Lexical and Constructional Representations for Locative Inversion in Chinese

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1. Introduction

The Chinese Cúnzàiójù (existence sentences), which expresses that an entity exists at a place, generally takes the syntactic form ‘LP (Locative Phrase)+V+NP’ as does English Locative Inversion like In the village lived a wealthy man. For convenience sake, this paper will use the term ‘Chinese Locative Inversion’ (abbreviated as ‘CLI’) to refer to the Cúnzàiójù construction. (Note that there is a slightly difference in the phrasal categories of LP; that is, prepositional phrases represent LP in English whereas noun phrases hold the place in Chinese.) In the previous literature, CLI has been mainly analyzed by reference to the verbs and their aspectual properties (Li 1986, Song 1982 a, b). However, the criteria postulated by the previous researchers to diagnose CLI is rather vague, and their analyses are descriptive, merely listing the detailed patterns of CLI. As far as I know, there has not been much work on the theoretical treatments of this Chinese construction. Besides, English Locative Inversion still remains problematic as to the restrictions on verbs (Bresnan 1994, Coopmans 1989, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995).

This paper will discuss CLI with particular reference to the following three points by comparing them with the characteristics of English
Locative Inversion. First, Section 2 will describe the syntactic and semantic features of CLI, which have been discussed in the previous literature especially in relation to the verbs. Second, Section 3 will reveal a common semantic feature and a semantic shift among verbs used in CLI by using the Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS: Kageyama 1996). Thirdly, Section 3 will argue that a Constructional Representation can be formed by inserting LCS in question into the Lexical Representation (Pustejovsky 1995) and try to give theoretical explanations to the problems of restrictions of verbs, aspects and agentivity in the construction.

2. The Form and Meaning of the Chinese Locative Inversion

This section will describe grammatical and semantic features of CLI by comparing them with those of English Locative Inversion. Song (1982 a, b) classified CLI into four patterns whereas Li (1986) classified it into seven patterns based on verbs (2). Although the criteria of their classification are not crystal-clear, they share the assumption that CLI involves zhe (着) as shown below. The examples in (1) and (2) are from Song (1982 b), and those in (3) to (8) are from Li (1986).

(1) Qiáng shang guà-zhe yī fú huàr.
   wall surface hang-ASP one CL picture
   Lit. ‘On the wall hung a picture.’ (There is a picture on the wall.)

(2) Ménkòu zhàn-zhe liàng míng wèibīng.
   front of the door stand-ASP two CL guardsmen
   ‘At the front of the door stood two guardsmen.’
Those examples show that ergative verbs, unergative verbs, unaccusative verbs, and transitive verbs can be used in CLI(3). The verb guà ‘hang’ has both transitive and intransitive terms.

Guà in (9) is used as a transitive verb which takes wò ‘I’ as an agent, yīfú huàr ‘a picture’ as a theme, and qiáng ‘wall’ as a location.
(10) Yī fú huàr guà zài qiáng shang.

one CL picture hang on wall surface

‘A picture hung on the wall.’

By contrast, guà in (10) is intransitive and takes yīfú huàr ‘a picture’ as a theme and qiáng ‘wall’ as a location. Zhàn ‘stand’ in (2) and dùn ‘bend’ in (3) are unergative verbs whereas tiē ‘paste’ in (6) is a causative transitive verb. Dào ‘fall’ and shēng ‘grow’ as in (4) and (5) are unaccusative verbs whereas xiù ‘stitch’ and chā ‘stick’ as in (7) and (8) are transitive verbs.

In English Locative Inversion, unaccusative verbs are widely used as shown in (11) (Coopmans 1989, Bresnan 1994).

(11) a. Down the hill rolled the baby carriage. Coopmans (1989 : 729)
     c. Onto the ground had fallen a few leaves. Bresnan (1994 : 78)
     d. From the village appeared an old man.

In spite of the wide acceptability of unaccusative verbs, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that some unergative verbs can be marginally used in English Locative Inversion on condition that they are “informational lightness”. According to them, the unergative verbs work in (12 a) and sleep in (12 b) are informational light as compared the postposed subject NPs.

