

Resultatives, again, with Dutch *ge- and* Mandarin *-le* as our point of departure

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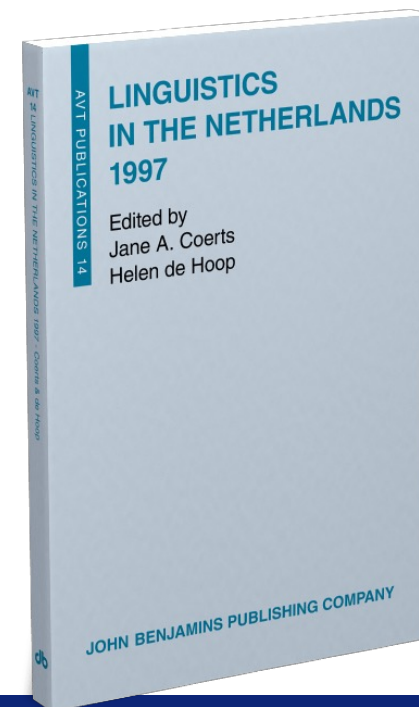


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Bij ons leer je de wereld kennen

ge- and *-le*

11. 1997. Sybesma, Rint and Guido Vanden Wyngaerd: “Realizing end points: the syntax and semantics of Dutch *ge* and Mandarin *le*.” *Linguistics in the Netherlands 1997*, ed. Jane Coerts and Helen de Hoop, 207-218. Amsterdam: AVT/John Benjamins.



ge- and *-le*

“*-le* is like *ge-*” has been a leading principle in my work on Mandarin

ge- and -le

Zhāng Sān cā-gān-le bēizi

Zhang San wipe-dry-LE cup

Zhang San heeft de beker droog-ge-wreven

Zhang San has the cup dry-GE-wiped

BOTH: 'Zhang San wiped the mug dry'

ge- and -le

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ge- and *-le*

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V + R + *ge/le*

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Parallels between *ge-* and *le-*

- Historically: originally both express that activity in V applies to whole object

Very much a situation aspectual function: result, telicity (traces in modern Dutch and Mandarin: *ge-loven* 'believe', *wàng-le* 'forget')

- Synchronic distribution: possible with an R
- Meaning-function

ge- and *-le*

The semantic contribution made by *ge/le* can be summarized as in (6).

- (6) *Ge/le* indicate **realization**. Without *ge/le* the end point may be present (i.e. the event may be telic), but only with *ge/le* is it explicitly stated that the end point has actually realized.

(Sybesma and Vanden Wyngaerd 1997, 209)

No word about *ge-wrev-en*, *ge-draai-d*, *ge-werk-t*.

ge- and -le

Zhāng Sān cā-gān-le-∅ bēizi

Zhang San wipe-dry-LE cup

V + R + ge/le + t/d/en

Zhang San heeft de beker droog-ge-wrev-en

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ge- and *-le*

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(Sybesma and Vanden Wyngaerd 1997, 209)

No word about *ge-wrev-en*, *ge-draai-d*, *ge-werk-t*. Is (6) incorrect?

Whatever *ge-* does, it does so together with participial ending *-t/-d/-en*. (Zwart 2017, fn. 8, calls *ge-* a “secondary marker”.)

ge- and *-le*

Hoekstra (1992) puts *-t/-d/-en* in Asp (OAsp): *-t/-d/-en*, and not *ge-*, positions EventTime relative to ReferenceTime.

In *ge-wrev-en*, *ge-draai-d*, *ge-werk-t*, *ge-* still expresses something like “we go all the way” and *-t/-d/-en* positions the event as a whole before the ReferenceTime.

The relevance of *-t/-d/-en* does not affect the general conclusion of Sybesma and Vanden Wyngaerd (1997), that *-le* and *ge-* are the same.

If *-t/-d/-en* is in OAsp, and *ge-* is in InnerAspect, then *-le* is in InnerAspect too!

ge- and *-le*

Others: “*-le* is ‘perf’, must be in OAsp!”

Me: “*-le* is in Inner Aspect, because it is like *ge-*!” And: “Mandarin has a covert *-t/-d/-en*, just like it has a covert marker in T.”

Zhāng Sān cā-gān-le-∅ bēizi

Zhang San wipe-dry-LE cup

V + R + *ge/le* + *t/d/en*

Zhang San heeft de beker droog-ge-wrev-en

Zhang San has the cup dry-GE-wiped

-le is in Inner Aspect: Mandarin syntax-internal arguments came later, mainly based on impossibility of V-movement in sentences with *bǎ*

Mandarin has a covert *-t/-d/-en*: Cheng 2017

ge- and -le

(1) *Tā zěnmē qù Táiběi?*

3s how go Taipei

‘how is he going to Taipei?’

‘how come he is going to Taipei?!’

(2) *Tā zěnmē qù-le Táiběi?*

3s how go-LE Taipei

n/a

‘how come he went to Taipei?!’

(1) ‘why, how come’: [CP [IP *Tā zěnmē* [VP *qù Táiběi*]]

‘how’: [CP [IP *Tā* [VP *zěnmē qù Táiběi*]]

(2) ‘why, how come’: [CP [IP *Tā zěnmē* [O_{Asp} [$\emptyset^{t/d/en}$ [VP *qù-le Táiběi*]]

n/a ‘how’: [CP [IP *Tā* [O_{Asp} [$\emptyset^{t/d/en}$ [VP *zěnmē qù-le Táiběi*]]

Intervention effect (Cheng 2017)

ge- and *-le*

What I learned about *-le* from the similarities between *ge-* en *-le*:

- *-le* is not in Outer Aspect (OAsp), because *ge-* is not
- Something associated to *-le* must in OAsp, because *-t/-d/-en* is there

What I learned from where they seem to differ:

- Resultatives are not necessarily universally structurally the same

ge- and *-le*

Learning from the apparent differences

Resultatives

Mandarin: V-R-*le* cluster formation; order is V-R-*le*

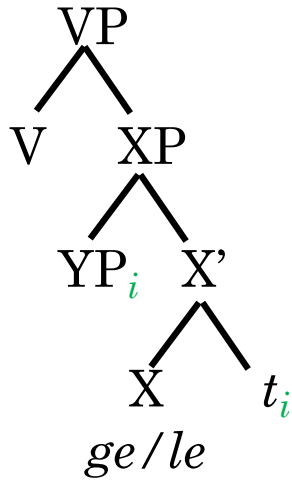
Dutch: no cluster formation; order R *ge*-V

–Assuming that *-le* and *ge-* are the same and constant,
the structural position of R cannot be the same

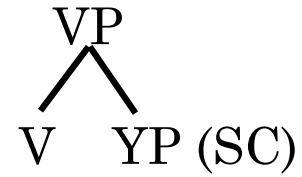
Conclusion is confirmed by sentences with ‘again’

ge- and *-le*

(9)



(10)



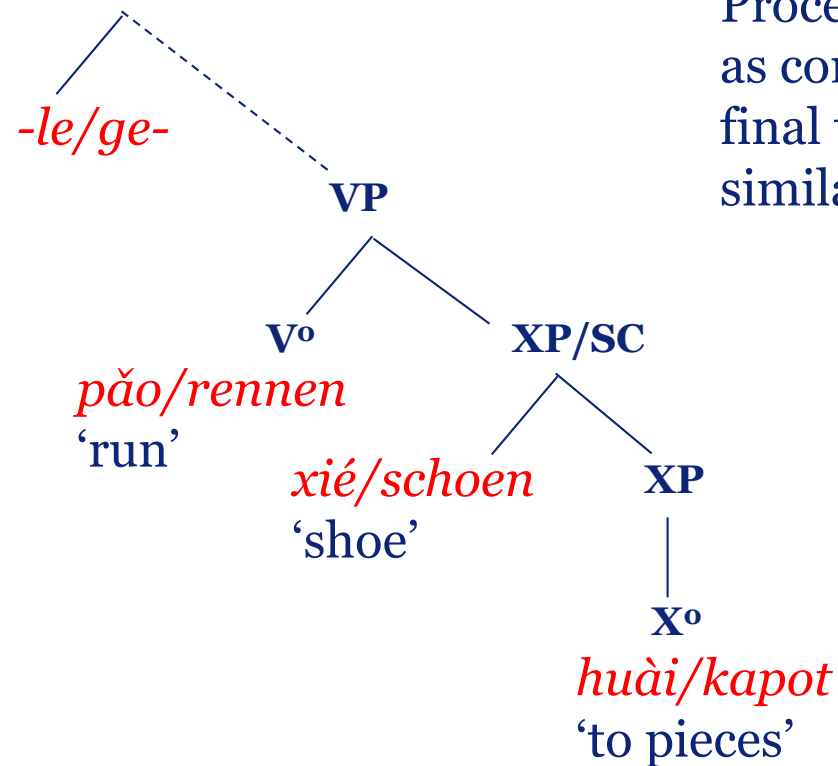
(Sybesma and Vanden Wyngaerd 1997, 210)

