

5. COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH GEI

In this chapter, I will explain why the outer object marked by gěi is only allowed in the preverbal position, and unacceptable in the postverbal position:

- (1a) 醫生給病人開刀
Yisheng gei bingren kai dao
doctor GEI patient open knife
The doctor operates on the patient.
- (1b) *醫生開刀給病人
Yisheng kai dao gei bingren
doctor open knife GEI patient

In this respect, the VOPs are different from both verbs of giving (e.g. sòng 'to give (as a present)' and verbs like qī (chá) 'to brew (tea)', dǎ (máoyī) 'to knit (a sweater)' which all allow for a postverbal gěi-phrase:

- (2a) 我送一本書給他
Wo song yi-ben shu gei ta
1SG give 1 -CL book GEI 3SG
I give him a book (as a present).
- (2b) 我沏茶給他
Wo qi cha gei ta
1SG brew tea GEI 3SG
I make him some tea.

For verbs of giving, the acceptability of a postverbal gěi-phrase can be considered as a defining property of this verb class. Verbs like qī (chá) 'to brew (tea)' and dǎ (máoyī) 'to knit (a sweater)', however, do not belong to a clearly defined verb class; they only have in common the ability to express the production of a concrete entity and to optionally allow for a benefactive.

Given the complexity of the problems linked to gěi, I will first give a detailed summary of the most exhaustive study on gěi, i.e. Zhu Dexi(1979, 1983). I will then criticize it point by point and propose my own analysis which is different from Zhu's. This new analysis of the functioning of gěi will then be shown to account for the acceptability of the outer object marked by gěi in the preverbal position only.

5.1. The analysis of Zhu Dexi(1983, 1979)

In this section, I will present Zhu Dexi's article on "Bāohán dòngcí 'gěi' de fùzá jùshì" [Complex constructions with the verb gěi] published in 1983. His article dating from 1979 "Yǔ dòngcí 'gěi' xiāngguān de jùfǎ wèntí" ["Sentences containing the verb gěi] and dealing with more or less the same subject matter will only be taken into consideration here if it contains some information which is relevant to the problem but which has not been mentioned in the later article.

In order to facilitate reference to Zhu's article, I have followed his terminology as far as the summary is concerned. In my critical comment as well as in the presentation of my own analysis, however, I have sometimes, for the sake of convenience, preferred to use terms different from Zhu's.

Zhu Dexi(1983) distinguishes the following six construction types containing gěi:

S'1: Ns V1 gěi N' N V2P

我送給他一本書看

Wo song gei ta yi-ben shu kan
1SG give GEI 3SG 1 -CL book look
I give him a book to read.

S'2: Ns V1 N gěi N' V2P

我送一本書給他看

Wo song yi-ben shu gei ta kan
1SG give 1 -CL book GEI 3SG look
I give him a book to read.

S'3: Ns gěi N' V1 N V2P

我給他買輛車騎

Wo gei ta mai liang che qi
1SG GEI 3SG buy CL bicycle ride
I buy a bicycle for him to ride on.

(p. 161)¹

S'4: Ns V1 N' N V2P

我送他一本書看

Wo song ta yi-ben shu kan
1SG give 3SG 1 -CL book look
I give him a book to read.

S'5: 我講個故事給你聽

Wo jiang ge gushi gei ni ting
1SG tell CL story GEI 2SG listen
I tell a story for you to listen to.

S'6: (你以為我不會騎馬), 我騎給你

(Ni yiwei wo bu hui qi ma) wo qi gei ni kan
2SG think 1SG NEG know ride horse 1SG ride GEI 2SG look
(You think I don't know how to ride a horse), I'll ride one to show you.
(p. 162)

(Ns stands for the subject NP, V1 for the first verb, and V2P for the second VP; N' and N are the indirect and the direct object, respectively.)

The verbs occurring in these six constructions S'1 - S'6 can be divided into four different classes:

¹ If not indicated otherwise, the page numbers refer to Zhu(1983).

Va: verbs of giving like sòng 'to give (as a present)', to send off'; mài 'to sell'; huán 'to give back'; dì 'to pass on';

Vb: verbs of taking like tōu 'to steal'; zhuàn 'to win'; qiǎng 'to seize'; mǎi 'to buy';

Vc: verbs denoting the production of a concrete entity like chǎo (cài) 'to fry (a meal)'; qī (chá) 'to brew (tea)'; dǎ (máoyī) 'to knit (a sweater)';

Vd: verbs denoting the creation of an abstract entity like chàng (gē) 'to sing (a song)'; jiǎng (gùshi) 'to tell (a story)'; zuò (guǎiliǎn) 'to make (faces);

As the first step in the analysis of the six structures S'1 - S'6, Zhu divides them into two groups, depending on whether a corresponding structure without V2P exists or not. Thus, for S'1 - S'4, we obtain matching constructions without V2P, i.e. S1 - S4, whereas the deletion of V2P in S'5 and S'6 does not yield acceptable structures.

S1: Ns V gěi N' N

我送給他一本書

Wo song gei ta yi-ben shu
1SG give GEI 3SG 1 -CL book
I give him a book (as a present).

S2: Ns V N gěi N'

我送一本書給他

Wo song yi-ben shu gei ta
1SG give 1 -CL book GEI 3SG
I give him a book (as a present).

S3: Ns gěi N' V N

我給他買輛車

Wo gei ta mai liang che
1SG GEI 3SG buy CL bicycle
I buy a bicycle for him.

S4: Ns V N' N

我送他一本書

Wo song ta yi-ben shu
1SG give 3SG 1 -CL book
I give him a book (as a present).

*我講個故事給你

Wo jiang ge gushi gei ni
1SG tell CL story GEI 2SG (S'5 without V2P)

*(你以為我不會騎馬)我騎給你

(Ni yiwei wo bu hui qi ma) wo qi gei ni
2SG think 1SG NEG know ride horse 1SG ride Gei 2SG

(S'6 without V2P)

According to Zhu, the existence of a pair of sentences Sn:S'n constitutes the evidence for the derivability of S'n from Sn. Consequently, he makes his structural analysis of the S'n sentences depend on the acceptability or the unacceptability of the supposedly basic structure Sn. If the corresponding structure without V2P, i.e. Sn, is acceptable, then the first VP (the VP of the sentence Sn) and the added VP, V2P, make up a new (complex) VP in S'n. If, however, there is no corresponding Sn, then the gei-phrase and the V2P form a group separate from the first VP:

S'1, S'4: Ns [[V1 (gěi) N' N] V2P]

S'3: Ns [[gěi N' V1 N] V2P]

S'2: Ns [[V1 N gěi N'] V2P]

S'5, S'6: Ns [V1 N][gěi N' V2P]²

5.1.1. S'1 and S'4: Ns V1 (gěi) N' N V2P

As the distinction between S'1 and S'4 is not necessary for their analysis, I will, contrary to Zhu, consider them as one

² Zhu does not indicate whether [V1 N] and [gěi N' V2P] belong to the same complex VP or not.

type, S'1,4.³

The verbs allowed in the V1 position of S'1,4 are limited to Va verbs, i.e. verbs of giving for which the immediately following gěi is optional. As S1 and S4 equally admit only verbs of giving Va with an optionally adjacent gěi, Zhu postulates that S'1 and S'4 are derived from S1 and S4, respectively. There is, however, one additional condition to be satisfied in S'1 and S'4,

³ There are, however, two cases where the distinction between S'1 and S'4 has to be maintained, namely a) with a special subset of verbs of giving called Va/c by Zhu and b) with verbs of taking like tōu 'to steal'.

Va/c verbs like xiě 'to write', jì 'to send' differ from "normal" verbs of giving (like sòng 'to give') in two respects: 1) For Va/c verbs, the gěi immediately following the verb is obligatory, i.e. Va/c verbs are only acceptable in S1, but not in S4:

(i) 我寫給他一封信
 Wo xie gei ta yi-feng xin (S1)
 1SG write GEI 3SG 1 -CL letter

I have written him a letter.

(ii) *我寫他一封信
 Wo xie ta yi-feng xin
 1SG write 3SG 1 -CL letter (S4)

2) Va/c verbs allow their recipient to appear in a preverbal gěi-phrase, i.e. Va/c can appear in S3:

(iii) 我給他寫了一封信
 Wo gei ta xie -le yi-feng xin
 1SG GEI 3SG write-PERF 1 -CL letter

I have written him a letter.

With "normal" verbs of giving, however, the preverbal gěi-phrase can never indicate the recipient, but only the person on whose behalf or for whose benefit the action was done, i.e. the benefactive:

(iv) 我給他賣了一本書
 Wo gei ta mai-le yi-ben shu
 1SG GEI 3SG buy-PERF 1 -CL book

I have sold a book on his behalf.

But as Zhu(1983: 161) points out himself, the Va/c verbs are not important for the problem under investigation and their particular behaviour need not to be taken into account.

As to the second case where the distinction between S'1 and S'4

i.e. the intentionality of the verb V1 (p. 163). Thus, non-intentional verbs of giving like chuánrǎn 'to infect' and shū 'to convey, to lose' are totally acceptable in S1 and S4 (cf. (3a) and (4a)), but they are excluded from S'1 and S'4 (cf. (3b) and (4b)):

(3a) 他傳染(給)我天花
 Ta chuanran (gei) wo tianhua
 3SG infect GEI 1SG smallpox

He infected me with smallpox.

(3b) *他傳染(給)我天花死
 Ta chuanran (gei) wo tianhua si
 3SG infect GEI 1SG smallpox die

(4a) 我輸(給)他很多錢
 Wo shu (gei) ta hen duo qian
 1SG lose GEI 3SG very much money

I lost a lot of money to him.

(4b) *我輸(給)他很多錢花
 Wo shu (gei) ta hen duo qian hua
 1SG lose GEI 3SG very much money spend

 (footnote 3 continued)

has to be maintained, i.e. the verbs of taking, they are only admitted in S'4, and not in S'1:

(v) 我偷了他一點酒喝
 Wo tou -le ta yi-dian jiu he (S'4)
 1S steal-PERF 3SG 1 -little wine drink

I have stolen him a little wine to drink.

(vi) *我偷給他一點酒喝
 Wo tou gei ta yi-dian jiu he (S'1)
 1SG steal GEI 3SG 1 -little wine drink

But in fact Zhu does not give any example where a Vb verb is followed by both its arguments as in (v).

My presentation in which S'1 and S'4 are treated as one sentence type is therefore only of limited validity for Va/c verbs and Vb verbs.

There are two kinds of relations between the direct object of the first verb V1 and V2P: either the direct object of V1 is understood to be the direct object of V2 as well (cf. (5)), or the direct object of V1 indicates the instrument of the action expressed by V2P (cf. (6) and (7)). (If V2P comprises a verb and a NP, only the latter interpretation is possible.)

- (5) 我送給你一瓶酒喝
 Wo song gei ni yi-ping jiu he
 1SG give GEI 2SG 1 -bottle wine drink
 I have given you a bottle of wine to drink.
- (6) 我借給你一隻筆寫
 Wo jie gei ni yi-zhi bi xie
 1SG lend GEI 2SG 1 -CL pen write
 I have lent you a pen to write with.
- (7) 我送給你一把刀切肉
 Wo song gei ni yi-ba dao qie rou
 1SG give GEI 2SG 1 -CL knife cut meat
 I have given you a knife to cut meat with.

