國立交通大學

外國文學與語言學研究所

碩士論文

漢語「起來」的用法

On the Uses of Mandarin Chinese *Qi-lai*

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摘　　要

　　此篇論文討論中文裡面「起來」的完成用法(completive use)及起始用法(inchoative use)。同樣的動詞組可以出現在此兩種句型當中，並分別有完成及起始兩種意義。然而完成用法是比較受限的，因此我們認為完成用法應該是由某種機制衍生而來。本篇論文主要就是在探討這個衍生機制。在討論該機制之前，我們得先釐清「起來」的核心意義。「起來」的意義需要有一個轉變點，隨後的一段過程，以及程度(degree)或量(quantity)。從該定義，我們可推論出「起來」會選擇事件無結束點的情狀（atelic situation types)並排除有結束點的情狀（ telic situation types)。至於完成句型的機制，是一種語意和句法之間的互動關係。動詞組和名詞組的特徵會決定該事件是否有發展到終點的可能性。若有，該動詞組(VP)可以經由句法上的運作將受詞向上吸引，形成「起來」的完成結構並得到事件完成的解釋。

On the Uses of Mandarin Chinese *Qi-lai*

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the uses of traditional completive *qi-lai* and inchoative *qi-lai* in Mandarin Chinese. The same VP can occur in the two constructions of *qi-lai* and denote (a)telicity respectively. The completive use is restricted and is considered to be derived. This research mainly discusses the derivation mechanism for completive construction and by the way the semantics of non-predicative qi-lai. First, the study refines the core meaning of *qi-lai*. *Qi-lai* requires three features, a change point, a following duration, and degree or quantity feature. Accordingly, it selects atelic situation types. Next, a mechanism is proposed to derive completive construction. The mechanism is an interaction between semantics and syntactic operation. The characteristics of VPs and object NPs determine the culmination condition. If the event has culmination condition, the object NP will be attracted. Then, the completive construction is formed and telic interpretation is obtained.

致謝

　　首先，我要感謝我的指導教授，林若望老師。當我碩一的時候，語意學課堂上林老師活潑風趣的教學引領我進入語意學的殿堂。當時覺得很神奇，語言竟然可以這樣詮釋。也因此和語意學結下不解之緣。爾後架構論文時，遇到了問題，老師會放下手邊的工作和學生一起思索並討論。遭逢瓶頸，老師也能以其深厚的經驗和精闢的見解指引我一條更明亮的道路。

　　接著要感謝的是劉辰生老師。劉老師教學非常的熱心並仔細，平時不僅會關心學生學業進度也會關心學生的生活近況，讓我們倍感溫馨。老師總是耐心的聆聽學生的聲音及看懂學生的文章，對於我的論文也給予很多指正，使得我的論文能更加完善。

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　　是父母的包容，才得以暫停工作回到校園，這是個重大決定也是得來不易的機會。我告訴自己，一定要努力扮好學生的角色，把書念好。非常感謝爸媽從小到大無條件的的支持與包容，我才能夠無後顧之憂地一步步完成自己的夢想。

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Qi-lai is used extensively in Mandarin Chinese. The original meaning of qi-lai, as a predicate, is an action with upward movement.

(1) a. 他起來揭發上司的惡行

　　 Ta   qi lai   jiefa   shangsi   de   e   xing

　　 He comes up   reveal superior   de   bad   act

　　 ' He comes up to reveal the superior's bad act.'

b. 快起來幹活了!

　　 Quai   qi lai   ganhuo le

　　 Quick get up   work   le

　　 'Hurry to get up to work!'

c. 他早上十點才起來

　　 Ta   tzaoshang   shi   dian cai qi lai

　　 He   morning   ten o'clock   get up

　　 ' He did not get up until ten o'clock.'

Qi-lai in sentences (1) is used as a predicate with the meaning of upward movement. Yet, the topic of the thesis is not the predicative use but focuses on the non-predicative uses of qi-lai which are more or less extended from the original meaning.

Traditionally, non-predicative qi-lai has four kinds of definitions as seen in

the research of Wu (1984) and Chang (1994). The first type of non-predicative use is the directional meaning which encodes 'from a lower place to a higher place.' Such a use is close to the original predicative use of *qi-lai*.

(2) a. 他從床上爬起來了

    Ta tsong chuang shang pa qi lai le

    He from　bed　top crawl qi lai le

    ' He got up from the bed.'

  b.他站起來了

    Ta zhan qi lai le

    He stand qi lai le.

    'He stood up.'

The second type is the inchoative use, which is used extensively. The inchoative use of *qi-lai* means that an action begins.

(3) a. 他笑起來了

    Ta xiao qi lai le

    He laugh qi lai le

    'He begins laughing.'

  b. 他唱起歌來了

    Ta chang qi ge lai le

    He sing qi song lai le

    'He begins singing a song.'

  c. 他綁起稻草來了

    Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

He tie qi   straw lai le

'He begins to tie the straw.'

d. 他收起書來了

Ta shou   qi shu lai le

He put away qi book lai le

'He begins putting away books.'

The third type is the completive use, which means the event denoted by the verb is finished. Previous analyses indicate that the completive use is limited.

(4) a. 珠寶藏起來了

Zhubao tsang qi lai le

Jewelry hide qi lai le

'The jewelry has been hidden.'

b. 他把珠寶藏起來了

Ta ba zhubao tsang qi lai le

He ba jewelry hide qi lai le

'He has hidden the jewelry.'

c. 稻草綁起來了

daotzao bang qi lai le

straw   tie   qi lai le

' The straw has been tied up.'

d. 書收起來了

Shu shou   qi lai le

Book put away qi lai le

'The books had been put away.'

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The fourth use is the evaluative use, which consists of two parts, the V-*qi-lai* part and the evaluation part.

(5) a. 這件衣服穿起來很好看

      Zhe jian yifu chuan qi lai hen haokan

      This CL shirt wear   qi lai very pretty

      'The shirt's being worn is pretty.'

  b. 他跑起來很快

      Ta pao qi lai hen quai

      He run qi lai very quick

      'His running is very quick.' ('He runs quickly.')

Firstly, this thesis will refine the semantics of *qi-lai* first. Secondly, we will explore the relation between traditional inchoative and completive meanings. Sentences (3c,d) and (4c,d) pose an interesting phenomenon that the same VP can occur in inchoative use or completive use respectively. That is, the same V-*qi-lai* predicate can denote atelicity and telicity with respect to different syntactic configurations. (3c,d) and (4c,d) are repeated here as (6a)-(6d).

(6) a 他綁起稻草來了

      Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

      He tie qi   straw lai le

      'He begins to tie the straw.'

  b 稻草綁起來了

      daotzao bang qi lai le

straw   tie   qi lai le

' The straw has been tied up.'

c. 他收起書來了

Ta shou   qi shu lai le

He put away qi book lai le

'He begins putting away books.'

d. 書收起來了

Shu shou   qi lai le

Book put away qi lai le

'The books had been put away.'

From extensive observations, it is apparent that syntactic factors play a role in the (a)telicity alternation because in the completive sentences, as we can see, the object or theme always occurs in the position preceding the V-*qi-lai* predicate. Also, it is not preferable that the same marker *qi-lai* has two different denotations. This thesis maintains that there should be one single unifying meaning rather than two independent meanings for the two uses of non-predicative *qi-lai*.

Before exploring the issue of (a)telicity alternation, we have to clarify the core meaning of the non-predicative uses of *qi-lai* except directional use. Much research defines *qi-lai* as an inchoative marker, which consists of an initial change point and a following duration. This study will show that the two features are not enough. In addition to a change point and a following duration, there should be a third requirement for the semantics of *qi-lai*. The third requirement is a degree feature or quantity feature, which will be discussed in a later chapter.

In this thesis, chapter 2 reviews previous literature on the uses of *qi-lai*. Chapter 3 refines the meaning of *qi-lai* by observing the VPs co-occurring with *qi-lai*,

and then pick out the third feature that *qi-lai* requires. Chapter 4 is concerned with the (a)telicity alternation of the two uses of *qi-lai*. The (a)telicity alternation is not simply due to the aspectual factors but to syntactic reasons. I introduce theories which state that (a)telicity is not determined merely by the situation types of VPs, but that the characteristics of object and the syntactic position of arguments are also involved in the interpretation of (a)telicity. Along with these theories, we can obtain an account for the relation between the inchoative (atelic) use and the completive (telic) use. Chapter 5 is an indication of the characteristics of the deriving mechanism for completive *qi-lai*. In addition, the function of sentential final '*le*' in *qi-lai* sentences is also involved. Chapter 6 draws conclusions.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Previous Analyses of the Core Meaning of *qi-lai*

2.1.1 Chang(1994): Analysis as Inchoativity

Chang (1994) claims that non-predicative uses of *qi-lai,* except the directional use, means 'to start, to begin' and argues that its schema[1] contains an initial point and a continuous stage with the emphasis on the initial point. *Qi-lai* denotes inchoativity and the completive *qi-lai* is said to be an extensional use of inchoativity in her thesis. Chang also states that there is no selectional restriction between inchoative *qi-lai* and its preceding verbs if there is no semantic clash between the two elements. Verbs with instantaneity like semelfactive verbs *kesou* ' to cough', *qiao* 'knock', and the achievement verb like *si* 'to die' is not permitted to occur with *qi-lai*. The achievement verb as in (7) is not allowed to occur with *qi-lai* because such verbs have no continuous stage.

(7).*他死起來了

　　*Ta si qi lai le

---

1. The temporal schema for the inchoative *qi-lai* proposed by Chang.

   I

   |=.=.=.=.=.=.->

   ---------------------------- >　Time

<div align="right">Chang (1994:55)</div>

Chang claims that the temporal schema is a metaphorical extension from the meaning of the predicative *qi-lai*, upward movement, to the time scale.

He die qi lai le

<div align="right">Chang (1994:64)</div>

However, Chang's claims are not entirely correct. Semelfactive verbs can be seen as activity verbs if the action denoted by the verb happens iteratively, as Smith(1991) argues. Activity verbs are undoubtedly compatible with *qi-lai*.

(8) a.他敲起來了

    Ta qiao qi lai le

    He knock qi lai le

    'He begins knocking.'

  b.他敲起桌子來了

    Ta qiao qi zhuotzi lai le

    He knock qi desk lai le

    'He begins to knock on the desk .'

  c.他咳起來了

    Ta ke qi lai le

    He cough qi lai le

    'He begins coughing.'

In addition, Chang also claims that inchoative *qi-lai* makes no difference between a stage level predicate and an individual level predicate. In her analysis, the following sentences in (9) and (10) are acceptable. Nonetheless, Chang is not quite correct. Sentences with stage level predicates like (10) are good, while sentences with individual predicates in (9) are actually bad.