The structure

Change of state resultatives à la Teun Hoekstra (1988)

wǒ pǎo-huài-le wǒ-de yùndòngxié
1S run-broken-LE 1S-SUB sport.shoe

‘I ran my running shoes to pieces’



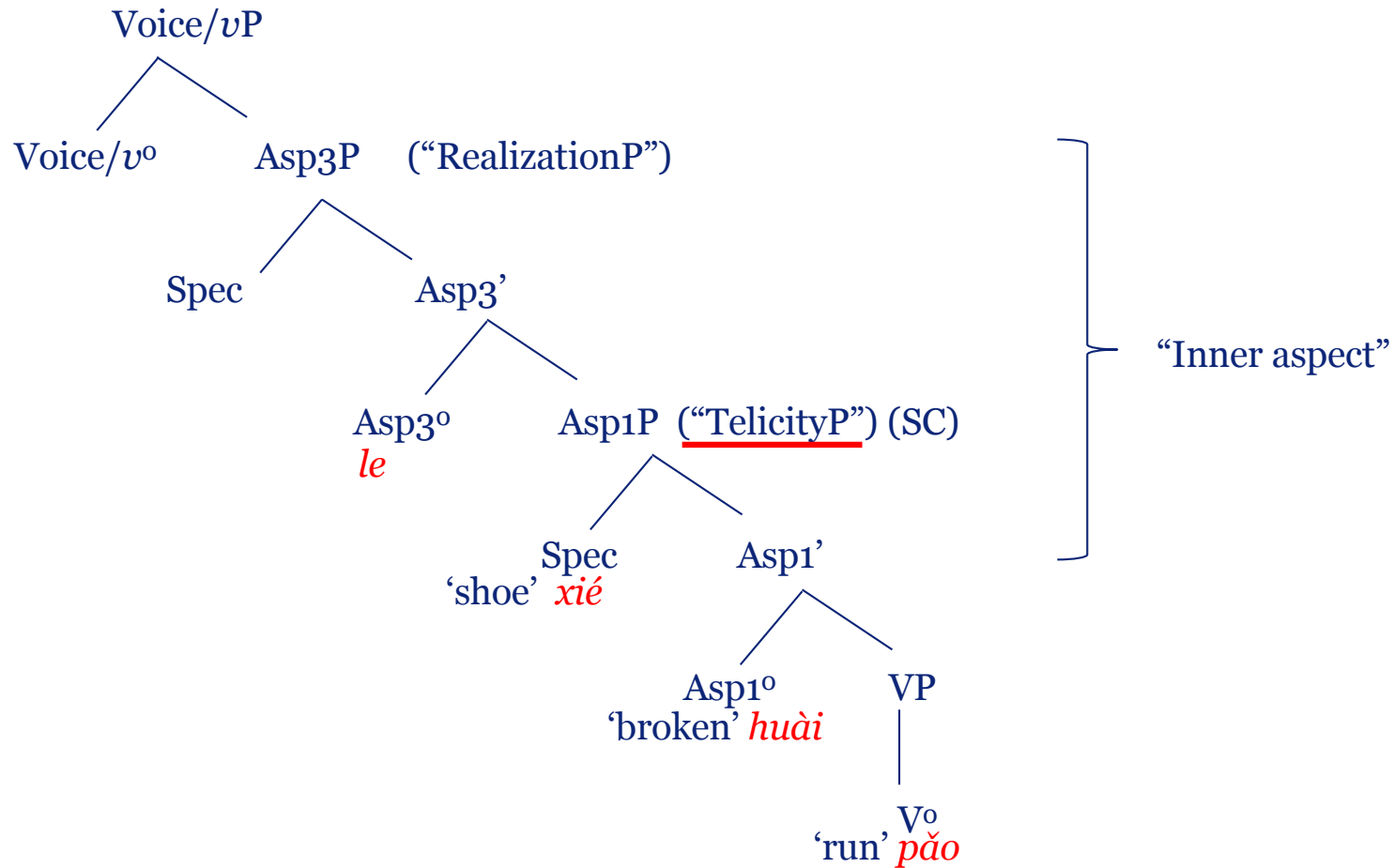
Process-Result, with Result XP/SC
as complement of V, binding the
final temporal slice of the process,
similar to a theta role

The structure

Change of state resultatives à la Xuan Yue (2008)

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The structure

Why TelicityP/result denoting XP above VP?

Two reasons

1. **Conceptual**

TelicityP is a Situation Aspectual projection, hence: well-placed in functional domain

2. **Derivational**

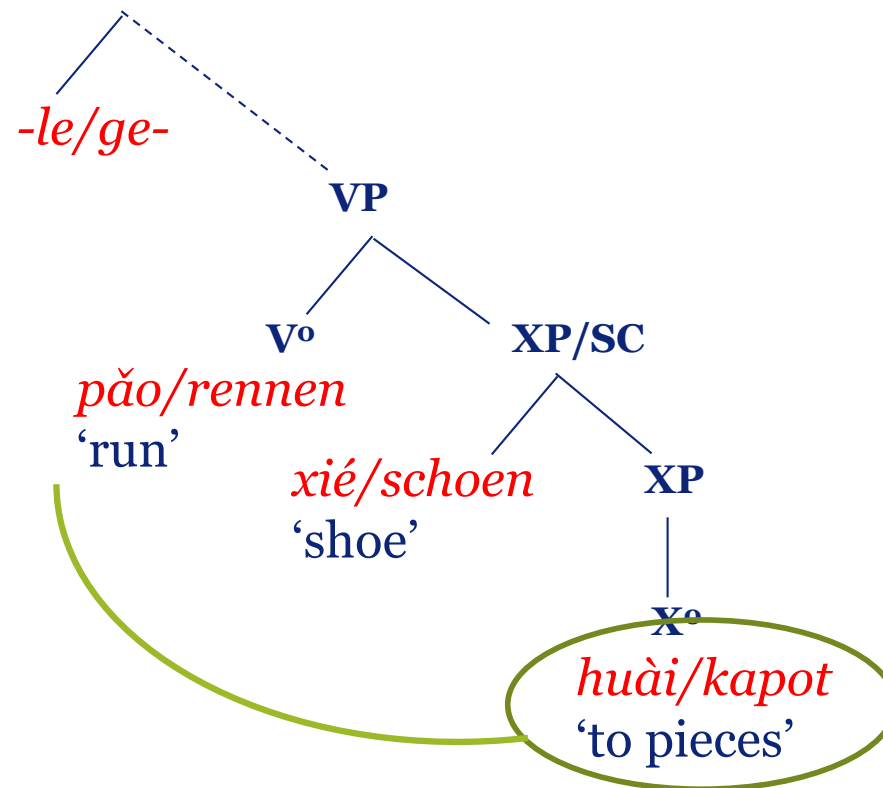
This way the surface word order is derived straightforwardly, assuming standard movement procedures

The structure

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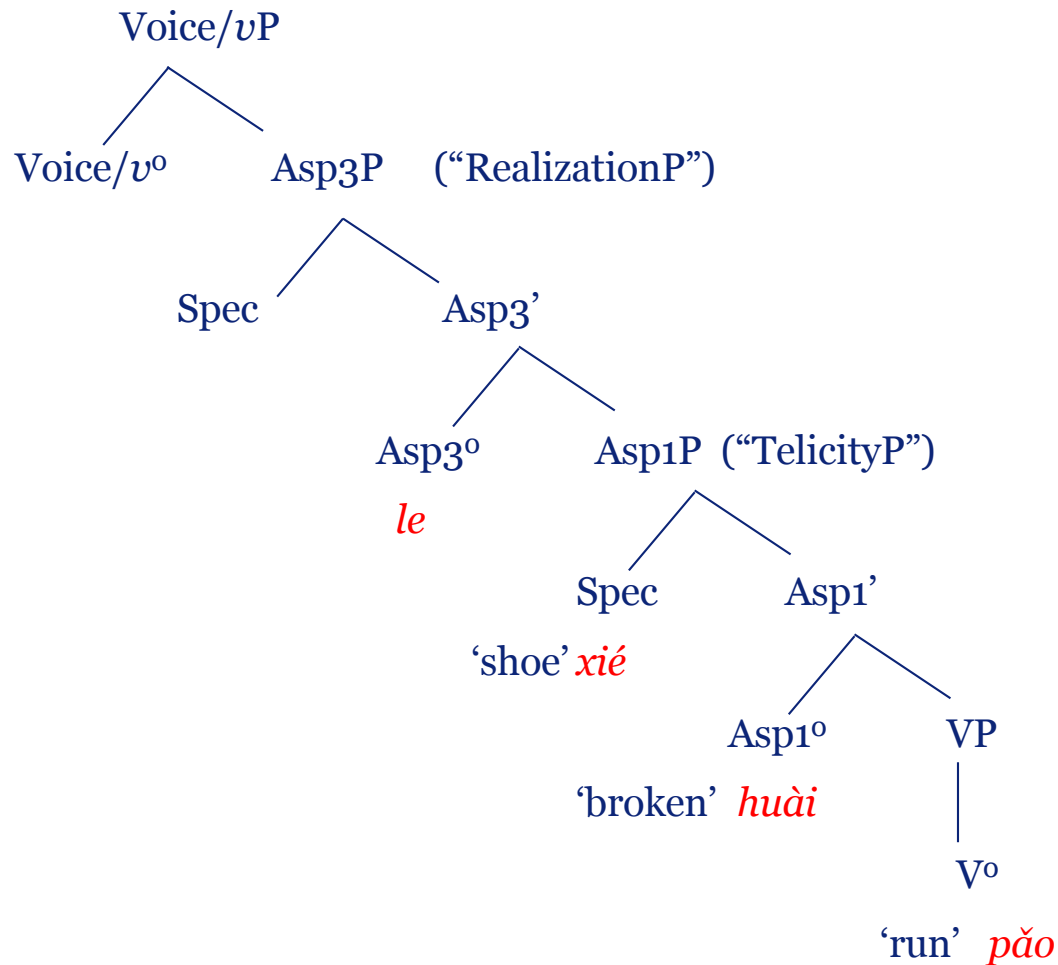
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The derivation

