

# Result marker vs. result highlighter

On the internal syntax of Chinese resultative compounds

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# Table of contents

1. Introduction
2. Dongying Mandarin and Wenzhou Wu (from previous studies)
3. Xinchang Wu (new data)
4. Modeling the cross-dialectal variation (syntax)
5. More on pragmatics
6. Conclusion

# Introduction

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# Chinese resultative compounds

Resultative compounds (aka resultative verb compounds):

- an important feature of Chinese grammar
- have received much scholarly attention (e.g., [3], [8], [9])

Basic make-up: V-R

- V = a lexical morpheme encoding the cause
- R = a lexical morpheme encoding the result

Examples from Standard Mandarin (STM):

- (1) *da-sui* 'hit-smashed (e.g., a vase)' [STM]  
*ku-zhong* 'cry-swollen (e.g., one's eyes)'  
*ran-hong* 'dye-red (e.g., one's hair)'

Cross-dialectal variation in the internal syntax of V-R.

Data:

- Standard Mandarin (STM)
- Dongying Mandarin (DY) [6] 📖 a Northern Mandarin subvariety
- Wenzhou Wu (WZ) [7] 📖 a Southern Wu Chinese subvariety
- Xinchang Wu (XC) **NEW** 📖 a Northern Wu Chinese subvariety

An extra morpheme regularly accompanying the V-R

- *liu* in Dongying Mandarin
- *fiɔ/ts'ih* in Wenzhou Wu
- *tɕi* in Xinchang Wu
- None in Standard Mandarin

Similar morphemes have been noticed in other Chinese varieties, such as *t'əʔ* in Shanghai Wu [10] and *ka* in Changsha Xiang [4].

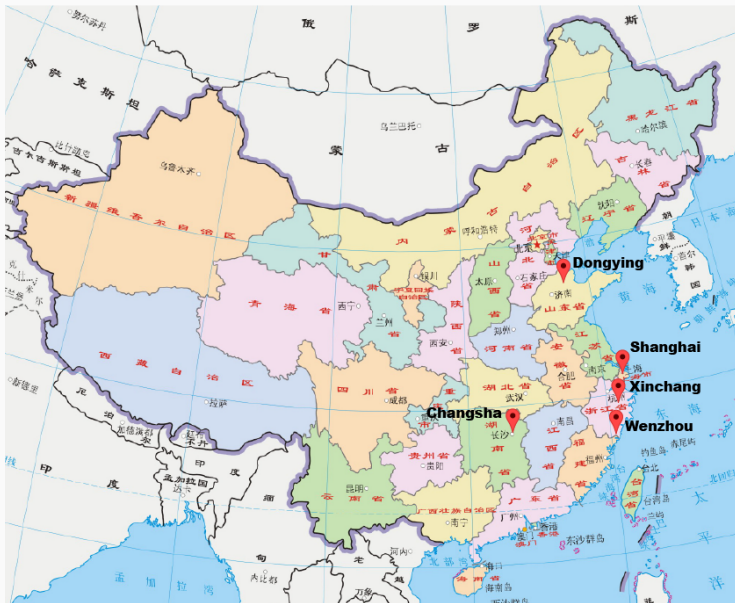


Figure 1: Locations of the Chinese varieties mentioned ([www.gov.cn](http://www.gov.cn))





## A glimpse of the variation

- (3) a. *Hobeng tie-p'a*      \*(**fiɔ**) *ba*.      [WZ]  
vase    hit-broken    ASP    SFP  
'The vase was broken by hitting.'      (adapted from [7])
- b. *Ngalangzi k'u-fiong* \*(**ts'ih**) *ba*.      [WZ]  
eye ball    cry-red    ASP    SFP  
'(One's) eyes turned red after crying.'      (adapted from [7])
- c. *Dzi pə fuɔbin tang-(tɕi)-p'a* (**lei**).      [XC]  
he    DISP    vase    hit-TCI-broken    SFP  
'He broke the vase.'

Wenzhou Wu has two alternating obligatory post-V-R morphemes **fiɔ** and **ts'ih**. Xinchang Wu has an optional morpheme **tɕi** between V and R in complementary distribution with the SFP **lei**.

1. Document XC *tɕi* in comparison with DY *liu* and WZ *fiɔ/ts'ih*.
2. Explain the syntactic behavior of XC *tɕi*.
3. Develop a unified formal account of the cross-dialectal variation.