(9) Individual level predicates with *qi-lai* (acceptable in Chang's point of view)

    a. *他聰明起來了

      *Ta tsongming qi lai le

        He smart   ai lai le

    b. *他誠實起來了

      *Ta chengshi qi lai le

      He honest qi lai le

                          Chang (1994:73)

(10) Stage level predicates can be combined with qi-lai as (10)

    a.他開心起來了

      Ta kaixin qi lai le

      He cheer qi lai le

      'He begins to cheer up.'

    b. 他難過起來了

      Ta nanguo qi lai le

      He sad   qi lai le

      'He begins to be sad.'

Most native speakers I consulted with did not agree with Chang's analysis that individual level predicates could combine with *qi-lai*. They consider the former three sentences unacceptable. I think this is because individual-level verbs do not denote change of state and are thus incompatible with *qi-lai*. This can be seen as another piece of evidence that *qi-lai* requires change of state. When a word like "*turan*" is inserted before the individual level predicate, these sentences are improved. For

example, the following two sentences are not so awkward as their counterparts without "*turan*". The adverb "turan" is said to provide change of state for the whole predicate, and hence the whole sentence becomes more acceptable.

(11) a.他突然聰明起來了

　　　　Ta turan tsongming qi lai le

　　　　He suddenly smart　　ai lai le

　　　　'He suddenly begins to be smart.'

　　　b.她突然漂亮起來了

　　　　Ta turan piaoliang qi lai le

　　　　He suddenly beautiful qi lai le

　　　　'He suddenly begins to be beautiful.'

　　　c.他突然誠實起來了

　　　　Ta turan chengshi qi lai le

　　　　He suddenly honest qi lai le

　　　　'He suddenly begins to be honest.'

If we see the awkward sentences in (9) as sentences containing a covert adverb '*turan*', the seemingly awkward sentences can be treated as acceptable ones.

　　　　Chang's analysis is correct in stating that *qi-lai* denotes an initial point and a continuous stage. But she is wrong in claiming that *qi-lai* is compatible with individual verbs without adverbs providing change of state.

2.1.2 Cao (2000) : A Change Point and a State

　　　　Cao's (2000) analysis states that *qi-lai* has five functions as follows:

(12)

a. as a predicate:一頭栽在地上，永不起來

        yi tou   tzai tzai   di shang, yung bu   qi lai

      one head fall on the ground,   never   get up

      ' One's head falls down on the ground and never rises.'

b. directional meaning: 他把駱駝拉了起來

         ta ba luo tuo la le qi lai

         he BA camel pull up

        'He pulls up the camel.'

c. initiation and on-going process (inchoative):大家哈哈地笑了起來

               da jia   haha di xiao le qi lai

               everyone haha   laugh le qi lai

               'Everyone begins to laugh.'

d. result of an action, attainment of goal(completive):藏起來，收起來

               tsang qi lai, shou qi lai

               hide qi lai, put away qi lai

               'hide',   'put away'

e. when…. :說起來容易做起來難

      shou qi lai jung yi, tzuo qi lai nan

      say qi lai   easy, do qi lai difficult

     'It is easy to say, but it is difficult to do.'

                              Cao (2000:11)

Cao's paper focuses on the inchoative use, and she tries to explore the core meaning of *qi-lai*. Cao scrutinizes the internal structure of a large class of verbs which are compatible with inchoative *qi-lai*. From the viewpoint of philosophy, all things

undergo change. Change of substance and change of amount all occur. The former is real change and she calls it *'change.'* The latter is more stable and refers to a process, so it is called '*state*'. She draws a temporal scale for all verbs as (13). The point t1 refers to the initial change point and t2 refers to the end change point.

(13)

<pre>
                 t1   t2
      _____|_____|_____
</pre>

Cao (2000:12)

Some verbs contain neither t1 nor t2 ; some contain either of the two change points; some contain both, and some even have the two points overlapped; still the other have no change or state.

She finds that verbs compatible with inchoative *qi-lai* must contain a change point and a following state. The lack of either one of the two features fails to let verbs co-occur with inchoative *qi-lai*. As a result, she concludes that inchoative *qi-lai* denotes an initial change point and a state.

However, counterexamples to her analysis still exist. If her analysis is correct, the combination of certain stative verbs and *qi-lai* like (14a,b) should be acceptable. Yet, this is contrary to the facts.

(14) a.*他知道起這件事來了

　　 *Ta zhidao qi zhe jian shi lai le

　　 He know qi this CL matter lai le

　 b.*他認識起張三來了

*Ta renshi qi Zhangsan lai le

He know qi Zhangsan lai le

The temporal structure of the verbs in (14a,b) contains an initial point and a following state, but they are still not compatible with *qi-lai*. This shows that the analysis of Cao is not quite satisfying. There must be an additional factor that decides the co-occurrence of verbs and *qi-lai.*

2.2 Previous analyses on the inchoative and completive meanings

2.2.1 Chang (1994)

Chang (1994) explores the four functions of *qi-lai*, including three monoclausal constructions and a biclausal construction. The three monoclausal constructions involve directional meaning, inchoative meaning, and completive meaning. The biclausal construction is a conditional construction. Directional use is close to the original predicative meaning ' from a lower place to a higher place.' Inchotive use means 'to start, to begin.' As for the completive meaning, Chang proposes a two-tier schema to account for the completive *qi-lai*. She says that only a limited number of verbs inherently contain two-tier internal structure.

(15) Two-tier event schema for the verbs selected by completive *qi-lai*

        F

-----------> | →completive focus

ACTION **I**

       |---------->STATE

     Inchoative focus
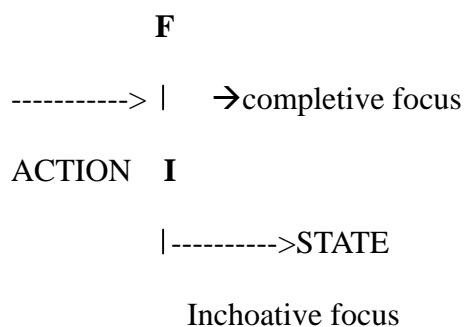
                         Chang (1994:81)

When the verbs with the two-tier schema combine with the inchoative viewpoint, they will get completive interpretation. Verb selections of the two uses of *qi-lai* show complementary distribution; verbs compatible with the inchoative *qi-lai* will not co-occur with the completive *qi-lai.* She claims that completive *qi-lai* is an extensional use of inchoative *qi-lai*. As for the position of the object, she explains that the object is the focus of a sentence, so it appears in the most prominent position: the syntactic subject position.

Sentences in (6), repeated here as (16), are counterexamples to her proposal.

(16) a. 他綁起稻草來了

　　　Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

　　　He tie qi   straw lai le

　　　'He begins to tie the straws.'

　　b. 稻草綁起來了

　　　daotzao bang qi lai le

　　　straw   tie   qi lai le

　　　' The straw has been tied up.'

　　c. 他收起書來了

　　　Ta shou   qi shu lai le

　　　He put away qi book lai le

　　　'He begins to put away books.'

　　d. 書收起來了

　　　Shu shou   qi lai le

　　　Book put away qi lai le

　　　'The books had been put away.'

Verbs selections of the two uses do not pose complementary distribution in each pair. The same VP can occur in either construction respectively. Further, the syntactic position of the object NP does not simply represent the prominence of the object NP, but shows that it plays an important part in the interpretation of the completive use. This will be discussed later in chapter 4.

2.2.2 He (2004)

He(2004) divides the verb-direction construction "V-*qi-lai*" into three semantic types: the positional-movement meaning, the result meaning, and the aspectual meaning. The position-movement meaning, *type A,* represents a movement from a lower position to a higher position.

(17) 站起來

Zhan qi-lai

stand qi-lai

'stands up.'

He (2004:23)

The result meaning, *type B*, expresses that an action reaches a goal or obtains a result.

(18) 關起來

guan qi-lai

Close qi-lai

'close up'

He (2004:23)

The aspectual meaning, *type C*, indicates that an action begins and continues.

(19) 吃起來

    Chi qi-lai

    Eat qi-lai

    'begin eating'

<div align="right">He (2004:23)</div>

Sometimes, the same V-*qi-lai* construction poses ambiguity.

(20) a. 他用夾子把裂開的口夾起來 (result meaning)

    Ta yuong jiatze ba lie kai de kou jia qi-lai

    He with pin BA split open de break pinch qi-lai

    'He pinches the break with a pin.'

   b. 他開始夾起來 (aspectual meaning)

    Ta kaishi jia qi-lai

    He begin pinch qi-lai

    'He begins to pinch.'

<div align="right">He (2004:23)</div>

He also indicates different syntactic distributions of the three types. In Agent-as-subject constructions, if there is no patient, the three types of meanings are all acceptable.

(21)A：他站起來

    Ta zhan qi-lai

He stand qi-lai

'He stands up.'

B：戰爭爆發起來

Zhan zheng bao fa　qi-lai

War　　explode　qi-lai

'The war explodes.'

C：他笑起來

Ta xiao qi-lai

He laugh qi-lai

'He begins laughing'

He (2004:26)

If there is a patient in the argument structure, but it does not occur, then the acceptability is low. Type C is not affected by the non-occurrence of patient.

(22)A：？他扶起來

Ta fu qi-lai

He hold qi-lai

B：？他合起來

Ta he qi-lai

He close qi-lai

C：他吃起來

Ta chi qi-lai

He eat qi-lai

'He begins eating.'

He (2004:26)

In Patient-as-subject constructions, the aspectual meaning, C-type, is not permitted.

(23) A：旗杆豎起來了

    Qi gan   shu qi-lai

    Flag pole stand qi-lai

    'The flag pole stands up.'

  B：犯人關起來了

    Fan ren   guan   qi-lai le

    Criminal imprison qi-lai le

    'The criminal is imprisoned.'

He (2004:27)

I agree with He that different syntactic distributions have different interpretations. From his analysis, we know that the different positions of patient (maybe object or theme) permit different types of meanings. Yet, he just makes a classification and does not give a clear explanation to the interaction of syntax and semantics.

2.2.3. Wang (2005)

Wang (2005) treats *qi-lai* as an inchoative aspectual marker and divides the evaluative use into two kinds of constructions: the conditional construction and the inaccusative construciton. The aspectual *qi-lai* shows inceptive meaning and ignores a final point in the event structure. This is said to be a grammaticalization from the the earliest denotation: spatial upward movement. As for the completive meaning, she argues that it is a result of the interaction between situation aspect and viewpoint

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aspect. In sentence (24), the situation aspect of the VP is activity, so the whole sentence denotes atelicity when *qi-lai* is applied. She argues the VP in sentence (24b) is an accomplishment VP with a natural endpoint, so the whole sentence is telic when the inchoative viewpoint is applied.

(24) a. 張三突然笑起來了

      Zhangsan turan xiao qi-lai le

      Zhangsan suddenly laugh qi-lai le

      'ZS suddenly begins laughing.'

   b. 他把金子藏起來了

      Ta ba jintze tsang qi-lai le

      He BA gold hide qi-lai le

      'He hides the gold.'

                                 Wang (2005:11)

She also claims that *qi-lai* is compatible with activity and accomplishment verbs[2], and it denotes the initial point of a situation.