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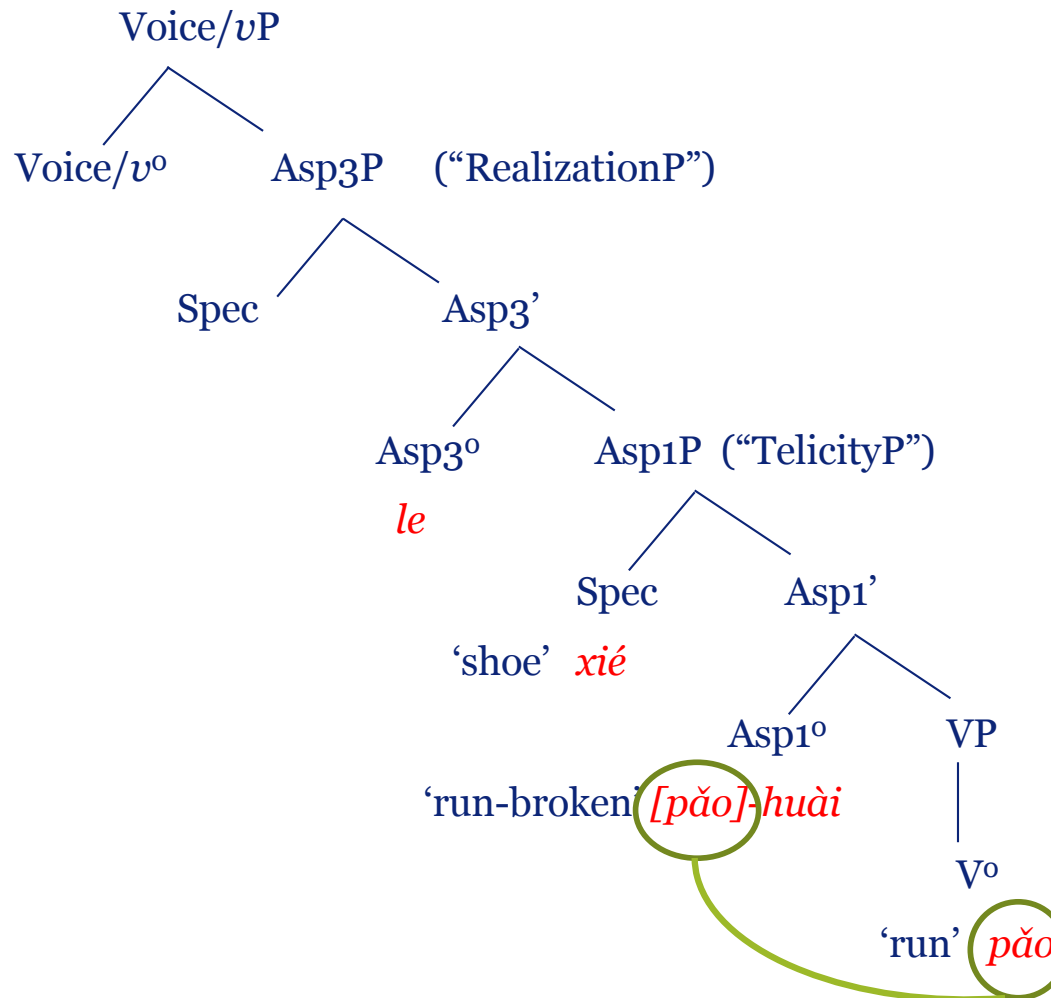
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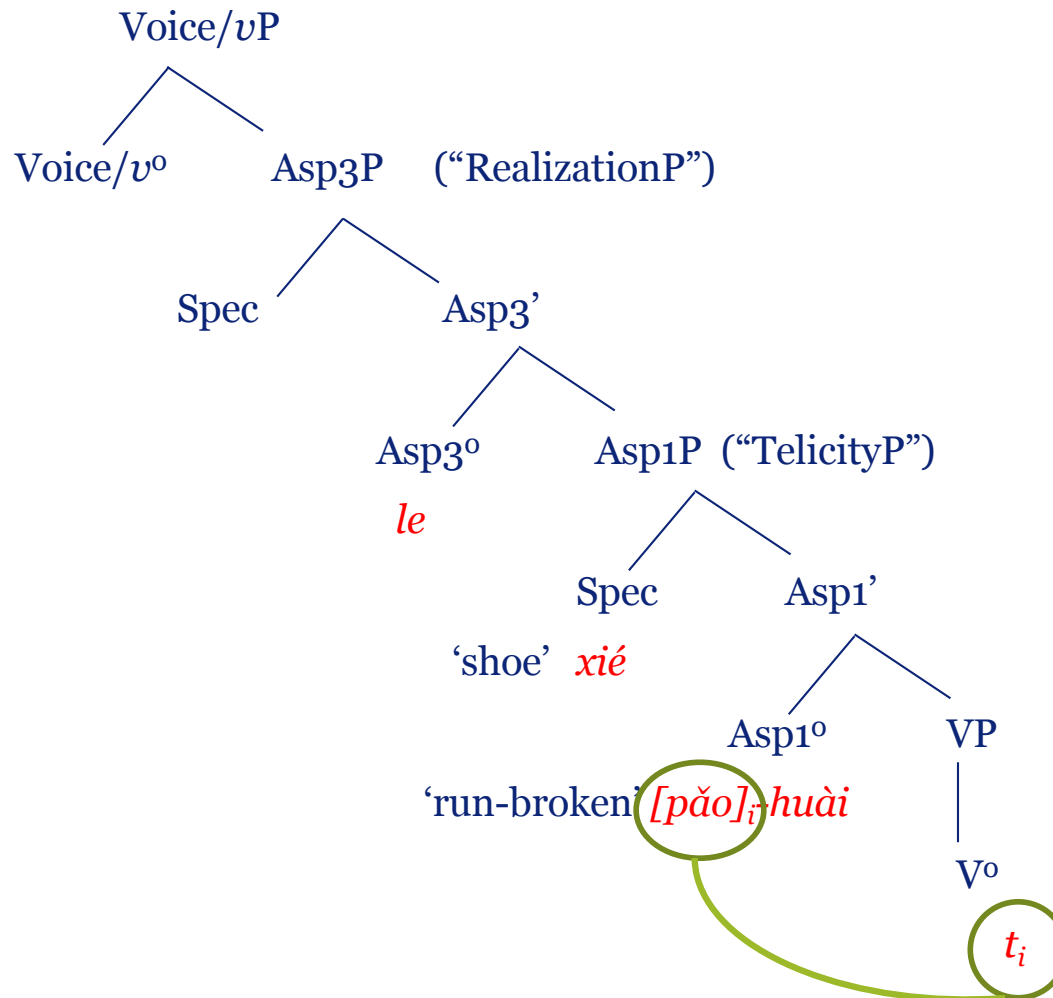
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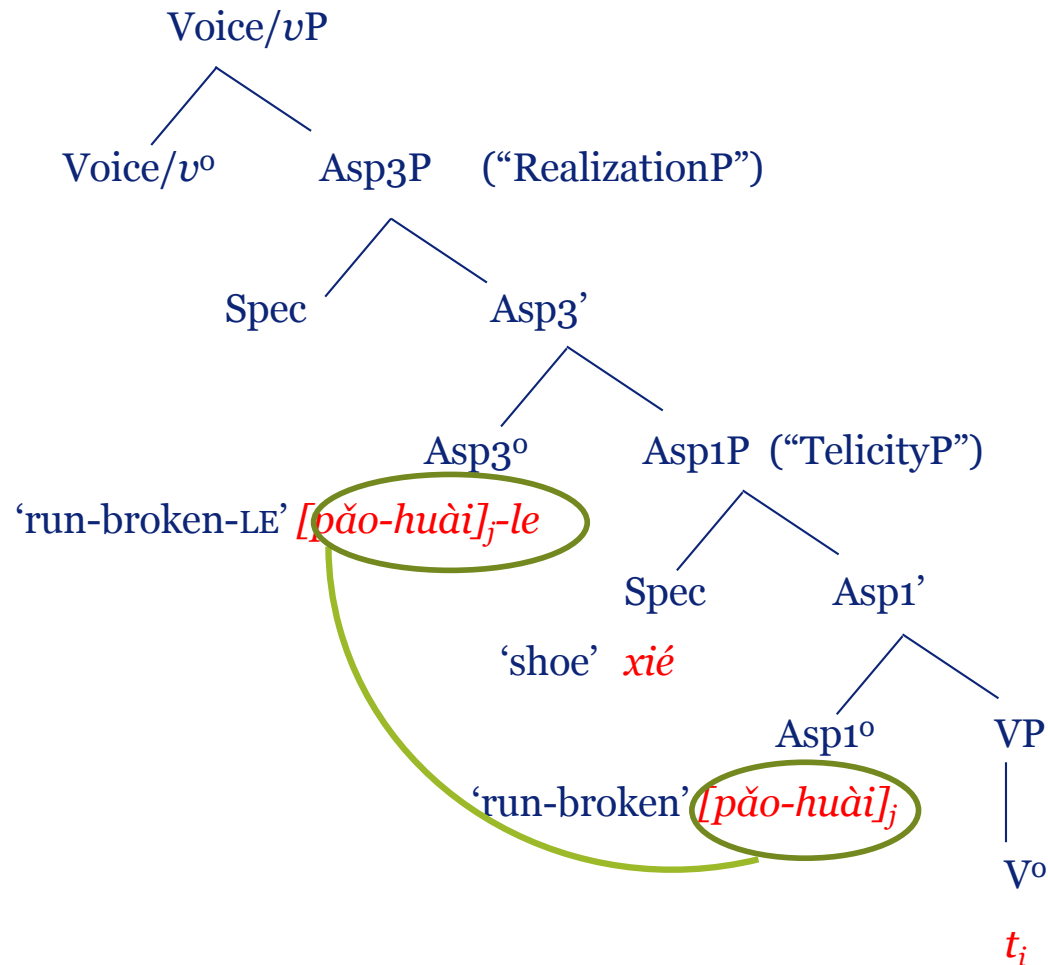
