ‘not’ is inserted between thiann and sian. The current proposal can also account for the syntactic property of resultatives in TSM by proposing that an extra syntactic phrase is projected above CAUSP in (26).

(28) tsi tsit siu kua cin ho thiann, thiann be sian.
this CL song very good listen listen not tired
‘This song is pleasant to hear, and you will not get tired of listening to it.’

The syntactic derivation proposed in this paper can not only explain the orientation of the resultatives in TSM but also account for their syntactic behavior of allowing other syntactic elements in between.

In addition to e, be, and hoo, other syntactic elements seem to be able to intervene between V1 and V2 as in tsiah-png-pa ‘eat-meal-full’ and lim-tsiu-tsiu ‘drink-wine-drunk’. However, it seems that no other nouns can be inserted between V1 and V2 as demonstrated in (29), where the noun phrase tsit siu kua ‘this song’ cannot occur between V1 and V2 in the compound thiann-sian ‘listen-tired’. This paper proposes that tsiah-png ‘eat-meal’ and lim-tsiu ‘drink-wine’ are actually V-O compounds, which function as a verb. Therefore, in (24) tsiah-png is inserted under V1 node and then tsiah-png-pa is derived after pa movers up to incorporate with tsiah-png.

(29) *Ong-e thiann tsit siu kua sian a.
Ong-e listen this CL song tired PRT
‘Ong-e got tired of listening to this song.’

Moreover, as mentioned in Introduction, subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM are relatively rare because cause-result relation is often expressed by kah construction in TSM. Transitive subject-oriented resultative compounds must involve a psychological verb such as sian ‘(mentally) tired, fed up’ as V2. Long-to ‘collide-fall’ in TSM does not involve a psychological verb as V2. As such, long-to ‘collide-fall’ is only object-oriented as shown in (30).

(30) Ong-e long-to Li-e. (cf. (14))
Ong-e collide-fall Li-e
‘Ong-e collided with Li-e and as a result Li-e fell.’
‘*Ong-e collided with Li-e and as a result Ong-e fell.’

4 Concluding Words

Subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM are rare because cause-result relation is often spelled out through kah constructions. The data collected show that transitive subject-oriented resultative compounds in TSM involve a psychological verb as V2. A syntactic account as proposed in this paper can account for their derivation and also the possibility of allowing other syntactic elements between V1 and V2.

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References


