The Multiplicity of the *V-qi-lai* Construction

Yu-yun Wang
National Tsing Hua University

1. Introduction

Although there may be two analyses, which are from the middle hypothesis of Sung (1994) and the conditional hypothesis of Chang (1994), for representing the V-*qi-lai* construction in the literatures, the structural differences among various V-*qi-lai* constructions are not well distinguished. In this article, I propose that the V-*qi-lai* construction may involve three types of the syntactic representation, one is the raising construction, one is the control construction, and the other is the event predicate construction. The differences are induced by different verbs that precede *qi-lai* and by different types of modifications that follow V-*qi-lai*.

According to Chang (1994), there are four functions of *qi-lai* to form the V-*qi-lai* constructions, that is, the directional, the inchoative, the completive, and the conditional V-*qi-lai* constructions. This article only discusses about the last construction, which I classify into three types as follows:

(1) zhe   jian   yangzhuang   kan-qi-lai hen   piaoliang.
    this Cl.   dress   see-qi-lai very   pretty
    'This dress looks very pretty.'

(2) Mali chuan-qi zhe jian   yangzhuang   -lai hen miaotiao.
    Mali wear-QI   this Cl.   dress   -LAI very slim
    'Mali wears this dress looks very slim.'

(3) zhe   jian   yangzhuang chuan-qi-lai   hen   mafan.
    this   Cl.   dress   wear-qi-lai   very troublesome
    'It is troublesome to wear this dress.'

Section 2 draws a comparison between the control construction and the raising construction in Mandarin Chinese. Section 3 reviews previous analyses of the V-*qi-lai* construction. I present the analysis in section 4 which is displayed the three types of the V-*qi-lai* construction.

2. The control and raising constructions

2.1 The control construction

There are generally two types of the control constructions: (4) is of the optional control and (5) and (6) are of the obligatory control:

(4) John asked [how [PRO$_{arb}$ to behave oneself/himself]].

(5) John tried [[PRO to behave himself/*oneself]].

(6) John told Mary [[PRO to behave herself/*himself/*oneself]].

Suppose that the structural constraint on obligatory control is that PRO is controlled by the nearest c-commanding NP following the Minimal Distance Principle (MDP) (Rosenbaum 1970, Bach 1979, Chomsky 1980, Larson 1990), then (5) and (6) can be distinguished into the subject control and the object control. In Mandarin Chinese, the same patterns are also observed in the resultative complement construction; namely, the subject control in (7), and the object control in (8), assuming Huang's (1992) analysis:

(7) Zhangsan$_i$ ku-de [Pro$_i$ hen shangxin].
    Zhangsan cry-DE   very sad
    'Zhangsan cried till he got very sad.'

(8) Zhangsan ku-de   Lisi$_i$ [Pro$_i$ hen shangxin].
    Zhangsan cry-DE   Lisi   very sad
    'Zhangsan cried till Lisi got very sad.'

In sentence (7), the resultative clause contains a Pro that is coindexed with the matrix subject. Huang's suggests that the reason for adopting the control analysis is theta-theoretic. According to the theta criterion (Chomsky 1981, 1986), each argument only takes one theta role and each theta role is assigned to one argument. In (7), both the higher verb and lower verb assign independent theta roles to their subjects. If we adopt a raising analysis in this kind of structure, theta criterion cannot hold. The same logic applies to the object control construction as in (8).

2.2 The raising construction

Two related constructions for the control-type constructions above can be found as in (9) and (10):

(9) Zhangsan   ba   Lisi$_i$ ku-de   [e$_i$ hen   shangxin].
     Zhangsan   BA   Lisi   cry-DE   very   sad
     'Zhangsan cried till Lisi got very sad.'

(10) Lisi$_i$ bei   Zhangsan   ku-de   [e$_i$ hen   shangxin].
     Lisi   by   Zhangsan   cry-DE   very   sad
     'Lisi was made very sad as a result of Zhangsan's crying.'

Wang (1970) and many other linguists suggest that these kinds of sentences are derived through a rule of raising. Sentence (9) is analyzed as a case of subject-to-object raising, and (10) is analyzed as a case of subject-to-subject raising. The motivation of the raising analysis is Case-driven in Mandarin Chinese.

On the other hand, the raising construction in English, e.g. *John seems to be a nice fellow*.), is not only Case-driven (*seem* is not able to assign Accusative Case to its following argument), but also subject to the Extended Projection Principle. In the past literatures, there seems to be no parallel construction in Mandarin Chinese. Still, one of the main purposes of this article is to suggest that there may be one type of the raising construction similar to that of English, namely, the V-qi-lai construction in Mandarin Chinese.

3. Previous analyses of the V-qi-lai construction

The V-*qi-lai* sentences are viewed as the instances of the middle construction by Sung (1994) and interpreted as a conditional reading for the biclausal sentences by Chang (1994). Both of the authors use the single syntactic representation to deal with the V-*qi-lai* construction.