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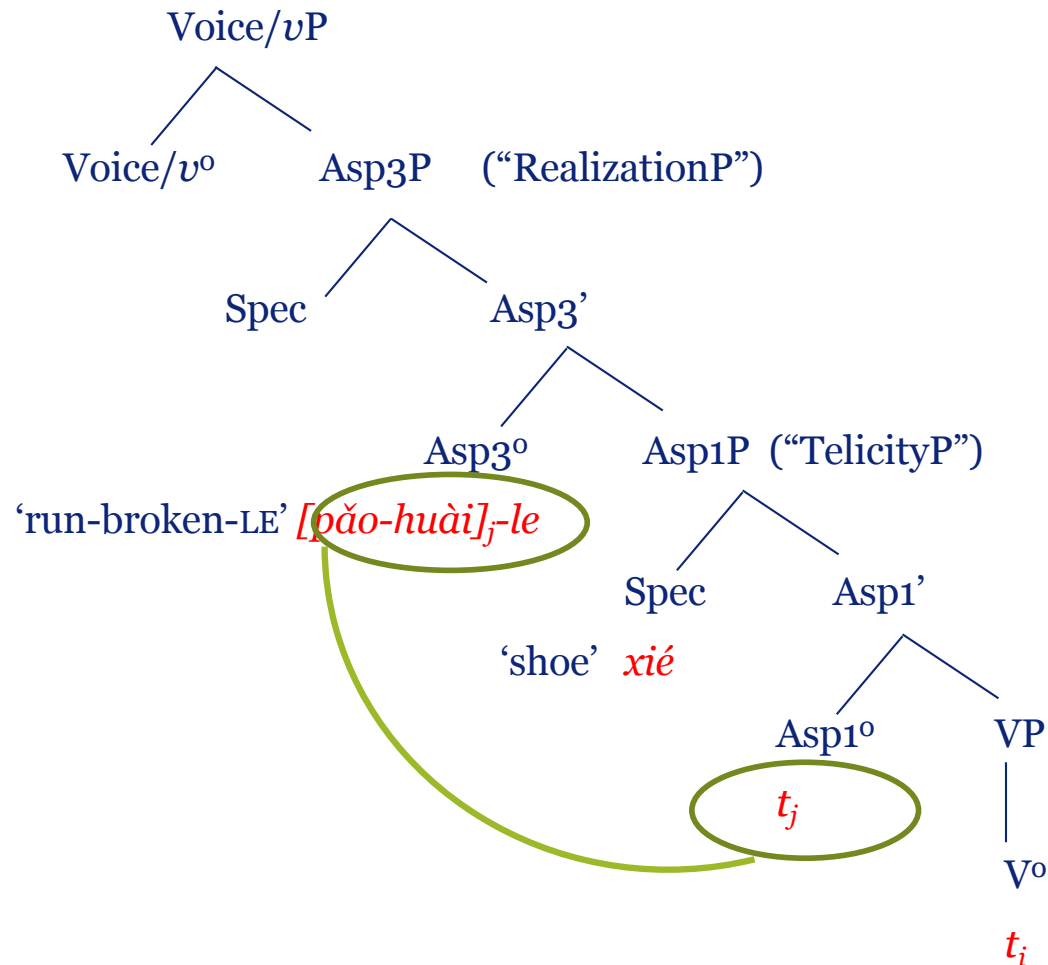
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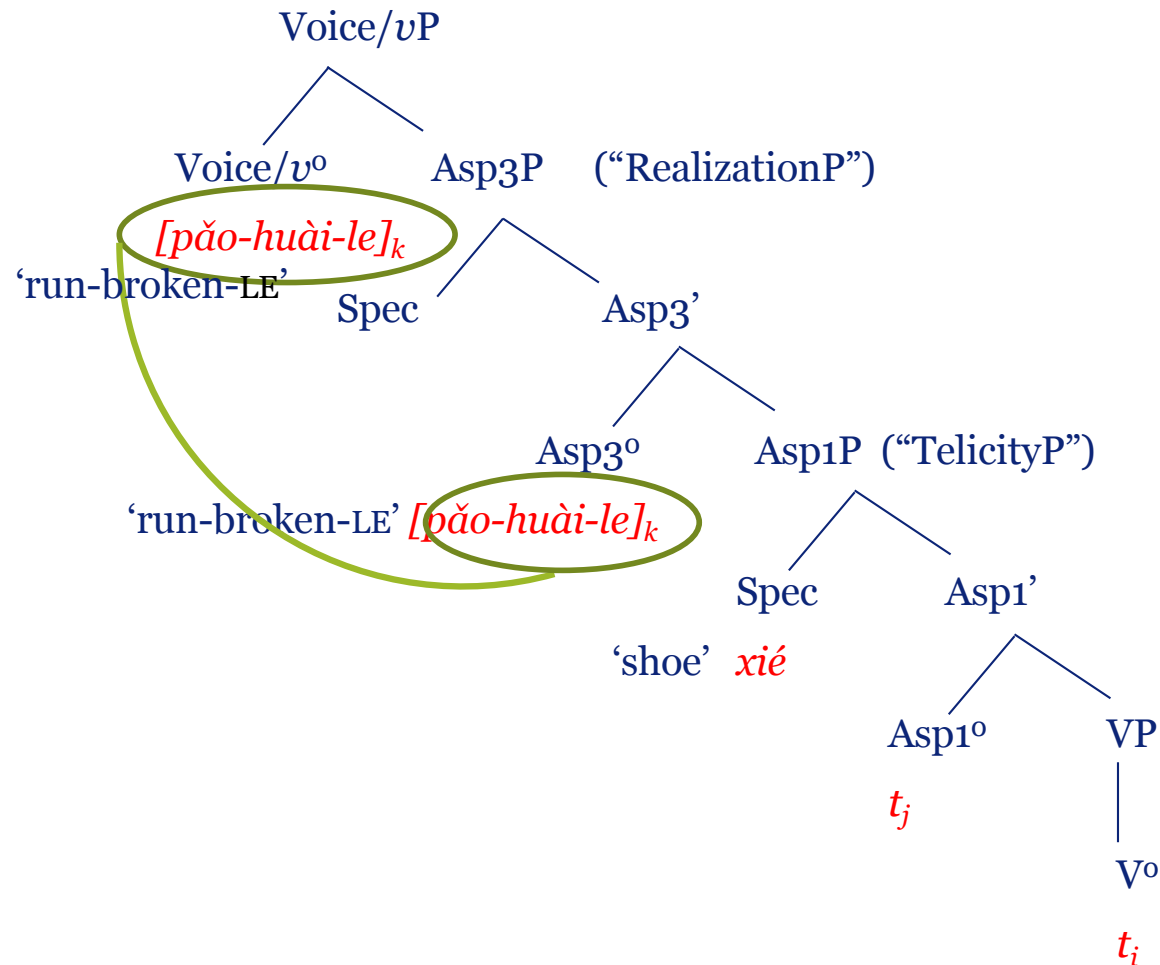
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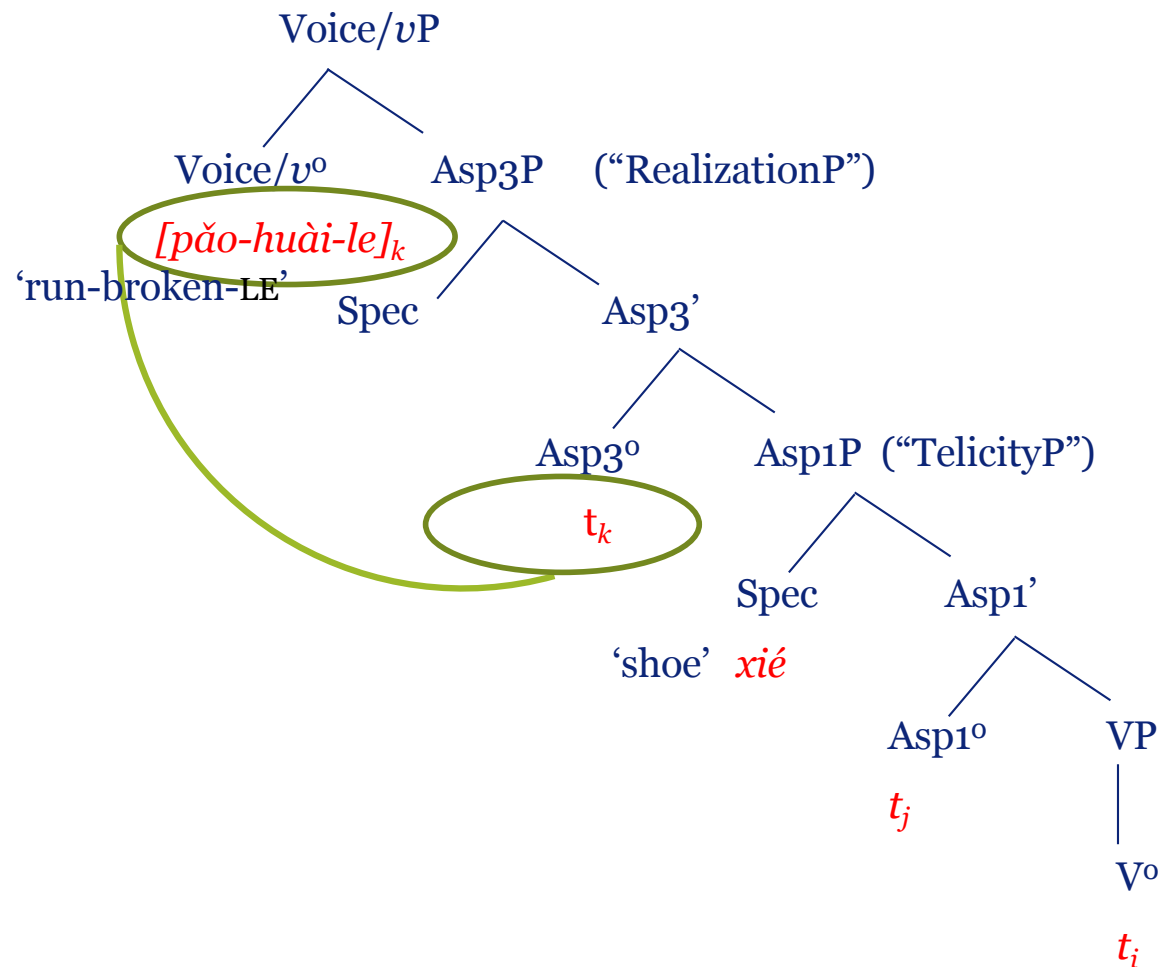
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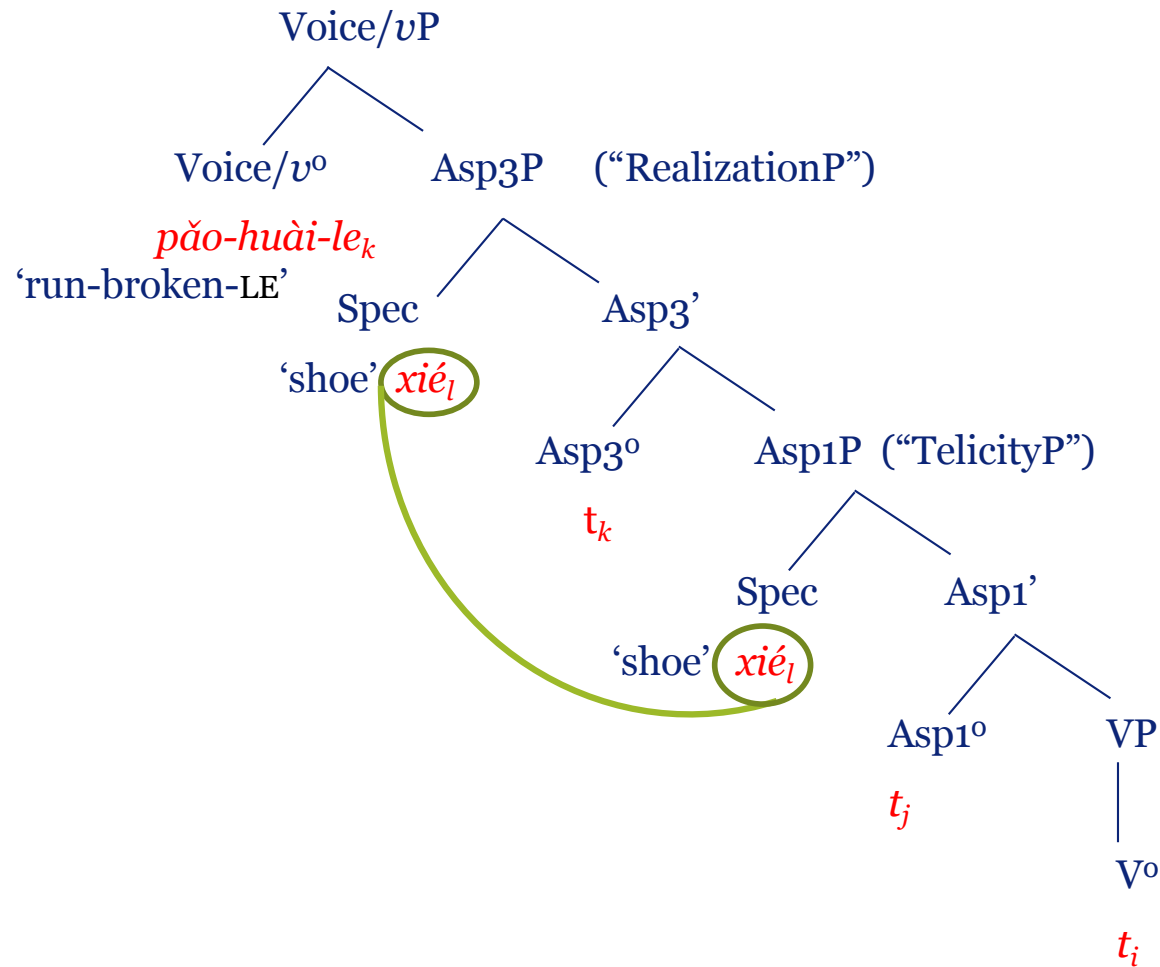
