





- (8) a. wo bi ta lai-**le**.  
 1SG urge 3SG come-PRF  
 ‘I urged him to come.’  
 b. wo {**mei-you**} bi ta {\***mei-you**} lai.  
 1SG NEG-PRF urge 3SG NEG-PRF come  
 ‘I didn’t urge him to come.’ (Huang 1989:190)

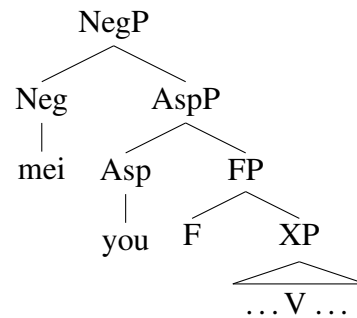
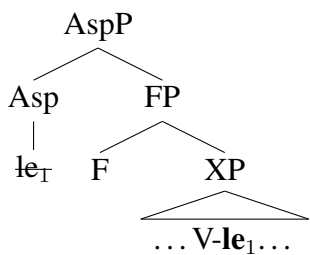
We can rule out negation as a potential source for this asymmetry, for as (9) shows, there is in principle nothing wrong with negation under control.

- (9) wo bi ta **bu** lai.  
 1SG press 3SG NEG come  
 ‘I pressed him to not come.’

Rather, the source of the asymmetry is the perfective allomorph *you*, and in particular, its non-affixal status. In the affirmative variant of the sentence (8a), functional restructuring results in *-le* attaching to the lower verb. In the negative variant (8b), on the other hand, the aspect marker is not affixal, and so regardless of whether restructuring takes place, it remains high in the structure:

Positive sentence → *-le* lowers to verb

Negative sentence → *you* stays high



**4 Semantics: From restructuring to actuality entailment** We now return to the semantic puzzle: why does the high vs. low placement of the aspect marker have the interpretational effect seen in (10)?

- (10) a. wo qing-**guo** ta chi fan, (**keshi ta mei lai**).  
 1SG invite-PRF 3SG eat meal but 3SG NEG.PRF come  
 ‘I invited him to eat, (but he did not come).’  
 b. wo qing ta chi-**guo** fan, (# **keshi ta mei lai**).  
 1SG invite 3SG eat-PRF meal but 3SG NEG.PRF come  
 ‘I invited him to eat (# but he did not come).’ (Xu 1985–1986:349)

Preliminary evidence that, despite surface appearances, *-guo* in (10b) is not semantically embedded comes from the fact that it does not give rise to a relative past interpretation, which is what perfective aspect in Mandarin embedded clauses usually does (see e.g. Lin 2003) (11).

- (11) a. CONTEXT: Tomorrow I’m coming over to see you.  
 b. ni qianwan bu neng gaosu wo ge [wo kan **guo** ni].  
 2SG definitely NEG can tell 1SG older-brother 1SG see PRF 2SG  
 ‘No matter what don’t tell my older brother I saw you.’ (Li 1999:28)  
 c. **guo** signals: [EMBEDDED EVENT (SEEING) *precedes* MATRIX EVENT (TELLING)]

(10b) does *not* likewise signal [EMBEDDED EVENT (EATING) *precedes* MATRIX EVENT (INVITING)]. Rather, (10b) entails that the event associated with the embedded clause has been realized (‘actuality entailment’). Hacquard (2008) argues that the combination of RESTRUCTURING and PERFECTIVE

ASPECT is what gives rise to such actuality entailments, as exemplified by Italian in (12).

- (12) Gianni **ha voluto** parlare a Maria, (# **ma non lo ha fatto**).  
 Gianni want-PST-PFV talk to Maria but NEG it do-PST-PFV  
 ‘Gianni wanted to talk to Maria, #but he didn’t do it.’ ITALIAN

For Hacquard, actuality entailments arise when Asp takes wide scope over the matrix verb and binds the event variable of the embedded verb (13a) (Cf. (13b): in the absence of restructuring, the matrix verb has its own event argument, and the event argument of the embedded verb is bound locally under the scope of the matrix verb.)

- (13) a. T Asp<sub>1</sub> V VP(e<sub>1</sub>) RESTRUCTURING: ACTUALITY ENTAILMENT  
 b. T Asp<sub>1</sub> V(e<sub>1</sub>) T Asp<sub>2</sub> VP(e<sub>2</sub>) NON-RESTRUCTURING: NO ACTUALITY ENTAILMENT

Adopting this approach for Mandarin yields the following structures for (10a) and (10b) respectively:

- (14) a. [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>Asp</sub> guo<sub>1</sub>] [<sub>VP</sub> V(e<sub>1</sub>) [<sub>XP</sub> ... ∅<sub>Asp2</sub> V(e<sub>2</sub>) ... ]]]  
 b. [<sub>AspP</sub> [<sub>Asp</sub> guo<sub>1</sub>] [<sub>FP</sub> F [<sub>XP</sub> ... V(e<sub>1</sub>) ... ]]]

In (14a) (=10a), no restructuring takes places, and hence there is no actuality entailment. In (14b) (=10b), on the other hand, restructuring takes places, and an actuality entailment obtains. The upshot is that Hacquard’s approach to actuality entailments provides an explanation for the interpretational contrast between (10a) and (10b), in a way consistent with the restructuring analysis advocated above.

**5 Conclusion:** The central conclusion is that Mandarin aspect under control — when grammatical at all — is uniformly interpreted at the matrix level, as argued by Huang (1982, 1989); Li (1985, 1990); *contra* Xu (1985–1986); Hu et al. (2001). For Huang and Li, this finding means that Mandarin has a finite/nonfinite distinction. Recent crosslinguistic work on control by Landau (2004), however, suggests that the finite/nonfinite distinction may be too crude for capturing the distribution of PRO, and that instead, PRO is sensitive to [Tense] and [Agr] values on both I and C of the embedded clause. If such an approach extends to Mandarin, then the task for future research is to investigate how Mandarin [Tense] and [Agr] features conspire both to license PRO and to restrict the distribution of Aspect.

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