

A Split Analysis of the Affected experiencers introducer “*gei*” in Mandarin

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“*gei*” as a co-verb (or preposition) introducing non core arguments:

(1) Zhangsan *gei* Lisi kao le dangao. (benefactive)

Zhangsan give Lisi bake-Asp cake

Zhangsan baked a cake for Lisi.

(2) Zhangsan *gei* Lisi guyi dao luan. (malefactive)

Zhangsan give Lisi intentionally make troubles

Zhangsan made trouble for Lisi intentionally.

1. beneficiary and maleficiary

- Van Valin and LaPolla (1997):
 - a. recipient benefactives: the beneficiary is the (intended) possessor/recipient;
 - Zhangsan gei Lisi kao yi-kuai dangao.
 - b. plain benefactives: the beneficiary undergoes some general benefit, physically or mentally, such as being serviced, helped ect.
 - Zhangsan gei Lisi nianshu.
 - c. deputative benefactives: the agent is the proxy, substituting for the beneficiary conducting the action.
 - Zhangsan gei Lisi zuo zuoye.

- a. source maleficiary : the maleficiary is an implied source of the theme.

Zhangsan gei Lisi nonghuai le shouji.

Zhangsan give Lisi broken- Asp cell phone.

Zhangsan broken the cell phone for Lisi.

- b. plain maleficiary: the maleficiary undergoes some general miseries, unsatisfaction, being harmed or being negatively influenced.

Zhangsan gei laoshi zai keshang daoluan.

Zhangsan give teacher on class make trouble.

Zhangsan made troubles on the teachers on the class.

2. Asymmetry between the 2 “*gei*”:

(1). Preposition dative variant:

- (3) Zhangsan kaole yikuai dangao gei mama
Zhangsan bake-Asp one-Cl cake give mother
Zhangsan baked a cake for his mother.
- (4)*Zhangsan dapo le huaping gei mama.
Zhangsan break-Asp vase socre give mother
Zhangsan got 0 score which for his mother.

(2). Topicalization:

(5) gei Lisi, Zhangsan maile yihu jiu.

give Lisi, Zhangsan buy-Asp one-CL wine

For Lisi, Zhangsan bought a bottle of wine

(6)*gei Lisi, Zhangsan heguangle yihu jiu.

give Lisi, Zhangsan drinkover-Asp one-CL wine

Zhangsan drank over a bottle of wine onLisi.(Maybe because it is Lisi's wine.)

- The distinction in topicalization and prepositional dative indicates that benefactive “gei” is a preposition, “*gei NP*” as an adjunct can move freely. Whereas affected “*gei*” behaves more like a verb, which has a fixed projection in the syntactic structure and cannot be displaced easily.

(3). Interaction with “*zenme*”:

(7) Zhangsan *zenme* gei ni ba wuzi nongde yituanzao?

Zhangsan how give you BA room mess up?

*How does Zhangsan mess up the room for you?

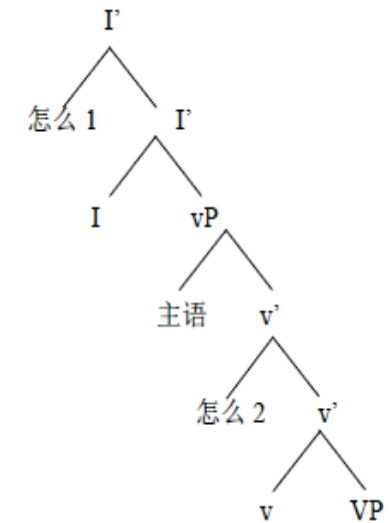
How come Zhangsan mess up the room for you?

(8) Zhangsan *zenme* gei ni xiu che?

Zhangsan how give you fix car?

How does Zhangsan fix the car for you?

How come Zhangsan fix the car for you?



(4) passivization

Mama bei Lisi chuang le dahuo.

Mama BEI Lisi make-Asp big trouble

The mother is suffered from Lisi's making trouble

*Zongjingli bei Zhangsan kaiche.

Manager BEI Zhangsan drive car

Intended meaning : The manager was suffered from Lisi's driving.

(5). Scope interaction with negation and A not A question:

(15) Zhangsan meiyou gei Lisi chuanghuo.

Zhangsan Neg give Lisi make trouble.

Zhangsan didn't make trouble for Lisi.

(16) Zhangsan meiyou gei Lisi kaiche.