      This is not quite satisfying. Since the theme or object always occurs before V-*qi-lai* predicate in completive constructions, the position of the object/theme cannot be ignored. The completive reading of sentence (24b) should not be explained simply by the interaction between event type and viewpoint aspect. There should be a syntactic factor participating in inducing completive (telic) reading, which will be

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[2] Wang's analysis is based on an assumption that there are lexically determined accomplishment verbs. However, in Tai's (1984) analysis, a monomorphemeic verb needs a resultative morpheme to form an accomplishment event. In Lin (2006), an incremental verb accompanying a precisely quantized object NP forms an accomplishment VP.

discussed later.

2.2.4. Chen (2006)

Chen divides *qi-lai* sentences into two different patterns: separation pattern and combination pattern. He claims that different patterns correspond to different meanings.

Separation pattern V-*qi*-N-*lai* represents the initiation of a new state. The pattern expresses the gradual process after the initiation of a new state, rather than an endpoint.

(25) a. 捆起書來

    Kuen qi shu lai

    Tie   qi book lai

    '…begin to tie the books.'

  b. 下起雨來

    Xia qi yu lai

    Fall qi rain lai

    '… begin to rain.'

  c. 建起房子來

    Jian qi fangtzi lai

    Build qi house lai

    '…begin to build (a) house(s).'

Chen (2006:137)

Combination pattern V-*qi-lai* denotes a result of movement in space or the end of a process.

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(26) a.拿起來一本書

　　　 Na qi-lai yi ben shu

　　　 Pick qi-lai one Cl. book

　　　 Pick up a book.

　　 b.建起來一座房子

　　　 Jian qi-lai yi tzuo fang tzi

　　　 Build qi-lai one Cl. house

　　　 Build up a house

Chen (2006:137)

The combination pattern he discusses is restricted to the construction, V *qi-lai* N ,

which is beyond the use of Chinese in Taiwan; this type of sentences is irrelevant in

the analysis.

　　　 The notable point of Chen's analysis is that the separation pattern V *qi* N *lai*

expresses an initial point and a following process, which is similar to my observations.

That is, the separation construction of *qi-lai* denotes atelicity. However, his analysis

just indicates the phenomenon, instead of giving a convincing explanation to the

phenomenon.

2.3 Summary

　　　 In reviewing previous literature, problems are discovered. Most of the

analyses define *qi-lai* as denoting a change point, and a following duration of process

or state. However, this is still not a satisfying semantic account. As for the second

issue on the (a)telicity alternation, previous analyses just show the phenomenon but

do not provide an explanation. Therefore, we should explore the issues further and

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give each issue a more convincing analysis. The two issues will be discussed in

chapter 3 and chapter 4 respectively.

Chapter 3

The Core Meaning of *qi-lai*

Before discussing the issue of the (a)telicity alternation between the inchoative use and the completive use, we have to refine the core meaning of non-predicative *qi-lai*. The directional use of *qi-lai* is not concerned here. From previous analyses, we know that *qi-lai* encodes a change point and a following duration. However, counterexamples in (27) show that only the two features are not sufficient for Mandarin adjectives (stative verbs)[3] to combine with *qi-lai*.

(27) a.*小美認識起小明來了

　　Xiaomei renshi qi Xiaoming lai le

　　Xiaomei know qi Xiaoming lai le

　　b.*小美了解起小明來了

　　Xiaomei liaojie　　qi Xiaoming lai le.

　　Xiaomei understand qi Xiaoming lai le

　　c.*我知道起這件事來了

　　wo zhidao qi zhe jian　shi　lai le

　　I　know　qi this jian matter lai le

In (27), those stative verbs denote a change point and a following duration, but the sentences are still unacceptable. A third requirement is still necessary. Section 3.1 explores the third feature in Mandarin stative verbs. An analysis is first provided that

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[3]　Here we assume that adjectives in Mandarin Chinese are stative verbs

states that the reversibility feature is the third feature for Mandarin stative verbs to combine with *qi-lai*. However, reversibility still fails to cover all cases. Then, we provide some evidence and suggest that the exact feature be the degree feature. Section 3.2 studies the third feature in activity verbs corresponding to the degree feature in stative verbs. If we regard the *qi-lai* with activity verbs and that with stative verbs as one in the same, there must also be a third feature in activity verbs corresponding to the degree feature in stative verbs. In this section, we briefly introduce Doetjes's theory and find out the correspondence between the degree feature in stative verbs and the equivelant feature in activity verbs. Assuming Dotjes, the third feature for activity verbs, I suggest, is the scalar quantity feature. Then we conclude that *qi-lai* selects the scalar feature. Accordingly, *qi-lai* selects atelic VPs. The last section is the summary.

3.1   The third feature for stative verbs to be compatible with *qi-lai*

We have assumed that adjectives in Mandarin Chinese are actually stative verbs. In this section, we provide a third feature that determines the (in)compatibility between *qi-lai* and Mandarin stative verbs. The third feature I provide is the degree feature. The existence of the degree feature in stative verbs exactly permits the co-occurrence with *qi-lai*.

Reexamining those (un)acceptable sentences, we find that the third property is degree.

In groups of sentences below, sentences (a) test the presence of duration. Sentences (b) act as a test of the presence of degree[4]. Sentences (c) indicate the

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[4] In sentences (28)-(31), I use degree modifier adverbs, such as *hen* and *feichang* to test the existence of degree. Also, I use an adverb *henjiou*, which means a long time, to test if the verb possesses duration.

(un)acceptability of stative verbs co-occurring with *qi-lai*.

(28) a. 我懷疑他很久了 (duration)

　　Wo huaiyi ta hen jiou le

　　I　doubt him very long

　　'I doubted him for a long time.'

　b. 我非常懷疑他　 (degree)

　　wo feichang huaiyi ta

　　I　very　　doubt hime

　　'I doubt hime very much.'

　c. 小明懷疑起小美來了

　　Xiaoming huaiyi qi xiaomei lai le

　　Xiaoming begins to doubt Xiaomei.'

(29) a.我認識他三年了 (duration)

　　Wo renshi ta　san nian le

　　I　know him three year le

　　'I have known him for three years.'

　b. *我很認識他　　 (no degree)

　　*wo hen　renshi　ta

　　I　very　know　him

　c. *小美認識起小明來了

　　*Xiaomei renshi qi Xiaoming lai le

　　Xiaomei know qi Xiaoming lai le

(30)a. *我了解他很久了 (no duration)

　　*Wo liaojie ta hen jiou le

　　I understand him very long

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b. 我非常了解他　　(degree)

　　wo feichang　liaojie　　ta

　　I　　very　　understand him

　　'I understand him very much.'

c. *小美了解起小明來了

　　*Xiaomei liaojie qi Xiaoming lai le.

　　Xiaomei liaojie qi Xiaoming lai le

(31)a. 我知道這件事很久了　　（duration）

　　Wo zhidao zhe jian shi　hen jiou le

　　I　know this CL matter very long le

　　' I have known about this matter for a long time.
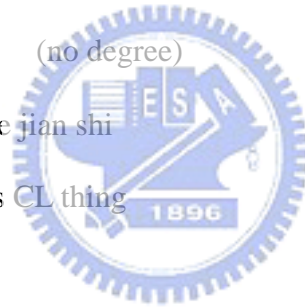
b.*我非常知道這件事　　　(no degree)

　　*wo feichang zhidao zhe jian shi

　　I　　very　　know　　this CL thing

c. *我知道起這件事來了

　　*wo zhidao qi zhe jian shi　lai le

　　I　know　qi this CL thing lai le

　　Stative verbs in the groups (28) to (31) are not individual-level verbs, so they have the meaning of a change of state. Stative verbs without degree are not compatible with *qi-lai* as seen in (29) and (31); neither are verbs without duration as seen (30). Accordingly, the three properties: a change point, a following duration or state, and degree feature must all be present so that stative verbs can co-occur with *qi-lai*. The lack of any one of the three properties leads to the incompatibility between stative verbs and *qi-lai*.

　　We now know that the stative verbs compatible with *qi-lai* must contain a

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third feature, degree. However, the degree feature needs further amendment. There exist some cases that cannot be completely explained, as in sentences (33) and (35). In sentences (32) to (35), we find that if the degree feature of stative verbs is negative, the sentences will be unacceptable. So, the development of degree of the scalar stative verbs must be positive or upward in order for the sentences to be acceptable. Verbs like *shou* (thin) and *shao* (few/little), though, contain degree, duration, and change of state, they express negative degree. It is the negative degree that causes the unacceptability of *shou* (thin) and *shao* (few/little) in the sentences of *qi-lai*.

(32)他胖起來了

    Ta pang qi lai le

    He fat   qi lai le

    ' He begins to become fat.

(33)*他瘦起來了

    *Ta shou qi lai le

    He thin qi lai le

(34)東西多了起來

    Dongxi duo le qi lai

    Things many/much le qi lai

    'Things begin to become more in amount.'

(35)*東西少了起來

    *Dongxi shao   le qi lai

    Things few/little le qi lai

Sentence (36) seems to pose a counterexample to the positive degree analysis.

(36) 他年輕起來了

    Ta nianqing qi lai le

    He young qi lai le

    'He begins to be young.'

Some may say *nianqing* 'young' is the decrease of age and argue that *nianqing* 'young' contains a negative degree. I think *nianqing* 'young' should be interpreted as some state of looks and it possesses its own degree scale. Therefore, sentence (36) expresses the positive development on the degree scale of *nianqing* 'young.'

    Accordingly, the original concept of *qi-lai*, upward movement, not only metaphorically extends to the temporal span, as stated in Chang's analysis (1994), but also to the scale of degree. On the scale of degree, the direction of development must be positive or upward, which conforms to the original concept, upward movement. Thus, a positive degree feature[5], along with a change point and a following duration, is required in order for stative verbs to be compatible with *qi-lai*.

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[5] Professor Liu Chen-Sheng gave the following sentence. The sentence seems to be a counterexample. I have consulted several native speakers; some say the sentence is acceptable whereas others think it is akward. Here we assume it is acceptable. The verb *suo* (shrink) seems to have negative meaning. Actually, the verb *suo* (shrink) is an activity verb not a stative verb, which needs positive degree to be compatible with *qi-lai*. We know that activity verbs are all able to co-occur with *qi-lai*. Activity verbs do affect its object whereas stative verbs do not. In later sections, we will see that the third feature for acitivity verbs is quantity. As long as an event denoted by an activity verb happens and develops, the quantity will increase and cannot be negative.

i. 這張照片縮起來不太好看

    Zhe zhang zhaopian suo   qi lai   bu   tai   haokan

    This CL   picture shrink qi lai not   too beautiful

    'This picture does not look beautiful when reduced.'

3.2   The third feature of activity verbs

In addition to the two requirements, a following duraition and a change point, stative verbs need a third feature: degree. Yet, activity verbs do not have the degree feature. If we treat this *qi-lai* with activity verbs and that *qi-lai* with stative verbs as one in the same, we also have to look for a third feature for activity verbs.

