Compound vs phrasal resultatives: the view from Mandarin Chinese
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In Mandarin V-V resultatives, V1 may fail to project its agent (1), its theme (2), or both (3). Agent omission is not restricted to V-V resultatives, but is more widely attested in Mandarin, including in phrasal V-*de* resultatives. However, omission of an otherwise obligatory theme is unexpected.

Main claim: In V-V resultatives, V1 does not project any arguments.

Proposal: I claim that V-V resultatives are compounds built in morphology rather than syntax. They contain a null affix $\varnothing$ that selects a main 'become' event to its right (V2) and a subordinate causing event to its left (V1), as well as a cause argument where present. $\varnothing$ selects all available arguments of the main event (V2) but none of the arguments of the subordinate event (V1). Any argument variables of the subordinate causing event must therefore undergo existential closure. The arguments of $\varnothing$ – and hence, those of the compound – can, but need not, be interpreted as identical to the existentially closed arguments of V1.

(1) *Yīfú   xǐ-gānjìng-le.*
    clothes **wash**-clean-PFV
    'The clothes were washed clean.'

(2) *Ākiū tī-pò-le   qiúxié.*
    Akiu **kick**-break-PFV sneakers
    'The sneakers broke from Akiu kicking [something].' (Zhang 2001)

(3) *%Qiúxié tī-pò-le.*
    sneakers **kick**-break-PFV
    'The sneakers broke from [someone] kicking [something].'

Prediction 1: Mandarin V-V resultatives are inaccessible to syntactic operations
V1 and V2 cannot be independently modified or independently coordinated (see Fan 2016).

Prediction 2: Since V-*de* resultatives are not compounds, V1 must project its theme
At first glance, V-*de* resultatives appear to be as flexible as V-V resultatives in terms of argument realisation. Indeed, Williams (2005) and Huang (2006) make precisely this claim and argue that V1 does not select any arguments in either V-*de* or V-V resultatives. This claim is supported by examples like (4), where the overt DP following *de* (hereafter "DP2") cannot be interpreted as the internal argument of the otherwise obligatorily transitive V1 *kuā* 'praise' but must be contained in the result phrase.

(4) *Wǒ pāi L.W. de mǎ pì,   **kuā**-de [lián tā tàitài yě bùhǎoyìsì   le].*
    1s smack L.W DE horse rump **praise**-DE even 3s wife also embarrassed PRT
    'Flattering L.W., I praised [him] such that even his wife got embarrassed.' (Williams 2005)

Thus, for Williams and Huang, all resultatives are essentially strong resultatives. But these analyses fail to explain why strong V-*de* resultatives with transitive V1 (5) are degraded compared to comparable V-V resultatives (6) in an out-of-the-blue context, e.g. in response to an all-focus question like *Zěnme le?* 'What happened?'

(5) **Wǒ qiē-de càidāo (dōu) dùn-le.*
    I   cut-DE knife even dull-PFV
    Intended: 'I cut [something] and as a result (even) the knife became dull.'

(6) *Wǒ qiē-dùn-le   càidāo.*
    I   cut-dull-PFV knife
    'The knife became dull from me cutting [something].'

These analyses also fail to explain why weak V-*de* resultatives with obligatorily transitive V1 are degraded compared to strong ones with intransitive V1 (7). This contrast is strongest when DP2 is non-specific (Zhang 2001) and weaker when it is specific and/or discourse-prominent. There is no comparable contrast in V-V resultatives (8).

(7) *A. {chàng/*dǎ}-de liǎng gè háizi kū-le.*
    A. sing/beat-DE   two CL child cry-PFV
    'A. {(i) sing/ (ii) beat (two children)} and as a result two children cried.'

(8) *A. {chàng/dǎ}-kū-le liǎng gè háizi.*
    A. sing/beat-cry-PFV two CL child
    'A. {(i) sing/ (ii) beat (two children)} and as a result two children cried.'

These contrasts can be explained if we assume that: (i) V-*de* and V-V resultatives have different structures, and (ii) transitive V1 must project its internal argument in V-*de* but not in V-V resultatives.

	transitive V1		intransitive V1	
	strong	weak	strong	weak
V-*de*	✗(5)	✗(7ii)	✓(7i)	–
V-V	✓(6)	✓(8ii)	✓(8i)	–

Suppose we assume that an obligatorily transitive V1 invariably projects its theme in a V-*de* resultative (9). We may then derive four predictions, all of which are borne out.