## Dongying Mandarin and Wenzhou Wu (from previous studies)

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Two types of R ([5], [6]):

- Type I: stative (the majority)
- Type II: change-of-state (a small number)

Examples:

(4) Type I

*sui* 'smashed', *hong* 'red', *shu* 'cooked', *shi* 'wet'

- (5) Type II (all with the neutral tone)
- a. Some (but not all) phase (i.e., aspectual) Rs [2]:  
zhou 'touched', jiae 'seen', guo 'passed'  
(these all indicate success after an attempt)
  - b. Some directional Rs:  
hang 'up; total consumption or finally having the chance'  
he 'down; reserved for oneself'
  - c. Some Rs denoting concrete damage:  
po 'broken, wounded', duae 'broken in half', she 'dead'

(6) a. *Te ku-hong \*(liu) yae liae.*  
he cry-red ASP eye SFP  
'He cried his eyes red.'

b. *Te gv-po (\*liu) shou liae.*  
he cut-broken ASP hand SFP  
'He cut his hand.'

(adapted from [6])

## Beyond the simple completive context

(7) Negative contexts (adapted from [6]):

- a. *Te mu dv-sui*                      \*(*liu*) *huopingr ae.*  
he not hit-smashed      ASP vase      SFP  
'He didn't smash the vase.'                      (negative completive)
- b. *Hou dv-sui*                      \*(*liu*) *huopingr ae!*  
don't hit-smashed      ASP vase      SFP  
'Don't smash the vase!'                      (negative imperative)
- c. *Bu dv-sui*                      \*(*liu*) *huopingr ni hen naeshou han?!'*  
not hit-smashed      ASP vase      you very uneasy      SFP  
'You don't feel comfortable until you smash the vase?!'  
(negative conditional)

(7b–c) are both **prohibitive**: one direct and the other indirect.

## Beyond the simple completive context

(8) Future/irrealis contexts (adapted from [6]):

- a. *Ni dai dǎpur mae huǒpingr lai dǎ-sui*      \***(liu)** o?  
you will plan DISP vase PRT hit-smashed ASP SFP  
'Are you planning to smash the vase? (warning)'      (future)
- b. *Wo menliang-zhou ni zaoken dangmer dai dǎ-sui*  
I guess-PROG you tomorrow probably will hit-smashed  
\***(liu)** huǒpingr.  
ASP vase  
'I guess you'll probably smash the vase tomorrow. (warning)'  
(irrealis)



Three types of R [7]:

- Type I: phase Rs (no marker required)
- Type II: negative nonphasal Rs (*ɦɔ* required)
- Type III: positive nonphasal Rs (*ts'ih* required)

“Negative/positive” are handy labels. See [7] for accurate taxonomy.

Examples:

(9) Type I (phase Rs):

*hə* 'good; ready, completed', *y* 'finished', *zeng* 'completed'

(10) Type II (*ɦɔ*-requiring):

*hei* 'black', *mə* 'bad', *dang* 'broken', *sai* 'small'

*ma* 'slow', *a* 'low', *tø* 'short', *hsie* 'less'

(11) Type III (*ts'ih*-requiring):

*ɦiong* 'red', *hə* 'good (literally)', *dou* 'big'

*k'a* 'fast', *kə* 'high', *zhi* 'long', *tou* 'more'

- (12) a. *Gilie dei fuɔmo chyɔ-zeng* (\**fiɔ/ts'ih*) *ba.* [WZ]  
they DISP project do-completed ASP SFP  
'They have got the project done.'
- b. *Gi chia ha ts'o a-dang* \*(*fiɔ*) *ba.*  
he leg PASS car press-broken ASP SFP  
'He got his leg crushed by a car.'
- c. *Hoduo mengts'ih dei-kə* \*(*ts'ih*) *ba.*  
school fame raise-high ASP SFP  
'The school has got famous.' (adapted from [7])

## Beyond the simple completive context

(13) Negative contexts (adapted from [7]):

- a. *Gi nau dei hobeng tie-p'a \*(fiɔ).* [WZ]  
he not have DISP vase hit-broken ASP  
'He didn't break the vase.' (negative completive)
- b. *Fai dei hobeng tie-p'a \*(fiɔ)!*  
don't DISP vase hit-broken ASP  
'Don't break the vase.' (negative imperative)
- c. *Fu dei hobeng tie-p'a \*(fiɔ) ni fəgu a?*  
not DISP vase hit-broken ASP you not feel good SFP  
'You don't feel good until you break the vase, right?'  
(negative conditional)