The generalizations by Sung (1994) and Chang (1994) on the V-*qi-lai* construction are listed below: first, there seems to be an implicit subject not overtly realized in syntax, which can be interpreted as 'people in general'. Second, the syntactic subject seems to be the internal argument of the verb while the agent is absent from the surface structure. The example is shown as (11) (from Sung 1994:62):

(11) Zhe-ben shu$_i$ nian t$_i$ -qi-lai   hen   rongyi.
     This-CL book   read   -qi-lai   very   easy
     'One who reads/read this book will find/found it easy to read.'

Third, the existence of the adverbial or the secondary predicate is obligatory: (from Chang 1994: 90)

(12) *Zhe-ben shu   mai-qi-lai.
     This-CL   book   sell-qi-lai
     'One who sells this book.'

Lastly, the aspect marker cannot be imposed on the V-*qi-lai* construction. This property usually belongs to a general or a habitual statement in Chinese, as in (13) (from Chang 1994: 90):

(13) *zhe-ben shu   mai-qi-lai-le/zhe   hen   kuai.
     This-CL   book   sell-qi-lai-Per/Dur   very   quick
     'One who has sold/is selling this book found/finds it quick to sell.'

As will be revealed later, I suggest that the V-*qi-lai* construction should be classified into three types, which argues against both Sung's analysis and Chang's.

3.1 The middle hypothesis

To draw a clear distinction between Chinese V-*qi-lai* construction and English middle construction, the properties of English middle construction is reviewed prior to the middle hypothesis in the V-*qi-lai* construction by Sung (1994).

3.1.1 The middle construction in English

The middle construction is a kind of voice systems, which is between the agentive voice and the passive voice:

(14) John sold the books.   (agentive)

(15) The books are sold by John.   (passive)

(16) The books sell well.   (middle)

A middle sentence does not refer to a particular event. That is, *the books sell well* does not describe a specific moment when the books are being sold well. It only expresses

the generic property.

The English middle construction (16) has been assumed to have some kind of logical subject, or agent from the above sentences. However, according to Rapoport (1999), there is no logical subject argument associated with the English middle construction at the lexical-semantic level or to be realized at the syntactic level. Moreover, the English middle construction is not even inherently agentive. Rapoport takes *all by itself* as evidence to show that the agentivity is not implicit in the English middle construction itself but comes from the presence or absence of an Instrument/Manner component in the verb heading the middle construction as suggested in (17) and (18) (from Rapoport 1999: 150-151):

(17) *This kind of bread cuts easily all by itself.
 (cf. This kind of knife cuts easily.)[1]

(18) This kind of glass breaks easily all by itself.

The verb *cut* embraces an Instrument/Manner component that implies a protoagent. When this component is part of a verb entering into the middle, the construction demonstrates the agentivity effect. Thus, the agentive middle construction is not compatible with *all by itself*. On the other hand, verbs like *break* do not show the agentivity effect due to the fact that they do not embrace an implicit agent per se. Therefore, it is the characteristic of a particular verb, instead of a property of the middle construction itself, which decides the well-formedness of the agentivity. Meanwhile, this observation also excludes the possibility that the *for-phrase* is the syntactic presence of the middle verb's logical subject argument (from Rapoport 1999: 153):

(19) *This kind of glass breaks (easily) for our factory workers.

Besides Rapoport's lexical-semantic analysis, Ackema & Schoorlemmer (1995) (henceforth A&S) argue that no NP-movement takes place in the middle construction and that the Theme argument is base-generated in the surface subject position. This proposal argues against the NP-movement analysis by Stroik (1992), who proposes that the verb's subject theta role is assigned to PRO that is adjoined to VP, as in (20):

(20) $[_{IP}$ walls$_i$ $[_{I'}$ I $[_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V'}$ paint t_i easily $]]$ PRO $]]]$

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[1] The example is provided by Tsai, Wei-tien (p.c.).

Moreover, Stroik (1992) adopts the anaphor binding, the *for*-phrase, and the control theory, to display that the logical subject is syntactically present in the middle construction, as in (21)-(23), respectively:

(21) Books about oneself never read poorly.

(22) That book read quickly for Mary.

(23) Bureaucrats bribe best PRO$_k$ [after PRO$_k$ doing them a favor or two].

However, A&S (1995) argue that *-self* in (21) is actually independent of the binding theory but should be treated with respect to the logophor in discourse. The presence of the *for*-phrase in (22) is due to the characteristic of the verb as mentioned above. Besides, when the middle construction contains negation, modal, or focus intonation, the sentence does not take the *for*-phrase as an Experiencer argument, as in (24):

(24) This wall won't paint (*for Mary).

Finally, PRO can be syntactically controlled but need not be. PRO can also accept the pragmatic control as in (25), in which the controller is not syntactically present:

(25) We found plans to PRO kill the Ayatollah.

Therefore, the embedded PRO in the adjunct clause in (23) can be controlled via the pragmatic control.

Conclusively, A&S consider that Stroik's proposal cannot prove that the logical subject argument is syntactically present as PRO in the middle construction. On the other hand, the syntactic subject (the logical object) in the middle construction is base-generated in the subject position.