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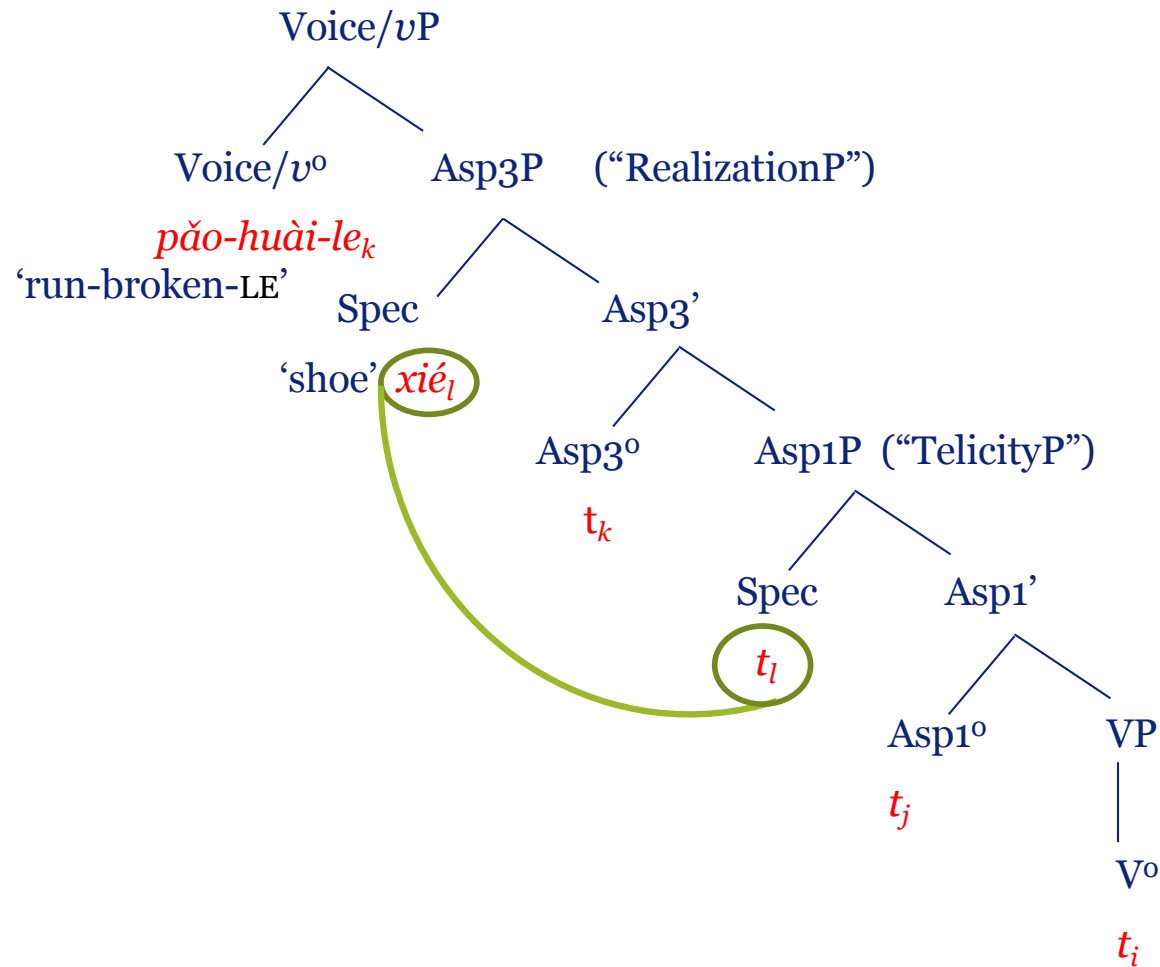
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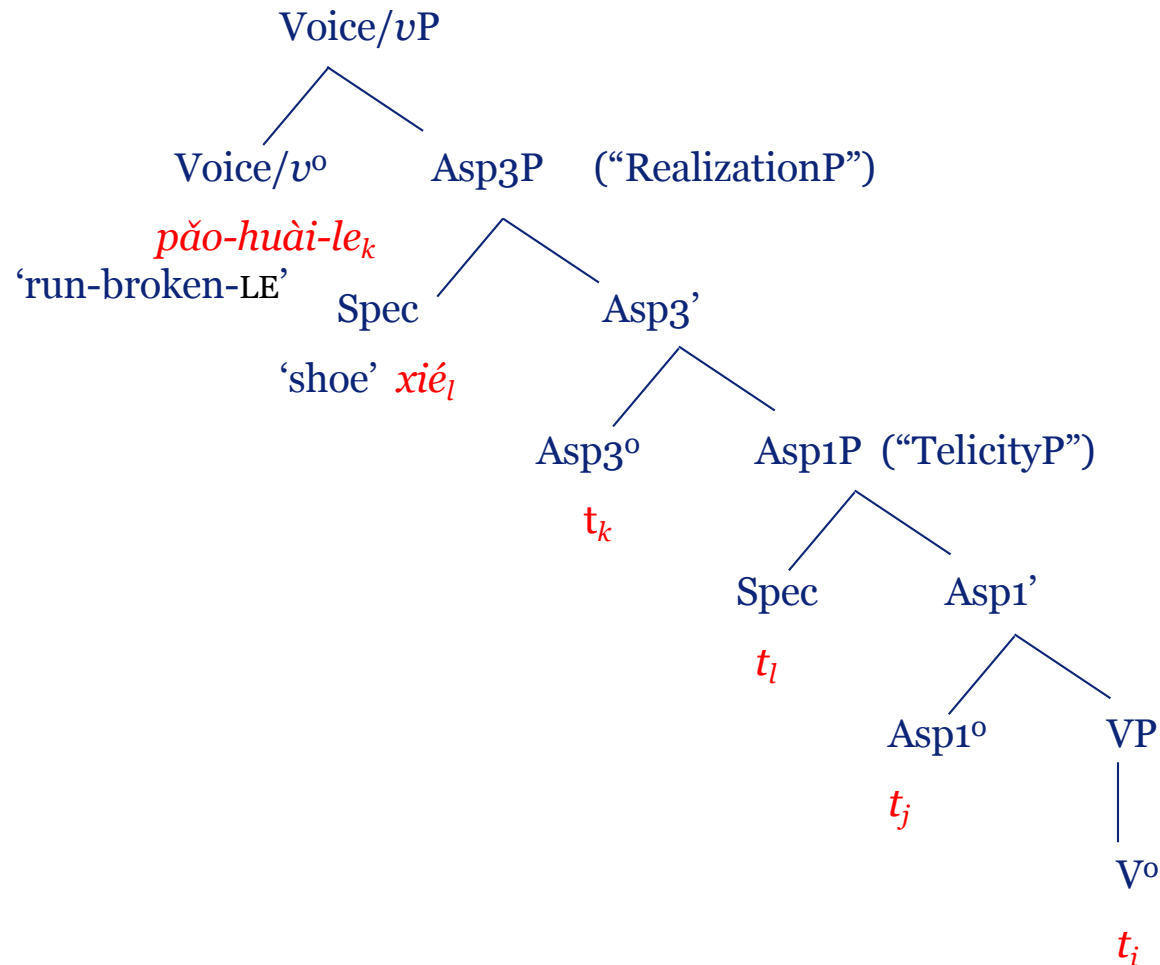
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Universally applicable?