As the verbs of giving Va do not only appear in S'1, but also in S'2 (Ns V1 N gěi N' V2P), and as in S'2 we observe the same relations between V2P and the direct object of V1 as in S'1 (i.e. the relation verb - object and the relation verb - instrument), Zhu postulates a transformational link between S'1 and S'2:⁴

- (8) 我借給你一隻筆寫 (S'1)
 Wo jie gei ni yi-zhi bi xie
 1SG lend GEI 2SG 1 -CL pen write
 I have lent you a pen to write with.

⁴ The possibility to be transformed into S'2 only exists for S'1 (Ns V gěi N' N V2P), but not for S'4 (Ns V N' N V2P) because it depends on the presence of gěi.

- (9) 我借一隻筆給你寫 (S'2)
 Wo jie yi-zhi bi gei ni xie
 1SG lend 1 -CL pen GEI 2SG write
 I have lent you a pen to write with.

This transformation of S'1 into S'2 is, however, irreversible for verbs other than verbs of giving, i.e. in general we only have S'1 → S'2, and not S'2 → S'1. For besides verbs of giving Va, S'2 also allows for Vb and Vc verbs. These two latter verb classes not being admitted in S'1, a transformation from S'2 into S'1 is therefore excluded in that case. This point will be discussed in more detail in my own analysis of S'2 (cf. below, 5.2.4.1.).

5.1.2. S'3: Ns gěi N' V1 N V2P

This structure allows verbs of taking Vb (cf. (10)) as well as verbs Vc denoting the production of a concrete entity (cf. (11)) in its V1 position:

- (10) 我給你買了輛車騎
 Wo gei ni mai-le liang che qi
 1SG GEI 2SG buy-PERF CL bicycle ride
 I have bought you a bicycle to ride on.
- (11) 我給你打了件毛衣穿
 Wo gei ni da -le jian maoyi chuan
 1SG GEI 2SG knit-PERF CL sweater wear
 I have knitted a sweater for you to wear.

Verbs of giving Va are excluded from this structure, because the preverbal gěi-phrase does not indicate the recipient, but the benefactive, i.e. the person for whose benefit or on whose behalf something has been done:⁵

⁵ This observation is not valid for Va/c verbs like xiě (xìn) 'to write (a letter)', where the preverbal gěi-phrase can indicate the recipient. Cf. above, footnote 3.

- (12) 我給他送了一本書
 Wo gei ta song-le yi-ben shu
 1SG GEI 3SG give-PERF 1 -CL book

I have given a book (to a third person) on his behalf.

It is not very clear to me why Zhu fails to include the verbs Vd denoting the creation of an abstract entity among the verbs admitted in S'3, for sentences (13) - (15) are obviously well-formed:

- (13) 你給我唱個歌聽
 Ni gei wo chang ge ge ting
 2SG GEI 1SG sing CL song listen

Sing a song for me to listen to.

- (14) 你給我講個故事聽
 Ni gei wo jiang ge gushi ting
 2SG GEI 1SG tell CL story listen

Tell a story for me to listen to.

- (15) 你給我做個鬼臉看
 Ni gei wo zuo ge guilian kan
 2SG GEI 1SG make CL grimace look

Make faces for me to see.

This omission of Vd verbs is the more striking because Vd verbs are not only allowed in S'3, but also in S3 (Ns gěi N' V N) (cf. (18)) and thus show the same distribution as Vb and Vc verbs whose acceptability in S'3 Zhu acknowledges:⁶

6 Probably Zhu has excluded Vd verbs because only those structures S3 (Ns gěi N' V N) which can be transformed into S2 (Ns V N gěi N') count as true S3 structures. As shown in (i) - (iii), this transformation cannot take place when S3 contains a Vd verb:

- (i) 你給我唱個歌聽 (S'3)
 Ni gei wo chang ge ge ting
 1SG GEI 1SG sing CL song listen
 Sing a song for me to listen to.

- (16) 我給你買了輛車 (S3, Vb)
 Wo gei ni mai-le liang che
 1SG GEI 2SG buy-PERF CL bicycle

I have bought a bicycle for you.

- (17) 我給你打了件毛衣 (S3, Vc)
 Wo gei ni da -le jian maoyi
 1SG GEI 2SG knit-PERF CL sweater

I have knitted a sweater for you.

- (18) 我給你唱了一首歌 (S3, Vd)
 Wo gei ni chang-le yi-shou ge
 1SG GEI 2SG sing -PERF 1 -CL song

I have sung a song for you.

Vd verbs will be discussed in more detail in the section dealing with S'5 (cf. below, 5.1.4.).

5.1.3. S'2: Ns V1 N gěi N' V2P

This structure allows for Va, Vb and Vc verbs, provided they are intentional (p. 164):

- (19) 我借了一隻筆給你寫 (Va)
 Wo jie -le yi-zhi bi gei ni xie
 1SG lend-PERF 1 -CL pen GEI 2SG write

I have lent you a pen to write with.

 (footnote 6 continued)

- (ii) 你給我唱個歌 (S3)
 Ni gei wo chang ge ge
 2SG GEI 1SG sing CL song

Sing a song for me.

- (iii) *你唱個歌給我 (S2)
 Ni chang ge ge gei wo
 2SG sing CL song GEI 1SG

By analogy, a structure S'3 which does not come from a true S3 structure is probably not regarded a true S'3 either and is therefore discarded by Zhu.

- (20) 他偷了點酒給我喝
 Ta tou -le dian jiu gei wo he (Vb)
 3SG steal-PERF a:little wine GEI 1SG drink

He has stolen a little bit of wine for me to drink.

- (21) 我打了件毛衣給你穿
 Wo da -le jian maoyi gei ni chuan (Vc)
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater GEI 2SG wear

I have knitted a sweater for you to wear.

Zhu excludes Vd verbs from S'2 because contrary to Va, Vb and Vc verbs, there is no corresponding sentence S2 without V2P for Vd verbs. An abstract entity not being transferable, the NP introduced by gěi cannot be interpreted as recipient, an interpretation which is, however, possible in the case of Va, Vb and Vc verbs:

- (22) 我借了一隻筆給你
 Wo jie -le yi-zhi bi gei ni (Va)
 1SG lend-PERF 1 -CL pen GEI 2SG

I have lent you a pen

- (23) 他偷了點酒給我
 Ta tou -le dian jiu gei wo (Vb)
 3SG steal-PERF a:little wine GEI 1SG

He has stolen some wine for me.

- (24) 我打了件毛衣給你
 Wo da -le jian maoyi gei ni (Vc)
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater GEI 2SG

I have knitted a sweater for you.

- (25) *我唱了一首歌給你
 Wo chang-le yi-shou ge gei ni (Vd)
 1SG sing -PERF 1 -CL song GEI 2SG

The acceptability of S2 as well as the identity of the verb classes admitted in both S2 and S'2 further substantiate Zhu's claim that S'n has to be derived from Sn, a hypothesis which has already been confirmed for S'1, S'4 and S'3.

Though I do not want to expose my own analysis of the problem yet, I nevertheless think it necessary to make a first comment on Zhu's verb classification, in particular on his distinction between verbs of taking Vb and verbs denoting the production of a concrete entity Vc. It is certainly correct to point out that verbs like tōu 'to steal' and qiǎng 'to snatch away' are double object verbs. But this characteristic of Vb verbs does not play any role in the generalizations Zhu draws from his data. A sentence like (23) is not an example of a double object construction, because the gěi-phrase does not indicate the second argument of tōu (i.e. the source), but an optionally permitted benefactive. Gěi tā in (23) plays the same role as gěi tā in (24), where we have a Vc verb which subcategorises for only one argument (i.e. for its direct object) and which admits a benefactive as an additional role. The structure which really corresponds to the double object construction: Ns Va N gěi N' (cf. (27)) is therefore not the one illustrated in (23), but the structure: Ns Vb N' N as in (26):

- (26) 我偷他點酒
 Wo tou ta dian jiu (Vb)
 1SG steal 3SG a:little wine

I steal a little bit of wine from him.

- (27) 我送一本書給他
 Wo song yi-ben shu gei ta (Va)
 1SG give 1 -CL book GEI 3SG

I give him a book (as a present).

As shown in (28), a verb of taking Vb can naturally be accompanied by its two arguments and a benefactive. Such a sentence, though, is totally different from those given by Zhu where the source argument never appears (cf. (29)):

(28) 我偷他點酒給你(喝)

Wo tou ta dian jiu gei ni (he)
1SG steal 3SG a:little wine GEI 2SG drink

I steal a little bit of wine from him for you (to drink).

(29) 我偷點酒給你(喝)

Wo tou dian jiu gei ni (he)
1SG steal a:little wine GEI 2SG drink

I steal a little bit of wine for you (to drink).

Thus, the fact that verbs Vb like tōu 'to steal', mǎi 'to buy' etc. belong to the class of double object verbs has no influence whatsoever on the structures examined by Zhu, and consequently, the distinction between Vb verbs and Vc verbs can be ignored here. This point of view is confirmed by the observation that in all of the four structures S'1 - S'4, Vb and Vc verbs are simultaneously present or absent, i.e. we do not find any structure where Vb is admitted, but where Vc is excluded and vice versa. In the data examined by Zhu(1983), Vb and Vc verbs thus behave as a single class which can be described as the class of verbs Vb+c with a concrete object, and which has to be distinguished from verbs with an abstract object Vd, on the one hand, and from verbs of giving Va, on the other hand.⁷

7 In his 1979 article, Zhu notices that Vb and Vc verbs behave identically in structures S1, S2 and S3 and thus form a group which is different from that of verbs of giving Va (Zhu 1979: 84, 3.5.). He also emphasizes the fact that in a sentence like (i), the source argument of the Vb verb is not mentioned, whereas in (ii) the source argument of the Vb verb is present and (ii), accordingly, illustrates a double object construction:

(i) 我買一點水果給病人

Wo mai yi-dian shuiguo gei bingren
1SG buy 1 -little fruit GEI patient

I buy some fruit for the patient.

(ii) 我買他家一所房子

Wo mai ta jia yi-suo fangzi
1SG buy 3SG home 1 -CL house

I buy a house from his family. (Zhu 1979: 82)

5.1.4. S'5: Ns V1 N gěi N' V2

This structure only allows Vd verbs with an abstract object in its V1 position. Though being superficially identical, S'5 and S'2 have to be distinguished, because S'2 has a corresponding structure S2 without V2P (cf. above, (22) - (24)), whereas S'5 lacks such a corresponding structure (cf. above (25)). To say that there is no S5 is in fact another way to say that Vd verbs do not admit a postverbal gěi-phrase; Zhu explains this unacceptability of a postverbal gěi-phrase with the non-transferability of an abstract object.⁸ Another reason for the necessity to distinguish between S'5 and S'2 are the restrictions on V2P in S'5.

First of all, only verbs of perception like kàn 'to look', tīng 'to listen', xīnshǎng 'to appreciate' are admitted:

(30) 你唱個歌給我聽

Ni chang ge ge gei wo ting
2SG sing CL song GEI 1SG listen

Sing a song for me to listen to.

(31) 你變個戲法兒給我看

Ni bian ge xifar gei wo kan
2SG perform CL trick GEI 1SG look

Make a trick for me to see.

(footnote 7 continued)

He does not, however, include this observation in his 1983 article where, on the contrary, he keeps the distinction between Vb verbs and Vc verbs.