## Beyond the simple completive context

(14) Future/irrealis contexts (adapted from [7]):

- a. *Ni chiongbe dei hobeng tie-p'a \*(fiɔ) a?* [WZ]  
you prepare DISP vase hit-broken ASP SFP  
'Are you planning to break the vase? (warning)' (future)
- b. *Ng kuchia ni mangchie kuovuch'y vai dei hopeng*  
I feel you tomorrow probably will DISP vase  
*tie-p'a \*(fiɔ).*  
hit-broken ASP  
'I guess you'll probably break the vase tomorrow. (warning)'  
(irrealis)

## DY *liu* and WZ *ɦɔ/ts'ih* are Asp heads

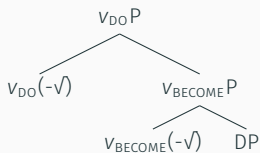
Song [6] and Song & Wu [7] analyze all three morphemes as aspect markers: they all turn an inherently **stative** R into a **change-of-state** component, which then serves as the “caused result” of V.

They treat the difference between DY and WZ as a matter of **grammaticalization degree**: DY *liu* is fully grammaticalized, while WZ *ɦɔ/ts'ih* are not—they still retain their lexical roots in S&W’s model.

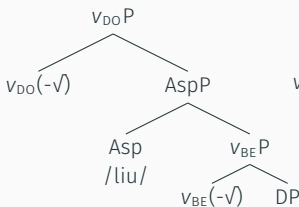
The R-based alternation between WZ *ɦɔ/ts'ih* is root-based selection.

# DY *liu* and WZ *ɦo/ts'ih* are Asp heads

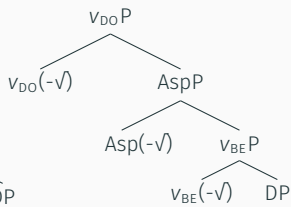
STM (all Rs)



DY (Type-I Rs)



WZ (Type-II/III Rs)



Song & Wu [7] adopt Distributed Morphology. In these trees:

- $v_{DO}(-\sqrt{\quad}) = V$
- $v_{BECOME}(-\sqrt{\quad}) = \text{change-of-state } R$
- $v_{BE}(-\sqrt{\quad}) = \text{stative } R$

## Interim summary

A resultative compound V-R denotes a caused change of state. Namely, V causes the transition from  $[-R]$  to  $[+R]$ .

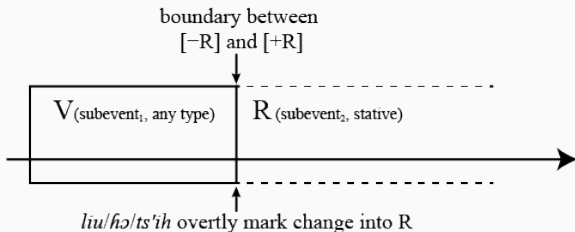


Figure 2: DY *liu* and WZ *ɦɔ*/*ts'ih* as change-of-state markers

This transition is implicitly understood in Standard Mandarin but must be **explicitly marked** in Dongying Mandarin and Wenzhou Wu.



Xinchang Wu (new data)

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Xinchang Wu (XC) also has a morpheme that regularly accompanies resultative compounds—*tɕi*.

It could potentially be another instantiation of the result marker. However, XC *tɕi* behaves **differently** from DY *liu* and WZ *ɦɔ/ts'ih* in a number of ways.

To facilitate cross-dialectal comparison, we begin our investigation of XC *tɕi* with the same contexts:

- completive
- negative (completive, imperative, conditional)
- future/irrealis

## Completive context

- (15) a. *Dʒi pə fuɔbin tang-tɕi-p'a.* [XC]  
he DISP vase hit-TCI-broken  
'He broke the vase.'
- b. *Gə pə gə bing lɔtɕiu zizʔ-tɕi-guang.*  
I DISP this CLF wine drink-TCI-empty  
'I drank up this bottle of wine.'
- c. *Ngã di pə gəga gaupen dang-tɕi-sei.*  
my little brother DISP this toy throw-TCI-smashed  
'My little brother smashed this toy by throwing it about.'

XC *tɕi* is between V and R.

## Alternation with *lei*

In the completive context, XC *tɕi* is interchangeable with the SFP *lei*.

(16) a. *Dzi pə fuɔbin tang-p'a lei.* [XC]

he DISP vase hit-broken SFP

'He broke the vase.'

b. *Gə pə gə bing lɔtɕiu zizʔ-guang lei.*

I DISP this CLF wine drink-empty SFP

'I drank up this bottle of wine.'

c. *Ngã di pə gəga gaupen dang-sei lei.*

my little brother DISP this toy throw-smashed SFP

'My little brother smashed this toy by throwing it about.'

