On Split Affectivity in Chinese[*]

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with a split of affectivity in Chinese dialects from the perspective of generative syntax: *give*-affectives sports permissive, passive and dative construals, whereas *with*-affectives garner comitative-oriented usages such as benefactive, goal, and disposal throughout the historical development. We propose to relate the former to the notion of "terminal coincidence", and the latter to that of "central coincidence" in Hale & Keyser's (2002) sense. Our study shows that, despite the apparent unified construals of *gei* 'give' in Mandarin, the main difference between the two types of affectives lies in their distinct routes of grammaticalization owing to the terminal-central dichotomy, as well as the interpretive mechanism of applicative syntax under the Cartographic Approach.

Keywords: Theory of Grammaticalization, Cartographic Approach, affective constructions, Chinese Syntax, Dialect Grammar

1. Introduction

Typical affective constructions in Mandarin are marked by *gei* 'give', either in the form of a two-place predicate, expressing an affective relation between an individual subject and an affecting event complement, or in the form of a preposition-like element that introduces an extra Affectee argument. This distinction is illustrated by the following pair of Mandarin examples:[1]

(1) a. zhe-ci   juran   **gei** ta   pao-le! zhen   shi daomei!
        this-time unexpectedly GEI he   run-Prf really   be unfortunate
        'This time (we have to) endure his running away unexpectedly!
        (This) is really unfortunate!'
    b. zhe-ci   ta   juran   **gei** wo pao-le! zhen shi bufuzeren!
        this-time he   unexpectedly GEI me   run-Prf really be irresponsible
        'This time he ran away on me unexpectedly! (He) is really irresponsible!'

Curiously enough, the above two usages of *gei* correspond to different morphemes in quite a few Chinese dialects: For instance, in Taiwan southern Min, *hoo* is used as a two-place predicate taking an Affectee subject, while *ka* serves as an affective marker that introduces the Affectee argument (also cf. Cheng et al. 1999; Lien 2002; Lee 2012), as shown in (2a,b) respectively:

(2) a. gua kingjian   **hoo**   i   tsau-khi-a!   [Taiwan Southern Min]
        I   unexpectedly HOO   he   run-away-Inc
        'Unexpectedly, I (have to) endure his running away!'
    b. i   kingjian   **ka** gua   tsau-khi-a!
        he   unexpectedly   KA me   run-away-Inc
        'He ran away on me unexpectedly!'

The construal of (2a) is sometimes called "weak causative", in that the event of running away is allowed by the passivity of the first-person subject (i.e., by doing nothing to prevent it from happening). As a result, the subject has become an Affectee (or an Experiencer) rather than a Causer. By contrast, it is the object of *ka* that has assumed the Affectee role in (2b), hence the affective expression "on me" in its English translation.

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[1] The abbreviations used in this paper are glossed as follows: ApplP: applicative phrase; Cl: classifier; EvaP: evaluative phrase; Inc: inchoative aspect; MP: modal phrase; PassP: passive phrase; Prf: perfective aspect; Top: topic marker; TP: tense phrase.

It is also worthwhile to note that Sixian Hakka shows exactly the same trait: On the one hand, *bun* selects an Affectee subject and a clausal complement, as shown by the weak causative construal of (3a). On the other, *tung* is responsible for licensing an extra Affectee argument, as shown by the affective construal of (3b):

(3) a. ngai zinngien **bun** gi zeu-het-te! [Sixian Hakka]
         I   unexpectedly BUN he run-away-Inc
         'Unexpectedly, I (have to) endure his running away!'
     b. gi zinngien **tung** ngai zeu-het-te!
         he unexpectedly TUNG me run-away-Inc
         'He ran away on me unexpectedly!'

In this paper, we will give the predicate usages across Chinese dialects a cover term "*give*-affectives", while calling the preposition-like usages "*with*-affectives". The division between the two classes of affective markers is summarized in Table 1 with their respective etymology in Chinese characters:[2]

Table 1

	give-affectives	*with*-affectives
Mandarin	*gei* 給	*gei* 給
Taiwan Southern Min	*hoo* 與	*ka* 共
Sixian Hakka	*bun* 分	*tung* 同

Section two will begin with painting a more comprehensive picture of this "affectivity-split" in Taiwan Southern Min and Sixian Hakka. In section three, we propose two distinct routes of historical development for the two usages, which nonetheless share a common semantic/cognitive origin centering on the notion of "coincidence" à la Hale & Keyser (2002). In section four, it is argued that this coincidence analysis may shed light on the nature of the mechanism responsible for the grammaticalization of *give*-affectives and *with*-affective across Chinese dialects. Section five spells out the syntactic structures of the two usages involved, as well as their corresponding semantic interpretations. Section six concludes this paper.