The structure

Universally applicable?

Ideally yes, but not necessarily

V-R-*le* vs R *ge*-V

Position of *ge*- and *-le* relative to V and R is not the same. If *ge*- and *-le* are the constant factor, then something else must be different

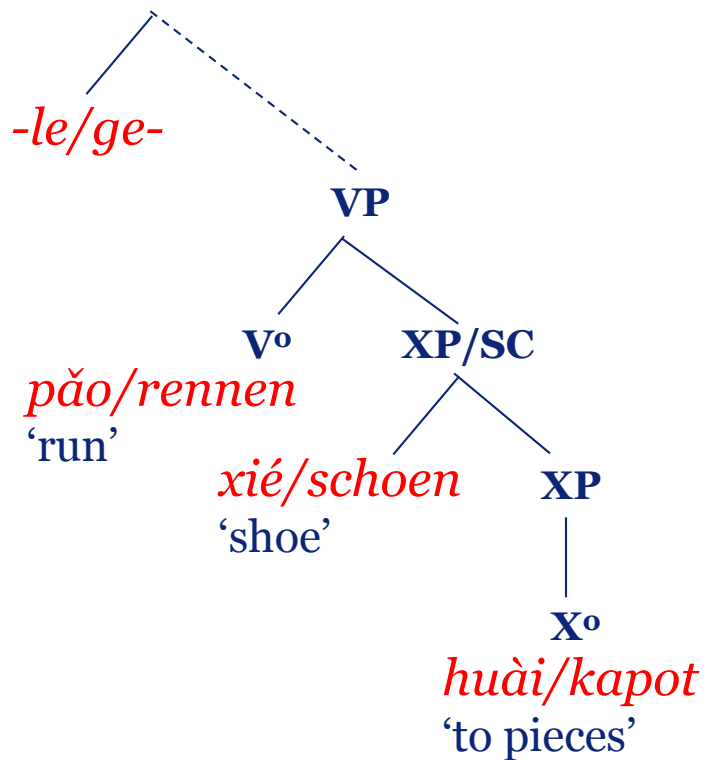
The position of R (that is, the Result denoting Small Clause)

Dutch à la Hoekstra: [... [OAsp [Voice/vP [... *ge*- ... [VP [V [SC/XP DP X]]]]]]]