3.1.2 The middle construction in Chinese

Cheng (1989) argues that the sentence below may involve the Chinese middle construction:

(26) Zhe-ben   shu   hen   rongyi   nian.
     This-CL   book   very   easy   read
     'This book reads easily.'

Sung (1994), who differs from Cheng, makes an analogy between (26) and the tough construction because they all select limited adjectives, such as *tough*, *easy*, *hard*, and *difficult*. At the same time, Sung considers that one of *qi-lai*'s functions is to denote a generic interpretation as English middle construction. The reason that Sung regards the V-qi-lai construction as the middle construction depends on that their semantic meanings are similar and the middle construction allows a much wider variety of adverbs than the *tough* construction. Therefore, Sung proposes that *qi-lai* is an overt middle morpheme like *se* in Romance language or the zero morpheme in English. He follows the syntactic approach by Stroik (1992), which is given in (20), and argues that Chinese middle construction must involve the syntactic movement as English.

3.1.3 The differences between the V-qi-lai construction and English middle construction

However, the similar semantic meanings between two sentences do not indicate that they have the same syntactic representation. Besides, it is untenable to regard *qi-lai* as the middle morpheme since Chinese does not have the inflectional system as that of Romance or Germanic languages. In this section, I use some tests to argue that the V-*qi-lai* construction is not the middle construction at all.

First of all, the middle construction only expresses the generic reading whereas the V-*qi-lai* construction shows the eventive reading, as in (27) and (28):

(27) Zuotian,   zhe-liang che   kai-qi-lai   hen   shun.
      yesterday this-CL   car   drive-qi-lai   very   smooth
      'The car ran smoothly yesterday when I drove it.'

(28) Zhe-liang che   kai-qi-lai   shun   duo   le.
      this-CL   car   drive-qi-lai   smooth   more   Perf.
      'This car runs much more smoothly (than…).'

Hornstein (1990) classifies adverbs into two types: deictic and anaphoric. The interpretations of the deictic adverbs are determined via the moment of speech. Zuotian 'yesterday' in (27), which can be treated as the deictic adverb, involves the temporal modification and its temporal interpretation is 'the day before the moment of speech'. Therefore, (27) can denote a specific time, which is contrary to the generic reading of the middle construction. As for (28), according to the functional analysis of

the sentence-*le* (*le*2) in Li and Thompson (1981), one of the denotations of *le*2 is 'a change of state', or dynamic in the sense of Smith (1991).[2] Since *le*2 can appear in the V-*qi-lai* construction, (28) indicates the eventive reading that differs from the non-eventive reading of the middle construction.

Second, Sung (1994) argues that the English middle construction is not as productive as the Chinese V-*qi-lai* construction. This is due to the fact that English has the middle morpheme and the external argument, both of which are covert.

However, in my analysis, the low productivity is attributed to the covert middle morpheme in English is not correct because these two constructions are not even the same construction at all. Although the two constructions are subject to the same constraint that the stative verbs cannot appear, like *zhidao* 'know' in (29), for instance, a lot of contrasts are found between the English middle construction and the V-*qi-lai* construction, listed in (30) and (31):

(29)a.   *The answer knows easily.
b.   *Da-an   zhidao-qi-lai   hen   rongyi.
'answer   know-qi-lai   very easy'

(30)a.   *French learns easily.
b.   Fawen   xue-qi-lai   hen   rongyi.
French   learn-qi-lai   very   easy
'It is easy to learn French.'

(31)a.   This colt frightens easily.
b.   *zhe pi   xiao-ma   xia-qi-lai   hen   rongyi.
this CL   colt   frighten-qi-lai   very   easy

If *qi-lai* denotes the 'change-of-state' interpretation, then it is predictable that the V-*qi-lai* construction is not compatible with the stative verbs or the psych verbs, such as *zhidao* 'know', *ai* 'love' and *xia* 'frighten'. However, the middle construction does not indicate the 'change-of-state' interpretation as the V-*qi-lai* construction does, and many object-experiencer psych verbs form the middle construction straightforwardly, as in (31a). Therefore, the restrictions on the verbs of these two constructions are different. Besides, it is also irrelevant to attribute the productivity of the middle construction to the covert middle morpheme and the external argument.

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[2] Shen (2004) proposes that Chinese sentence final paticle –*le* checks the dynamic feature with the light verb. That is, as long as the sentence final –*le* occurs, the sentence never denotes a state, but a dynamic event.

Finally, following Rapoport (1999) and A&S (1995), we propose that there is no logical subject associated with the middle construction, and the logical object is base-generated in the subject position. However, the Agent can appear in the subject position in the V-*qi-lai* construction. This is different from the agentive adjunct *for*-phrase in the middle construction, as in (32):

(32) a.   The book translates easily for Mary.
     b.   Mali   chuan-qi zhe jian yangzhuang   -lai   hen piaoliang.
         Mali   wear-QI this Cl.   dress   -LAI   very pretty
         'Mali wears this dress looks very pretty.'