3.2.1   Feature in activity verbs corresponding to degree feature

Given a test of the existence of the degree feature, we find that activity verbs cannot be modified by degree modifiers such as *hen* and *feichang,* as indicated in the following sentences.

(37) a. *他非常笑

   *Ta feichang xiao

   He very   laugh

   b. *他很笑

   *Ta hen xiao

   He very laugh

(38) a. *他很跑

   *Ta hen pao

   He very run

   b. *他非常跑

   *Ta hen pao

   He very run

We do not find the degree feature in activity verbs in the above sentences, for those activity verbs cannot be modified by degree modifiers. Yet, the activity verbs in

the above sentences are all compatible with *qi-lai,* as illustrated in the following:

(39) a.他笑了起來

   ta xiao le qi lai

   he laugh le qi lai

   'He begins to laugh.'

   b.他跑了起來

   ta pao le qi lai

   he run le qi lai

   'He begins to run.'

From extensive observation, almost all activity verbs are compatible with *qi-lai*. If we see *qi-lai* occurring with activity verbs and *qi-lai* occurring with stative verbs as one in the same, there must be a third feature in activity verbs corresponding to the degree feature in stative verbs. The third feature in activity verbs needs exploring.

Doetjes (1997) gives an insight that the concept of degree in scalar adjectives is associated with the concept of quantity in VPs and NPs. We here briefly introduce Doetjes's idea about the parellelism among VPs, NPs, and APs and the similarity between the degree feature and the quantity feature.

Doetjes studies quantifying expression and investigates the differences and parallels between nominal and the verbal systems. She also derives a parallel between VP, NP, and AP. Doetjes makes use of categorical selection and theta selection. Categorical selection means that the head selects certain syntactic category as its complement. On the other hand, theta selection is sensitive to specific types of theta roles. Take the degree modifier *too* for example. It only combines with scalar

adjectives such as *tall*, which contains a theta position called g(grade)-position. Non-scalar adjectives like *next* lack the g(rade)-position, so they are incompatible with *too*. The degree expression *more* is different from *too*. *More* can be combined with scalar adjectives and VP and NP while *too* is only compatible with scalar adjectives. NPs and VPs which can combine with *more* contain a theta position called q(uantity)-position. Doetjes argues that t*oo* and *more* are both theta selectors which select a certain theta position, while *too* is also a categorial selector which syntactically selects APs. The relation between *more* and scalar-adjectives is a theta relation. The relation between *more* and an AP, and the relation between *more* and a VP or an NP are basically the same. Grade (degree) is linked with quantity in her theory. She argues that grade and quantity are conceptually the same, but syntactically different.

On the basis of Doetjes' theory, I suppose that activity verbs contain a quantity feature which is said to correspond to the degree feature of stative verbs. However, a quantity feature is not the final answer, and it still needs some amendment or addition in order to be compatible with *qi-lai*. Since a quantity feature exists not only in activity verbs, but also in accomplishments and achievments, we cannot conclude in a hurry that the third feature for activity verbs is a quantity feature. In the following section we will further explore the (non)-scalar characteristics of quantity features, and also explain the (in)compatibility of verb classes.

3.2.2   (Non)-scalar quantity feature

Verb phrases are traditionally classified into four aspectual categories. The classification is proposed by Vendler (1957). The four categories are activity verbs, stative verbs, accomplishment verbs, and achievement verbs. Activity verbs and stative verbs are unbounded, whereas accomplishment and achievement verbs are

bounded. Vendler (1967) also indicates that activity verbs have cumulative reference properties as mass nouns and plurals, whereas accomplishments and achievements are similar to count singulars because they have quantized reference properties.

Similarly, Doetjes (1997) studies and compares the mass/count distinction in the nominal system and verbal system. Aspectual properties of verb phrases are compared to nominal mass/count distinction.

(40) a.   Mary drew a circle.

b.   Mary drew.

Doetjes (1997: 44)

The event in (a) is bounded. The endpoint is equal to the moment when the circle was drawn on the paper. The event in (b) is unbounded; there is no clear endpoint of the event of Mary's drawing. Bounded VPs are said to be similar to count nouns, and unbounded VPs are said to be similar to mass nouns or plurals.

Doetjes argues that quantity features exist in the thematic grid of both nouns and verbs. She proposes that the reference properties (quantized reference or cumulative reference) of VPs are represented as q(uantity)-position, which can be scalar or non-scalar. Bounded VPs and singular count nouns, which possess quantized reference properties, are said to be singular expressions; they contain non-scalar q-positions. Expressions like mass nouns, plurals, and unbounded VPs, which possess cumulative reference, contain scalar q-positions.

Along the line of Vendler's and Doetjes's theories, I would like to suggest that *qi-lai* requires scalar features. In other words, *qi-lai* selects the scalar quantity feature in activity verbs and the degree feature in scalar stative verbs. The degree feature is inherently scalar. The suggestion not only explains the compatibility

between *qi-lai* and activity verbs as well as scalar stative verbs, but also accounts for the incompatibility between *qi-lai* and achievements as well as accomplishments. In the coming sections, the (in)compatibility between *qi-lai* and the verb classes are well explained.

3.2.3   The (un)acceptable verb classes

In Mandarin, VPs can also be classified into several types from Vendler's viewpoint, which is first proposed by Tai (1984). Activity verbs, such as *pao* (run) and *xiao* (laugh), have homogeneous internal structure; they have cumulative reference properties. So do semelfactive verbs since they can be taken as activity verbs when they are interpreted iteratively. If so, there is no clear endpoint in their internal structure. Stative verbs, such as *xihuan* (like), also have homogeneous internal structure and have no clear endpoint in the internal structure. Achievement verbs like *si* (die) and *dao* (arrive) encode only a point. There is no duration in their internal structure. Moreover, the event structure of accomplishments like *hua-wan* (draw finish), *xue-hui* (study know) is a combination of an activity verbs and a resultative morpheme[6]. The event structure of the verb compounds has a clear

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[6] Tai (1984) classifies Chinese verbs according to Vendler's notion of time. He considers that Chinese does not have monomorphemic accomplishment verbs. The Chinese accomplishments are in the form of the resultative verb compounds consisting of an activity verb and a result morpheme. They only have result aspect in the scope of the adverbial '*jihu*' (almost) and negation.

  i. a. 張三幾乎畫完了一張畫 (result reading only)

    Zhangsan   jihu   hua   wan   le   yi   zhang   hua

    Zhangsan   almost   draw   finish   Asp   one   CL   picture

    'Zhangsan almost painted a picture.'

    b. 張三幾乎畫了一張畫   (action reading only)

    Zhangsan   jihu   hua-le   yi   zhang   hua

    Zhangsan   almost   draw-Asp   one   Cl   picture

endpoint. Moreover, there is another type of accomplishments: an incremental verb taking a non-specific indefinite object, which is indicated in Lin (2006)[7]. The indefinite quantized object provides an endpoint to the event.

For stative verbs, we know in the previous section that the third requirement is the degree (or grade) feature. Adjectives in Mandarin Chinese, such as *gaoxing* (happy) and *nanguo* (sad) are treated as stative verbs. In English, Doetjes refers to the adjectives which contain degree (grade) feature as *scalar adjectives*. We follow her and call the stative verbs containing grade feature—*scalar stative verbs*. In previous sections, we know that *scalar stative verbs* can combine with *qi-lai*.

(41)a. 他很高興

'Zhangsan almost painted a picture.'
ii. a. 張三沒學會中文　(result interpretation)
　　Zhangsan mei　xue-hui　　Zhongwen
　　Zhangsan not　study-know　Chinese
　'Zhangsan didn't learn learn Chinese.'
　b. 張三沒學中文　（action interpretation)
　　Zhangsan mei　xue　　Zhongwen
　　Zhangsan not　study　Chinese
　'Zhangsan didn't learn learn Chinese.'

The Chinese equivalents to English achievements are also in the form of resultative verb compounds like 'zhao-dao' (seek-reach), and 'kanjian' (look-for-percieve), which are not very different from accomplishments in syntax and semantics. Other achievement verbs are in the form of simple verbs like si (die). The above achievements and accomplishments are considered by Tai to belong to one category called *results*. The internal structure of the *result* category contains an endpoint. As for the Chinese equivalents to activities and states, the time schemata of them are regarded as not much different from their English counterparts.

7. Lin (2006) refers to the activity verbs like *he* (drink), *chi* (eat), *xie* (write), or *gai* (buid) as incremental verbs. Incremental verbs denote telicity interpretation when they take a non-specific indefinite object with precise quantity. An incremental verb along with a non-specific indefinite object forms an accomplishment event.

Ta hen gaoxing

He very happy

'He is very happy.'

b. 他高興起來了

Ta gaoxing qi lai le

He hapy qi lai le

'He begins to be happy.'

(42)a. 他很焦慮

Ta hen jiaolyu

He very anxious

'He is very anxious.'

b. 他焦慮起來了

Ta jiaolyu qi lai le

He anxious qi lai le

'He begins to be anxious.'

On the other hand, other stative verbs which do not contain a degree (grade) feature, cannot combine with *qi-lai*. Examples (31) and (33) are repeated below.

(43) a.*小美認識起小明來了

*Xiaomei renshi qi Xiaoming lai le

Xiaomei know qi Xiaoming lai le

b. *我知道起這件事來了

*wo zhidao qi zhe jian shi lai le

I know qi this CL matter lai le

The (un)grammaticality of the above sentences conforms to the suggestion that *qi-lai* selects scalar features and precludes non-scalar features. Sentences (41b) and (42b) contain scalar stative verbs which possess the degree feature, so the sentences are acceptable. Sentences (43a) and (43b) contain non-scalar stative verbs which do not have the degree (grade) feature; hence, the sentences are unacceptable.

Almost all activity verbs in Mandarin Chinese are able to co-occur with *qi-lai*. Activity verbs do not contain degree features; they contain quantity features. Activity verbs are unbounded events; the reference property of activity verbs is cumulative. According to the previous suggestion, VPs with cumulative reference properties contain the scalar quantity feature. The activity VPs in the following sentences all contain the scalar quantity feature. They are all predicted to be compatible with *qi-lai*.

(44) a.他跑起來了

  Ta pao qi lai le

  He run qi lai le

  'He begins to run.'

 b.他哭起來了

  Ta ku qi lai le

  He cry qi lai le

  'He begins to cry.'

 c.他唱起歌來了

  Ta chang qi ge lai le

  He sing qi song lai le

  'He begins to sing a song.'

 d.他跳起舞來了

  Ta tiao qi wu lai le

He dance qi dance lai le

'He begins to dance.'

The scalar quantity feature is believed to be associated with the degree feature in *scalar stative verbs*. *Qi-lai* is sensitive to scalar feature. It selects the scalar quantity feature in activity verbs and the degree feature in scalar stative verbs in Mandarin Chinese.

Next, we examine the incompatible VPs for *qi-lai* sentences. From previous literature we know that achievements cannot occur with *qi-lai*. Achievements consist of only one point in the internal event structure, so they are said to not contain scalar features. Thus, they will be precluded by *qi-lai*. The following illustrations show that the prediction is correct. Example (7) is repeated here as (45a).

