

## Non-spatial movement of ‘come’ in directional serial verbs in Mandarin Chinese

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The deictic verb ‘come’ usually indicates physical movement toward the speaker. However, this verb does not always refer to spatial movement; it can also be used in a metaphorical way. I argue that the non-spatial ‘come’ exists in directional serial verbs in Mandarin Chinese, which, along with lexical compounds, requires different word orders in this construction to be accounted for by more than one syntactic configuration.

In the directional serial verb construction, a main verb (V1) is followed by directional complements (Chao, 1968), including a directional verb (V2) and a deictic verb (V3) (Lin, 1977):

- (1) Laowang na jin yi-ben shu lai. (V1 V2 O V3)  
Laowang take<sub>(V1)</sub> enter<sub>(V2)</sub> one-CL book come<sub>(V3)</sub>  
‘Laowang took a book in (toward me).’

When both V2 and V3 follow V1, the former always precedes the latter. In addition, the object can follow any of the verbs, hence three possible word orders: V1 V2 V3 O, V1 V2 O V3, and V1 O V2 V3.

Previous analyses, such as Lu (1973) and Zou (1995), usually assume that the word order variants result from one canonical word order, with the rest derived from it, considering their meanings regarded to be the same. Moreover, they posit that V2 is a verb affix, attaching to either V1 or V3, given that V1 V2 O and V1 O V2 V3 are grammatical while V1 O V2 is not. However, consider the following example:

- (2) Laowang na yi-ben shu jin fangjian lai. (V1 O V2 G V3)  
Laowang take<sub>(V1)</sub> one-CL book enter<sub>(V2)</sub> room come<sub>(V3)</sub>  
‘Laowang took a book into the room (toward me).’

If V2 were a verb affix, (2) should be ungrammatical due to it not being bound by V1 or V3, contrary to fact. I argue that when V2 and V3 are adjacent, they are lexical compounds; when they are not adjacent, V3 appearing at the end of the sentence, such as (1) and (2), is a non-spatial ‘come’, following Shen (1996), the domain of which has shifted from spatial to mental. As a consequence, what comes to the speaker is the event itself as opposed to the object, despite an event being unable to undergo physical movement. The structures of directional serial verbs are represented as follows:

- (3) a. Deic [ $\nu$  [O [ $V_{main}$  [V G]]]]  
 b. Deic [ $\nu$  [ (G) V [ $V_{main}$  O]]]

In (3), V1 is in  $V_{main}$ , V2 or V2-V3 lexical compound is in V, and the non-spatial ‘come’ is in Deic. When V2/V2-V3 is the complement of V1, as in (3a), V2 requires its own complement, which explains the ungrammatical V1 O V2. The  $\nu$ P pied-pipes to the Spec of DeicP after head movement of  $V_{main}$ , deriving a sentence like (2). On the other hand, when V2/V2-V3 selects V1 as its complement, as in (3b), the goal argument is in its specifier position and thus optional. After cyclic head movement and pied-piping, a sentence like (1) is derived.

In the directional serial verb constructions, V3 is either a non-spatial ‘come’ or a morpheme in a lexical compound, depending on which word order it appears in. This suggests that different word orders do not have the same interpretations; as a consequence, they cannot be accounted for by only one syntactic structure.

#### References

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