(12) a. On the third floor worked two young women called Maryanne Thomson and Ava Brent, who ran the audio library and print room. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995 : 224)
     b. At one end, in crude bunks, slept Jed and Henry. (ibid.)

In addition, Coopmans (1989) points out that although the inversion cannot apply if the verb takes a direct object, as in (13 a, b), the direct object can show up if the verb is passivized, as shown by (13 c) and (13 d).

(13) a. *Into the room rolled John the ball. Coopmans (1989 : 730)
b. *Down the street walked the old nanny her dog. (ibid.)
c. On that table was put a valuable book. (ibid.: 729)
d. In this rainforest can be found the reclusive lyrebird.

Bresnan (1994: 78)

So far, we have seen that there is a similarity in the types of verbs used in CLI and English Locative Inversion; that is, unaccusative and unergative verbs can appear in both constructions. The two constructions in Chinese and English crucially differ, however, in accepting transitive verbs in their active form. Only the Chinese construction accepts transitive verbs such as xìù ‘stitch’ (7) and chā ‘stick’ (8). In the subsequent sections, I will concentrate on CLI involving transitive and unergative verbs.

3. Lexical Conceptual Structures for CLI and the Aspectual Auxiliary zhe

This section will discuss restrictions on the transitive and unergative verbs used in CLI.

3.1. LCS Analysis of CLI and Their Original Constructions

The following examples, which are represented with LCS, reveal the original constructions of CLI. The LCS representations used in this paper is based on Kageyama’s (1996) model.

(14) Wo zài shítou shang kě-le yī ge míngzi.
I at stone top carve-ASP one CL name
‘I carved a name on the stone.’

\[
\text{EVENT}^{\text{EVENT}} \times \text{ACT-ON y}] \text{CONTROL}^{\text{EVENT}} \text{BECOME}^{\text{STATE}} \text{y BE_CARVED AT-ON z} \]
Examples (14) and (15) involve the standard Chinese word order, SVO. At the LCS level, x and y designate an external argument and an internal argument, respectively. In addition, z shows a default argument. Both LCS representations indicate that there is an agent who performs the action, a theme which receives the action, and an implicit causation which makes the action succeed. To represent who or what exists at what place, the following analysis is suggested in which a semantic shift occurs at the LCS level\(^{(5)}\).

\[(x = \text{he/she, } y = \text{Chángchéng de túàn : a pattern of the Great Wall, } z = \text{niúzǎikù : jeans})\]

(16) \ldots Shítòu shàng ké-zhe yī gé míngzi\ldots (CCLY)

\[
\text{stone top carve-ASP one CL name}
\]

Lit. ‘On the stone carved a name.’ (There is a name on the stone.)

\[\text{[STATE } y \text{ BE AT-ON } z \text{] as a result of [EVENT [EVENT x ACT-ON y] CONTROL [EVENT BECOME [STATE y BE CARVED]]]}\]

\[(x = \text{variable } y = \text{yī gé míngzi : a name, } z = \text{shítòu : stones})\]

(17) Niúzǎikù shàng huà-zhe Chángchéng-de túàn.

\[
\text{jeans top draw-ASP the Great Wall-Gen pattern}
\]

Lit. ‘On the jeans drew a pattern of the Great Wall.’ (There is a pattern of the Great Wall on the jeans.)

\[\text{[STATE } y \text{ BE AT-ON } z \text{] as a result of [EVENT [EVENT x ACT-ON y] CONTROL EVENT BECOME [STATE y BE DREW]]}\]
(x=variable y=Chángchéng de túàn: a pattern of the Great Wall, z=niúzaikù: jeans)

In general, the LCS schema [STATE y BE AT z] corresponds to stative and existential sentences. The examples of (16) and (17) illustrate that the LCS of the state part in (14) and (15) is highlighted and moves to the front of the LCS. This movement mainly indicates two important facts: First, the front part of the LCS shares the same form as stative verbs; and second, the original event is also implied as represented by the clause after ‘as a result of’. In fact, the verbs in (16) and (17) can be transferred to be-verbs such as you ‘exist’, which is the canonical expression derived from the LCS of [STATE y BE AT z]

(18) a. Shítou shang yǒu yī ge míngzi.
   stones top exist one CL name
   ‘On the stone is a name.’

b. Niúzaikù shang yǒu Chángchéng-de túàn.
   jeans top be the Great Wall-Gen pattern
   ‘On the jeans is a pattern of the Great Wall.’