(45)a.*他死起來了

Ta si qi lai le

He die qi lai le

b.*他到起來了

Ta dao qi lai le

He arrive qi lai le

In my opinion, accomplishments are also incompatible with *qi-lai*. The following is a type of accomplishments: verb compounds that consist of an activity verb and a resultative morpheme. These verb compounds encode a period of duration and an endpoint in the internal structure. Because of the endpoint, they are considered to possess the non-scalar quantity feature. Thus, they are predicted to be unable to combine with *qi-lai*. Sentences in (46) show that the prediction is confirmed to be

true.

（46）a.*他寫完起來了

　　　*Ta　xie　wan　qi lai le

　　　He write　finish qi lai le

　b. *他寫完起信來了

　　　*Ta　xie　wan qi　sin　lai　le

　　　He write finish qi letter　lai　le

　c. *他學會起來了

　　　*Ta　xue　hui　qi lai le

　　　He study know qi lai le

　d. *他學會起英文來了

　　　*Ta　xue　hui　qi　yingwen lai le

　　　He　study know qi　English　lai le

　　　　In addition, as Lin (2006) indicates, an incremental verb taking a

non-specific indefinite object also forms an accomplishment event. Since the

non-specific indefinite object NP provides an endpoint to the internal structure, the

reference property is quantized, and the event contains the non-scalar quantity feature.

Hence they are predicted to be incompatible with *qi-lai*. In the following illustrations,

the first sentence of each pair contains an accomplishment VP, which is composed of

an activity verb and a quantized object NP. Thus, the sentences are unacceptable. On

the contrary, the second sentence of each pair contains a VP with a bare plural or a

mass noun as the object or theme. They are unbounded VPs and contain the scalar

quantity feature, so they are compatible with *qi-lai*.

(47) a. * 他吃起兩塊蛋糕來了

　　　*Ta chi qi liang　kuai　dangao lai le

　　　He eat qi two　pieces　cake　lai le

　a'. 他吃起蛋糕來了

　　　Ta chi qi dangao lai le

　　　He eat qi cake　lai le

　　　'He begins to eat cake.'

　b. *他喝起三碗湯來了

　　　*Ta　he　qi san　wan tang lai le

　　　He drink qi three bowl soup lai le

　b'. 他喝起湯來了

　　　Ta　he　qi　tang lai le

　　　He drink qi　soup lai le

　　　'He begins to drink soup.'

　c. *他捆起三本書來了

　　　*Ta kuen qi san ben shu lai le

　　　He　tie qi three CL book lai le

　c'. 他捆起書來了

　　　Ta kuen qi shu lai le

　　　He　tie qi book lai le

　　　'He begins to tie the books.'

　d. *他綁起三根稻草來了

　　　*Ta bang qi san gen daotzao lai le

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He tie qi three CL straw lai le

d'. 他綁起稻草來了

Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

He tie qi   straw lai le

'He begins to tie the straw.'

Mandarin achievements and accomplishments, bounded events, have a clear endpoint in the event structure, so their reference properties are said to be quantized. Hence, their quantity features are non-scalar. Along with the suggestion that *qi-lai* selects scalar features, we have the correct prediction that the achievements and accomplishments are incompatible with *qi-lai*.

3.4 Summary

From the above discussion, we know that *qi-lai* does not only denote inchoativity, a change point and a following duration, but also requires the degree feature for stative verbs. In addition, the development direction of degree feature must be positive or upward, which is a metaphorical extension of the original meaning of *qi-lai*, upward movement. Further, the degree feature conceptually corresponds to the quantity feature in VPs and NPs as Doetjes (1997) argues. So we can say that activity verbs contain a quantity feature. Moreover, a quantity feature can be scalar or non-scalar. We suggest that q*i-lai* requires the feature to be scalar. Scalar stative verbs are compatible with *qi-lai* beccause they contain the degree feature which is inherently scalar; activity verbs in Chinese are compatible with *qi-lai* because they possess the scalar quantity feature. Achievements and accomplishments also possess quantity features, but their event structures have a clear endpoint. So they are said to contain non-scalar quantity features, which results in the incompatibility with *qi-lai*.

Chapter 4

The Formation of the Completive Use

      This chapter deals with the derivation of traditional completive *qi-lai* construction. I think that completive use is a derived use rather than denoting independently. The class of verbs involved in the derivation are activity verbs. Stative verbs do not affect the object; they are out of the formation of completive form. Since *qi-lai* precludes achievements and accomplishments, the two classes of verbs are not of concern in this chapter. Section 4.1 shows the finding that in completive construction the object or theme always occurs before the V-*qi-lai* predicate. We cannot overlook the importance of the position of the object or theme. The telicity interpretation of completive use must be associated with the preposing of the object or theme. In addition, we also study the characteristics of VPs which can occur in completive construction. Section 4.2 introduces theories on the interaction among (a)telicity interpretation, syntactic argument position, and characteristics of the object. Section 4.3 copes with the mechanism of the derivation of completive construction. In section 4.4, we will by the way discuss the appearance of the sentence-final '*le*'and its effect.

4.1 The Completive use and characteristics of VPs

4.1.1 Positions of the object/theme and (a)telicity interpretation of the sentences

      Reviewing previous literatures, we see that the inchoative *qi-lai* expresses atelic reading; the completive *qi-lai* encodes telic reading.

      What is notable is that in the completive (telic) use, the object or theme occurs

before the V-*qi-lai* predicate. In the inchoative (atelic) use, the object or theme never

shows up before V-*qi-lai* predicate; rather, it appears between *qi* and *lai*.

(48) a. 他收起書來了

      Ta shou qi shu lai le

      He put away book lai le

     'He begins to put away the books.'

   b 書收起來了

      shu shou qi lai le

      book put away qi lai le

     ' The books had been put away.

(49)a 他綁起稻草來了

      Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

      He tie qi   straw lai le

      'He begins to tie the straw.'

   b 稻草綁起來了

      daotzao bang qi lai le

      straw   tie   qi lai le

    ' The straw are tied up.'

(50)a 他疊起積木來了

     Ta die qi   jimu   lai le

    He pile qi building block lai le

    'He begins to pile up the building block.'

   b 積木疊起來了

      jimu   die qi lai le

      building block pile up qi lai le

'The building blocks had been piled up.'

(51) a. 他捆起書來了

Ta kuen qi shu lai le

He tie qi book lai le

'He begins to tie the books.'

b. 書捆起來了

shu kuen qi lai le

book tie qi lai le

'The books have been tied.'

(52) a. 他封起箱子來了

Ta feng qi xiangtzi lai le

he seal qi box lai le

'He begins sealing boxes.'

b. 箱子封起來了

xiangtzi feng qi lai le

box seal qi lai le

' The box has been sealed.' ('The boxes have been sealed.')

(53) a. 他組起模型來了

Ta tzu qi muoxing lai le

He compose qi model lai le

'He begin to compose a model.'

b. 模型組起來了

muoxing tzu qi lai le

model compose qi lai le

'The model has been composed.'

43

From the above examples, we find that the same verb with the same object can appear in the two constructions of *qi-lai* and denotes telicity and atelicity respectively. In inchoative (atelic) construction, the object occurs between *qi* and *lai*; in completive (telic) use, the object always occurs before the V-*qi-lai* predicate. Hence, the syntactic position of the object/theme is believed to play a crucial role in the (a)telicity interpretation of *qi-lai* sentences. However, not all V-*qi-lai* predicates of activity type can occur in completive construction. In the later section, we will discuss the characteristics of VPs that can appear in completive construction.

4.1.2   Characteristics of VPs that can form completive construction

We first examine the characteristics of object/theme. In each sentence pair from (48)-(53), we find that the object/theme in the completive construction is definite in syntax or specific in semantics, though it may sometimes show up as a bare plural on the surface. Gernerally speaking, this phenomenon is said to be due to a constraint of Mandarin Chinese that the topic NP or subject NP must be definite or specific. In the inchoative (atelic) member (a) in sentence pairs from (48)-(53), the object/theme, which are superficial bare plural or mass nouns, can be interpreted either as definite (specific) or as indefinite. Thus, definite or specific NPs can occur both in inchoative construction and in completive construction. Based on Lin (2006)[8], a verb taking a definite object forms an atelic VP rather than a telic VP. An atelic VP is compatible with *qi-lai,* as is the analysis in previous chapter. The question is why definite NPs possess the potential to cause the event to develop to the end. It is

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[8] Lin (2006) indicates that different types of NPs influence the interpretation of (a)telicity. Chinese definite NPs make the event atelic. On the other hand, an indefinite NP with precise quantity makes the event telic.

important to think about the characteristics of definite NPs and the relation between definite NPs and events. Krifka's (1989,1992,1998) Mapping to Events links the development of an event to the part structure of the verb's direct object or theme. That is to say, the event comes to the end when the verb affects all relevant parts of referent of the direct object or theme. Each sub-event corresponds to a proper sub-part of the referent of object/theme. A VP taking a definite object/theme may satisfy Mapping to Events. Following kratzer (2004), we do not utilize Mapping to Events to define (a)telicity of an event but to determine culmination condition. Culmination condition does not require that the event culminate but just states what it is like if the event culminates. Accordingly, if a VP taking a definite NP satisfies Mapping to Events, the event will have a culmination condition. Though in Mandarin, a verb taking a definite object is taken to be an atelic type, the event still has a culmination condition because such kind of VPs satisfy Mapping to Events.

Another point is that not all activity VPs taking a definite object can form completive (telic) construction. We will try to figure out what kinds of VPs can occur in completive *qi-lai* construction. Van Hout (2000) claims that in order for a transitive construction to denote telicity, the verb must affect the referent of the direct object in an incrementally developing way. So a verb like 'drink' or 'eat' with the "incrementality' property can induce telicity reading. However, Van Hout's analysis cannot be applied directly to the completive (telic) *qi-lai* construction, since the second member of each pair of sentences below is unacceptable.

(54)a. 他吃起那碗飯來了

Ta chi qi na wan fan lai le

He eat qi that bowl rice lai le

'He begins to eat the bowl of rice.'

45

a'. *那碗飯他吃起來了

    Na wan fan ta chi qi lai le

    That bowl rice he eat qi lai le

b. 他喝起湯來了

    Ta he qi tang lai le

    He drink qi soup lai le

    'He begins to drink soup.'

b'.*湯他喝起來了

    *Tang ta he qi lai le

    Soup he drink qi lai le

In the above sentences, we learn that in order to occur in the completive *qi-lai* construction, the amount of the referent of the object/theme NP cannot decrease or even disappear. That is, the referent must exist from the beginning to the end and the amount of referent cannot be changed.

Reexamining sentences (48)-(53), we find that the verbs affect the referent of the object/theme by way of changing its position or apearance instead of changing its amount. Though Van Hout's proposal cannot be applied in the formation of completive use, the concept of incremental development can be used to refer to the process of changing the position or appearance of the object/theme.