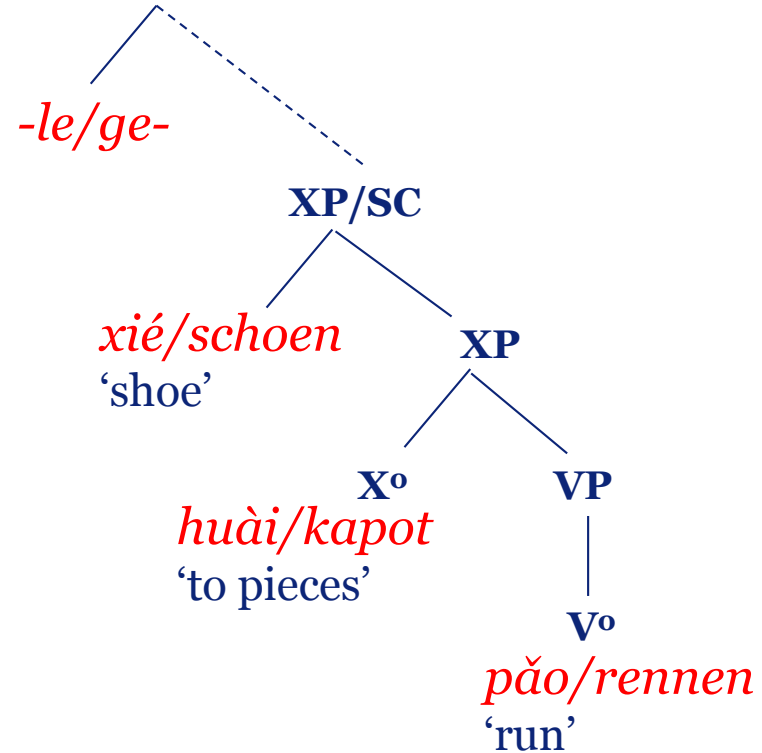
Mandarin à la Xuan: [... [OAsp [Voice/vP [... *-le* ... [SC/XP/AspP DP [X/Asp [VP V]]]]]]]

The structure

Dutch



Mandarin



Resultatives, again

Confirmed by interaction of 'again' and resultatives

Ambiguity with *again*

John opened the door again



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Ambiguous between repetitive and restitutive reading

Von Stechow (1996), Beck & Johnson (2004), Beavers & Koontz-Garboden (2012), **a.o.**

Ambiguity with *again*



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John opened the door again

Ambiguous between **repetitive** and restitutive reading



John had opened the door
before and now he did it again

Ambiguity with *again*



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John opened the door again

Ambiguous between repetitive and **restitutive** reading

↓
John had opened the door
before and now he did it again

↓
The door had been open, someone
closed it and then John restored the
original state (and he had not opened
that door before)

Three-ways ambiguous

John kicked the ball to Mary again

John hammered the metal flat again

Restitutive: original state restored

Restitutive + manner: original state restored in a particular way

Repetitive: same agent did it again

Repetitive reading is the default reading



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Ambiguity

Repetitive reading is always possible.

Jan heeft het stukje ijzer weer plat ge-hamer-d

Jan has the piece metal again flat GE-hammer-D

Jan chóngxīn bǎ tiě piànzi chuí-biǎn-le

Jan again BA metal piece hammer-flat-LE



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The question is: can we have the restitutive reading, that is: can we isolate the result from the process/manner.

Note: like *weer*, *chóngxīn* always precedes the vP/VP.

Ambiguity ...

... in Dutch...

scenario: John bought a piece of metal, it was flat when he bought it but then it got bent. He pushed it flat again with his bare hands. Later on, it got bent once more and then

en toen heeft Jan het weer plat ge-hamer-d/ge-druk-t/ge-slagen

and then has Jan it again flat ge-hammer-d/ ge-press-t/ ge-beat-en

... but not in Mandarin: restitutive reading not available (manner and result inseparable)

*Jan chóngxīn bǎ tā *chuí- / *zá- / √yā- / √nòng-biǎn le*

Jan again BA it hammer / pound / press / do -flat le

‘John hammered/pounded/pressed/made it flat again’



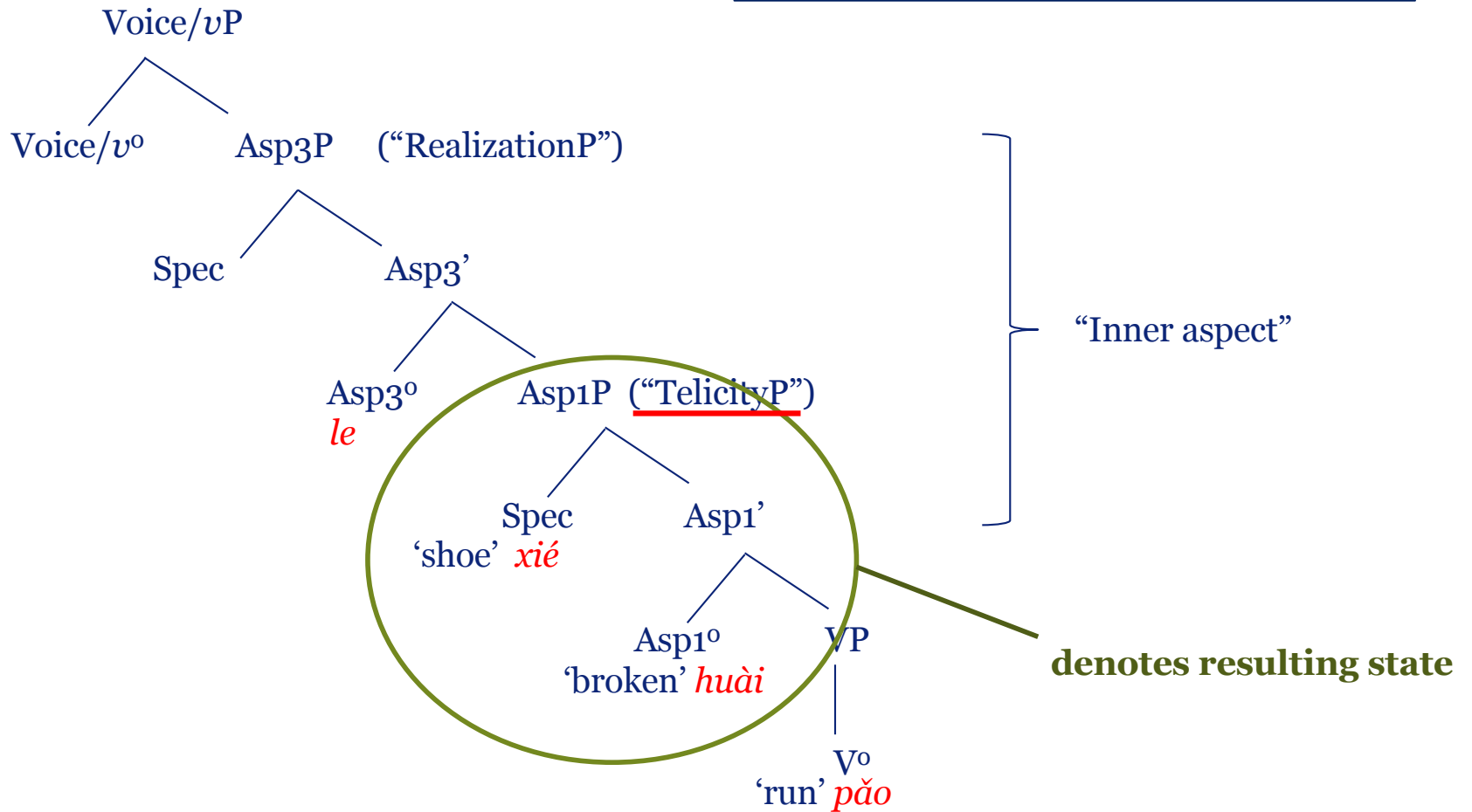
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The structure

wǒ pǎo-huài-le wǒ-de yùndòngxié
 1S run-broken-LE 1S-SUB sport.shoe

wǒ bǎ wǒ-de yùndòngxié pǎo-huài-le
 1S BA 1S-SUB sport.shoe run-broken-LE

BOTH: 'I ran my running shoes to pieces'