The connective, ‘as a result of’, which is postulated in (16) and (17) tentatively and whose exact nature will be explained later then, means that the process or causation still remains at the LCS level so that the agents are implied. In other words, even thought the front part of the LCS shows that a theme y exists at a location z, there should also be a process in which someone does an action which causes that resultative state by a particular manner such as carving or drawing, and it supplements the state of subject NPs.

As for the agentivity of CLI, Li (1986) argues that whether the subject NPs in CLI are agents or patients is not important, because this construction only pays attention to where someone or something exists
and in what state. Pan (1996) argues that the aspectual auxiliary zhe has the function of deleting the agent role from the argument structure of the verb. This paper suggests that the agents in CLI are not deleted but are backgrounded as implicit agents represented in the LCS. This point will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.

Besides carve and draw above, other transitive verbs can also undergo Locative Inversion.

(19) Qiáng shang tú-zhe hěnduō máiguīhuā-de túàn.
    wall surface smear-ASP many roses-Gen pattern
    ‘On the wall are smeared a lot of patterns of roses.’

\[
\text{[STATE y BE AT-ON z] as a result of [EVENT \[EVENT \times ACT-ON y\] CONTROL}
\text{EVENT BECOME [STATE y BE SMEARED]]}
\]

(20) ...Qiáng shang tiē-zhe gōngfānbiao...

The verb tú ‘smear’ changes the state of the wall from not being smeared to being smeared. The LCS which comes after ‘as a result of’ also indicates that there is an implicit agent, and the state of being smeared supplements the state of the theme. At the same time, the LCS of the state part is highlighted and moves to the front. Similar remarks hold for the sentence in (20). Although the Chinese unergative transitive verb tiē ‘paste’ does not originally include the change and state of the action chain, the state part can be assigned by the locative expression. Namely, the locative expression wall in (20) designates that it has ‘pasted marks’ on it as a resultative state. The restructuring of the LCS also occurs with
unergative intransitive verbs, as shown in (21).

(21) ... Chuáng shang shuì-zhe tā-de gānggāng chūshēng (CCLY)
      bed top sleep-ASP he/her-Gen just born
      liǎngtiān-de nǚér.
      tow days-Gen girl

‘On the bed slept his/her girl who was just born two days ago.’

(22) ... Jiān shang dūn-zhe yī zhī xiǎohōuzi... (CCLY)
      shoulders top bend-ASP one CL small monkey

Lit. ‘On the shoulders bent a small monkey.’ (A small monkey slept on the shoulders.)

Unlike the unergative transitive verb tiè ‘paste’ in (20), shuì ‘sleep’ and
dūn ‘bend’ in (21) and (22) are unergative intransitive verbs, and the LCS
of (21) and (22) would be displayed as follows.

(23) [STATE yi BE AT-ON z] as a result of [EVENT x ACT]

Note that the variables x and y in (23) are co-indexed, so that the girl in
(21) not only describes the agent who performs the action of sleeping but
also the theme which exists on the bed. Similar remarks hold for the
sentence in (22).

The observations so far show that transitive verbs of creation and
unergative verbs can be often used in CLI though they are rare or non-
existent in English Locative Inversion. In addition, the state part is
highlighted and moves to the front at the LCS level of CLI when
transitive and unergative verbs are used. Two questions, then, will arise
here. Why does the movement occur? What motivates this movement? To
give an answer to these questions, Section 3.2 will turn to zhe and show
that this aspectual auxiliary is the factor which causes the movement.
3.2 The Function of Zhe

Wang (1999) observes that V+zhe has an aspect of continuance and is classified into two patterns: a continuance of action (24) and a continuance of result (25).

(24)  
Ta¯d ài-zhe yı ¯fù he ¯i bia ¯n yanj ìng  
... (CCLY)  
he/she wear-ASP a pair black rim glasses  
‘He/she wears a pair of black rimmed glasses.’

(25)  
Gōngrénmen zài hánfēng zhōng bānyùn zhe huòwù.  
Wang (1999 : 77)  
workers PROG cold wind in carry-ASP merchandise  
‘Workers are carrying merchandise in a cold wind.’

