Arrive or achieve? the morphosyntax of dao in Mandarin Chinese

Introduction: As a multifunctional item in Chinese, dao can occur in various syntactic environments. It can serve as a verb or a preposition and it can be combined with another verb to form a chunk, V-dao. The last usage of dao exhibits intriguing morphosyntactic properties: dao cannot occur independently. It is flexible in terms of C selection: CP or DP and the θ role of an DP argument can be location or a theme, see (1). In addition, this dao seems to be optional for some verbs but not others, both in motion and non motion events, as in (2) and (3).

Research questions: Why *dao*, as the verb of 'arrive', can oc-⁽¹⁾ cur in such diversified syntactic contexts? Why *dao* is optional in some cases but not in others? Is it possible to give a unified account for the multifunctional *dao*?

In the literature, the multifunctionality of *dao* has been attributed to its different categories. *Dao* is argued to be a directional verb/preposition(Lin, 2019; Liu, 1998; Lv, 1980; Zhu, (2) 1982; a.o), or a completive marker/particle/linker(Chao, 1965; Dong, 2017; Xuan, 2008; a.o). Such accounts are insufficient in capturing the universal semantic core among its different usages: the achievement of a target, be it a location, an entity or a state. (3) **Proposal:** Under the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle et al., 1993; Marantz, 1997), we propose *dao* realizes two syntactic entities: it is the PF exponent of a feature bundle

Xiaoming zou-dao xuexiao le. (DP location)
Xiaoming walk-dao school SFP
'Xiaoming walked to school.'

Nana zhao-dao le shouji. (DP theme)
Nana find-dao PFV phone
'Nana found the phone.'

Ta ku-dao dajia dou hen bunaifan. (CP)
He cry-dao everyone all very annoyed
'He cried everyone annoyed.'

Xiaoming zou*(-dao) le xuexiao.
 Xiaoming walk-dao PFV school
 'Xiaoming walked to school.

Xiaoming hui(-dao) fangjian le.
 Xiaoming return-dao room SFP
 Xiaoming returned the room.

Xiaoming meng*(-dao) le NaNa.
 Xiaoming dream-dao PFV Nana
 'Xiaoming dreamt of Nana.

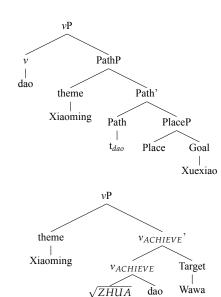
 Xiaoming chi(-dao) le huogue Xiaoming eat-dao PFV hotpot Xiaoming ate the hotpot.

[PATH, PLACE]. It is inserted at PATH during late merge and undergoes head movement to v, as in (4). Such a derivation accounts for dao's ability to take a locative argument and its flexibility in terms of category, compared with the intransitive 'arrive' in English. Dao in V-dao chunk is the realization of a light verb(v categorizer): $v_{ACHIEVE}$, which has the argument structure in (5).

The v requires a root to discharge its categorial function. That's why dao is involved in word formation and never occurs independently. (4) The root names the action by adjoining to dao (Harley, 2005), indicating dao's matrix status in the chunk. With the semantic feature 'achievement', dao encodes a transitive achievement event which is punctual, telic and agentiveless. The flexibility of C selection is attributed to the denotation of the target, which can be a locative DP(goal), an individual DP(theme) or a clausal CP (state). $v_{ACHIEVE}$ signifies the syntactic encoding of telicity. However, if such an endpoint is entailed in the lexical semantics of a verb, dao is optional.

Theoretical implications: The bipartite analysis of dao is a reflection of the root inertia property in Chinese(Hu, 2020). The proposal of $v_{ACHIEVE}$ shed light on the universal event template of a directed motion and a change of state event(Acedo-Matellán, 2016; Beavers,

2012, 2013; Ramchand, 2008; Snyder, 2001; Talmy, 1985). The



availability of $v_{ACHIEVE}$ also accounts for the cross linguistic variation in expressing the endpoint of an event: semantic entailment or syntactic encoding. This is in line with the spirits of Borer Chomsky Conjecture(BCC, Baker, 2008) and the analyticity parameter proposed in (Huang, 2014). **Keywords:** *Dao*, motion event, achievement event, analyticity, Distributed Morphology

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