This study investigates two structures for purposives in Mandarin Chinese (MC), purposives combining with source applicatives (henceforth source purposive, as in 1a) and with goal applicatives (goal purposive, as in 1b). These two structures, while superficially identical, possess substantially different syntactic and semantic properties as summarized in table 1.

(1) a. Source purposive  
wo tou -le John yi -ping jiu he. I steal -ASP John one -CL wine drink  
I stole a bottle of wine from John and (I) drank it.

b. Goal purposive  
wo song -le John yi -ping jiu he. I send -ASP John one -CL wine drink  
I sent John a bottle of wine for him (John) to drink.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Source purposive</th>
<th>Goal purposive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpreted subject of V2</td>
<td>matrix subject</td>
<td>applied object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial/ exhaustive control</td>
<td>partial/ exhaustive control</td>
<td>exhaustive control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object-oriented adverbs</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject oriented adverbs</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausal-final aspect marker le</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible semantic meaning</td>
<td>implicatives, irrealis predicate</td>
<td>irrealis predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

This study explores a restructuring approach in the sense of Wurmbrand (2001) to account for the asymmetrical properties of these two structures and makes this argument: goal purposives in Chinese can be analyzed as lexical restructuring construction and source purposives reduced non-restructuring infinitives and the asymmetry between goal purposives and source purposives follows from the asymmetry in the size of the projection headed by the second verb in these two structures.

According to Baker and Stewart (2002), the second verb (V2) in purposives in MC (CSVCs in their term) projects a vP. In this study, through the possibility/impossibility of subject/agent-oriented adverbs within the phrase headed by V2 (V2 phrase), I demonstrate that in goal purposives no embedded PRO is projected, and therefore V2 phrase should be analyzed as VP; on the other hand in source purposives, a PRO is projected within V2 phrase, and also given that clause-final aspectual marker le is possible within V2 phrase, I suggest that V2 phrase in a source purposives is vP or AspP. Also considering other properties of these two structures as in table 1, I demonstrate goal purposives fit Wurmbrand’s lexical restructuring infinitives and source purposives tally with reduced non-restructuring infinitives. I also demonstrate that the asymmetry in structure between goal purposives and source purposives is motivated for different semantic purposes, which can be accounted for by Rocette’s (1988) hypothesis that the size of an infinitive corresponds to its semantic category.

Recent studies (Biggs, 2012; Grano, 2012) have reported (semi) functional restructuring infinitives in Chinese, which have not been identified previously. This study, if correct, indicates that lexical restructuring infinitives also exist in Chinese.
References