For example, the VP in (55b) does not change the amount of the referent and the object is definite, but the sentence is still unacceptable. This is because the verb does not affect the referent of the direct object/theme by way of changing its position or apearance.

(55) a. 他讀起那本書來了

     ta   du qi na ben shu lai le

     he read qi that CL book lai le

     'He begins to read that book.'

   b. *那本書他讀起來了

     na ben shu ta du qi lai le

     that CL book he du qi lai le

     Hence, the semantic restriction of VPs in completive construction is that the event changes the state of existence of the referent, such as the position or apearance of the object/theme; it cannot change the amount of substance of object/theme[9].

     As for the measuring rods for the concept of Mapping to Events for VPs, Krazer's (2004) claims that not only the referent itself but also the associated property can serve as "measuring rods." For example, if someone shoots at a bear, it is the path from the gun to the bear that functions as the measuring rod. Hence, I think that the

---

[9] The referent of the object/theme should exist from the start to the end of the event so that the VP can appear in completive construciton. What is changed is the state of existence of the referent, such as position or apearance.

   i. 房子蓋起來了

     fangtzi gai qi lai le

     house build qi lai le

     ' The house had been built.'

The sentence seems to pose a counterexample. The referent of the object/theme seems to be absent from the very start. But I think the blueprint or the image in one's mind may serve as the referent of the house. The development of the event is to change the state of existence, from abstract existence (blueprint) to real existence. The semantic restriction may not be very satisfying. This is what I can figure out so far for the lexical semantic limitation of VPs that can form completive construction. There may be other pragmatic or cognitive factors that influence the limitation, and future work is needed.

measuring rod for the VPs that can form completive construction like (48b)-(53b)

may be the process of changing the position or apearance of the object/theme or the

part structure of the referent itself. The incrementality property is supposed to refer to

such a process of changing or to the affectedness of the part structure of their referent.

4.2. Theories on the interaction between (a)telicity and syntactic factors

In the previous section, we learned that the telicity interpretation of the

completive construciton is associated with the syntactic position of the object/theme.

This section introduces theories which discuss the relation among semantic (a)telicity,

syntactic argument positions, and other factors.

4.2.1. Angeliek van Hout's lexicon-syntax interface (2000)

Angeliek van Hout (2000) proposed a lexicon-syntax system to

account for the (a)telicity interpretation. The system requires the interaction of three

properties. One is verb's event type features (telic or atelic); another is argument

positions in the syntactic configuration (direct object vs. subject and oblique object);

the other is the characteristics of the noun phrase in object position.

For the relation between event type and argument position, she claims that

different event types (telic or atelic) lead to different argument projection. She uses

Dutch as an illustration for the phenomenon. A two-argument event has several

projection patterns. Transitives denote telicity and intransitives denotes atelicity;

conatives also denote atelicity. She uses traditional tests to determine (a)telicity of the

event. 'In 5 minutes' brings out telicity interpretation; 'for 5 minutes' represents

atelicity interpretation.

(56)   intransitive

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a. Judy heft urenlang/*in 5 minuten gedronken.

J. has   hours-long/*in 5 minutes   drunk.

'J. drank for hours/*in 5 minutes.'

                                                    transitive

b. Judy heft *urenlang/in 5 minuten haar kopje koffie gedronken.

J.   has   *hours-long/in 5 minutes her cup   coffee drunk.

'J. drank   her cup of coffee *for hours/in 5 minutes.'

                                        Van Hout (2000:242)

Not all transitives are telic. It is the relation between the verb and its object that play

the crucial role. For a transitive to be telic, the verb must affect the direct object in an

incrementally developing way. As for stative verbs, they have no internal temporal

development, so they lack the "incrementality" property. In addition, the (a)telicity of

the verbal predicate is not only provided by the verb itself, but also by other

predicative phrases such as prepositional phrases and resultative phrases, prefixes, and

particles.

        The effect of the syntax and semantics of the direct object play an important

part in the interpretation of (a)telicity. Some linguists say that only quantized objects

induce telicity; mass terms or bare plural objects do not.

(57)

a. Claartje heft *urenlang/in 10 minuten *een* spekulaasje gegeten.

C.   has *hours-long/in 10 minutes *a* ginger-cookie eaten.

'C. ate a ginger cookie *for hours/ in 10 minutes.

49

b. Claartje heft urenlang/*in 10 minuten spekulaas   gegeten

C.   has hours-long/*in 10 minutes gingerbread eaten.

'C. ate gingerbread for hours/ *in 10 minutes.

c. Claartje heft urenlang/*in 10 minuten spekulaasje*s* gegeten

C.   has hours-long/*in 10 minutes ginger-cokkies eaten.

'C. ate ginger-cookies for hours/ *in 10 minutes.

Van Hout (2000:252)

Only (57a) is telic because the quantized object *een spekulaasje* 'a ginger cookie' determines the endpoint of the eating event. The mass term and the bare plural noun do not denote a quantized amount.

Further, Van Hout supports a claim that a language like Finnish spells out two morphologically different object cases. If the object takes accusative case (strong case), the sentence has telic interpretation, and the object is a semantic argument of the verb. If the object bears partitive case (weak case), the sentence gets an atelic reading, and the object is not the argument of the verb. Accordingly, Van Hout holds that telicity requires an object with strong case.

Next, let us see the mechanism of the telicity checking in the Lexicon-syntax Interface. Her proposal involves checking a verb's features in the syntactic configuration. Telicity is a morpho-syntactic feature which is interpretable. Its checking domain is AgrOP. As in (58), telicity feature attracts a telic verb to AgrO and a quantized object to its Specifier. Telicity is also checked with verbs that are inherently telic or with the telic predicates which are formed compositionally. On the contrary, non-quantized NPs stay within the VP where they get weak case and cannot check telicity.

(58)
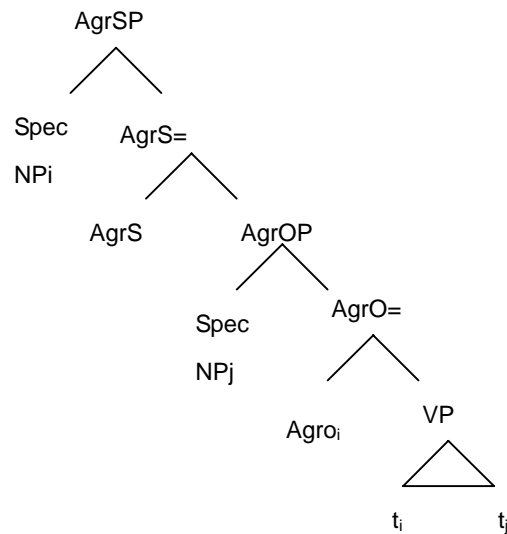
Van Hout (2000:260)

4.2.2. Angelika Kratzer (2004)

    Angelika Kratzer (2004) also proposes a similar theory on the interaction between telicity and the characteristics of VPs. The theory utilizes quantization to determine culmination condition rather than telicity. Culmination condition states what it is like if the event culminates but does not require that the event culminate. She adopts Krifka's (1989, 1992, 1998) Mapping to Events to define culmination condition. VPs satisfying Mapping to Events possess culmination conditions and are able to be imposed by a [telic] operator.
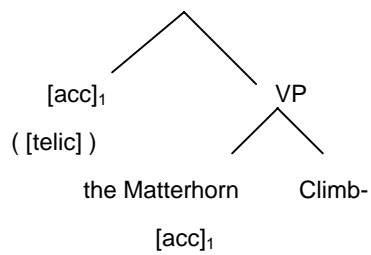
    Sometimes it is not the direct object itself, but other related entities or properties that act as the measuring rods for culmination condition, which has been introduced in section 4.1. Culmination conditions for verbs can be inferred through general cognitive principles. As long as a suitable measuring rod supports the culmination condition of the event, the transitive activity verb can combine with [telic]. Other types of verbs, such as achievements, are telic from the very start.

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Stative verbs do not affect the referent of the direct object, so there is no measuring rod for the success of a stative event.

Her strategy sees [telic] as an operator turning an atelic predicate into a telic one, rather than selecting inherent telic predicates. The syntactic derivation is based on Minimalist views that a verbal inflectional head [telic] agrees with the object taking uninterpretable nominal feature [acc]. Then, the feature [telic] attracts the object through agreement relation.
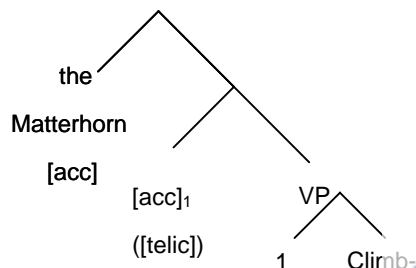
If the activity described by the verb is potential to affect all parts of the referent of the direct object, the event is said to have a culmination condition and can be imposed by [telic] feature. Take climbing up Mount Monadnock for example. All parts of the referent of the mountain serve as the measuring rod. The climbing event comes to the endpoint if all parts of the mountain have been affected by the climbing activity. Hence, the event can be imposed with a [telic] feature. The DP *the Matterhorn* is said to have the uninterpretable feature [acc], which will agree with the [telic] feature. She suggests that [telic] takes an EPP feature represented as index 1, and the DP *the Matterrhorn* also takes index feature1 as the following structure (59). Such feature agreement between [telic] and the DP *the Matterhorn* will force the DP to displace from the position within VP to the specifier position of [telic], which is illustrated as (60).

(59)

```
          /\
    [acc]₁     VP
  ( [telic] )   /\
    the Matterhorn   Climb-
         [acc]₁
```

(60)

```
        /\
    the  \
  Matterhorn \
    [acc]  /\
      [acc]₁   VP
      ([telic])  /\
            1   Climb-
```

First of all, the DP is copied into the specifier position of [telic]. The index feature of

the DP *the Matterhorn* remains in the base position. Second, the original DP instead

of the copied DP is deleted. Third, the uninterpretable nominal [acc] feature is also

deleted as the following operation.

(61)

```
        /\
    the  \
  Matterhorn \
    [acc]  /\
      [acc]₁   VP
        |      /\
     Binding  1   Climb-
```
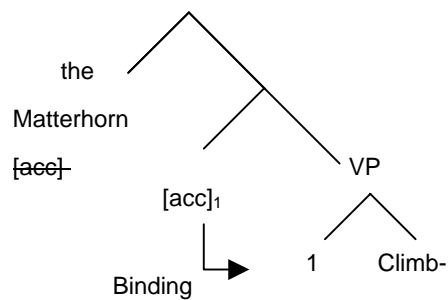
The above is the operation of a syntactic mechanism which brings out telicity. In the following section, I will adopt this mechanism to derive completive *qi-lai* construction in Mandarin Chinese.
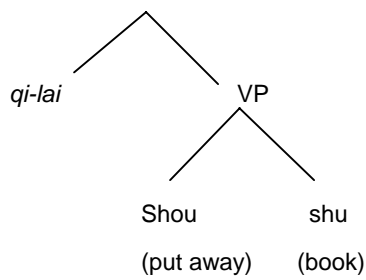
4.3. The formation mechanism

We have learned that the completive *qi-lai* should be a derived use. In chapter 3, we know that *qi-lai* does not simply require a change point, a following duration, but also the degree feature or the scalar quantity feature. Thus, *qi-lai* is not compatible with achievements or with accomplishments, which take a quantized object/theme or resultative morpheme. All the incompatible VPs above are telic types. *Qi-lai* excludes telic situation types and selects atelic situation types. Thus, how to derive completive (telic) reading for a *qi-lai* sentence is our focus.