Dài-zhe in (24) does not denote the repetition of the action of putting on glasses but expresses the continuance of the state of the glasses being worn. On the other hand, the bānyùn zhe in (25) shows a continuance of the workers’ action of carrying merchandise. Namely, zhe plays an auxiliary role which gives an aspectual status to the sentences in these cases.

(26) a. *Yī kē shù dào-zhe mǎlù shang.  
one CL tree fall-ASP road top  
‘A tree fell down on the road.’

(26) b. Malù shang dào-zhe yī kē shù.  
road top fall-ASP one CL tree  
‘On the road fell down a tree.’

(26 a), in which zhe is used with the unaccusative verb dào ‘fall’ in ‘NP+V+LP’ order, is ungrammatical. The locative phrase has to occur before verbs like (26 b) and zhe in (26 b) plays an aspectual auxiliary role that shows that the resultant state continues(6).

I propose that zhe is responsible for the meaning of a continuance of
result in CLI and itself has the following LCS.

(27) LCS for zhe
   [CONTINUE [State ]]  

The predicate CONTINUE designates an abstract state of continuance and selects an event or state as its complement. As observed in Section 3.1, the state or resultative state part of LCS is highlighted. The movement of the state part of LCS is necessitated by zhe’s LCS (27). As a result, CLI would construct a complex LCS as shown below.

(28) a. [CONTINUE [STATE y BE AT-ON z] as a result of [EVENT [EVENT x ACT-ON y] CONTROL [EVENT BECOME [STATE y BE-RESULTATIVE STATE]]]]

b. [CONTINUE [STATE y BE AT-ON z] as a result of [EVENT x ACT (ON y)]]

(28 a, b) displays the final forms of LCS representations of CLI and the zhe’s LCS (27) can be considered to be stored in the lexicon. (28), as a result, is formed by incorporating the LCS of verbs into that of zhe. (28 a) designates the LCS of CLI with transitive verbs like kē ‘carve’, huà ‘draw’, tú ‘smear’, and tiē ‘paste’ in (16), (17), (19), and (20) whereas (28 b) shows that with unergative verbs like shuì ‘sleep’ and dūn ‘bend’ in (21) and (22). (Note that the state part of the LCS in (28 b) derives from locative expressions) In either case, the schema of [STATE y BE AT-ON z] is highlighted to represent who/what exists at what place.

Even thought the verbs in CLI behave differently on the surface structures, they all form a schema like state verbs in the level of LCS. This suggests that verbs of CLI are alike at the deeper level of representations of languages. There are, however, some verbs that cannot undergo CLI(7).

(29) a. *Zhuōzi shàng chī-zhe yī ge píngguǒ.
   desk top eat-ASP one CL apple
   ‘There is an apple on the desk.’
b. *Zhuōzǐ shàng hē-zhe yībēi shuǐ.
   desk top drink-ASP a cup of water
   ‘There is a cup of water on the desk.’

c. *Gōngyuán lǐ tī-zhe yī gē qiú.
   park inside kick-ASP one CL ball
   ‘There is a ball in the park.’

(29a) and (29b) are ungrammatical because their themes do not exist after the action has been accomplished. If an agent performs an action of eating or drinking, the themes of the action do not exist any more after the agent finishes eating or drinking. Therefore, such non-existent entities do not match the definition that CLI represents who/what exists at what place. As for (29c), the resultative state of an action of kicking is not important or need not be signified. The ball might be broken, stolen, or burst, but these results are not semantically important. In short, the resultant state remains blank so that (29c) cannot mean that the ball exists at the park.

The discussions above raises a problem: What does the concept of “as a result of” mean? Section 4 will consider this problem by developing a Constructional Representation for CLI. This Representation will not only resolve the problem in question but also shed light on the question of whether an agent exists in CLI as well as on the properties of the locative phrases.

4. A Constructional Representation for CLI

4.1 The LCS’s Incorporation into the Constructional Representation
The reason for why the concept of “as a result of” is activated is that the LCS gives supplemental information on the existence of implicit agents
and on the states in which the themes exist. However, to incorporate “as a result of” into the representation of LCS can be a theoretical problem as to whether this novel concept can be a schema for LCS or not. A Constructional Representation of CLI will be formed with reference to the Generative Lexicon (Pustejovsky 1995). Although there are some research of Locative Inversion in Japanese and English by using the Lexical Representation of the Generative Lexicon (Nakajima 2001 b, Ono 2005), the following constructional representation is different from theirs.