In sum, the V-*qi-lai* construction is sometimes accidental similar to the middle construction via the similar semantic translation, but their structural representations and semantic interpretations are very different in our syntactic diagnoses.

3.2 The conditional hypothesis

Chang's proposal is based on two perspectives. Semantically, the V-*qi-lai* construction represents a conditional reading that denotes the meaning 'whenever' or 'if'. Therefore, it is analyzed as a biclausal construction like the subjunctive clause in the syntactic structure. Besides, Chang considers that there are four types of relations in the conditional V-*qi-lai* constructions (from Chang 1994:95):

(33) ta fa-qi-pi-qi-lai   dajia   dou yia-que-wu-sheng.
     he lose-qi-temper-lai everyone   all   silent
     'Whenever he loses his temper, everyone becomes silent.'

(34) ta chang-qi-ge-lai   e changchang   wu-yin-bu-quan.
     he sing-qi-song-lai   often   off-key
     'Whenever he sings, he often cannot carry the tune.'

(35) zhe jian   yangzhuang chuan-qi-lai   e hen   pang.
     this Cl.   dress   wear-qi-lai   very fat
     'One who wears the dress looks fat.'

(36) zhe shou   shi   nian-qi-lai e hen rongyi   lang-lang-shang-kou.
     this Cl.   poem recite-qi-lai   very easy   memorable
     'This poem is easy to recite like a song.'

First, the obligatory arguments are all present on the surface form in (33). Secondly, the subject for the second predicate may not have any realization but is understood with the same identification of the subject in the V-*qi-lai* predicate in (34). Thirdly, there are argument-changing or argument-moving facts involved in (35). Lastly, in (36), there are also argument-changing facts but the reference of the unexpressed subject for the second predicate is identical with the semantic object of the V-*qi-lai* predicate.

From these sentences, Chang argues that they are biclausal constructions; however, (33) and (34) are not the V-*qi-lai* construction but the true subjunctive clause. Because the sentences contain *dou* 'all' and *changchang* 'often' indicate that these sentences quantify over an event or a habit. This prediction is correct since these sentences lack *yi* or *meimei*, both of which means 'every time':

(37) ta yi/meimei fa-qi-pi-qi-lai, dijia dou yia-que-wu-sheng.
    he everytime lose-qi-temper-lai everyone all silent
    'Whenever he loses his temper, everyone becomes silent.'

(38) ta yi/meimei chang-qi-ge-lai, changchang wu-yin-bu-quan.
    he everytime sing-qi-song-lai often off-key
    'Whenever he sings, he often cannot carry the tune.'

Therefore, *qi-lai* does not provide the conditional meaning and *qi-lai* in (37) and (38) can be omitted and then the conditional interpretations are still be maintained. However, (35) and (36) are the V-*qi-lai* constructions that I will deal with in the next section.

Chang's another argument that the V-*qi-lai* construction should be the conditional construction comes from that the V-*qi-lai* construction can be paraphrased by the conditional particles *-de shihou* 'at the time' or *-de hua* 'in the condition that', as in (39):

(39) a. ta nian nei ben shu -de shihou tebie renzhen.
       he read that Cl. book -at the time especially earnest
       'When he reads that book, he is especially earnest.'
    b. zhe zhong yangzhuang chuan -de hua hen pang.
       this Cl. dress waer -in the condition very fat
       'One who wears the dress looks fat.'

This argument cannot be tenable because these sentences are derived via the semantic translations, which cannot be an evidence for any structural similarities.

As for his analysis that the conditional V-*qi-lai* construction is biclausal, Chang argues that V-*qi-lai* cannot stand alone, because the V-*qi-lai* construction on the surface form always requires another main clause:

(40) ?? zhe   jian   yangzhuang   chuan-qi-lai.
       this   Cl.   dress   wear-qi-lai
       'One who wears the dress.'

Therefore, Chang argues that the V-*qi-lai* construction is paralleled to the biclausal conditional construction. The true conditional construction may demand a biclausal construction; however, it does not mean that one of the clauses cannot stand-alone.

From these examinations, the V-*qi-lai* construction needs to be analyzed in a new perspective.

4. The analysis
*4.1 Three types of the V-*qi-lai *construction*

In this section, I classify the V-*qi-lai* construction into three types. One involves the raising construction, another involves the control construction, and the other V-*qi-lai* functions as the event predicate, as in (1), (2) and (3) respectively (repeated here as (41), (42) and (43)):

(41) zhe jian yangzhuang kan-qi-lai   hen   piaoliang.
       this Cl. dress   see-QI-LAI very   pretty
       a. 'This dress looks very pretty.'   [direct perception]
       b. 'This dress seems very pretty.'   [indirect judgement]

(42) Mali chuan-qi   zhe jian   yangzhuang   -lai hen   miaotiao.
       Mali wear-QI   this Cl.   dress   -LAI very   slim
       'Mali wears this dress looks very slim.'

(43) [zhe   jian   yangzhuang   chuan-qi-lai]   hen   mafan.
        this   Cl.   dress   wear-QI-LAI   very   troublesome
       'It is troublesome to wear this dress.'