The last section introduced Van Hout's and Kratzer's theories on the interaction between telicity and the characteristics of VPs. On the basis of their ideas, I will also provide an account for the derivation of the completive (telic) *qi-lai* construction.
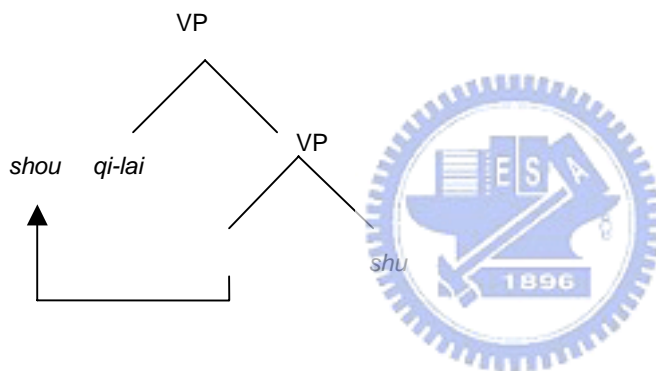
I take *theme* into consideration as well as *object*. The mechanism is the interaction between syntax and the characteristics of VPs. Since *qi-lai* selects atelic VPs taking bare plural object/theme or definite object/theme, a precisely quantized object/theme is out of our concern. Before deriving the mechanism, we first see the attachment of the bound morpheme *qi-lai* and the phonological representation of *qi-lai* sentences.

Take the event of *shou shu* (put away books) as an illustration. *Qi-lai*, as a bound morpheme, cannot stand alone. It must be attached to the verb *shou* (put away) and form a new VP as the following structures show.

(62)

```
        /\
       /  \
   qi-lai   VP
           / \
          /   \
       Shou    shu
    (put away) (book)
```

(63)

```
            VP
           /\
          /  \
         /    \
    shou  qi-lai  VP
                 / \
                /   \
               /   shu
         |_____|
         ↑
```

The above structure is the syntactic representation. However, the actual phonetic or phonological performance is not exactly the same as its syntactic linear order.

Here we briefly review Liu's claim on the phonological representation. Liu (2006) contrasts the following two sentences, and argues that *qi-lai* is a single bound morpheme and cannot form a prosodic foot. In the following sentences, the marker # represents the boundary of tone sandhi, the number attached behind each syllable indicates the tone of the syllable, and the bracketed tone is the sandhi ones.

(64) a. gou[2] yao3# xiao[2] gou3#

    dog   bite   small   dog

    'The dog bites the small dog.'

  b. *gou[2] pao3# qi3 lai2# hen3 kuai4#

     dog   run   qi   lai   very   fast

Liu (2006:4)

According to Shih (1986), the prosodic foot is bisyllabic. Chinese speakers would string unpaired syllables into binary feet. Base on Yip (1980), we know a prosodic foot has to possess a prominent syllable. *Qi-lai,* as a bound morpheme, is not as prominent as a free morpheme like *pao* 'run', so it cannot form an independent foot.

(65) a.   狗咬起狗來很狠

     gou3# yao[2]-qi3# gou3 lai2# hen[2] hen3#

     dog bite   qi   dog lai very cruelly

     'Based on his/her personal experience of watching dogs' biting ezch other,

       the external speaker says that dogs always bite exch other cruelly.'

  b. *狗咬起來狗很狠

    *gou[2] yao3# qi3-lai2# gou[2] hen[2] hen3#

    dog   bite   qilai   dog   very   cruelly

Liu (2006:5)

Hence, in order to prevent *qi-lai* from forming an independent foot in phonology, the object/theme has to occur between *qi* and *lai* if the object/theme does not serve as the topic. We continue to take the event of *shou shu* ' put away books' for

example. The phonological form after the attachment of *qi-lai* is as follows.

(66) phonological representation

他　收　　起　書　　來 了

Ta　shou　　qi　shu　　lai le

He　put away qi　book　　lai le

Next, we examine the relation between the event and the object/theme. As section 4.1 states, the verb has to affect the object/theme in a way of changing the position or the appearance of the object/theme and the object/theme has to be a definite NP in order that the event has the potential to culminate. Culmination condition does not require that the event culminate, but just states what it is like if the event culminates.

Following Kratzer's ideas, we also utilize an operator [telic] to induce completive (telic) interpretation. VPs with culmination condition are said to be able to be imposed with [telic], which operates over the whole V-*qi-lai* predicate and turns atelic VPs into telic ones. I continue to take the event of 'putting away those books' for example and show how the completive (telic) construction is derived. The following VP structure (67) is a simplified form of structure (63), which is the new VP after the combination of the bound morpheme *qi-lai* and the original VP. The word string in the bottom of the structure is the phonological representation.

(67)

VP

shou　qi-　Na-xie-shu　-lai
(put away)　(those books)
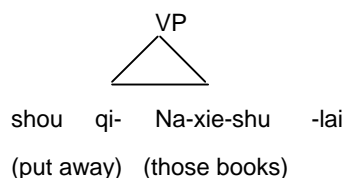
In the structure, the external argument is taken to be irrelevant. The object/theme is 'those books', which is a definite NP. In addition, the event of 'putting away' affects the definite object/theme in the way of incrementally changing its position or appearance, and the event has the potential to affect all the relevant parts of the referent of 'those books'. That is, the event has a culmination condition. Therefore, the whole predicate is able to be imposed with [telic], which is illustrated as follows.

(68)
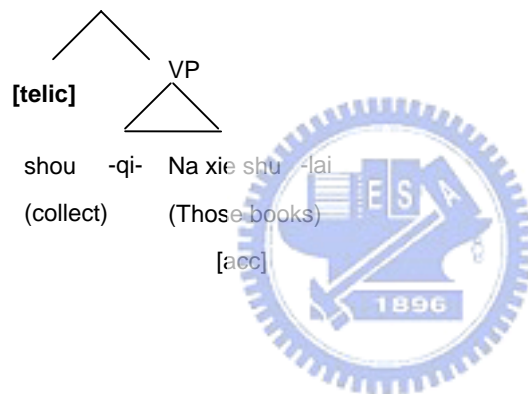
The definite object/theme NP is assumed to contain a nominal [acc] feature. I also suppose that [telic] takes index 1 as its feature and the nominal [acc] also bears index 1 as its feature. The following is the illustration.

(69)
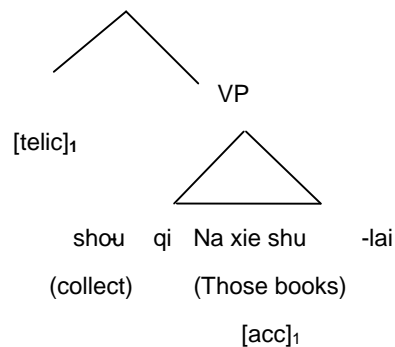
Due to feature agreement, the index 1 of [telic] attracts the object/theme to the specifier position of [telic]. The index 1 of the object/theme NP is left in its base position within VP and the rest of the object/theme is moved up to the specifier position of [telic]. Then the uninterpretable nominal [acc] is deleted as shown in the tree below.

(70)
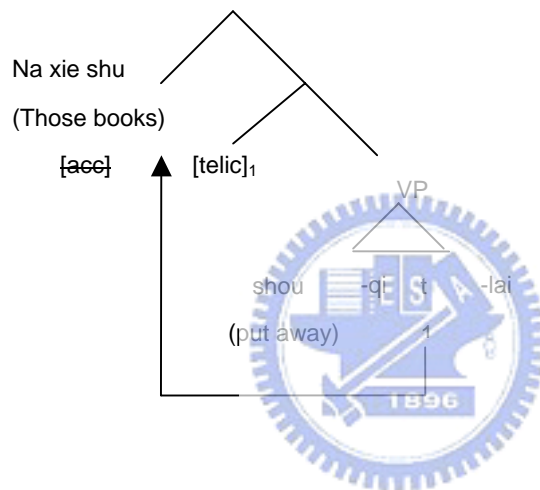
Bare plurals or mass nouns, which are indefinite in syntax, can be interpreted either as specific (semantically definite) or as non-specific indefinite. If the superficial bare plurals or mass nouns are interpreted as specific, they are regarded as similar to definite NPs. Hence if the NP is specific, it can also enter the mechanism to move from the position within VP to the specifier position of [telic]. In the sentences below, the superficial bare plurals are interpreted to be specific and are said to be similar to definite NPs, so the specific NPs can be attracted from the position within VP to the position before the whole V-*qi-lai* predicate. Hence, the sentences below obtain telic reading as examples.

(71) a. 書收起來了

    shu shou qi lai le

    books put away qi lai le

    'The books are put away.'

  b. 稻草綁起來了

    daotzao bang qi lai le

    straw   tie   qi lai le

    ' The straw are tied up.'

  c. 箱子封起來了

    xiang tze feng qi lai le

    boxes   seal qi lai le

    'The boxes are sealed up.'

  d. 門窗關起來了

    men chuang guan qi lai le

    door window close qi lai le

    'The doors and windows are closed up.'

By the way, it is not necessary that VPs taking a definite or specific NP have to be imposed with [telic] operator and then force the specific NPs to move. The application of [telic] is optional. If we choose not to impose [telic], the definite or specific NP will not be attracted out and stay in the position within VP. The sentence will denote atelicity (inchoative interpretation) instead of telic (completive) interpretation.

4.4 Summary

The culmination condition offered by definite object NPs along with suitable

measuring rods for the event makes the whole VP have the potential to be imposed

with a head [telic]; then, [telic] attracts the definite object/theme to its specifier

position through feature agreement between the [telic] and the object/theme NP.

Chapter 5

Characteristics of The Mechanism and *qi-lai* Sentences

This chapter is a comparison between the mechanisms of Van Hout and Ktrazer, and that of Mandarin completive *qi-lai*. Furthermore, we will briefly discuss the function of sentence-final '*le*.'

5.1 Differences between the mechanisms

Van Hout's and Kratzer's mechanisms allow achievements and accomplishments while in Mandarin Chinese *qi-lai* sentences, achivements and accomplishments are first precluded by the requirements of *qi-lai*.

In the data discussed in the mechanisms of Van Hout and Ktrazer, an accomplishment VP taking a quantized indefinite object can be imposed with a [telic] operator to induce telic reading. Yet in Chinese, a quantized indefinite object NP never enters the mechanism. Actually, a quantized indefinite object NP, which might provide an endpoint to the event, is not permitted to appear either in inchoative (atelic) construction or in completive (telic) construction. This is due to the requirements of *qi-lai* that preclude telic event types. Thus, a precisely quantized object NP which provides an endpoint to the event never shows up in *qi-lai* sentences.