(30) The Constructional Representation of LIC

\[
\text{EVENTSTR} = E_1 = e_1 : \text{process} \\
E_2 = e_2 : \text{state} \\
\text{RESTR} = <_{\infty} \\
\text{HEAD} = e_2 \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG}1 = y : \text{theme} \\
\text{ARG}2 = z : \text{location} \\
\text{D-ARG}1 = x : [\text{EVENT x ACT (ON-y)}] \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{AGENTIVE} = [\text{CONTINUE [STATE y BE AT-ON z]}]
\]

The representation of (30) indicates the following facts. The event structure consists of a process \( (e_1) \) and a state \( (e_2) \). The symbol \( <_{\infty} \) means a temporal relationship between the subevents \( (e_1) \) and \( (e_2) \), where, \( e_1 \) temporally precedes \( e_2 \). In addition, the state subevent is also the head in the event structure. The argument \( y \) which is a theme and \( z \) which designates a location compose the argument structure. The agent \( x \) in the LCS which is obtained after the movement occurs is regarded as a default argument in this representation. These assignments of argument structure are the key to explaining the agentivity and the property of the locative phrases. Pustejovsky (1995: 76) defines the Agentive role of Qualia structure as “factors involved in its origin or bringing it about”.

In
the Constructional Representation, the origin or the most significant factor would be the expression that an entity exists at a place. Therefore, the LCS of [CONTINUE [STATE y BE AT-ON z]], that is the state part of LCS after the movement occurs, would be mapped to the Agentive role of the Qualia structure.

4.2 The Agentivity in CLI
The agentivity in CLI refers to a discussion that it does not appear on the surface structures but is hidden or potentially exists as an implicit agent. Pan (1996) argues that zhe cannot co-occur with explicit agent phrases in the Locative Inversion, as shown in (31).

    Pan (1996: 410)
    table top John put-ASP one CL book
    ‘John is putting a book on the table.’
    b. *Zhuózi shang bèi John fàng-zhe yī běn shū. (ibid.)
    table top by John put-ASP one CL book
    ‘On the table was put a book by John.’

This observation can also be applied to the Locative Inversion sentences discussed in Chapter 3.

(32) Shítóu shang (*Mary/bèi Mary) kēzhe yī ge míngzi.
    stone top Mary/by Mary carve-ASP one CL name
    ‘Mary is carving a name on the stone./On the stone is carved a name by Mary.’

(33) Niúzáikù shang (*Josh/bèi Josh) huà-zhe Chángchéng-de túàn.
    jeans top Josh/by Josh draw-ASP the Great Wall-Gen pattern
    ‘Josh is drawing a pattern of the Great Wall on the jeans./On the jeans is drew a pattern of the Great Wall by Josh.’
The underlined agent phrases cannot appear syntactically. Kearns (2000: 237) states that agentive predicates can be modified by agent-oriented adverbs such as carefully, deliberately, or willingly. The following CLI sentences demonstrate that transitive or unergative transitive verbs cannot be modified by agent-oriented adverbs whereas intransitive unergative verbs can.

(34) Qiáng shang (*wo/ bèi wo) tú-zhe hěnduō māguīhuā-de tuàn.
    ‘I am smearing a pattern of roses on the wall./On the wall is smeared a pattern of roses by me.

(35) Qiáng shang (*John/ bèi John) tiē-zhe gōngfēnbiāo.
    ‘John is pasting a table of workers marks on the wall./On the wall is pasted a table of workers marks by John.’

The underlined agent phrases cannot appear syntactically. Kearns (2000: 237) states that agentive predicates can be modified by agent-oriented adverbs such as carefully, deliberately, or willingly. The following CLI sentences demonstrate that transitive or unergative transitive verbs cannot be modified by agent-oriented adverbs whereas intransitive unergative verbs can.