⁸ This means that there is no structure S5 from which S'5 would have been derived, and in that respect it does not make much sense to speak of S'5, "5 prime" presupposing the existence of a corresponding structure noted as "5". The same observation holds true for S'6 which also lacks a corresponding structure without V2P, S6.

- (32) 你講個笑話給我聽
 Ni jiang ge xiaohua gei wo ting
 2SG tell CL joke GEI 1SG listen

Tell a joke for me to listen to.

- (33) 你做個鬼臉給我
 Ni zuo ge guilian gei wo kan
 2SG make CL grimace GEI 1SG look

Make faces for me to look at.

Secondly, V2P cannot consist of a verb and its object, probably because such a V2P would imply the role of instrument (with respect to V2P) for the object of V1, a role which is difficult to conceive of for an abstract object. Consequently, the object of V1 (an abstract entity) is understood to be the object of V2 as well, which is perhaps the reason why the verbs in V2 position are limited to verbs of perception. Zhu states the existence of this restriction but does not propose any kind of explanation for it.

5.1.5. S'6: Ns V1 (N) gěi N' kàn

This structure is exceptional among the structures discussed so far in several respects.

First, V1 is not subjected to any constraint (except intentionality), so that all kinds of verbs are admitted here, including those which do not belong to one of the four classes Va - Vd.

Secondly, there is no choice for V2, only kàn 'to look' being allowed here.

Thirdly, the implicit object of kàn is not the object of V1, but the entire action expressed by V1P. This can easily be demonstrated in a sentence with an intransitive verb where there is simply no object kàn could be in relation with:

- (34) (你以為我不敢死)我死給你看
 (Ni yiwei wo bu gan si) wo si gei ni kan
 2SG think 1SG NEG dare die 1SG die GEI 2SG look

(You think I don't dare to die), I'll die to show you.

(p. 164)

Sentence (35) provides another clear example, because qí (mǎ) 'to ride (a horse)' does not belong to any of the four verb classes Va - Vd and hence, (35) cannot be confused with S'2 or S'5:

- (35) (你說我不會騎馬)我騎給你看
 (Ni shuo wo bu hui qi ma) wo qi gei ni kan
 2SG say 1SG NEG know ride horse 1SG ride GEI 2SG look

(You say I don't know how to ride a horse) I'll ride to show you.

5.2. Critical review of Zhu's analysis

In this section, I will give my own analysis of the data presented in Zhu(1983). I will first of all discuss structure S'6 because it obviously represents a structure apart from the other structures S'1 - S'5.

5.2.1. S'6: Ns V1 (N) gěi N' kàn

The first indication of the difference between S'6 and the other structures comes from Zhu's observation that while in the structures S'1 - S'5 the object of V1 is also understood to be the object of V2, in S'6 it is the entire action expressed by V1P which functions as the implicit object of kàn. This explains why it is possible to repeat the sentence containing the V1P after kàn:

- (36) (你說我不會騎馬)我騎給你看我會(騎馬)
 (Ni shuo wo bu hui qi ma)
 2SG say 1SG NEG know ride horse
- wo qi gei ni kan wo hui (qi ma)
 1SG ride GEI 2SG look 1SG know ride horse
- (You say I don't know how to ride a horse)
 I'll ride one to show you (I do know).

The acceptability of (36), though, is not only due to the relationship between kàn and the entire action, but also to the fact that wǒ huì qí mǎ depends on gěi nǐ kàn 'to show you', and not on kàn 'to look' alone. This latter point is more visible in the corresponding structure with gěi in preverbal position for S'6 (cf. (38b)) because here gěi nǐ kàn as a whole occupies the preverbal position, a possibility which is excluded in the corresponding structure with a preverbal gěi for S'2 and S'5, i.e. in S'3 (cf. (39b) and (40b)):

- (37) 我給你看我的新衣服
 Wo gei ni kan wo -de xin yifu
 1SG GEI 2SG look 1SG-SUB new dress

I show you my new dress.

- (38) 你說我不會騎馬
 Ni shuo wo bu hui qi ma
 2SG say 1SG NEG know ride horse

- a) 我騎給你看
 wo qi gei ni kan (S'6)
 1SG ride GEI 2SG look

- b) 我給你看我會(騎馬)
 wo gei ni kan wo hui (qi ma)
 1SG GEI 2SG look 1SG know ride horse

You say I don't know how to ride a horse,
 a) I'll ride one to show you.
 b) I show you I do know (how to ride a horse).

- (39a) 我買了一張畫給你看
 Wo mai-le yi-zhang huar gei ni kan (S'2)
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL painting GEI 2SG look

- (39b) 我給你買了一張畫看
 Wo gei ni mai-le yi-zhang huar kan (S'3)
 1SG GEI 2SG buy-PERF 1 -CL painting look

I have bought a painting for you to look at.

- (40a) 我做個鬼臉給你看
 Wo zuo ge guilian gei ni kan (S'5)
 1SG make CL grimace GEI 2SG look

- (40b) 我給你做個鬼臉看
 Wo gei ni zuo ge guilian kan
 1SG GEI 2SG make CL grimace look

I make faces for you to look at.

(38b) is thus exactly parallel to (37), except that we have a sentential object in (38b), while in (37) the object of gěi nǐ kàn 'to show you' is a NP (wǒ-de xīn yīfu 'my new dress'). The corresponding structure with gěi in preverbal position for S'6 also shows that V1 and V2 have the same subject, whereas in S'2 and S'5, the subject of V2P is the NP preceded by gěi.

I have shown enough evidence now for the analysis of S'6 as a complex sentence with 'Ns V1P' as the matrix sentence and 'gěi NP kàn' as a purposive clause with an empty subject which is coreferential with the subject of the matrix sentence. The most important point here is that 'gěi NP' is not in a postverbal position (with respect to V1P), but it is related to V2 which it precedes. This is accounted for in the structural analysis I propose for S'6:⁹

- (41) [_S NP[_V[_V V (NP)] [_S ∅ [_V[_{pp} gěi NP] kàn]]]]

This analysis is confirmed by the fact that the purposive clause marker lái 'in order to' can precede gěi NP kàn (though the sentence sounds more natural without lái):¹⁰

⁹ I will not examine the exact nature of the empty subject in the purposive clause. (According to the theory of government and binding (Chomsky 1981), this empty subject is an instance of PRO, the empty category which is both pronominal and anaphoric and which only appears in non-finite clauses.)

¹⁰ There are several restrictions on the use of lái 'in order to'.

First, lái can only introduce a purposive clause if the

- (42) 你說我不會騎馬，我騎來給你看
 Ni shuo wo bu hui qi ma
 2SG say 1SG NEG know ride horse

wo qi lai gei ni kan
 1SG ride in:order:to GEI 2SG look

You say I don't know how to ride a horse, I'll ride one to show you.

- (43) 你說我不會做鬼臉，我做來給你看
 Ni shuo wo bu hui zuo guilian,
 2SG say 1SG NEG know make grimace

wo zuo lai gei ni kan
 1SG make in:order:to GEI 2SG look

You say I don't know how to make faces, I'll make faces to show you.

The only requirement for VIP in S'6, i.e. intentionality, can now be explained by the incompatibility between a purposive clause and a matrix clause with a non-intentional verb. The lack of any further conditions for VIP (besides that of intentionality) is then due to the relationship of gěi NP kàn 'to show sb.' with the entire action expressed by VIP, and not only with the object of V1.

 (footnote 10 continued)

latter follows the matrix clause: 'NP V (NP), lái V (NP)', but not *lái V (NP), NP V (NP).

Secondly, a purposive clause introduced by lai only allows an empty subject which, in general, is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. (An overt subject is, however, admitted in a purposive clause when it is introduced by gěi, as is the case in structure S'2.)

Thirdly, lái is not obligatory, for a sentence like (i) can have a purposive reading even without lái:

- (i) 他搬出去來照顧他媽媽
 Ta banchuqu lai zhaogu ta mama
 3SG move in:order:to take:care:of 3SG mother

- (ii) 他搬出去照顧他媽媽
 Ta banchuqu zhaogu ta mama
 3SG move take:care:of 3SG mother

He has moved in order to take care of his mother.

Unfortunately, there are only very few studies on lai as a purposive clause marker or on the purposive clause in general (among them cf. Rygaloff 1975: 123 - 125.)

That in the examples illustrating sentence type S'6, gěi NP kàn 'to show sb.' has the effect of refuting an erroneous presupposition ('to show sb. that he was wrong') is due to the context (e.g. Nǐ shuō wǒ bù huì ... 'You think I don't dare...') and does not follow from a particularity in the structure of gěi NP kàn in S'6 which is the same as for gěi NP kàn in its literal meaning 'to show sb.'.¹¹

I have thus found enough evidence for the fundamental difference between S'6 on the one hand, and S'2 and S'5 on the other hand. Although Zhu has noticed the exceptional behaviour of S'6 (with respect to S'2 and S'5), he has not seen that S'6 is an

¹¹ kàn means 'to look; to read' (with objects like shū 'book', bào zhǐ 'newspaper'). Now, when kàn is preceded by a gěi-phrase, the whole sequence gěi NP kàn has the meaning 'to show sb.'. Accordingly, sentence (i) can have two different interpretations which are made explicit in (ii) and (iii). Furthermore, (iiia) and (iiib) on their parts illustrate the difference between the literal meaning of gěi NP kàn 'to show sb.' (with shū 'book' as the implicit object) and the extended meaning of 'showing sb. that he was wrong' which can be induced by the context.

- (i) 我買一本書給你看
 Wo mai yi-ben shu gei ni kan
 1SG buy 1 -CL book GEI 2SG look

- (ii) 我買一本書給你讀
 Wo mai yi-ben shu gei ni du
 1SG buy 1 -CL book GEI 2SG read

I bought a book for you to read.

- (iiia) 我買一本書給你看
 Wo mai yi-ben shu gei ni kan
 1SG buy 1 -CL book GEI 2SG look

I buy a book to show to you (e.g. its printing, its binding etc.)

- (iiib) 你說我不敢買，我買給你看
 Ni shuo wo bu gan mai yi-ben shu,
 2SG say 1SG NEG dare buy 1 -CL book

wo mai gei ni kan
 1SG buy GEI 2SG look

You say I don't dare to buy a book; I'll buy one to show you.

entirely different structure from S'2 and S'5, and that the latter two just happen to be identical with S'6 on the surface in the case of kàn 'to look' being V2. Consequently, all the sentences S'2 and S'5 with kàn in V2 position (e.g. Wǒ sòng yī-běn shū gěi nǐ kàn 'I give you a book to read'; Wǒ zuò guǎnliǎn gěi nǐ kàn 'I make faces for you to look at') can as well be interpreted as S'6 ('I give you a book to show you (that I do give presents)' and 'I make faces to show you (that I dare do things like that)', respectively.) (p. 164, 2.2). This, however, is not due to a structural ambiguity of S'2 and S'5, but can be explained by the availability of two different interpretations for gěi NP kàn (cf. footnote 11). In the first case, gěi NP kàn is a purposive clause with an overt subject introduced by gěi, i.e. a purposive gěi-clause, the whole clause meaning 'so that sb. can look at (it)/ read (it)'. In the second case, gěi NP kàn means 'to show sb.' and the matrix subject is understood to be the subject of gěi NP kàn as well, i.e. gěi NP kàn represents a purposive clause with an empty subject.