XC *tɕi* is optional.

- (17) a. *Dzi pə gə ma gə binggə zizʔ-tçi-wɜn.* [XC]  
he DISP I buy REL apple eat-TCI-finished  
'He ate up all the apples I had bought.'
- b. *Dzi pə mǎnei gə tçilu hang-tçi-tçia la.*  
he DISP that day GEN record find-TCI-got SFP  
'He found the record of that day.'

XC *tçi* does not divide Rs into syntactic subclasses.

Certain Rs work better with *tci* in the completive context—

- Most acceptable: detrimental Rs (e.g., broken, smashed)
- Marginally okay: neutral Rs (e.g., big, white)
- Least acceptable: beneficial Rs (e.g., clean, good)

NB the least acceptable cases are **not absolutely ungrammatical**.

## XC *tçi* works best with detrimental Rs

- (18) a. *Dzi pə izõ tei-tçi-p'a.* [XC]  
he DISP clothes tear-TCI-broken  
'He tore the clothes apart.' (detrimental)
- b. ?*Dzi pə ngẽtçing k'ae-tçi-dø.*  
he DISP eyes open-TCI-big  
'He opened his eyes wide.' (neutral)
- c. ??*Dzi pə bæli k'a-tçi-genjin.*  
he DISP glass wipe-TCI-clean  
'He wiped the (window) glass clean.' (beneficial)

(18b–c) are more naturally expressed with *lei*.

## The effect of speaker perception

(18b–c) become more acceptable in scenarios where their Rs are perceived as detrimental by the speaker. Take (18c) for example.

- (19) Scenario 1: A squad was hiding in a cabin from enemy troops, and the dirty window served as camouflage. However, a soldier (who later turned out to be a spy) “accidentally” started cleaning the window with his sleeves. Another soldier, on seeing this, quickly reported to the squad leader:

*Dʒi pə bəli k'a-tʃi-genjin la! Dzau zɔnmə dʒngci!*

he DISP glass wipe-TCl-clean SFP do what thing

‘He has wiped the (window) glass clean! What the heck!’



# The effect of speaker emotionality

Sometimes detrimental Rs can only naturally take *tɕi* if the speaker is **emotionally engaged** rather than merely reporting a fact. 🙌 *lei*

- (20) a. *Dʒi pə tɕiakudəŋ tau-tɕi-dʒn la! Tsenka*  
he DISP leg fall-TCI-broken SFP really  
*k'əlian-mang!*  
poor-very

'He fell down and broke his leg! How poor he is!'

- b. ?*Dʒi pə tɕiakudəŋ tau-tɕi-dʒn. Gə tɕ'i ta jiyən*  
he DISP leg fall-TCI-broken I go CLF hospital  
*ken dʒi.*  
see he

'He fell down and broke his leg. I'll visit him in the hospital.'

So, XC *tɕi* is subject to **pragmatic** conditioning.

## Negative completive context

- (21) a. *Dzi ndə pə fuɔbin tang-( \*tɕi )-p'a gə.* [XC]  
he not have DISP vase hit-( \*TCI )-broken EXP  
'He didn't break the vase.'
- b. *Dzi ndə pə ngɛ̃tɕing k'ae-( \*tɕi )-dø gə.*  
he not have DISP eyes open-( \*TCI )-big EXP  
'He didn't open his eyes wide.'
- c. *Dzi ndə pə bəli k'a-( \*tɕi )-genjin gə.*  
he not have DISP glass wipe-( \*TCI )-clean EXP  
'He didn't wipe the (window) glass clean.'

XC *tɕi* is strictly forbidden in this context.

## Negative imperative (or direct prohibitive) context

- (22) a. *N fəiu pə fuɔbin tang-(tɕi)-p'a niẽ!* [XC]  
you don't DISP vase hit-(TCI)-broken SFP  
'Don't break the vase!'
- b. *N fəiu pə ngɛtɕing k'ae-(?tɕi)-dø niẽ!*  
you don't DISP eye open-(?TCI)-big SFP  
'Don't open your eyes wide!'
- c. *N fəiu pə bəli k'a-(??tɕi)-genjin niẽ!*  
you don't DISP glass wipe-(??TCI)-clean SFP  
'Don't wipe the (window) glass clean!'