In the first construction, the verbs that can combine with *-qi-lai* are limited to

the perceptional verbs only, such as *kan* 'see,' *ting* 'hear' or *shuo* 'say.' Based on the criterion whether the speaker sees the object through direct perception, we can distinguish two subtypes of this kind of V-*qi-lai* sentence. For example, in (41a), the speaker must have seen the dress to make such assertion. The interpretation in (41a) is that *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' is pretty by the way of looking or of other direct perceptions. The verb *kan* 'look' combines with -*qi-lai* to function as a modifier indicating the manner. Another possible interpretation is like (41b), in which the speaker might not see the dress directly, but is making a judgment through indirect information from the context. In this interpretation, I assume that *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI' as a whole functions as a raising predicate like *seem* in English, since the verb before -*qi-lai* does not s-select the subject (hence no θ-assignment).

The second type of the V-qi-lai construction is like (42). In this type, *hen miaotiao* 'very slim' is predicated of the Agent phrase *Mali*, but not of the *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress,' nor of the action *chuan* 'wear.' The interpretation is that *Mali* is wearing that dress, and she becomes slim due to the dress (she may not be actually slim). This means that the Agent *Mali* undergoes a change-of-state from being not slim-looking to being slim-looking.

In the third type of the V-*qi-lai* construction (43), *henmafan* 'troublesome' is predicated of the property (in the sense of Chierchia 1985, 1989 and Bowers 1993) *chuan zhe jian yangzhuang* 'wear this dress' but not of the single entity, in contrast to the first or the second type. Therefore, the verb *chuan* 'wear' plays an important role in forming an event with Theme *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' and combines with -*qi-lai* to introduce the predicate *hen mafan* 'very troublesome'.

4.2 The structure of the V-qi-lai construction

Qi-lai here bears an evaluative meaning, which is speaker-oriented. Arguably, the syntactic representation of *qi-lai* is therefore base-generated (or derived through overt movements) in the C position.

4.2.1 The raising use of the V-qi-lai construction

In (41b), since *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI' functions as a raising predicate like *seem*, *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' is not base-generated in the matrix subject position. The matrix subject raises from the subject position in the secondary predicate, which in this case is *hen piaoliang* 'very pretty'. One piece of evidence comes from the ungrammatical sentence (44) that the original position of *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' is base-generated in the subject position of the secondary

predicate[3]:

(44) * zhe   jian   yangzhuang   kan-qi-lai   hen meiwei.
        this   Cl.   dress   see-qi-lai   very delicious

At first glance, the ungrammaticality of (44) may be attributed to the odd semantic interpretation but not to the syntactic cause. However, according to the conventional raising construction like (45):

(45) The prisoner$_i$ seems [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ intelligent].

The prisoner and *intelligent* form a small clause. The property of *intelligent* can be attributed to *the prisoner*. If this relation cannot be maintained, the sentence will be ungrammatical. Besides, due to the Extended Projection Principle, the EPP feature needs to be checked-off. Sentence (46) is ungrammatical because *zhe dao cai* 'this dish' does not raise to the matrix subject position[4]:

(46) *chi-qi-lai   zhe   dao   cai   hen   meiwei.
      eat-qi-lai   this   Cl.   dish   very delicious

    From these views, the ungrammaticality of (44) further confirms the first assumption; namely, the predicate relation should be preserved in the small clause. Because *hen meiwei* 'very delicious' does not subcategorize for *zhe jian yangzhuang*

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[3] A reviewer correctly points out that the ungrammaticality of (44) may result from the conflict between the verb *kan* 'look' and *meiwei* 'delicious' and suggests that the selectional restriction also holds between the V-*qi-lai* element and the secondary predicate, as illustrated by (i):
    (i) zhe jian yangzhuang <u>chi-qi-lai</u>   <u>hen   meiwei</u>
        this Cl. dress   eat-QI-LAI very delicious
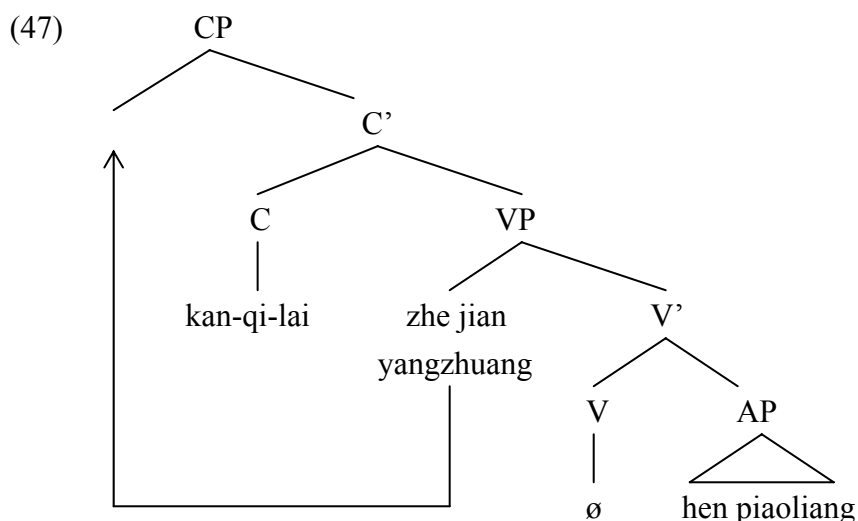   'This dress tastes delicious.'
Now suppose in a special context where the dress is designed as a food (an edible dress), the selection can be maintained between the matrix subject and the secondary predicate, and the V-*qi-lai* behaves as a modifier of the secondary predicate. Therefore, the relation between V-*qi-lai* and the secondary predicate should be considered. Syntactically, V-*qi-lai* functions as a raising predicate and forces the subject to raise to the matrix position; semantically it modifies the secondary predicate as well.