5.2.2. S'3: Ns gěi N' V1 N V2P

Having shown that gěi in S'6, being related to kàn 'to look' and not to V1P, is in fact in a preverbal position and that, consequently, S'6 cannot give us any clue to the problem of the postverbal gěi-phrase, I will now demonstrate that S'3 is not relevant to our discussion, either. For the structure of S'3 does not change when the gěi-phrase is dropped, because this gěi-phrase indicates an optional role, namely the benefactive of the action:¹²

¹² This does not hold for the subset of verbs labeled Va/c verbs like xiě (xìn) 'to write (a letter)'. For these verbs allow the

- (44a) 我給他偷了一杯酒喝
 Wo gei ta tou -le yi-bei jiu he
 1SG GEI 3SG steal-PERF 1 -cup wine drink
 I have stolen a cup of wine for him to drink.
- (44b) 我偷了一杯酒喝
 Wo tou -le yi-bei jiu he
 1SG steal-PERF 1 -CL wine drink
 I have stolen a cup of wine to drink (myself).
- (45a) 我給他打了件毛衣穿
 Wo gei ta da -le jian maoyi chuan
 1SG GEI 3SG knit-PERF CL sweater wear
 I have knitted a sweater for him to wear.
- (45b) 我打了件毛衣穿
 Wo da -le jian maoyi chuan
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater wear
 I have knitted a sweater to wear (myself).

To be more precise, the gěi-phrase in sentences (44a) and (45a) discussed by Zhu simultaneously indicates the benefactive of the action as well as the recipient of the direct object (i.e. the wine and the sweater, respectively). The interpretation of tā as the recipient and its interpretation as the subject of V2 (i.e. of hē 'to drink' and chuān 'to wear') result from the same semantic-pragmatic deduction: in order for tā 'he' to benefit from my action of stealing some wine and knitting a sweater, he must necessarily get the wine and the sweater. This further implies that tā 'he' must be the implicit subject of hē 'to drink' and chuān 'to wear'.

V2P in S'3 thus represents a purposive clause whose empty subject is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause,

 (footnote 12 continued)

recipient (marked by gěi) in the postverbal as well as in the preverbal position. Cf. above, footnote 3.

except when the latter contains a preverbal gěi-phrase. In this case, it is the NP marked by gěi which is understood to be the subject of the purposive clause. This interpretation, however, is based on semantic-pragmatic inferences, the general structure of S'3 being the same whether the gěi-phrase is present or not. I thus propose the following structural analysis for S'3:

[_S NP [_V[_{pp} gěi NP] [_V V NP] [_S ∅ [_V V (NP)]]]]

That V2P functions as a purposive clause independently from the presence of the gěi-phrase is confirmed by the acceptability of the purposive clause marker lái 'in order to' in both (46a) and (46b) (though the sentences sound more natural without lái, cf. (42) and (43) above):

(46a) 我給他打了件毛衣來穿
 Wo gei ta da -le jian maoyi lai chuan
 1SG GEI 3SG knit-PERF CL sweater in:order:to wear
 I have knitted a sweater for him to wear.

(46b) 我打了件毛衣來穿
 Wo da -le jian maoyi lai chuan
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater in:order:to wear
 I have knitted a sweater to wear (myself).

To summarize, S'3 illustrates a complex sentence containing a purposive clause with an empty subject. The preverbal gěi-phrase is optional and its presence does not change the general structure of S'3.

5.2.3. S'1 and S'4: Ns V1 (gěi) N' N V2P

After having demonstrated that neither S'6 nor S'3 are relevant for the problem of why the outer object marked by gěi is unacceptable in postverbal position, I will now examine S'1 and S'4 in more detail.

As shown in sentences (47) - (49), V2P is not dependent on the presence of gěi. This is not a surprising finding in so far as verbs of giving Va admitted in S'1 and S'4 are precisely characterized by the optionality of the gěi adjacent to the verb (with the exception of Va/c verbs like xiě (xìn) 'to write (a letter)'; cf. above, footnote 3):

(47) 我送(給)你一把刀切肉
 Wo song (gei) ni yi-ba dao qie rou
 1SG give GEI 2SG 1 -CL knife cut meat

I have given you a knife to cut meat with.

(48) 我借(給)他一百塊錢還賬
 Wo jie (gei) ta yibai-kuai qian huan zhang
 1SG lend GEI 3SG 100 -CL money return debt

I have lent you 100 dollars to pay back your debts with.

(49) 我遞(給)他一瓶酒喝
 Wo di (gei) ta yi-ping jiu he
 1SG pass:on GEI 3SG 1 -bottle wine drink

I have passed on a bottle of wine to him for drinking.

As in S'3 and S'6, V2P in S'1 and S'4 represents a purposive clause with an empty subject which can optionally be introduced by the purposive clause marker lái (whose presence is preferred when the relationship between V2 and the object of V1 is not one of verb - object (cf. (50) and (51))):

(50) 我送(給)你一把刀來切肉
 Wo song (gei) ni yi-ba dao lai qie rou
 1SG give GEI 2SG 1 -CL knife in:order:to cut meat

I have given you a knife to cut meat with.

(51) 我借(給)他一百塊錢來還賬
 Wo jie (gei) ta yibai-kuai qian
 1SG lend GEI 3SG 100 -CL money

lai huan zhang
 in:order:to return debt

I have lent him 100 dollars to pay his debts back.

- (52) 我遞(給)他一瓶酒來喝
 Wo di (gei) ta yi-ping jiu lai he
 1SG pass:on GEI 3SG 1 -bottle wine in:order:to drink

I have passed on a bottle of wine to him for drinking.

The interpretation of the indirect object NP as the subject of the purposive clause (V2P) is obtained by a semantic-pragmatic inference similar to that already observed for the preverbal gěi-phrase in S'3: since the relationship between V2P and the direct object of V1 is one of verb - object or of verb - instrument, and since the indirect object is the recipient of the direct object, it follows that the recipient is interpreted as the subject of V2P.

The acceptability of a purposive clause with an empty subject does not depend on the presence of gěi; the only condition for V1 to satisfy is that of intentionality, a purposive clause being incompatible with a non-intentional verb in the matrix clause. The non-intentional verb shū 'to lose', for example, excludes a purposive clause:

- (53a) 我輸(給)他一百塊錢
 Wo shu (gei) ta yibai-kuai qian
 1SG lose GEI 3SG 100 -CL money

I have lost 100 dollars to him.

- (53b) *我輸(給)他一百塊錢還賬
 Wo shu (gei) ta yibai-kuai qian huan zhang
 1SG lose GEI 3SG 100 -CL money return debt

(cf. (48))

Although the presence or absence of gěi is not decisive in S'1 and S'4, Zhu nevertheless postulates a transformation relation between S'1 and S'2 (Ns V1 N gěi N' V2P) only because gěi is present in both structures. According to my analysis, however, S'1 and S'2 represent totally different structures, especially in the function of gěi. In S'1, gěi marks the indirect

object and thus belongs to the matrix clause, V2P being a purposive clause with an empty subject. Gěi in S'2, however, introduces the subject of the purposive gěi-clause and therefore is not part of the matrix clause (cf. below, 5.2.4.1.).

It is certainly correct to say that the meanings of S'1 and S'2 are approximately equivalent:

- (54) 我送給你件毛衣穿
 Wo song (gei) ni jian maoyi chuan
 1SG give GEI 2SG CL sweater wear (S'1)

I have given you a sweater to wear.

- (55) 我送件毛衣給你穿
 Wo song jian maoyi gei ni chuan
 1SG give CL sweater GEI 2SG wear (S'2)

I have given a sweater so that you wear it.

(Though so far I have given identical translations for S'1,4 and S'2 in order to facilitate the discussion, in what follows I will translate S'1,4 differently from S'2. In the case of S'2, this procedure may lead to some awkward sentences, but they have the advantage of rendering the actual structure of the Chinese sentence more faithfully.)

But the relationships between the verb V1 and the NPs in S'2 are not the same as those in S'1. This in fact trivial observation is obtained from the simple fact that S'2, contrary to S'1, also admits other verbs than verbs of giving in the V1 position, e.g. Vc verbs like dǎ (máoyī) 'to knit (a sweater)':

- (56) 我打了件毛衣給你穿
 Wo da -le jian maoyi gei ni chuan
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater GEI 2SG wear (S'2)

I have knitted a sweater so that you wear it.

S'1 only allows verbs of giving Va and consequently, the NPs máoyī 'sweater' and nǐ 'you' in (54) are both arguments

subcategorised for by the verb sòng. Verbs admitted in S'2, however, also include Vb and Vc verbs which only subcategorise for one argument.¹³ Therefore, máoyī 'sweater' and nǐ 'you' cannot both be arguments of the verb dǎ 'to knit' in (56). It is this difference between S'1 and S'2 which explains the unidirectionality of the transformation relation claimed by Zhu for S'1 and S'2: S'1 can be transformed into S'2, but S'2 cannot be transformed into S'1, because S'2 also allows Vb and Vc verbs which are unacceptable in S'1 (cf. above, 5.1.1.).

As shown in the following structural analysis, S'1,4 does not involve a purposive clause with an overt subject introduced by gěi, i.e. a purposive gěi-clause, but a purposive clause with an empty subject:

[_S NP [_V V (gěi) NP NP] [_S ∅ V2P]]

For gěi belongs to the matrix clause where it marks one of the two arguments subcategorised for by the verb, i.e. the indirect object. Consequently, the presence or absence of gěi has no bearing whatsoever on V2P.

5.2.4. S'2: Ns V N gěi N' V2P

In order to substantiate my claim that S'1 and S'2 are different structures, I will now discuss S'2 in more detail. After the comparison between S'1 and S'2 with verbs of giving (S'2(Va)), I will examine S'2 showing Vb+c verbs in the

¹³ This description is in fact incorrect for Vb verbs because like Va verbs they belong to the class of double object verbs. But we have already seen (cf. above, 5.1.3.) that in the sentences discussed by Zhu, the second argument of Vb verbs, the source, is never present and that consequently, Vb verbs here show the same behaviour as Vc verbs.

V1 position and contrast this second subtype of S'2 (S'2(Vb+c)) with S'5.

5.2.4.1. S'2 vs. S'1

Zhu's postulate that S'2 results from a transformation of S'1 is based on the fact that verbs of giving appear likewise in two structures, labeled S1 and S2 by Zhu(1979). In these two structures, gěi has the same function, i.e. it marks the indirect object:

(57a) 我送給他一件毛衣 (S1)
 Wo song (gei) ta jian maoyi
 1SG give GEI 3SG CL sweater

(57b) 我送一件毛衣給他 (S2)
 Wo song jian maoyi gei ta
 1SG give CL sweater GEI 3SG

I have given him a sweater (as a present).

When comparing S1 with the corresponding S'1 (cf. (58)), we can see that in S'1 as well as in S1 all the NPs are arguments of the verb, and that S1 and S'1 are thus identical in that respect. As in S1, gěi is not obligatory in S'1, either:

(58) 我送(給)他一件毛衣穿 (S'1)
 Wo song (gei) ta jian maoyi chuan
 1SG give GEI 3SG CL sweater wear

I have given him a sweater to wear.