XC *tɕi* is optional in this context, subject to the same pragmatic conditioning as in the completive context.

(22b–c) become more acceptable in scenarios where their Rs are perceived as detrimental by the speaker and/or the speaker is emotionally engaged. Take (22c) for example.

(23) Scenario 2: In scenario 1 above, the squad leader shouted to the window-cleaning soldier:

*N fəiu pə bəli k'a-tɕi-genjin niẽ! N gə tsazih?!*

you don't DISP glass wipe-TCl-clean SFP you CLF idiot

'Don't wipe the (window) glass clean! You idiot!'

## Negative conditional (or indirect prohibitive) context

- (24) a. *N fə pə tubi ʒi3ʔ-(tɕi)-va n fə ɕie tsih-fə?! [XC]*  
you not DISP stomach eat-(TCI)-bad you not stop yes-not  
'You won't stop eating until you have an upset stomach, will you?'
- b. *N fə pə ngētɕing k'ae-(?tɕi)-dø n fə ɕie tsih-fə?!'*  
you not DISP eye open-(?TCI)-big you not stop yes-not  
'You won't stop trying until you open your eyes wide, will you?'
- c. *N fə pə kə dienwɔ dang-(??tɕi)-hɔ n fə ɕie tsih-fə?!'*  
you not DISP CLF phone call-(??TCI)-good you not stop yes-not  
'You won't stop until you finish this phone call, will you?'

XC *tɕi* is again optional in this context, subject to the same pragmatic conditioning as in the completive context.

## Pragmatic conditioning

Take (24c) for example.

- (25) Scenario 3: **Hsiutɕyən** is a paramedic in the People's Hospital of Xinchang. A car accident survivor has just been wheeled in, and everyone else is swiftly doing their job—except **Hsiutɕyən**, who is busy talking to her long-distance boyfriend on the phone. Seeing this, the physician on duty says:

*N fə pə kə dienwə dang-tɕi-hə n fə ɕie tsih-fə?!*  
you not DISP CLF phone call-TCI-good you not stop yes-not

*Nong iu sih-diu lei, n ken-fə-tɕien dei a!*  
people will die-away SFP you look-not-see SFP SFP

'You won't stop until you finish this phone call, will you? Can't you see the patient is dying?!'

**Table 1:** Differences between XC *tɕi* and the other morphemes

	XC <i>tɕi</i>	DY <i>liu</i>	WZ <i>ɦɔ/ts'ih</i>
Position	between V and R		after V-R
Assertive completive	optional		obligatory
Negative completive	forbidden		obligatory
Negative imperative	optional		obligatory
Negative conditional	optional		obligatory
Conditioning (when allowed)	pragmatic	syntactic	semantic

## Future context

- (26) a. *Gə jatau pə di sau-(tɕi)-genjin.* [XC]  
I night DISP floor sweep-(TCl)-clean  
'I will (thoroughly) clean the floor tonight.'
- b. *Gə dentɕi bien tɕ'i pə məŋ kuəŋ zing dei-(tɕi)-dʒn.*  
I later then go DISP that CLF rope tug-(TCl)-broken  
'I will break the rope by tugging it later.'
- c. *Gə mintsau iu tɕ'ə pə məŋliang tɕien sihtɕin*  
I tomorrow will go DISP several CLF things  
*ben-(tɕi)-hɔ.*  
deal.with-(TCl)-good  
'I will get those things done tomorrow.'

XC *tɕi* is generally natural in this future construction.



## The effect of speaker expectation

- (27) a. *Dzi jatau pə di sau-(?tɕi)-genjin.* [XC]  
he night DISP floor sweep-(?TCI)-clean  
'He will (thoroughly) clean the floor tonight.'
- b. *Dzi dentɕi bien tɕ'i pə məŋ kuəŋ zing dei-(?tɕi)-dʒn.*  
he later then go DISP that CLF rope tug-(?TCI)-broken  
'He will break the rope by tugging it later.'
- c. *Dzi mintsau iu tɕ'ə pə məŋliang tɕien sitɕin*  
he tomorrow will go DISP several CLF things  
*ben-(?tɕi)-hɔ.*  
deal.with-(?TCI)-good  
'He will get those things done tomorrow.'

*tɕi* is only natural here when R matches the speaker's expectation.

## Irrealis context

A similar situation is observed in irrealis sentences like the following.