[4] A reviewer indicates that EPP is not quite obligatory in Mandarin because the implicit subject is allowed as follows:
    (i) Pro kan-qi-lai   zhe   jian yangzhuang hen piaoliang
        Pro look-QI-LAI   this   Cl. dress   very pretty
        '(literally) It looks this dress very pretty'
I suggest that Pro in example (i) can satisfy the requirement of EPP and rescues the sentence from being ungrammatical. This explanation may imply that Pro here acts like the expletive *it* in English. Moreover, only a small set of V-q*i-lai* behave like that in (i), such as *shuo-qi-lai* 'say-QI-LAI', *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI' and *ting-qi-lai* 'sound-QI-LAI'. Such V-*qi-lai* cannot modify the secondary predicate but behave more like the raising predicate just like English *seem*, which does not modify the secondary predicate.

'this dress', the predication crashes. Even if *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' raises to the matrix subject position to check-off the EPP feature, the sentence is still ungrammatical. Since the V-*qi-lai* construction that is mentioned here functions like the raising construction, *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI' can be analogy to the raising verb *seem* in English. The syntactic representation of (41) is shown in (47):

(47)

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              CP
             /  \
            /    C'
           /    /  \
          /    C    VP
          |    |    /  \
          |  kan-qi-lai zhe jian   V'
          |         yangzhuang    /  \
          |              |       V    AP
          |_____|       |    / \
                                 ø  hen piaoliang
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This construction implies that the verb *kan* (see) combines with *qi-lai* forming as the raising category like *seem* in English and operating as a modifier to denote the ways of describing the small clause. Accordingly, the verb does not affect the meaning of the small clause even it is omitted from the surface structure, such as (48):

(48) zhe   jian   yangzhuang   (kan-qi-lai)   hen   piaoliang.
     this Cl.   dress   (see-qi-lai)   very   pretty
     'This dress (looks) is very pretty.'

4.2.2 The control use of the V-qi-lai construction

However, if the verb *kan* 'look' in the first predicate *kan-qi-lai* 'look' is substituted with other transitive verbs, such as *chuan* 'wear', *du* 'read' and etc., then the semantic interpretation and the syntactic structure will be different, such as (49) and (50):

(49) zhe   jian   yangzhuang   Mali chuan-qi-lai   hen   piaoliang.
     this   Cl.   dress   Mali wear-qi-lai   very   pretty
     'It is pretty for Mali to wear this dress.'

(50) zhe   jian   yangzhuang   Mali chuan-qi-lai   hen   miaotiao.
　　　this   Cl.   dress   Mali wear-qi-lai   very slim
　　　'Mali who wear this dress looks very slim.'

(49) may involve the subject control construction. *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' is the object of the first predicate *chuan* 'wear' but it cannot be the subject of the second predicate *hen piaoliang* 'very pretty'. Because from sentence (50) we observe that *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' cannot be the subject of the second predicate *hen miaotiao* 'very slim'. Therefore, (49) cannot be analyzed as the object control construction or the raising construction. Since one argument only takes one theta role, in sentence (49), the subject of the second predicate should be analyzed as the obligatory subject control, such as (51):

(51) zhe jian yangzhuang   Mali$_i$ chuan-qi-lai   Pro$_i$ hen piaoliang.
　　　this Cl. dress   Mali wear-qi-lai   very pretty
　　　'Mali wears this dress looks very pretty.'

Furthermore, the fact that *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' can be reconstructed into the original position[5] suggests it is moved to the topic position but not base-generated in the matrix subject position; see the example (52):

(52) Mali$_i$ chuan-qi zhe -jian-yangzhuang -lai   Pro$_i$ hen   piaoliang.
　　　Mali   wear-qi this-Cl.-dress   -lai   very   pretty
　　　'Mali wears this dress looks very pretty.'

The second type of the V-*qi-lai* construction has the property of subject control. In (53), the ungrammaticality is due to the fact that the second predicate *zhi gan hen hao* 'the quality is very good' can only be attributed to the Theme *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress'.