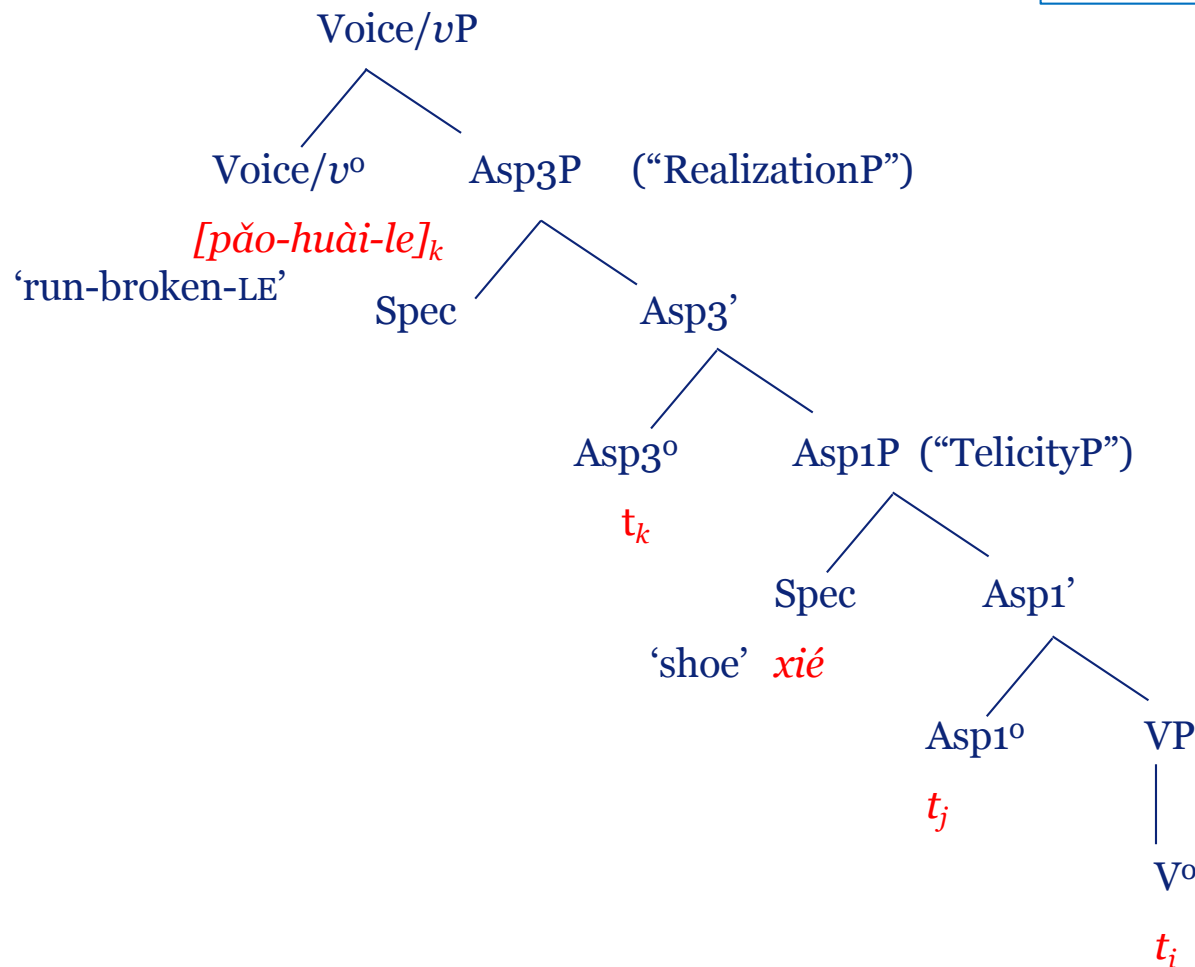


The derivation

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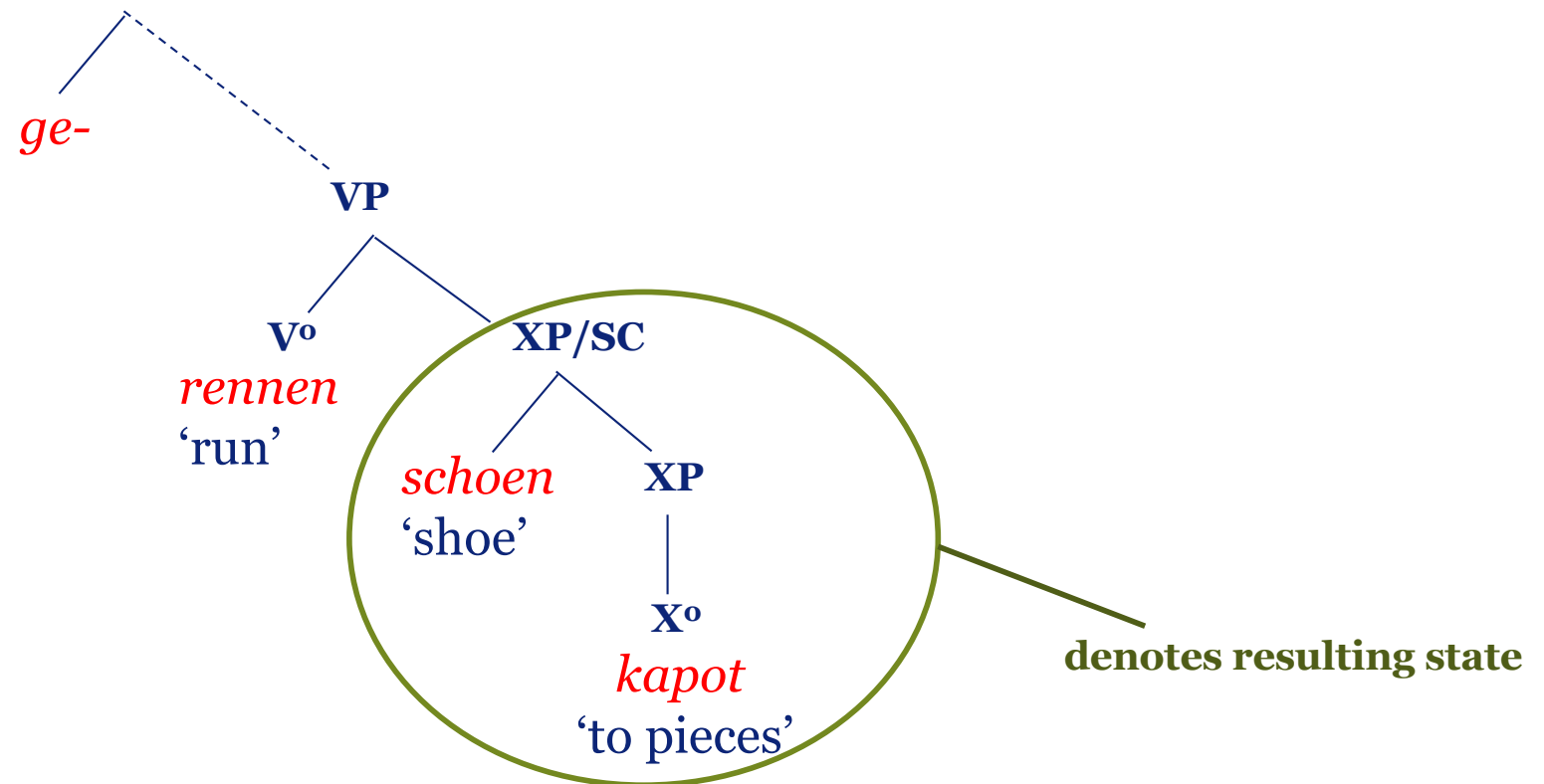
This analysis/derivation gives us the right result. At no point can *chóngxīn* 'again' scope over "R"/result without also scoping over V/manner.

The structure

Change of state resultatives à la Teun Hoekstra

wǒ pǎo-huài-le wǒ-de yùndòngxié
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Conclusion

ge- and *-le* are the same

Keeping this in mind and keeping them constant, has lead to interesting insights into the gammar of Mandarin and syntax more generally

Sybesma and Vanden Wyngaerd has been of great value!

多謝曬！

Thank you for your attention!
Hartelijk dank!



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Bij ons leer je de wereld kennen

Some references

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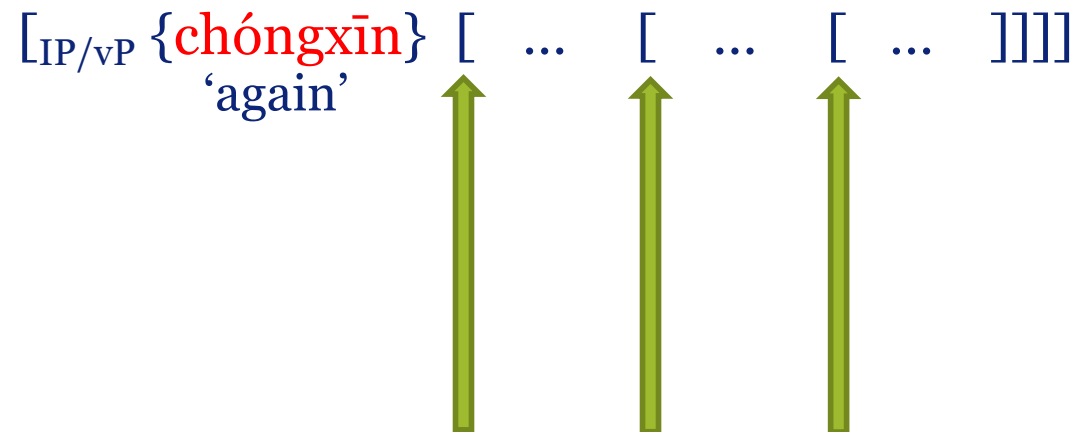
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The syntax-semantics mismatch

The syntax-semantics mismatch



Necessary to think about this (also for English)

Bobaljik 1999, Chomsky 2004

The syntax-semantics mismatch

The syntax-semantics mismatch

Bobaljik (1999, 28): **Separate tier for adverbs**

There is “evidence of a separate, but intrinsically ordered, tier on which adverbs occur, ultimately collapsed together with the argument/head tier by a form of tier conflation”

Chomsky (2004, 119): **Spell-Out may separate ADJ from its XP/H**

In the eventual linear order, “[p]erhaps α [ADJ-RS] is adjacent to β [the phrase it adjoins to-RS], perhaps not; that depends on properties of adjuncts”.