(28) a. *Gə ivei n vei pə gup'io p'au-(tɕi)-kuang ə.* [XC]

I think you will DISP stock sell-(TCI)-empty SFP

'I thought you would sell all of your stocks.'

b. *Gə ivei yən tsenfu mɔzang vei pə gə*

I think county government immediately will DISP this

*diɔ mɔlu ɕiu-(tɕi)-k'uən ə.*

CLF road built-(TCI)-wide

'I thought the county government would widen the road.'

c. *Gə ivei gə vei pə kə dzizɪn dzau-(??tɕi)-va ə.*

I think I will DISP this thing make-(??TCI)-bad SFP

'I thought I would screw this up.'

# The effect of speaker expectation

Compare (28c) with (29), where ‘bad’ is used in a different scenario.

(29) *Gə ivei ŋa kəndin vei tɕ'i pə dizen gə vətɕ'i* [XC]  
I think we certainly will go DISP enemy REL weapon  
*dzau-(tɕi)-va.*  
make-(TCI)-bad

‘I thought we were going to destroy the enemy’s weapons!’

Overall, *tɕi* is subject to different conditioning in different contexts—

- Completive/prohibitive: conditioned by speaker perception
- Future/irrealis: conditioned by speaker expectation

# The significance of subjectivity

NB the speaker's expectation must be **subjective**. (28a–b) both become marginal if we make the scenarios more objective.

- (30) a. *Tsau gə liang gə nyə gə tɕinkuang, gə ivei* [XC]  
based on this two CLF month REL situation I think

*n vei pə gup'io p'au-(??tɕi)-kuang ə.*  
you will DISP stock sell-(??TɕI)-empty SFP

'Based on the situation in the last two months, I thought you would sell all of the stock.'

- b. *Gə dɜn sihjien ɕinwən k'an-ləlei, gə ivei yən tseŋfu*  
this period time news see-down I think county government

*məzang vei pə gə diə mɔlu ɕiu-(??tɕi)-k'uən ə.*  
immediately will DISP this CLF road built-(??TɕI)-wide SFP

'Based on recent news, I think the county government will widen the road immediately.'

## Counterfactual irrealis context

The same pattern is observed in counterfactual constructions.

- (31) a. *Gə ɕiangɕiang tɕia dzɔneigẽ fə lenlau tsih n iu* [XC]  
I guess they yesterday not prevent COP you will

*pə məŋ kuang zing la-(tɕi)-dʒn ə.*  
DISP that CLF rope tug-(TCI)-broken SFP

'I guess you'd have broken that rope if they hadn't stopped you.'

- b. *Gə ɕiangɕiang tɕia dəmətɕiang fə pə gə wɔ tsih n iu*  
I guess they just now not DISP I say COP you will

*pə bəli k'a-(tɕi)-genjin lə ə.*  
DISP glass wipe-(TCI)-clean SFP SFP

'I guess you'd've wiped the glass clean if they hadn't warned me.'

Again, these sentences are most natural when uttered with subjective emotional engagement (e.g., as sarcasm or blame).

Overall behavior of XC *tçi*:

- Positioned between V and R
- Optionally allowed in all but the negative completive context
- Acceptability level conditioned by pragmatics
  - By the speaker's perception in completive/prohibitive contexts
  - By the speaker's expectation in future/irrealis contexts
- Subjectivity plays a key role in the conditioning

## Modeling the cross-dialectal variation (syntax)

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Table 2: Differences between XC *tɕi*, DY *liu*, and WZ *fiɔ/ts'ih*

Dimension	XC <i>tɕi</i>	DY <i>liu</i>	WZ <i>fiɔ/ts'ih</i>
Word order	between V and R	after V-R	after V-R
Division of Rs	none	stative vs. c.o.s.	stative vs. c.o.s.
Obligatoriness	never	always	always
Tone	neutral	neutral	neutral
Vowel weakening	maybe	yes	somewhat (esp. in <i>fiɔ</i> )
Semantic bleaching	yes	yes	somewhat (esp. in <i>fiɔ</i> )

XC *tɕi* is

- unlike the other three morphemes in syntactic distribution
- more like DY *liu* in grammaticalization degree



We propose that XC *t<sub>ci</sub>* is not a result marker, but a **result highlighter**.

It is merged as an **adjunct** to the projection headed by R.

This explains the syntactic behavior of *t<sub>ci</sub>*. As an adjunct, it is

- optional by default
- more like a modifier (of the highlighter subtype)
- conditioned by multiple factors (not just formal features)
- not a landing site of head movement (hence the V-*t<sub>ci</sub>*-R order)

Observe the following example:

- (32) *N pə kə dəŋçɪ tʃ-zə tsih fə-hɔ-ziz? lə ə.* [XC]  
you DISP this thing boil-cooked COP not-good-eat SFP SFP

Reading 1: 'If you cook this thing by boiling, it won't taste good.'