S'2 (cf. (59a)), however, shows a structure totally different from S2, especially in that gěi does not have the same function. If we want to place the purposive clause marker lái 'in order to' in S'2, it has to precede gěi, and not the V2P chuān:

(59a) 我送件毛衣給他穿 (S'2)
 Wo song jian maoyi gei ta chuan
 1SG give CL sweater GEI 3SG wear

I have given a sweater so that he wears it.

- (59b) 我送件毛衣來給他穿
 Wo song jian maoyi lai gei ta chuan
 1SG give CL sweater in:order:to GEI 3SG wear

I have given a sweater so that he wears it.

- (59c) *我送件毛衣給他來穿
 Wo song jian maoyi gei ta lai chuan
 1SG give CL sweater GEI 3SG in:order:to wear

Gěi in S'2 (59a) does not mark the indirect object of sòng (as the gěi in S2 (57b) does), but it is part of the purposive gěi-clause (gěi tā chuān) whose subject tā 'he' it introduces.

Thus, the two gěi in S2 and S'2 have clearly different functions; consequently, S'2 cannot be analysed as S2 plus a VP added, and S2 and S'2 must represent different structures. They can roughly be analysed as follows:

S2: [_S NP [_V V NP [_{pp} gěi NP]]]¹⁴

S'2: [_S NP [_V [_V V NP] [_S gěi NP V (NP)]]]

In S2, all the NPs are actually arguments of the verb, whereas in S'2, only one of the two arguments of the verb of giving is present in the matrix clause; it is the subject of the purposive clause which is understood to play the role of recipient with respect to the verb in the matrix clause.

The phenomenon that tā 'he' in (59a) is syntactically not depending on sòng 'to give', but is interpreted as its second argument, does not invalidate our analysis, because it can be explained by a semantic-pragmatic inference: if I give a sweater

¹⁴ I have chosen the label "prepositional phrase" for [gěi NP] merely to indicate that it is the entire phrase [gěi NP] which functions as the second argument of the verb. This labeling, however, is not intended to be an answer to the much debated issue whether gěi in such a structure is a verb or a preposition.

as a present having the intention that X wears it, X must receive it, i.e. he must be the recipient of the sweater.

Thus, in S'2, a verb of giving can put but one of its arguments (the patient) in the appropriate position, i.e. in an argument position. The interpretation of a NP elsewhere in the sentence as recipient is the result of a pragmatic-semantic inference.

This fact can perhaps explain why for verbs of giving, S'2 is not felt to be more natural than S2, whereas for Vb+c verbs, S'2 is in fact preferred to S2 (cf. below, 5.2.4.2.). In fact, I would like to claim that for verbs of giving, the structure S'2 is rather peripheral, and indeed there are certain (intentional) verbs of giving for which S'2 is unacceptable:

- (60a) 我打電話給他
 Wo da dianhua gei ta
 1SG dispatch phone:call GEI 3SG

I ring him up.

- (60b) *我打電話給他接
 Wo da dianhua gei ta jie
 1SG dispatch phone:call GEI 3SG receive

- (61a) 我寫一封信給他
 Wo xie yi-feng xin gei ta
 1SG write 1 -CL letter GEI 3SG

I write him a letter.

- (61b) *我寫一封信給他看
 Wo xie yi-feng xin gei ta kan
 1SG write 1 -CL letter GEI 3SG look

In the case of xiě 'to write', we have very clear evidence to show that it is the fact of subcategorising for two arguments which makes S'2 unacceptable for some verbs of giving. For as pointed out by Zhu(1979: 85), xiě 'to write' behaves like a verb of giving only when in combination with xìn 'letter'. With an

object like shī 'poem', however, xiě does not behave any longer like a verb of giving and can now very well figure in S'2:

- (62) 我寫了好幾首詩給他看
 Wo xie -le haoji-shou shi gei ta kan
 1SG write-PERF many -CL poem GEI 3SG look

I have written many poems so that you read them.¹⁵

The semantic or pragmatic plausibility is another factor determining the acceptability of a purposive gěi-clause. In (63a), for example, the purposive gěi-clause (gěi wǒ yòng) was either refused or considered to have a very limited acceptability, for the reason that the person selling the knife will not be interested in what I want to do with it:

- (63a) ??他賣了一把刀給我用
 Ta mai -le yi-ba dao gei wo yong (S'2)
 3SG sell-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI 1SG use

(He has sold a knife so that I use it.)

- (63b) 他賣了一把刀給我
 Ta mai -le yi-ba dao gei wo (S2)
 3SG sell-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI 1SG

He has sold me a knife.

The sentence corresponding to (63a) with mǎi 'to buy' instead of mài 'to sell', however, is fully acceptable and thereby confirms our distinction between S'2 with verbs of giving and S'2 with the remaining verb classes:

 15 In fact, sentence (62) is also acceptable with xìn 'letter' as a direct object (cf. (i)). In this case, however, tā 'he' is not interpreted as the recipient of the letter, but as a third person (besides the letter writer and the recipient) who has a look at the letters, e.g. in order to check whether they are in order:

- (i) 我寫了好幾封信給他看
 Wo xie -le haoji-feng xin gei ta kan
 1SG write-PERF many -CL letter GEI 3SG look

I have written many letters so that he checks them.

- (64) 他買了一把刀給我用
 Ta mai-le yi-ba dao gei wo yong
 3SG buy-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI 1SG use

He has bought a knife so that I use it.

The contrast of acceptability between (63a) and (64) confirms that the quasi-unacceptability of (63a) is due to the semantic-pragmatic improbability of a purposive gěi-clause (gěi wǒ yòng) as well as to the limited acceptability of S'2 for verbs of giving in general. (With verbs like jiè 'to lend' and sòng 'to give (as a present)' a purposive gěi-clause seems to make more sense, which is probably the reason why they figure in the examples for S'2 given by Zhu. We do not, however, find an example of S'2 with mài 'to sell', though mài 'to sell' belongs to the verbs of giving as well as jiè 'to lend' and sòng 'to give (as a present)').

It is important to point out that the limited compatibility between verbs of giving and a purposive clause (observed in S'2) is not a general characteristic of this verb class, but has to do with the particularity of S'2. For in S'2 there is a conflict between the subcategorisation frame of the verb *V_a* containing two arguments and the availability of only one argument position; the identification of a NP able to play the role of the second "missing" argument is arrived at by a semantic-pragmatic inference. In a structure like S'1, however, all the arguments of the verb occupy argument positions and thus are immediately identifiable. A purposive clause (with an empty subject) is acceptable here provided that it is semantically or pragmatically plausible:

- (65) 他借給我一隻筆寫
 Ta jie gei wo yi-zhi bi xie zi
 3SG lend GEI 1SG 1 -CL pen write character

He has lent me a pen to write with.

Thus, S'1 and S'2 are totally different structures and their relationship is just not parallel to that between S1 and S2. S1 and S2 can be considered equivalent structures in so far as the two postverbal NPs in both structures are arguments of the verb (the recipient in each structure being marked by gěi).

In S'1, the arguments subcategorised for by the verb are equally present. As in S1, gěi marks the recipient and therefore belongs to the matrix clause which contains the verb of giving. In the matrix clause of S'2, however, there is only one of the two arguments of the Va verb. Gěi here introduces the subject of the purposive gěi-clause - which by inference is interpreted as the second "missing" argument of the matrix verb - and therefore does not belong to the matrix verb.

The purposive clause marker lái 'in order to' can serve to delimit the matrix clause from the purposive clause: in S'1, lái precedes V2P, whereas in S'2, lái is placed before gěi NP V2P.

5.2.4.2. S'2 with Vb+c verbs

S'2 with Vb+c verbs has to be distinguished from S'2 with verbs of giving Va. Whereas S'2(Va) and S2(Va) are not related to each other, I claim that for verbs other than verbs of giving, S2 is in fact to be derived from S'2.

This hypothesis is based on the observation that sentences of type S2(Vb+c), though acceptable as such, are quasi-automatically completed by a verb (i.e. changed into S'2(Vb+c)), and it is S'2 which is felt to be the more natural of the two:

- (66) 我做了飯給他(吃)
 Wo zuo -le fan gei ta (chi)
 1SG make-PERF food GEI 3SG eat

I have made a meal for him (to eat).

- (67) 我沏了杯茶給他(喝)
 Wo qi -le bei cha gei ta (he)
 1SG brew-PERF cup tea GEI 3SG drink
 I have made a cup of tea for him (to drink).

- (68) 我買了件毛衣給他(穿)
 Wo mai-le jian maoyi gei ta (chuan)
 1SG buy-PERF CL sweater GEI 3SG wear
 I have bought a sweater for him (to wear).

The situation we have in (66) - (68) is thus totally different from that with verbs of giving, where S'2 is less natural than S2, and even unacceptable for some verbs of giving (cf. above, (60b) and (61b)).

Since according to Zhu the verbs in the V1 position of S'2 must be intentional, a hypothesis which considers S2 as resulting from the deletion of V2P in S'2 predicts that the V1 position in S2 is also subject to the condition of intentionality. This prediction, in which S2 with a non-intentional verb (which is not a verb of giving) is as unacceptable as S'2 with a non-intentional verb, is borne out: sentences (69a) - (71a) containing non-intentional verbs are all ungrammatical and thus contrast clearly with their acceptable counterparts (69c) - (71c) where the verbs are intentional:

- (69a) *我在圖書館發現了一本很有趣的書給你(看)
 Wo zai tushuguan faxian -le yi-ben hen
 1SG in library discover-PERF 1 -CL very
 youqu -de shu gei ni (kan)
 interesting-SUB book GEI 2SG look

(I have discovered a very interesting book in the library for you (to read).)

- (69b) 我在圖書館發現了一本很有趣的書
 Wo zai tushuguan faxian -le yi-ben hen
 1SG in library discover-PERF 1 -CL very
 youqu -de shu
 interesting-SUB book

I have discovered a very interesting book in the library.

- (69c) 我在圖書館借了一本很有趣的書給你(看)

Wo zai tushuguan jie -le yi-ben hen
 1SG in library borrow-PERF 1 -CL very

youqu -de shu gei ni (kan)¹⁶
 interesting-SUB book GEI 2SG look

I have borrowed a very interesting book from the library
 for you (to read).

- (70a) *我見到了一件很漂亮的毛衣給你(穿)

Wo jiandao-le yi-jian hen piaoliang-de maoyi
 1SG see -PERF 1 -CL very nice -SUB sweater

gei ni (chuan)
 GEI 2SG wear

(I have seen a very nice sweater for you (to wear).)

- (70b) 我見到了一件很漂亮的毛衣

Wo jiandao-le yi-jian hen piaoliang-de maoyi
 1SG see -PERF 1 -CL very nice -SUB sweater

I have seen a very nice sweater.

- (70c) 我打了一件很漂亮的毛衣給你(穿)

Wo da -le yi-jian hen piaoliang-de maoyi
 1SG knit-PERF 1 -CL very nice -SUB sweater

gei ni (chuan)
 GEI 2SG wear

I have knitted a very nice sweater for you (to wear).

- (71a) *我找到了一隻筆給你(使)

Wo zhaodao-le yi-zhi bi gei ni (shi)
 1SG find -PERF 1 -CL pen GEI 2SG use

(I have found a pen for you (to use).)

- (71b) 我找到了一隻筆

Wo zhaodao-le yi-zhi bi
 1SG find -PERF 1 -CL pen

I have found a pen.

¹⁶ Jiè can either be a verb of giving: 'to lend', or a verb of taking: 'to borrow'.

