

Syntactic and Cartographic Analysis of the Discontinuous Construction *zai/chongxin...guo* in Ningbo Dialect

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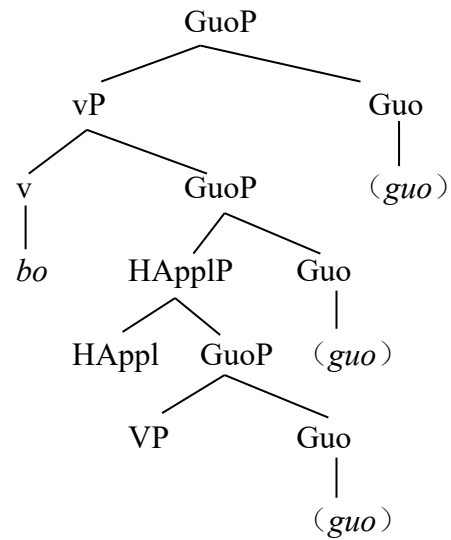
There are four different types of *guo* in Ningbo Dialect: the verb *guo1*, the auxiliary particle *guo2*, the predicate complement *guo3*, and the post-modifier *guo4* which expresses re- or again. *Guo4* cannot appear alone, it must co-occur with the adverbial modifier *zai/chongxin* (which means re- or again). *Guo4* and *zai/chongxin* have semantic redundancy and local relationship, forming a discontinuous construction. The construction has some syntactic limitations.

- (1) It can only modify verbs that are repeatable and indicate a boundary of the event.
 - a. 做嘞介貌样，再/重新做过！
Don't do things like this, do it again!
 - b. ??考嘞蛮好，再/重新保持过。
(You) have done a good job in the exam, keep it up.
 - c. *再/重新死过。
Meaning: Die again!
- (2) It co-occurs and appears below the auxiliary verb *yao* or adverb + *yao* structures.
 - a. 饭冷掉嘞，要再/重新热过。
The rice has cooled down, heat it again.
- (3) It often implies repeating an action once more and does not allow for the repetition of verbs with monosyllabic or disyllabic reduplication.
 - a. *电视机老老伐灵，依再/重新测试测试过。
Meaning: The TV is always broken, test it again!
 - b. ?地板太乱了依拨地板再/重新扫扫过。
Meaning: The floor is too messy, sweep it again!
- (4) It does not modify detachable compounds (*lihe ci*).
 - a. ??总数不对，还要再/重新投票过。
Meaning: The total number of votes is incorrect, vote again!

The syntactic position of this discontinuous construction (or *guo*-structure) can be determined by testing its distributional relationship with the locating components, which include functional words that introduce external arguments (Pylkkänen, 2002) and modals (Tsai, 2010). The distributional tests show that *zai/chongxin...guo* structure

can appear above vP (or the functional word realized as *bo*, temporarily name it vP), between vP and HApplP, or below HApplP (cf. Kratzer, 1996; Pyllkkänen, 2002; Sun, 2009; Wood and Marantz, 2017). Discontinuous construction appears at the latter two positions belonging to the lexical level and has meanings related to events (Tang, 2015).

(5)



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