Reading 2: 'If you boil this thing till fully cooked, it won't taste good.'

## XC *tçi* is a result highlighter

The ambiguity disappears when we insert *tçi*.

(33) *N pə kə dəŋçei tʰ-tçi-zə tsih fə-hɔ-ziz?* [XC]  
you DISP this thing boil-TCI-cooked COP not-good-eat

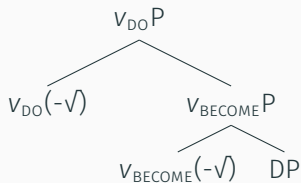
*lə ə.*

SFP SFP

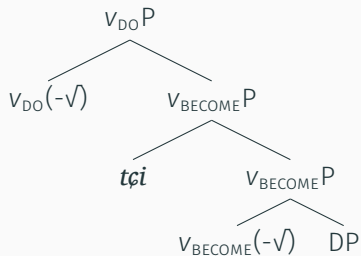
'If you boil this thing till fully cooked, it won't taste good.'

# Derivation

Standard Mandarin



Xinchang Wu



Like STM, XC only has change-of-state Rs ( $v_{BECOME}(-\sqrt{\quad})$  in the tree).

## A parametric view

Song & Wu [7] proposed a parameter hierarchy (à la Biberauer & Roberts [1]) to model the microvariation in STM, DY, and WZ.

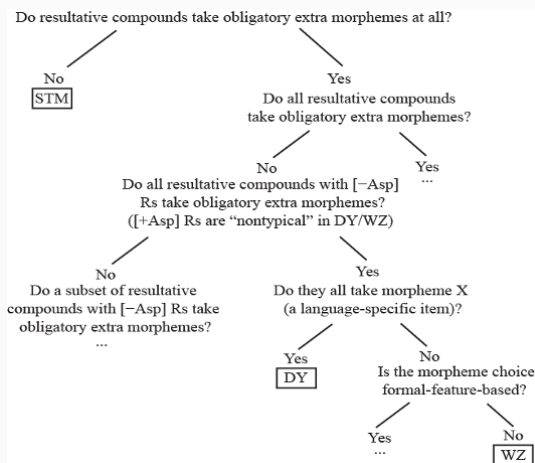


Figure 3: Song & Wu's parameter hierarchy

# Adding XC to the parameter hierarchy

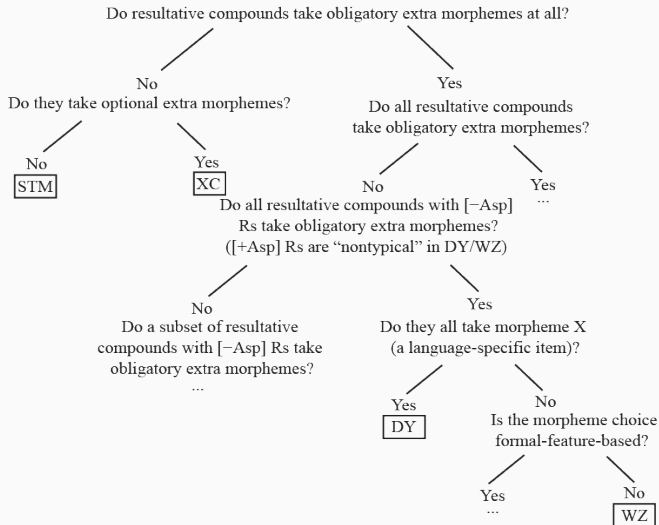


Figure 4: An extended parameter hierarchy

## More on pragmatics

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## The pragmatic conditioning of XC *tçi*

We have observed that the distribution of XC *tçi* is conditioned by the **speaker's subjective perception or expectation** concerning the result. So, changing the scenario can often change its acceptability.

On the other hand, aside from the pragmatic conditioning, *tçi* is optional in general and is used when the speaker is **emotionally attached to the result** and wants to highlight it.

Questions:

- **Why is the pragmatic conditioning dependent on the context?**
- **Is there any common factor governing the usage of *tçi*?**



## The negative completive context

We begin with the only context where *tçi* is strictly forbidden.

On our hypothesis that XC *tçi* is a result highlighter—and more exactly a change-of-state highlighter—it cannot be used when the realization of R is explicitly denied.