However, if a definite determiner is inserted in front of the quantized indefinite NP, the *qi-lai* sentences containing it will become acceptable as (72) and (73) demonstrate.

(72)　a.他封起那五個箱子來了

ta feng qi na wu ge xiangtze lai le

he seal qi that five CL boxes   lai le

'He begins to seal those five boxes.'

b.他收起那八本書來了

ta shou   qi na   ba ben shu   lai le

he put away that eight CL book lai le

'He begins to put away those eight books.'

(73)

a. 那五個箱子封起來了

na   wo   ge xiangtze feng qi lai le

those five CL   boxes   seal qi lai le

'Those five boxes are sealed.'

b. 那八本書收起來了

na ba ben shu shou qi lai le

those eight CL books put away qi lai le

'Those eight books are put away.'

This does not violate the analyses so far. The VPs in (72) and (73) take an object NP with a precise number. So it seems that such VPs cannot appear in *qi-lai* sentences. Yet, the object/theme NPs preceded by a definite determiner are actually definite NPs. According to Lin (2006), a definite object brings out atelic interpretation for the event. Hence, this does not depart from the analysis in chapter 3 that *qi-lai* selects atelic VPs. The grammaticality of the sentences above is thus well explained.

Another point is that in Kratzer's and Van Hout's mechanisms, the amount of the referent of the direct object can be changed whereas in the mechanism of Mandarin Chinese *qi-lai* completive construction, the substance or amount of the

referent of the object/theme cannot decrease or increase from null. Besides, in the mechanism of completive *qi-lai* constructions, the measuring rod for the culmination condition of an event is not necessarily the part structure of the referent of the object itself. The process of changing the position or appearance of the object might be a more suitable measuring rod. The process should be definite so that the event has a culmination condition. Hence, the culmination condition is not only determined by the definiteness of the object/theme NP, but also by the definiteness of the changing process. The definiteness of the measuring rod (the changing process) can be inferred from context or some cognitive factors. This needs more study in the future.

To sum up, the event does not change the amount of the referent of the object/theme, but changes the position or appearance of the referent. The changing process must be definite. That is, in the event structure of a verb taking a definite object, there should be a potential culmination point[10], which can be inferred from the "V+O" VP. An event must contain the above three factors so that it can form a completive construction.

5.2 The role of sentence-final '*le*.'

Some say that sentence-final *le* possesses the meaning of inchoativity. And it seems that all *qi-lai* sentences require sentence-final *le*. This gives rise to a question about whether the inchoative meaning comes from *qi-lai* or from sentence-final *le*. However, in previous literatures, we see that some *qi-lai* sentences do not require

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[10] Take the event *tui zhe bu che* "push the cart" for example. When someone pushes the cart, the amount or quality of the cart is intact. The position or appearance of the cart is indeed changed. The VP still cannot form a completive qi-lai construction. This is because we do not know when the event culminates. From the verb and the object alone, we cannot infer a potential endpoint of the event of "pushing the cart." The process of changing the position or appearance of the object is not definite. Hence, the following sentence is unacceptable.

i. *這部車推起來了
  *zhe bu che tui qi lai le
   this CL cart push qi lai le

sentential *le*[11]. Examples like (20b) and (25a) are repeated below.

(74)　他開始夾起來（aspectual meaning)

　　　Ta kaishi　jia　qi-lai

　　　He begin　pinch qi-lai

　　　'He begins pinching.'

He (2004:23)

(75) 捆起書來　(gradual process after the initiation of a new state)

　　　Kuen qi shu lai

　　　Tie　qi book lai

　　　'…begin to tie the books.'

Chen (2006:137)

We also find other acceptable *qi-lai* sentences without sentential '*le*.'

(76)a. 昨天半夜，隔壁的小嬰兒突然哭起來，把我們都驚醒了

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[11] In some qi-lai sentences, sentential *le* is obligatory.
 i.　他笑起來了
　　Ta xiao qi lai le
　　He laugh qi lai le
　　'He begins to laugh.'

　*他笑起來
　*ta xiao qi lai le

 Actually, some other simple sentences also require sentential *le*.
 ii. 他笑了
　　ta xiao le
　　he laugh le
　　'He laughs.'
　*他笑
　*ta xiao

The obligatory appearance of sentential *le* involves many respects and other sentence patterns. The issue is unique to the use of *qi-lai*. We here focus on the uses of *qi-lai* and cannot explain the issue in a limited space. This is left to future study.

tzuotian ban yie, gebi de xiao yinger turan ku qi lai, ba women dou

jing xing le.

yesterday mid- night, nextdoor de little baby suddenly cry qi lai, ba we all

frighten awake le

'Yesterday at midnight, the little baby nextdoor suddenly cried, and we were all

awakened and frightened.

b. 喜愛音樂的張三時常即興地唱起歌來

xiai yinyue de Zhangsan shichang jixingdi chang qi ge lai

like music de Zhangsan often impromptu sing qi song lai

'Zhangsan who likes music often sing songs impromptu'

The sentences above do not contain sentential *le*, but they are still grammatically

correct and have inchoative interpretation. Therefore, sentential *le* does not denote

inchoativity but it possesses other functions.

In completive (telic) use, sentential *le* does not necessarily occur, either.

(77) a. 錢趕緊藏起來，不要被別人發現

Qian ganjin tsang qi-lai, buyao bei bieren faxian

Money hurry hide qi-lai, don't bei others find

'Hurry, hide the money. Don't let others see that.'

b. 張三把書收起來之後便出門了

Zhangsan BA shu shou qi-lai zhehou bian chu men le

Zhangsan BA book collect qi-lai later then out door le.

'After Zhangsan put away the books, he went out.'

Reexamining sentences with sentential *le* in (48)-(53) repeated in the

following, we find that in these sentences the focused event or state continues to the present time.

(48) a. 他收起書來了

Ta shou qi shu lai le

He put away book lai le

'He begins to put away the books.'

b 書收起來了

shu shou qi lai le

book put away qi lai le

' The books had been put away.

(49) a. 他綁起稻草來了

Ta bang qi daotzao lai le

He tie qi   straw lai le

'He begins to tie the straw.'

b. 稻草綁起來了

daotzao bang qi lai le

straw   tie   qi lai le

' The straw are tied up.'

(50)a 他疊起積木來了

Ta die qi   jimu   lai le

He pile qi building block lai le

'He begins to pile up the building block.'

b 積木疊起來了

jimu   die qi lai le

building block pile up qi lai le

'The building blocks had been piled up.'

(51)a. 他捆起書來了

Ta kuen qi shu lai le

He   tie qi book lai le

'He begins to tie the books.'

b. 書捆起來了

shu kuen qi lai le

book tie qi lai le

'The books have been tied.'

(52) a. 他封起箱子來了

Ta feng qi xiangtzi lai le

he seal qi   box   lai le

'He begins sealing boxes.'

b. 箱子封起來了

xiangtzi feng qi lai le

box   seal qi lai le

' The box has been sealed.' ('The boxes have been sealed.')

(53)a. 他藏起珠寶來了

Ta tsang qi zhubao lai le

He hide qi jewelry lai le

'He begins to hide the jewelry.'

b. 珠寶藏起來了

zhubao tsang qi lai le

jewelry hide qi lai le

'The jewelry had been hidden.'

In sentences (a), inchoative (atelic) use, the intuition is that the dynamic event lasts up to the time of utterance; in sentences (b), completive (telic) use, the result state after the endpoint of the event lasts up to the speech time. On the contrary, sentences without *le* as in sentences (74) to (76) do not necessarily encode the last-to-present meaning. In sentence (76a), the topic time of the event of baby' crying is last night. The event of the baby'crying does not necessarily hold at speech time. Sentence (76b) encodes habitual reading; the time of the singing event does not necessarily hold at speech time. Sentence (77a) is an imperative sentence, which has irrealis interpretation, so the event of hiding money never holds at speech time. As for sentence (77b), it is a past-tense sentence. The event of putting away the book happened before another event. The result state of putting away the book does not necessarily hold at the present time.

Therefore, I think that sentential *le* provides a function associated with speech time. The function of *le* makes the focused event or state hold at speech time. This can be accounted for by the analysis of Lin (2005). Lin gives a proposal for the semantics of *le* as follows:

(78) $[[le]] = \lambda P_{<i, t>} \lambda t_{Top} \lambda t_0 \exists t [P(t) \wedge Istage (t, P) \subseteq t_{Top} \wedge t_{Top} < t_0 \wedge t_{ana}$
$\subseteq Rstate (t, P)]$

The formula means that the inner stage is included in topic time. The topic time for result state is a time variable which is like an anaphor and must be bound by an overt topic time. If there is no overt temporal adverbial, the topic time for the inner stage is existentially closed, and the time variable is bound by the speech time. Accordingly, *le* denotes perfectivity in relation to the inner stage, but imperfectivity regarding the result state. As for the result state of the atelic event types, activity and states, Lin

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argues that they have a special kind of result state, named empty result state. The empty result state exists in all times after an event happens. The formula can be applied to all kinds of events. Instead of supporting the non-unifying claim that *le* represents past tense when occurring in activities and denotes inchoativity when combining with stative verbs, achivement verbs or accomplishment verbs, Lin's analysis unifies the meaning of *le* in all contexts.

Following Lin's proposal, we can provide an explanation for the role of sentence-final *le* in *qi-lai* sentences. In inchoative (atelic) sentences (a) in (49) to (54), there is no overt topic time. Since their event type is atelic, they have empty result state, which overlaps with the speech time and includes the speech time according to the formula. So the dynamic event holds at the speech time. On the other hand, in completive (telic) sentences (b) from (49) to (54), The time for the result state must be bound by topic time. Since there is no overt temporal adverbial, the topic time of the inner stage is existentially closesd and the topic time for result state is bound by the speech time. Therefore, the result state of the completive sentences holds at speech time.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis deals with two issues. The first issue is to figure out and refine the core semantics of *qi-lai* through its occurring condition. *Qi-lai* is compatible with activities containing a change point and a following duration. It is also compatible with *scalar stative verbs* encoding a change point, a following duration, and the degree feature. If the *qi-lai* with statives and that with activities are the same, there must be a third feature in activities corresponding to the degree feature in statives. The scalar quantity feature in activities is proposed to correspond to the inherently scalar degree feature in scalar stative verbs. It is believed that *qi-lai* requires three features: a change point, a following duration, and a scalar feature. Accordingly, *qi-lai* selects atelic situation types and precludes telic situation types. Next, the second problem is whether the traditional completive use denotes independently or is derived. From extensive observation, we see that in completive use, the object/theme always occurs in the position preceding the whole V-*qi-lai* predicate. We suggest that the completive use is derived from the inchoative use through a formation mechanism. If the verb affects the referent of the definite direct object/theme in a proper way, the VP will have a culmination condition and could be imposed with an operator [telic]. Then, [telic] will attract the definite NP to its specifier position to induce telic interpretation for the whole sentence.

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