

Deriving finite control in Chinese V-de resultatives

In this presentation, we make two claims about Mandarin Chinese *V-de* resultatives (henceforth *V-de*) (Huang et al. 2009). First, we argue *V-de* is a finite control configuration (1). The empty subject in the *V-de* complement clause can be **O**bligatorily **C**ontrolled by the c-commanding antecedent *nuanqiji* ‘heater’, or **N**on-**O**bligatorily **C**ontrolled by the non-syntactic referent. Also, a **N**on-**C**ontrol subject (*Xiaoming*) is possible. These empirical findings broaden the traditional view that finite control is either OC or NC in Hebrew (Landau 2004) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP, Boeckx et al. 2010), with the attested NOC phenomena.

- (1) Nuanqiji₁ chui-de [CP {PRO₁/PRO₂ / Xiaoming} re-le qilai].
 heater blow-DE Xiaoming hot-LE up
 ‘The heater blew to the degree where it₁ / the temperature₂ / Xiaoming got warmer.’

Second, we unify the aforementioned finite control pattern under a movement-based (Boeckx et al. 2010) tripartite analysis: (i) OC involves **hyper-raising** (HR) of the embedded subject to the matrix argument position, (ii) NOC involves **pronominalization**, with the most embedded null subject referring a long-distance controller *Xuesheng* ‘student’ rather than the closest c-commanding antecedent *kaojuan* ‘test’, and (iii) NC obtains involves a base-generated overt subject with its own reference

- (2) [Xuesheng₁ baoyuan [CP kaojuan₂ nan-de [CP {PRO_{1/*2} / tamen₂} bu hui xie]]].
 student complain test hard-DE they not can write
 ‘Students complained that the test was too difficult for them to finish.’

Our proposal has two theoretical implications. First, *V-de* finite control aligns with existing HR literature, exhibiting two CP-phasehood (Chomsky 2001) unlocking properties:

- ① **Semantic tense deficiency** (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999; Uchibori 2000, 2001)
 Unlike embedded CPs introduced by null/*shuo*-complementizers, *de*-clauses disallow past-before-matrix interpretations, and solely accept simultaneous or future irrealis readings.

- (3) Subj... **jintian** V1 ...[CP ✓ ____/✓shuo/*de ...V2 **zhuotian**].
 today yesterday

- ② **INFL ambiguity**. Nunes (2008) argues that *phi*-features on embedded subjects in BP are ambiguously checked. T_{phi-complete} assigns a nominative Case to overt subjects while T_{phi-incomplete} does not, triggering HR. As Chinese lacks case morphology, T_{phi-complete} cannot be overtly marked but can still allow HR (4b):

- (4) a. Subj₁ ... V... [CP Subj₁ T_{phi-complete}]. → No HR
 b. Subj₁ ... V ...[CP ____₁ T_{phi-incomplete} ...]. → HR allowed

The other is that we distinguish non-finite control from finite control. *V-de* clauses may appear non-finite due to covert subjects. However, when emphatic particles (e.g., *ya*) are inserted in (5a), overt subjects become grammatical — revealing an obviation effect not shared with genuinely non-finite control environments (5b).

- (5) a. Lisi_i paobu pao-de [*ta / ta ya / ya ta / PRO_i qichuanxuxu].
Lisi run run-DE he he YA YA he breathe.heavily
'Lisi ran to the extent of (him) breathing heavily.'
- b. Lisi_i tingzhi [*ta / *ta ya / ya *ta / PRO_i paobu].
Lisi stop he he YA YA he run
'Lisi stopped (*him) running.'

Concluding, if Chinese *V-de* finite CPs permit OC, NOC, and NC depending on interpretive and syntactic factors, similar patterns may exist in other languages but remain undetected. Our tripartite model opens a direction for re-evaluating the typology of control in natural language.