Zhangsan Neg give Lisi drive car.

Zhangsan didn't drive at all.

Zhangsan drove the car, but not for Lisi.

(17) Zhangsan geimeigei Lisi chuanghuo ?

Zhangsan give-not-give Lisi make trouble ?

Did Zhangsan make trouble for Lisi?

(18) Zhangsan geimeigei Lisi kaiche ?

Zhangsan give-not-give Lisi drive car

Did Zhangsan drive car for Lisi?

Bosse (2012): at issue meaning and not at issue meaning

- Besides the truth condition (propositional meaning) derived by semantical composition, there is another tier of meaning which is not from compositionality but conventional implicature. It is called not at issue meaning.
- Appositive is a kind of not at issue meaning:
 - We invited Louis, the king of France.
 - We didn't invited Louis, the king of France.
 - Did you invited Louis, the king of France?
- Not at issue meaning cannot be questioned and negated alone.

- Meaning of tier:

Affected “*gei*” and benefactive “*gei*” contribute to different tiers of meaning:

- Benefactive: can be questioned or negated, contributes to at issue meaning.
- Affected “*gei*”: cannot negated or questioned alone, which means that it contributes to **some** not at issue meaning.

A split analysis of “*gei*” :

- Syntactically : category, projection height
- Semantically: at issue meaning and not at issue meaning
- What are the 2 “*gei*”s ?

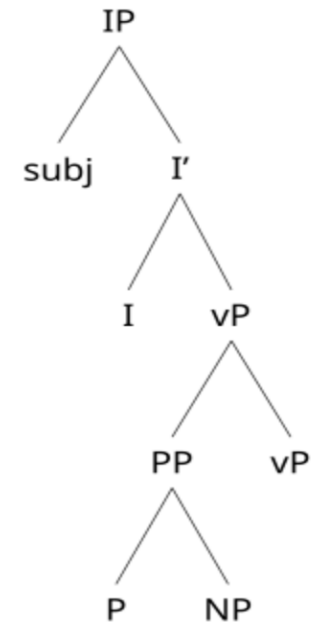
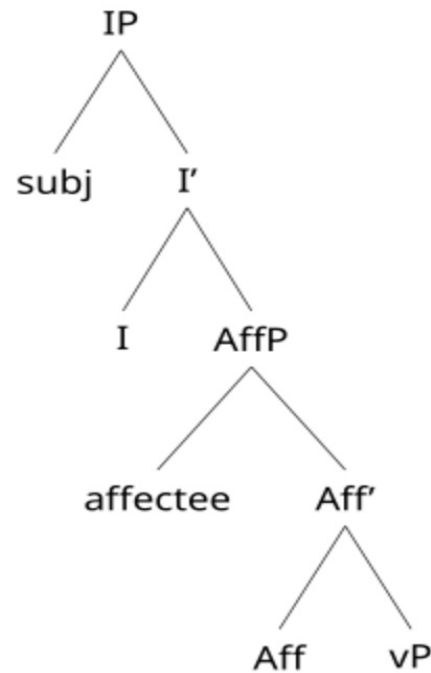
- Benefactive prep:
 - It only introduces an beneficiary into the original argument structure. It enriches the event by introducing an applicative argument.
 - Only encode at issue meaning.
- John bought a book for Mary.
 $\exists e. \text{buy}(e) \ \& \ \text{Thm}(e)(\text{a book}) \ \& \ \text{Agt}(e)(\text{John}) \ \& \ \text{beneficiary}(e)(\text{Mary})$

The framework of Bosse(2012, 2015)

- Affect head:
 - Affect head(AFF) involves an affected event argument. With this affected head, there is a new affected event. The spec of AFF introduces the affectee, and take its complement (an accomplishment event) as the source of the affected event.
 - Affected “gei” brings a new affected event. The sentence contains a bi-event structure: **affected event and its source event**.
 - It encodes some not at issue meaning.

Syntactic structure:

- Displacement
- *Zenme*
- Passivization



From affected “*gei*” to the outer affective “*geiwo*” :

- Affected “*geiNP*” → “*geiwo*”: negative evaluation or direct imperative
- The affected head “*gei*” projects in the CP layer
- C_{mir} Eva (*Juran*)
 - Ta juran geiwo hele san ping jiu!
- C_{imp}
 - Ni geiwo zhanzu!

Thank you!