(i) For some speakers, *pro* can be linked to DP2 to its right, especially if DP2 is already active in the discourse, e.g., when it appears in a contextual question like *Kǎitè wángfēi hé Méigēn zěnme le?* 'What happened to Kate and Meghan?'

(10) *%Kǎitè wángfēi **dǎ** pro₁ de **Méigēn₁** kū-le.*
　　 Kate　　 princess **hit**　 -DE **Meghan** cry-PFV
　　 'Princess Kate hit Meghan and as a result M. cried.'

(ii) *pro* is not licensed by a non-specific antecedent.

(11) **Ākiū dǎ　pro₁ -de [liǎng gè háizi]₁ kū-le.*
　　 Akiu　 beat　 -DE **two　 CL child**　 cry-PFV
　　 Intended: 'Akiu beat [two (non-specific) children] and as a result [those] two children cried.' (=(7ii))

(iii) *pro* is not licensed if there is no antecedent.

(12) **Wǒ qiē pro₁ -de [càidāo]₁ (dōu) dùn-le.*
　　 I　　 cut　 -DE **knife**　　 even dull-PFV
　　 Intended: 'I cut [something] and as a result (even) the knife became dull.' (=(5))

(iv) The internal argument of V1 must be *pro* because an overt argument cannot intervene between *-de* and its phonological host.

(13) *Zhāngsān tī　**(*qiú)** -de jiǎo (dōu) zhǒng-le.*
　　 Zhangsan kick **ball**　 -DE foot even　 swollen-PFV
　　 Intended: 'Zhangsan kicked the ball and as a result (even) his feet became swollen.'

(9)　IP
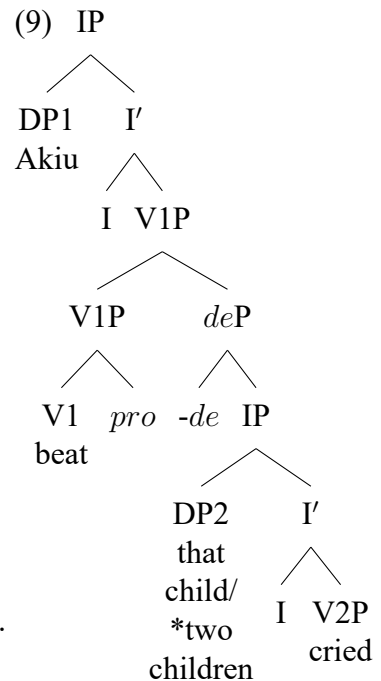
Cross-linguistic extensions: Japanese is another language that has both compound and phrasal resultatives. If my account is correct, we would expect that V1 need not project its internal argument in Japanese compound resultatives but must do so in Japanese phrasal resultatives. This prediction is borne out. In a compound resultative like (14), V1 *sime* 'choke' need not project its otherwise obligatory internal argument *kubi* 'neck'. But in a phrasal resultative like (15), V1 must project its internal argument.

(14) *John-wa niwatori-o **sime**-korosi-ta.*
　　 John-TOP chicken-ACC **choke**-kill-PST
　　 'John choked the chicken to death.'
　　 (Nishiyama 1998)

(15) **J.-ga huku-o　 buruu-ni **nut**-ta.*
　　 J.-NOM clothes-ACC blue-NI **paint**-PST
　　 Intended: 'John painted something (e.g. the wall) and as a result his clothes became blue.'

Conclusion: Whether V1 projects its arguments in a Mandarin resultative depends on the the structure of the resultative in which V1 appears. It may be possible to generalise this conclusion to explain the differences between compound and phrasal resultatives cross-linguistically.

References: Fan, Ying. 2016. Serial verb constructions in Mandarin Chinese and Jinjiang Southern Min. U of Manchester dissertation. ● Huang, James. 2006. Resultatives and unaccusatives: A parametric view. *Bulletin of CLSJ* 2006:1-43. ● Nishiyama, Kunio. 1998. V-V compounds as serialisation. *JEAL* 7:175-217. ● Williams, Alexander. 2005. Complex causatives and verbal valence. UPenn dissertation. ● Zhang, Niina Ning. 2001. The structures of depictive and resultative constructions in Chinese. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 22:191-221.