(53) *zhe   jian   yangzhuang Mali chuan-qi-lai   zhigan hen hao.
　　　　this   Cl.   dress   Mali wear-qi-lai   quality very good

---

[5] The reason that the object always follows *qi* and precedes *lai* may dut to the Mandarin morphology:
　　(i) …zai   fangjian   li
　　　　at   room   postposition.
　　　'…in the room.'
In (i), *fangjian* 'room' only can be located between *zai* and *li* just like the object always follows *qi* and precedes *lai*.

'Mali wears this dress looks the quality is very good.'

Thus, the second predicate of the control V-*qi-lai* construction decides the grammaticality. If the second predicate cannot be attributed to the subject (since it must be controlled by the subject), then the sentence is ruled out. The syntactic structure of the control construction of the V-*qi-lai* construction is like (54):

(54)
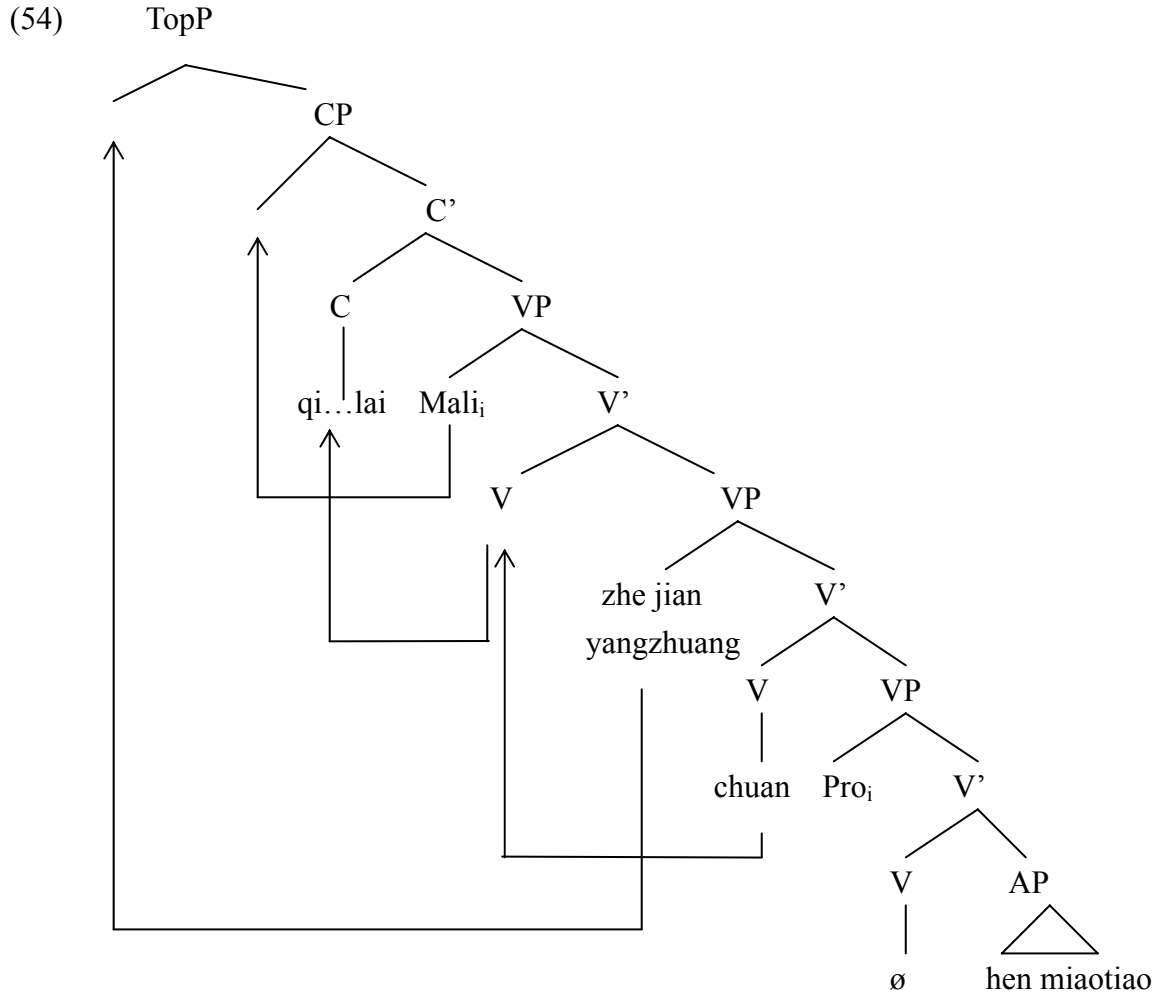
The first predicate, such as *chuan-qi-lai* 'wear', of the control V-qi-lai construction are not like *kan-qi-lai* 'look' in the raising V-*qi-lai* construction. *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI' does not contribute any theta-selection to the argument structure, however, *chuan-qi-lai* 'wear-QI-LAI' can take one object as well as a (explicit/implicit) subject. Therefore, the first predicate of the V-*qi-lai* construction decides the syntax of the seemingly-alike *qi-lai* constructions.