- (71c) 我買了一隻筆給你(使)

Wo mai-le yi-zhi bi gei ni (shi)
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL pen GEI 2SG use

I have bought a pen for you (to use).

For verbs of giving, however, the intentionality requirement is only valid in S'2, and not in S2, where non-intentional verbs like shū 'to lose' and chuánrǎn 'to infect' are allowed:

- (72) 我輸了很多錢給他

Wo shu hen duo qian gei ta
 1SG lose very much money GEI 3SG (S2)

I have lost a lot of money to him.

- (73) 他傳染天花給我

Ta chuanran tianhua gei wo
 3SG infect smallpox GEI 1SG (S2)

He has infected me with smallpox.

There is thus enough evidence to analyse the postverbal gěi-phrase when occurring with verbs different from verbs of giving as being derived from a purposive gěi-clause.

As already observed for S'2 with verbs of giving, in S'2(Vb+c) the purposive clause marker lái (optionally) introduces the whole purposive gěi-clause (cf. (74a)), but cannot be put in front of V2P (cf. (74b)). In general, then, gěi in S'2 is part of the purposive gěi-clause 'gěi NP V2P', no matter to what verb class the verb in the matrix clause belongs:

- (74a) 我打了件毛衣來給他穿

Wo da -le jian maoyi lai gei ta chuan
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater in:order:to GEI 3SG wear

I have knitted a sweater so that he wears it.

- (74b) *我打了件毛衣給他來穿

Wo da -le jian maoyi gei ta lai chuan
 1SG knit-PERF CL sweater GEI 3SG in:order:to wear

Further evidence for deriving S2(Vb+c) from S'2(Vb+c) comes from the unacceptability of a postverbal gěi-phrase in case there

is no appropriate verb available. The VP in the purposive gěi-clause is "appropriate" when its relationship with the object of the matrix clause can be immediately established. The kind of relationship which best answers this demand of an unambiguous relationship is the relationship verb - object as in (66) - (68), where the object of the matrix clause is also understood to be the object of the purposive gěi-clause: zuò fàn ... chī 'to prepare a meal ... to eat; mǎi máoyī ... chuān 'to buy a sweater to wear'. The second best relationship, so to speak, is the instrumental relationship (in a large sense), i.e. the object of the matrix clause is interpreted as the instrument for the action expressed in V2P:

(75) 我買了一把刀(來)給他切肉
 Wo mai-le yi-ba dao (lai) gei ta qie rou
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL knife in:order:to GEI 3SG cut meat

I have bought a knife so that he cuts meat with it.

(76) 他租一間房間(來)給我堆東西
 Ta zu -le yi-jian fangjian (lai)
 3SG rent-PERF 1 -CL room in:order:to

gei wo dui dongxi
 GEI 1SG pile:up thing

He has rented a room so that I can put my things there.

Besides using lái to make explicit the link between the matrix clause and the purposive gěi-clause (especially when the object of the matrix clause plays the role of instrument with respect to V2P), yòng 'to use' can also be used:

(77) 我買了一把刀給他切肉用
 Wo mai-le yi-ba dao gei ta qie rou yong
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI 3SG cut meat use

I have bought a knife so that he cuts meat with it.

Yòng 'to use' takes yī-bǎ dāo 'a knife' as its object and we thereby arrive at a verb - object relationship between V2P and the object of the matrix clause.

However, lái 'in order to' and yòng 'to use' can only emphasize the relationship between the matrix clause and the purposive gěi-clause; they are not capable of establishing such a relationship. If the link between V2P and the object of the matrix clause functioning as the circumstantial complement of V2P is not so tight that V2P becomes virtually predictable on the basis of the matrix object, then a purposive gěi-clause is not acceptable (whether lái is present or not):

(78) *我打了件毛衣給你有漂亮的樣子
 Wo da -le yi-jian maoyi (lai)
 1SG knit-PERF 1 -CL sweater in:order:to

gei ni you piaoliang-de yangzi
 GEI 2SG have nice -SUB look

(I have knitted a sweater so that you look nice.)

(79) *我買了一本書(來)給你學語言學
 Wo mai-le yi-ben shu (lai)
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL book in:order:to

gei ni xue yuyanxue
 GEI 2SG learn linguistics

(I have bought a book so that you learn linguistics.)

That also implies that Wǒ dǎ-le yī-jàn máoyī gěi nǐ 'I have knitted a sweater for you' and Wǒ mǎi-le yī-běn shū gěi nǐ 'I have bought a book for you' will not be interpreted as resulting from the deletion of the V2P (yǒu piàoliang-de yàngzi 'to look nice' and xué yǔyánxué 'to learn linguistics') in (78) and (79), but as being derived from Wǒ dǎ-le yī-jàn máoyī gěi nǐ chuān and Wǒ mǎi-le yī-běn shū gěi nǐ kàn, respectively, where the V2P (chuān 'to wear' and kàn 'to look, read') shows the required tight relationship with the object of the matrix clause.

On the basis of this observation, one would expect that a purposive gěi-clause is unacceptable when there is a choice of several verbs for V2P in the purposive gěi-clause, and none of these verbs has a sufficiently tight relationship with the object

of the matrix clause to qualify as an appropriate verb. In such a case, then, a postverbal gěi-phrase is not acceptable, either, because it is derived from the purposive gěi-clause and presupposes its acceptability. This is in fact the explanation I propose for the ungrammaticality of sentences (80a) and (81a):

(80a) *我買了一張票給你(看電影/去博物館)
 Wo mai-le yi-zhang piao gei ni
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL ticket GEI 2SG

(kan dianying/ qu bowuguan/ ...)
 look film go museum

(I have bought a ticket for you (to watch a movie/ to go to the museum/ ...))

(80b) 我給你買了一張票
 Wo gei ni mai-le yi-zhang piao
 1SG GEI 2SG buy-PERF 1 -CL ticket

I have bought a ticket for you.

(81a) *我做了這件事給你(早一點回家/讀書)
 Wo zuo -le zhei-jian shi gei ni
 1SG make-PERF this-CL matter GEI 2SG

(zao yi-dian hui jia / du shu / ...)
 early 1 -little return home read book

(I have taken care of this matter for you (to go home earlier/ to study/ ...))

(81b) 我給你做了這件事
 Wo gei ni zuo -le zhei-jian shi
 1SG GEI 2SG make-PERF this-CL matter

I have taken care of this matter for you.

As shown in (80b) and (81b), instead of the postverbal gěi-phrase the preverbal gěi-phrase must be used which indicates the benefactive and which is not related at all to the purposive gěi-clause.

We have seen so far that S2, with verbs different from verbs of giving, is in fact to be derived from S'2. Consequently, in

S2(Vb+c) only intentional verbs are allowed, exactly as in the matrix clause of S'2. That the purposive clause marker lái must precede 'gěi NP V2P' in both S'2(Va) and S'2(Vb+c) confirms the general analysis of S'2 as consisting of a matrix clause and a purposive gěi-clause. Furthermore, S'2 is only acceptable when the V2P (in the purposive gěi-clause) can be predicted on the basis of the matrix object.

The requirement of a tight relationship between the VP of the purposive gěi-clause and the object of the matrix clause does not represent a condition for the purposive clause in general, but only holds for the purposive clause with an overt subject marked by gěi. For a purposive clause with an empty subject, the relationship between its VP and the matrix clause can be less tight, provided it is semantically or pragmatically plausible. Consequently, for structures S'2 and S'5 with a purposive gěi-clause, the VP must be appropriate, i.e. predictable on the basis of the object in the matrix clause; whereas for structures S'1+4 and S'3 containing a purposive clause with an empty subject, the range of possible verbs in V2P position is larger. Xué yǔyánxué 'to learn linguistics', for example, does not qualify as an appropriate verb for shū 'book' in S'2 (cf. (82)), but it is admitted as the VP of the purposive clause with an empty subject in S'3 (cf. (83)):

(82) *我買了一本書(來)給你學語言學
 Wo mai-le yi-ben shu (lai) gei ni xue yuyanxue (= (79))
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL book in:order:to

gei ni xue yuyanxue
 GEI 2SG learn linguistics

(I have bought a book so that you learn linguistics.)

(83) 我給你買了一本書(來)學語言學

Wo gei ni mai-le yi-ben shu (lai)
1SG GEI 2SG buy-PERF 1 -CL book in:order:to

xue yuyanxue
learn linguistics

I have bought a book for you to learn linguistics.

Similarly, in S'1+4 we can choose among several verbs for the purposive clause, a situation which is excluded in S'2:

(84) 我們給他三天時間(來)準備/考慮問題

Women gei ta san-tian shijian (lai)
1PL give 3SG 3 -day time in:order:to

zhunbei/ kaolü wenti / ...
prepare think problem

We give him three days to get himself ready/ to think about the problem/ ...

Another difference between S'2 and S'5, on the one hand, and S'1+4, on the other hand, is the fact that verbs of giving Va are felt to be more natural in S'1+4 than in S'2: for in S'1+4 (cf. (86)), a verb of giving can place both its arguments within the matrix clause, which is not possible in S'2 (cf. (85)):

(85) 我送了一把刀(來)給他切肉

Wo song-le yi-ba dao (lai) gei ta qie rou
1SG give-PERF 1 -CL knife in:order:to GEI 3SG cut meat

I have given a knife so that he cuts meat with it.

(86) 我送(給)他一把刀(來)切肉

Wo song (gei) ta yi-ba dao (lai) qie rou
1SG give GEI 3SG 1 -CL knife in:order:to cut meat

I have given him a knife to cut meat with.

The position of the purposive clause marker lai indicates very clearly that gei ta in S'1+4 (86) is part of the matrix clause, whereas gei ta in S'2 (85) belongs clearly to the purposive gei-clause.

In S'2, we can also observe that when the meaning of V2P allows it, the NP preceded by gei is not understood as the

subject of a purposive gei-clause, but as a benefactive gei-phrase preceding V2P in a purposive clause with an empty subject. In such a case, the sentence in question is not interpreted as S'2, but is analysed as follows:

[_S NP [_V [_V V NP] [_S ∅ [_V [_{PP} gei NP] [_V V (NP)]]]]]

(87a) 我從媽媽的口袋裏偷了一點錢(來)給你買東西

Wo cong mama -de koudaili tou -le yi-dian qian
1SG from mother-SUB pocket steal-PERF 1 -little money

(lai) gei ni mai dongxi
in:order:to GEI 2SG buy thing

I have stolen some money out of mother's pocket to buy something for you.

(87b) 我從媽媽的口袋裏偷了一點錢(來)給你花

Wo cong mama -de koudaili tou -le yi-dian qian
1SG from mother-SUB pocket steal-PERF 1 -little money

(lai) gei ni hua
in:order:to GEI 2SG spend

I have stolen some money out of mother's pocket so that you can spend it.

(88a) 我買了一隻筆(來)給你寫字

Wo mai-le yi-zhi bi (lai) gei ni xie zi
1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL pen in:o.:to GEI 2SG write character

I have bought a pen to write with for you.

(88b) 我買了一隻筆(來)給你使

wo mai-le yi-zhi bi (lai) gei ni shi
1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL pen in:order:to GEI 2SG use

I have bought a pen so that you use it.

(The fact that I have given only one translation for (87b) and (88b) is not intended to mean that they are unambiguous, but only that the interpretation of ni 'you' as the subject of the purposive gei-clause is the dominant one.)