(36) a. Shítou shang (*xiào) kē-zhe yī ge míngzi.
    ‘There is a name which is carefully carve by someone on the stone.’

b. Qiáng shang (*xiào) tiē-zhe gōngfēnbiāo.
    ‘There is a table of workers marks which is carefully pasted by someone on the wall.’

c. Chuáng shang gāo gāoxìngxìngde shuǐ-zhe tā-de gānggāng chu¯s h e¯ng liangtia¯n-de nüér.
    ‘On the bed slept his/her girl who was just born two days ago willingly.’
d. Jīǎn shāng gāogāoxīngxìngde dùn-zhē yī zhī xiǎohóuzi.

‘On the shoulder bent a small monkey willingly.’

The agent-oriented adverb xiǎoxīnde means ‘carefully’ and gāogāoxīngxìngde ‘willingly’. The examples in (36 a) and (36 b) show that there are no agentive predicates since the sentences cannot be modified by the agent-oriented adverbs. (36 c) and (36 d), on the other hand, signify that the sentences can be modified by the agent-oriented adverbs. One could argue that the adverb gāogāoxīngxìngde ‘willingly’ modifies agentive phrases in these examples since the agents who perform the actions are identified with the themes at the LCS level after the movement occurs. Another argument would be that the adverb gāogāoxīngxìngde ‘willingly’ modifies the resultant state of the theme ‘the girl’ and ‘the monkey’. The agentivity in the latter sense seems to fade in comparison with that in the former interpretation.

Although the agent phrases do not show up syntactically in CLI, I would like to argue that the agents exist in the Constructive Representation of CLI as default arguments. Default arguments are defined as the arguments that are not necessarily expressed syntactically but are implied semantically. The external argument x, which is mapped from \([EVENT \times ACT (ON-y)]\), is considered as the default agent in (30). CLI expresses the existence of an entity at a place, and therefore the agentive expression is stored as a default argument though not required syntactically. By indexing x, or \([EVENT \times ACT (ON-y)]\) to the default arguments in the representation, we can not only give CLI a principle explanation about the existence of the implicit agents in CLI but also resolve the problems that the notion “as a result of” raises.
4.3 The Properties of Locative Phrases

The Constructional Representation (30), which the agent phrases are designated to the default arguments and the locative phrases to AGR₂, represents the locative phrases are semantically and syntactically necessary in CLI. Under this supposition, the predicates represent the information about the locative phrases. For instance, in the sentence Shítou shang kě-zhe yīge míngzi ‘There is a name on the stone’, the predication ‘a name (is curved)’ gives a specific information to the locative phrase shítou ‘stone’. If asked what can be seen on the stone, one would answer that there is a name being curved on it. Namely, the locative phrase has a property that a name is curved or just exists on it. I would like to call CLI under this situation a “quasi-characterizing predication”. Characterizing predication or individual-level predicates describes permanent states (Diesing 1992, Kageyama 2006, Carlson & Pelletier 1995). Although the states described by CLI might not be “permanent” states since they can vanish in the future, CLI shows some common peculiarities in comparison with charactering predications. As discussed in literature (Diesing 1992, Kageyama 2006, Carlson & Pelletier 1995), charactering predications are dissonant with punctual time adverbials such as at that moment or today.

(37) a. Elephants’ noses are long (*at that moment).
    b. John is tall (*today).

CLI also has this property of (35) as shown below.

(38) a. Shítou shang (*nàgeshíhòu) kě-zhe yī ge míngzi.
    stone top at that moment carve-ASP one CL name
    ‘There is a name which is carved on the stone at that moment.’
    shoulders top today bend-ASP one CL small monkey
There is a small monkey bending on the shoulder today.

Intuitively speaking, the adverbials nàgeshíhòu ‘at that moment’ and jīntiān ‘today’ represent a bounded time, and therefore and inconsistent with the imperfect aspect zhe. Another demonstration that CLI is not compatible with bounded time expressions is that CLI cannot be modified by the time adverbials like yòng yīge xiǎoshí ‘in an hour’.

(39) a. Niúzǎikù shang (*yòng yīgexiǎoshí) huà-zhe Chángchéng-de túàn.
   jeans top in an hour draw-ASP the Great Wall-Gen pattern
   ‘There is a pattern of the Great Wall on the jeans (*in an hour).’

b. Qiáng shang (*yòng yīgexiǎoshí) tiē-zhe gōngfēnbiāo.
   wall surface in an hour paste-ASP table of workers marks
   ‘There is a table of workers marks on the wall (*in an hour).’