**Prediction:** *tçi* should be forbidden in the future negative context too.

## Future negative context

- (34) a. *Gə fei pə di sau-( \*tɕi )-genjin ə.* [XC]  
I won't DISP floor sweep-( \*TCI )-clean SFP  
'I won't clean the floor.'
- b. *Gə fei tɕ'ə pə mənŋ kuŋŋ zing dei-( \*tɕi )-dʒn ə.*  
I won't go DISP that CLF rope tug-( \*TCI )-broken SFP  
'I won't break the rope by tugging it.'
- c. *Gə mintsau fei tɕ'ə pə mənŋliang tɕien sihtɕin*  
I tomorrow won't go DISP several CLF things  
*ben-( \*tɕi )-hə ə.*  
deal.with-( \*TCI )-good SFP  
'I won't get those things done tomorrow.'

XC *tɕi* is strictly forbidden here, as in the negative completive context.

Next, we turn to the other contexts, where *tçi* is not strictly forbidden. A factor that may help us understand the context-based conditioning is the **factual vs. nonfactual** distinction.

- When the sentence is factually based, the conditioning is based on **how things are in the real world**.
- When the sentence is non-factually-based, the conditioning is based on **how things are in the speaker's desired world**.

# The role of factuality

Thus, we may put the various contexts in two groups:

- Factually-based:
  - Comperitive: how things actually are in the real world
  - Prohibitive: how things must not be in the real world
- Non-factually-based:
  - Future (volitional): how the speaker wants to make things be
  - Counterfactual: how the speaker thought/wishes things were

**Prediction:** *tçi* should behave alike in the future (volitional) and the positive imperative context, because both express how the speaker wants to change things.

- (35) a. *N tɕ'ə pə fuɔbin tang-(tɕi)-p'a!* [XC]  
you go DISP vase hit-(TCI)-broken  
'Go break the vase!'
- b. *Pə ngẽtɕing k'ae-(tɕi)-dø!*  
DISP eyes open-(TCI)-big  
'Open your eyes wide!'
- c. *Tɕ'i pə bæli k'a-(tɕi)-genjin!*  
go DISP glass wipe-(TCI)-clean  
'Go clean the (window) glass!'

As we can see, *tɕi* is indeed generally acceptable in this context.

## The pragmatic conditioning of XC *tçi* (repeated)

We have observed that the distribution of XC *tçi* is conditioned by the **speaker's subjective perception or expectation** concerning the result. So, changing the scenario can often change its acceptability.

On the other hand, aside from the pragmatic conditioning, *tçi* is optional in general and is used when the speaker is **emotionally attached to the result** and wants to highlight it.

Questions:

- Why is the pragmatic conditioning dependent on the context?
- Is there any common factor governing the usage of *tçi*?

## Deviation as a common factor

As for the second question, we propose that both the perception- and the expectation-based conditioning have to do with **deviation between two states**—XC *tçi* is always used to highlight that deviation.

- **Factual contexts:** actual state ↔ commonsensical normal state  
⇒ *tçi* is most natural when things are not in their normal state (e.g., damaged) and the speaker intends to highlight that.
- **Nonfactual contexts:** actual state ↔ speaker's expected state  
⇒ Deviation exists by default, so *tçi* is most natural when the speaker intends to highlight that (by volition to resolve it or by expression of strong emotion).

# A further step of unification

Questions:

- Why is the pragmatic conditioning dependent on the context?  
⇒ Because of the factual vs. nonfactual distinction.
- Is there any common factor governing the usage of *tçi*?  
⇒ Deviation between two states.

There might be a **further level of commonality** between the factual and the nonfactual contexts—

- A commonsensical state =  
the speaker's normally expected state in the actual world
- The speaker's expected state =  
a commonsensical state in the speaker's desired world



## Conclusion

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# Summary

We examined the syntax of XC *tɕi* in comparison with DY *liu* and WZ *fiɔ/ts'ih* and tried to account for (i) the behavior of XC *tɕi*, and (ii) the cross-dialectal variation.

About XC *tɕi*:

- It is a result highlighter instead of a result marker.
- It is an adjunct instead of a head.

About the cross-dialectal variation:

- XC only has inherently change-of-state Rs, just like STM.
- DY/WZ have both change-of-state and stative Rs.
- The extra morpheme accompanying Chinese resultative compounds is not homogeneous across dialects.

**Next step:** Investigate more dialects for further points of variation.

Questions?

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