As shown in (87a) and (88a), gei NP is especially liable to be interpreted as a benefactive when the relationship between V2P and the object in the matrix clause is not one of verb - object;

this again confirms our observation of the importance of a tight relationship between V2P and the matrix object for the acceptability of the purposive gěi-clause. The purposive clause marker lái cannot serve to distinguish between these two interpretations of gěi NP, for lái introduces a purposive clause with an overt subject marked by gěi (the purposive gěi-clause) as well as a purposive clause with an empty subject.

To summarize, the purposive gěi-clause is only acceptable if a tight relationship exists between V2P and the object in the matrix clause. If this relationship does not prove to be tight enough and there is another interpretation available, this latter will be chosen. For verbs which are not verbs of giving, a postverbal gěi-phrase (in S2) is to be derived from a purposive gěi-clause (in S'2); that a postverbal gěi-phrase is not always acceptable can therefore be explained by the non-intentionality of the verb excluding a purposive clause in general, or by the fact that sometimes the appropriate verb required for the purposive gěi-clause cannot be found.

5.2.4.3. S'2 with Vd verbs (S'5)

The problem which still awaits an explanation is why the deletion of V2P is possible in the case of verbs with a concrete object NP (Vb+c), but is excluded for verbs with an abstract object NP (Vd), a phenomenon which had been the main reason for Zhu's distinction between S'2 and S'5.

When we look at a sentence which results from the deletion of V2P in S'2 (cf. (89b)), we see that it shows the same structure as a sentence with a verb of giving (cf. (90)), although the verb in the former sentence type (89b) only subcategorises for one argument. I would therefore like to claim that the structure

'NP V NP gěi NP' (S2) with verbs other than verbs of giving represents an instance of restructuring modeled on the structure originally reserved for verbs of giving, i.e. 'NP V NP gěi NP'. In the case of Vd verbs with an abstract object, then, this kind of restructuring is not possible, because the direct object of a verb of giving is normally a concrete NP:¹⁸

(89a) 我打了一件毛衣給你穿
 Wo da -le yi-jian maoyi gei ni chuan (S'2)
 1SG knit-PERF 1 -CL sweater GEI 2SG wear

I have knitted a sweater so that you wear it.

(89b) 我打了一件毛衣給你
 Wo da -le yi-jian maoyi gei ni (S2)
 1SG knit-PERF 1 -CL sweater GEI 2SG

I have knitted a sweater for you.

(90) 我送了一件毛衣給你
 Wo song-le yi-jian maoyi gei ni
 1SG give-PERF 1 -CL sweater GEI 2SG

I have given you a sweater (as a present).

 18 There are, however, examples of Va verbs with an abstract object NP:

(i) 他給了我一個好的印象
 Ta gei -le wo yi-ge hao -de yinxiang
 3SG give-PERF 1SG 1 -CL good-SUB impression

He made a good impression on me.

(Peyraube 1988: 28)

(ii) 他打電話給我
 Ta da dianhua gei wo
 3SG dispatch phone:call GEI 1SG

He rings me up.

But as Peyraube(1988: 28) points out, an abstract direct object is only acceptable in the form of a complex NP; as there is no such constraint on concrete direct objects, the latter can be considered to be the regular case. Sentence (ii) with diànhuà 'phone call' seems to contradict Peyraube's observation that an abstract direct object cannot be a simple NP. Dǎ in dǎ diànhuà, however, is special in so far as it functions as a verb of giving Va/c only when in combination with diànhuà.

- (91a) *我唱了一首歌給你
 Wo chang-le yi-shou ge gei ni
 1SG sing -PERF 1 -CL song GEI 2SG
 (I have sung a song for you.)

- (91b) 我唱了一首歌給你聽
 Wo chang-le yi-shou ge gei ni ting (S'5)
 1SG sing -PERF 1 -CL song GEI 2SG listen
 I sing a song so that you listen to it.

Although S'2 (after the deletion of V2P) can be restructured according to the structure of verbs of giving, this does not mean that the gei in the purposive gei-clause has the same function as the gei with verbs of giving, i.e. indicating the recipient in an exchange where the subject of V1 is the giver. The common interpretation of the subject in the purposive gei-clause as the recipient is not concluded on the basis of the syntactic structure, but it is the result of a semantic-pragmatic inference: the subject NP being in the possession of the direct object is also responsible for its transfer to the person who is intended to use it (i.e. the subject of the purposive gei-clause) (cf. above, 5.2.4.1.). In fact, if gei in the purposive gei-clause really indicated a transfer, Vd verbs should not be acceptable in S'5, because an abstract object cannot be exchanged. Consequently, S'2 is compatible with a context which explicitly excludes a transfer (from the matrix subject to the subject of the purposive gei-clause):

- (92) 我打了一件毛衣給張三穿，你下一次去他家請把他帶去
 Wo da -le yi-jian maoyi gei Zhangsan chuan.
 1SG knit-PERF 1 -CL sweater GEI Zhangsan wear
 Ni xia yi-ci qu ta jia qing ba ta daiqu
 2SG next 1 -time go 3SG home please BA 3SG take
 I have knitted a sweater so that Zhangsan wears it. Next time you go to his home, take it with you, please.

That the gei in the purposive gei-clause does not express a transfer from the subject of the matrix clause to the subject of

the purposive gei-clause constitutes further evidence for the distinction between the postverbal gei indicating the recipient and the gei introducing the subject of a purposive gei-clause (Cf. also Huang 1982: 106, footnote 36).

The Vd verbs are useful to show the difference between the gei in the purposive gei-clause (S'2) and the gei in preverbal position (S'3). For in the case of Vd verbs with an abstract object NP, the deletion of V2P in S'2 (leading to a postverbal gei-phrase) is not allowed; only the purposive gei-clause is acceptable. S'3, on the contrary, is grammatical without the purposive clause (whose subject is empty):

- (93) 我唱個歌給你*(聽)
 Wo chang ge ge gei ni *(ting)
 1SG sing CL song GEI 2SG listen (S'2)
 I sing a song so that you listen to it.
- (94) 我給你唱個歌(聽)
 Wo gei ni chang ge ge (ting)
 1SG GEI 2SG sing CL song listen (S'3)
 I sing a song for you (to listen to)

Thus, the two gei have different functions: the preverbal gei (as in (94)) is a preposition indicating the benefactive, whereas the other gei introduces the subject of the purposive gei-clause. S'2 and S'3 therefore represent different structures; their quasi-synonymy can be explained by the possibility of using the same lexical items in S'2 and S'3 without there being any relationship on the structural level (cf. above, 5.2.2.).

Once the idea has been abandoned that the gei in the purposive gei-clause implies a transfer (as does the gei with verbs of giving), it is now possible to analyse S'2 and S'5 in the same way, except for the deletability of V2P. For the requirement of a tight relationship between V2P and the object of V1 holds for

both structures, i.e. chuān 'to wear' is the appropriate verb for máoyī 'sweater' (cf. (95)) in the same way as tīng 'to listen' is the appropriate verb for zhōngwén 'Chinese' (cf. (96)):

(95) 我買了一件毛衣給他穿
 Wo mai-le yi-jian maoyi gei ta chuan
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL sweater GEI 3SG wear
 I have bought a sweater so that he wears it.

(96) 他說中文給我們聽
 Ta shuo zhongwen gei women ting
 3SG speak Chinese GEI 1PL listen
 He speaks Chinese so that we can listen to it.

Thus, S'2 and S'5 represent, in fact, the same structure. The nature of the object (concrete vs. abstract) becomes relevant only in restructuring of the purposive gěi-clause as a gěi-phrase. With a matrix verb taking a concrete object (Vb+c), the structure resulting from deletion of V2P in S'2 looks like the structure of verbs of giving and, accordingly, is acceptable. However, the deletion of V2P in S'2 where the matrix verb subcategorises for an abstract object, is not allowed. For the resulting structure with an abstract direct object: 'NP V (abstract)NP gěi NP' does not really imitate the typical structure of verbs of giving where the direct object is concrete.

5.2.5. Partial summary

We have seen that there are two different types of purposive clauses following the matrix clause, i.e. the purposive clause with an overt subject marked by gěi (the purposive gěi-clause) and the purposive clause with an empty subject which is normally coreferential with the matrix subject. The VP in the purposive gěi-clause must be appropriate, i.e. predictable on the basis of the matrix object, whereas the relation between the VP in the purposive clause with an empty subject and the matrix clause can

be less tight, provided it is semantically or pragmatically plausible. These two types of purposive clauses can optionally be introduced by the purposive clause marker láì, and they are only acceptable when the verb in the matrix clause is intentional.

The structures discussed by Zhu can be divided into two groups one comprising the structures with an empty subject in the purposive clause, the other those with an overt subject (marked by gěi) in the purposive clause. S'1+4, S'3 and S'6 belong to the first group, whereas S'2 (including Zhu's S'5) represents the second group.

We obtain the same distribution, i.e. S'1+4, S'3 and S'6 on the one hand, and S'2 on the other hand, in the structural analysis. In S'1+4, S'3 and S'6, V2P constitutes the purposive clause (with an empty subject):

S'1+4: [_S NP [_V [_V V (gěi) NP NP] [_S Ø VP]]]

S'3: [_S NP [_V gěi NP [_V V NP] [_S Ø VP]]]

S'6: [_S NP [_V [_V V (NP)] [_S Ø gěi NP kàn]]]

S'2: [_S NP [_V [_V V NP] [_S gěi NP V (NP)]]]

Contrary to the common interpretation, the empty subject of the purposive clause in S'1+4 and S'3 is not coreferential with the matrix subject. The fact that the VP of the purposive clause is related to the direct object in the matrix clause leads to a semantic-pragmatic inference: the person who obtains the direct object (the recipient) or profits from it (the benefactive) must be interpreted as the subject of the purposive clause.

S'6 has to be distinguished from S'1+4 and S'3, for the VP in the purposive clause, gěi NP kàn, is related to the entire action in the matrix clause (V1P), and not only to the matrix object.

This also accounts for the lack of any constraint on the VP in the matrix clause. As the empty subject is understood to be coreferential with the matrix subject, S'6 has approximately the following meaning: 'X does something to show Y the contrary of what Y considered to be true'.

The structural analysis can give indications as to the nature of the relationship between S'n and Sn. S1+4 and S3 can be considered as the basic structures for S'1+4 and S'3, respectively, because the VP in the matrix clause of S'1+4 and S'3 has the same structure as the VP in S1+4 and S3. For S'6, it does not make any sense to inquire about a basic structure it is derived from.

The situation is totally different in the case of S'2, because for verbs other than verbs of giving, it is S'2 which is the basic structure for S2. The postverbal position being reserved for the arguments subcategorised for by the verb, only verbs of giving can appear in S2, because only they take a recipient (marked by gěi) as second argument. For the other verbs, which equally figure in S2 (without subcategorising for a patient and a recipient), S2 must be regarded as the result of restructuring. Restructuring of the purposive gěi-clause as a gěi-phrase (via the deletion of V2P) is only possible when the matrix object is a concrete NP. For the model of restructuring is the structure of the verbs of giving, 'NP V NP gěi NP', where the direct object is normally a concrete NP. This explains why Vd verbs with an abstract object NP do not allow restructuring and, consequently, do not allow a postverbal gěi-phrase, either.