However, time adverbials like yīzhí ‘for a long time’ can co-occur with CLI.

(40) a. Niúzǎikù shang yīzhí huà-zhe Chángchéng-de túàn.
   jeans top for a long time draw-ASP the Great Wall-Gen pattern
   ‘There is a pattern of the Great Wall on the jeans for a long time.’

b. Qiáng shang yīzhí tiē-zhe gōngfēnbiāo.
   wall surface for a long time paste-ASP table of workers marks
   ‘There is a table of workers marks on the wall for a long time.’

These observations suggest that CLI designates a nearly permanent state. CLI shares a feature with charactering predications in that they are semantically incompatible with punctual adverbials that make specific reference to a point of time. Yet, there is also a feature that they do not share, that is, CLI can co-occur with direct perception verbs whereas charactering predication can not.

(41) *I saw Michael intelligent/tall.
CLI can co-occur with the underlined direct perception verbs because the agent wò ‘I’ perceives the resultative state of an entity existing at a place. The possibility of co-occurrence is due to the existential expressions that CLI possesses and the locatives $z$ in the argument structures causes the properties of locative phrases, and as a result, CLI serve as quasi-characterizing predications.

5. Conclusion

In Chinese, transitive verbs are capable of undergoing Locative Inversion whereas English lacks this property. Besides transitive verbs, unergative transitive and intransitive verbs can also occur in CLI. At the LCS level, there is a movement in which the state part is highlighted and the aspectual auxiliary zhe is the factor of this movement. In the Constructional Representation, the LCS form of the state part is inserted into the Agentive role of the Qualia structure, the agent $x$, or $[\text{EVENT } x \text{ ACT (ON-y)}]$ is considered as D-ARG 1 and locatives $z$ as ARG 2. This representation explains that agents in CLI are implicit agents and CLI performs like a quasi-characterizing predication.

Notes

(1) Although the term CLI might not be adequate to refer to Cúnzàijù from the
perspective that whether there is an inversion in Chinese, this term is used for convenience sake to compare this construction with English Locative Inversion.

(2) See Song (1982 a, b) and Li (1986) for the all patterns of their classifications.

(3) The classifications of verbs are based on the Action-chain as shown below. “ACTION \(\rightarrow\) CHANGE \(\rightarrow\) STATE/RESULTATIVE STATE”

See Kageyama (2001) for discussion.

(4) Kageyama (1996) defines the notion of CONTROL (X CONTROL Y) as following. CONTROL directly influences the birth of Y and it is practically interpreted as CAUSE if the birth of Y is implied. If the birth of Y is not implied, Y would be interpreted as a level of ‘aim’. The Y’s birth is not always be succeeded as below and this is the reason that this paper adopts CONTROL but not CAUSE.


Zhāngsān kill-ASP Lǐsì twice Lǐsì did not die

‘Zhāngsān performed the action of attempting to kill Lǐsì, but Lǐsì didn’t die.’

(5) CCLY, Center for Chinese Linguistics Yǔliàoku (CCL corpus) is used in this paper.

(6) Even though I mentioned this paper will focus on transitive and unergative verbs in Chinese, unaccusative verbs can naturally occur in CLI as well.

(i) Mǎlù shàng luò-ASP hěnduō yězi.

road on fall-ASP many leaves

‘Onto the road had fallen many leaves.’

(ii) Fāngbiànhángdiàn pāngbiān tíng-ASP yī liàng pāochē.

convenient store next stop-ASP one CL sport car

‘Next to the convenient store stopped a sport car.’

(7) In addition to the example (29), change of state verbs like break are not likely be used as below. In this case, it seems that the aspect zhe do not cause the movement. However, I would like to leave a deep discussion about this for my further research. Also, there are not enough spaces to discuss this problem at this paper.

(i) *Zhùózi shǎnghuó-ASP bōlǐ piàn.

desk on break-ASP glass piece

*‘On the desk broken a piece of glasses.’ (There are broken glasses on the desk.)
References


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