4.2.3 The V-qi-lai construction as the event predicate

In the third type of the V-*qi-lai* construction (55), V-*qi-lai* functions as the event

predicates, introducing an individual or a property to that event, and *hen mafan* 'troublesome' is predicated of the property *chuan* 'wear' but not of the single entity, in contrast to the first or the second type:

(55) zhe   jian   yangzhuang   *(chuan-qi-lai)   hen   mafan.
     this   Cl.   dress   wear-qi-lai   very   troublesome
     'It is troublesome to wear this dress.

The verb *chuan* 'wear' takes Theme *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' as subject and combines with *-qi-lai* to introduce the predicate *hen mafan* 'very troublesome'. V-*qi-lai* neither can be omitted as the raising V-*qi-lai* construction, nor can the subject be reconstructed into the original position as the control V-*qi-lai* construction. Intuitively, there seems to be an actor doing the action of wearing and the verb *chuan* 'wear' is a two-term predicate. However, there seems to be no logical subject associated with the sentence (55) because the unacceptability of (56):

(56) *Mali   chuan-qi zhe   jian   yangzhuang   -lai   hen   mafan
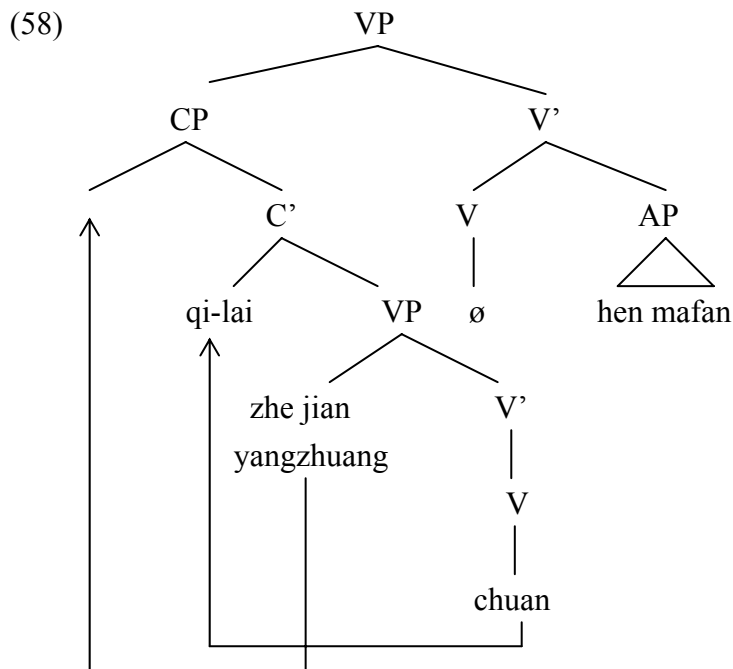   Mali   wear-QI this   CL.   dress   -LAI   very   troublesome

Therefore, *zhe jian yangzhuang* 'this dress' is base-generated in the matrix subject position and the actor may be reduced by the syntactic mechanism[6].

    Note that the translation (such as in (55)) of this type of V-*qi-lai* construction may lead us wrongly conclude that it behaves like a middle construction in English; however, a different approach is entertained in this work. The differences between the middle construction and the event predicate analysis of this type of V-*qi-lai* are as follows, pointed out to me by an anonymous reviewer:

(57) Yiqian   zhe   jian   yangzhuang chuan-qi-lai   hen   mafan.
     before   this   Cl.   dress   wear-qi-lai   very   troublesome
     'It was troublesome to wear this dress.'

The syntactic representation is shown as follows:

---

[6] In this kind of construction, I tentatively assume that the logical subject (actor) does not exist, yet the semantic object of the sentence is base-generated in the (syntactic) subject position, a construction reminiscent of the passive construction, in the sense of Huang (1999).

(58)

```
                          VP
                 ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                CP                   V'
           ┌─────┴─────┐        ┌─────┴─────┐
           ↑           C'       V           AP
                    ┌───┴───┐    │          ╱╲
                  qi-lai   VP    ø        hen mafan
                        ┌───┴───┐
                     zhe jian   V'
                     yangzhuang │
                                V
                                │
                              chuan
```

5. Conclusion

The V-*qi-lai* construction can be classified into three types through the differences in the adverbial following V-*qi-lai*. I suggest that the first predicate involves the perception verbs, such as *kan-qi-lai* 'look-QI-LAI', *wen-qi-lai* 'smell-QI-LAI' and *ting-qi-lai* 'sound-QI-LAI', is the type of the raising construction. The verbal types of the control and the event predicate V-*qi-lai* constructions are less restricted, except that the main verbs must be transitive verbs.

The second predicate of the V-*qi-lai* construction also need to be distinguished. The second predicate of the raising V-*qi-lai* construction is the main predicate, and it has the ability to select the subject. Being obligatorily subject-control, the second predicate of the control V-*qi-lai* construction subcategorizes for the subject but not the object of the first predicate. As for the event predicate type V-*qi-lai* construction, the second predicate behaves as the descriptive adverb and modifiers the process, not the result.

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