It is the impossibility of restructuring in the case of Vd verbs which made it necessary to modify James C.-T. Huang's analysis which served as the basis of this chapter. According to Huang(p.c.), restructuring of the purposive gěi-clause as gěi-

phrase is only possible if the (deleted) VP of the purposive gěi-clause can be recovered due to its tight relationship with the object in the matrix clause. But such an explanation would falsely predict the acceptability of restructuring for verbs Vd with an abstract object, where the link between V2P and the object of V1 is in fact particularly tight because it is always the verb - object relationship, and furthermore, practically only tīng 'to listen' and kàn 'to look' appear as verbs in the purposive gěi-clause. In my analysis, however, the predictability of V2P is not relevant for restructuring, but for the acceptability of the purposive gěi-clause itself (which then can or cannot undergo restructuring).

As far as the status of gěi in the purposive clause is concerned (which is not discussed by Zhu), Huang (1982: 106, footnote 36) considers it as a complementiser like the for in I bought a book for you to read. Another possible analysis is that gěi forms one phrase with the subject of the purposive gěi-clause (Alain Rouveret, p.c.). This idea is interesting in so far as the overt subject in a purposive clause is obligatorily introduced by gěi: 'NP VP, *(gěi) NP VP'. But in order to decide between these analyses, there is still a need to study the purposive gěi-clause in Chinese in more detail than I have been able to do here. But it should be clear by now that whatever the nature of gěi in the purposive gěi-clause may be, it will be different from that of the gěi with verbs of giving.

5.3. The VOPs and the problem of the postverbal gěi-phrase

Last, but not least I will now explain why the outer object of a VOP marked by gěi is acceptable only in the preverbal position (cf. (97a)) and never in the postverbal position (cf. (97b)):

- (97a) 醫生給病人開刀
Yisheng gei bingren kai dao
doctor GEI patient open knife

The doctor operates on the patient.

- (97b) *醫生開刀給病人
Yisheng kai dao gei bingren
doctor open knife GEI patient

Given the preceding discussion of the postverbal gěi-phrase in a structure like (97b), i.e. in S2, the first step in its analysis is to determine the origin of this gěi-phrase, namely whether it is base-generated or whether it has to be derived from a purposive gěi-clause via deletion of V2P. Since the outer object is the argument subcategorised for by the VOP as a whole, and not by the verb alone, the gěi-phrase occurring with VOPs must be obtained from a purposive gěi-clause. For only in the case of verbs of giving, which subcategorise for a patient and a recipient (in the form of a gěi-phrase) does the postverbal gěi-phrase not result from restructuring of the purposive gei-clause.

The VOPs admit a purposive clause with an empty subject. This indicates that the unacceptability of the outer object marked by gěi in postverbal position cannot be due to the interdiction of a second postverbal constituent by the PSC:

- (98) 醫生開刀給學生看
Yisheng kai dao gei xuesheng kan
doctor open knife GEI student look

The doctor operates to demonstrate to the students.

Like simple intentional verbs, intentional VOPs admit a purposive clause with an empty subject (which is coreferential with the matrix subject); the VP gěi NP kàn 'to show sb.' takes the whole action expressed by the VOP as its object. Consequently, (98) can be paraphrased as (99) (cf. above, example (38)):

- (99) 醫生給學生看怎麼樣開刀
Yisheng gei xuesheng kan zenmeyang kai dao
doctor GEI student look how open knife

The doctor shows the students how to operate.

It is evidently possible in (99) to mention the outer object gěi bìngrén as well which clearly demonstrates that the purposive clause gěi NP kàn has nothing to do with the outer object:

- (100) 醫生給病人開刀給學生看
Yisheng gei bingren kai dao gei xuesheng kan
doctor GEI patient open knife GEI student look

The doctor operates on the patient to show the students.

If there is no general restriction ruling out a constituent following the VOP, then the unacceptability of the outer object marked by gěi can perhaps be explained by the fact that VOPs simply do not allow a purposive gěi-clause (with the outer object as its subject) from which the gěi-phrase could be derived.

It is perhaps useful here to recapitulate the possible relations between the VP of the purposive gěi-clause and the object in the matrix clause. The relation can either be one of verb - object where the object of the matrix verb is also understood to be the object of the verb in the purposive gěi-clause, or it can be a circumstantial relationship. In the second case, the matrix object functions as a circumstantial complement of the VP in the purposive gěi-clause, most often as an instrumental. The tight relation between the VP in the purposive gěi-clause and the object of the matrix verb (the prerequisite of the acceptability of a purposive gěi-clause) becomes evident in the possibility of integrating the matrix object into the purposive gěi-clause when the latter appears separately from the matrix clause (i.e. without gěi). This may seem trivial in the case of a verb - object relationship. In the case of a circumstantial relation-

ship, however, this is more revealing because circumstantial complements show different degrees of cohesion in their relation with the verb concerned.

(101a) 我買了一把刀給他用

Wo mai-le yi-ba dao gei ta yong
1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI 3SG use

I bought a knife so that he will use it.

(101b) 他用這把刀

Ta yong zhei-ba dao
3SG use this-CL knife

He uses that knife.

(102a) 我買了一把刀給張三切肉

Wo mai-le yi-ba dao gei Zhangsan qie rou
1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL knife GEI Zhangsan cut meat

I have bought a knife so that Zhangsan will cut meat with it.

(102b) 張三用這把刀切肉

Zhangsan yong zhei-ba dao qie rou
Zhangsan use this-CL knife cut meat

Zhangsan uses this knife to cut meat.

(103a) 我租了一間房間給他堆東西

Wo zu -le yi-jian fangjian gei ta dui dongxi
1SG rent-PERF 1 -CL room GEI 3SG pile:up thing

I have rented a room so that he will put his things there.

(103b) 他用這間房間堆東西

Ta yong zhei-jian fangjian dui dongxi
3SG use this-CL room pile:up things

He uses this room to put his things.

(103c) 他在這間房間堆東西

Ta zai zhei-jian fangjian dui dongxi
3SG in this-CL room pile:up thing

He puts his things in this room.

Let us now apply these observations to the purposive gěi-clause co-occurring with VOPs. First, a verb - object relation between the verb of the purposive gěi-clause and the object of

the matrix verb, i.e. the inner object, is excluded on the ground that the inner object is a possible object (with the meaning it has in a given VOP) only for the verb with which it constitutes the VOP. Thus, there only remains the circumstantial relation to establish the necessary link between the purposive gěi-clause and the matrix clause. Accordingly, in a sentence like (104), the inner object (dāo) would have to serve as a circumstantial complement of the VP in the purposive gěi-clause where the outer object (bìngrén) would play the role of the subject:

(104) *醫生開刀給病人恢復健康

Yisheng kai dao gei bingren huifu jiankang
doctor open knife GEI patient recover health

(The doctor has operated so that the patient recovers his health.)

Such a relation, however, cannot be established because the VOP functions as a whole and, consequently, the inner object alone cannot entertain relations with elements outside the VOP. It therefore cannot serve as the instrumental for the VP in the purposive gěi-clause (cf. (104)), a relation which would give rise to the unacceptable sentence (105):

(105) *病人用刀恢復健康

Bingren yong dao huifu jiankang
patient use knife recover health

(cf. (101) -(103))

(In the case of idiomatic VOPs like kāi dāo 'to operate on', the inner object in a sentence like (105) can only have a literal meaning, i.e. it does not, in fact, function as an inner object any more.)

There is, however, no problem for a VOP being followed by a purposive clause with an empty subject like gěi NP kàn 'to show sb.' which refers to the entire VOP (cf. (98)).

Thus, the reason why VOPs do not accept their outer object marked by gěi in postverbal position is that they do not admit a purposive gěi-clause from which the gěi-phrase containing the outer object could be derived. This situation is entirely different from that of Vd verbs with an abstract object for which a purposive gěi-clause is acceptable, and only restructuring of the purposive gěi-clause as a gěi-phrase is excluded due to the non-concrete nature of the object (cf. above, (91)).

I have not yet excluded the possibility that the VOPs are incompatible with a purposive gěi-clause because appropriate verbs for them cannot be found (cf. above, (80) and (81)). Though I consider such an explanation rather improbable, given the inaccessibility of the inner object to relations with elements outside the VOP, there are examples of the type (106) and (107) where the same noun functions as an inner object as well as a "normal" object. If a relationship with the inner object were really possible, (107a) would have to be acceptable, because dài 'to wear, to put on' proves to be the appropriate verb for màozi 'hat' in (106):

- (106) 我買了一頂帽子給他戴
 Wo mai-le yi-ding maozi gei ta dai
 1SG buy-PERF 1 -CL hat GEI 3SG wear

I have bought a hat so that he will wear it.

- (107a) *我扣了帽子給他戴
 Wo kou-le maozi gei ta dai
 1SG put-PERF hat GEI 3SG wear

- (107b) 我給他扣了帽子
 Wo gei ta kou-le maozi
 1SG GEI 3SG put-PERF hat

I have denounced him.

Thus, VOPs do not admit a postverbal gěi-phrase (containing the outer object) because they do not allow a purposive gěi-

clause from which the gěi-phrase could be derived (via deletion of V2P). This is not due to the difficulty of finding an appropriate verb, but can be explained by the inaccessibility of the inner object to relations with elements outside the VOP, more precisely with the VP of a purposive gěi-clause. Such a relation, however, is exactly the prerequisite of the acceptability of the purposive gěi-clause.

After the detailed description of the purposive gěi-clause in Chinese, the question remains to be discussed whether the purposive gěi-clause satisfies the PSC.

The structural analysis I have proposed, namely [_S NP [_V [_V V NP] [_S gěi NP V (NP)]]], in fact violates the PSC, for \bar{V} shows a head-initial structure which is only allowed on the lowest level of expansion (here \bar{V}). As we have already observed other structures which at first sight seemed to represent a violation of the PSC but which in the end could be explained as cases of restructuring modeled on structures admitted by the PSC, I will try to apply the same procedure here as well.

One of the model structures for restructuring which has already been mentioned is the structure reserved for verbs of giving, namely 'NP V NP gěi NP'. Though I do consider a postverbal gěi-phrase occurring with verbs different from verbs of giving as the result of restructuring modeled on precisely this structure, such an analysis can, however, not be extended to include a complete purposive gěi-clause whose VP has not been deleted. Even if one accepts the analysis of the gěi in the purposive gěi-clause as a complementiser (cf. Huang 1982) as well as the assumption that a complementiser is in fact very much like a preposition (except that the former takes a sentence as its object, and not a NP), it nevertheless remains impossible to

postulate restructuring of a complex sentence with a purposive gěi-clause according to the model structure 'NP V NP gěi NP'. For after what we have seen so far, it is the surface identity of the two structures which makes restructuring possible; the analogy between [_{pp} Prep NP] and [_s Comp [_s]] is a case of identity which is much too abstract to be relevant for restructuring.

The general idea contained in the PSC which says that the postverbal position is subject to many more constraints than is the preverbal position, however, seems still to be correct and is furthermore confirmed by all the data discussed so far. Thus, the tight relationship between the direct object in the matrix clause and the verb in the purposive gěi-clause (which is necessary for the acceptability of the purposive gěi-clause) is an example of the constraints governing the postverbal position. But the PSC is unable to elucidate the reasons for these constraints; on the contrary, it falsely predicts the unacceptability of complex sentences with a purposive gěi-clause. A reconsideration of the PSC therefore seems necessary and will be the subject of chapter 7.