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[2] It has been established by Mei (2005) that *hoo* in Southern Min comes from **glagx* in Archaic Chinese, which is associated with the character 舁(written as 與 in later periods). More specifically, it first undergoes the shift from **gl-* to **gj-* in southern Chinese dialects. The end result **gjagx* then becomes the precursor of *hoo* in Southern Min.

2. Split Affectivity in Perspective

To start with, we aim to examine affective constructions in two Chinese dialects, and show that there is indeed an alignment between the two types of affectives and a variety of related construals: On the one hand, *give*-affectives are often associated with permissive, weak causative, passive, dative, and ditransitive construals.[3] On the other, *with*-affectives go hand-in-hand with benefactive, disposal, goal, comitative, conjunctive usages.[4] In either respect, Taiwan Southern Min presents an excellent example: the *give*-affective marker *hoo* can be construed as in a variety of manners, i.e., the permissive usage of (4a), the passive usage of (4b), and the dative usage of (4c) (cf. Cheng et al. 1999; among many others):

(4) a. *permissive:*

Abing **hoo** gua hiukhun.

Abing HOO I rest

'Abing allowed me to rest.'

b. *passive:*

gua **hoo** Abing phiankhi a.

I HOO Abing cheat Inc

'I was cheated by Abing.'

c. *dative:*

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[3] The grammaticalization process from a permissive to a weak causative then to a passive is widely observed in the literature of linguistic typology (cf. Shibatani 1976; Huang 1999; among others). In Mandarin, the phenomenon is best illustrated by a variety of usages of *rang* 讓:

(i) a. Akiu rang Xiaodi fan-zhan. (causative)
Akiu RANG Xiaodi punish-stand
'Akiu ordered Xiaodi to stand as a punishment.'

b. Akiu rang Xiaodi xiuxi. (permissive)
Akiu RANG Xiaodi rest
'Akiu allowed Xiaodi to rest.'

c. Akiu rang fanren liu-zou le! (weak causative)
Akiu RANG criminal slip-away Inc
'Akiu let the criminal slip away (without doing anything)!'

d. Akiu rang ren pian-le. (passive)
Akiu RANG person cheat-Prf
'Akiu was cheated by someone.'

[4] The shift from comitative prepositions to coordinate conjunctions is well-documented in the literature (see Liu & Peyraube 1994, among many others). The following two instances of *gen* 跟 presents fine examples for this process:

(i) a. Akiu yiqian gen Xiaodi hen hao. (comitative)
Akiu before GEN Xiaodi very good
'Akiu used to get along with Xiaodi very well.'

b. Akiu gen Xiaodi dou xiuxi le. (conjunctive)
Akiu GEN Xiaodi all rest Inc
'Both Akiu and Xiaodi are taking a break.'

Since *gei* 'give' in Mandarin does not allow either construal, we do not pursue the issue further in this paper.

Abing   sia   zit-diunn phue   **hoo**   gua.
Abing   write   one-CL   letter   HOO   I
'Abing wrote a letter to me.'

On the other hand, the *with*-affective marker *ka* also sports a array of applicative usages, e.g., the benefactive usage of (5a), the goal usage of (5b), and the disposal usage of (5c) (cf. Lien 2002; Tsai 2013; Yang 2016; among others):

(5) a. *benefactive:*
         Abing   **ka** gua   se   sann.
         Abing   KA I   wash   clothes
         'Abing washes clothes for me.'
     b. *goal:*
         Abing   **ka** gua   sia   zit-diunn phue.
         Abing   KA I   write   one-CL   letter
         'Abing wrote me a letter.'
     c. *disposal:*
         Abing   **ka** gua phah   la!
         Abing   KA I   beat   Interj
         'Abing beat me!'

In parallel, Sixian Hakka shows exactly the same split: As shown by (6a-c), the permissive, passive, and dative construals are marked by *bun*:

(6) a. *permissive:*
         Amin   **bun**   ngai biongliau.
         Amin   BUN   I   rest
         'Amin allowed me to rest.'
     b. *passive:*
         ngai **bun**   Amin   guaipien ne.
         I   BUN   Amin   cheat   Inc
         'I was cheated by Amin.'
     c. *dative:*
         Amin   sia   id-fung xin   **bun**   ngai.
         Amin   write   one-CL letter   BUN   I
         'Amin wrote a letter to me.'

On the other end of the split, the benefactive and goal construals are licensed by the

marker *tung*. This point can be seen clearly by comparing (7a,b) with (6a-c):

(7) a. *benefactive:*

Amin **tung** ngai se samfu.

Amin TUNG I wash clothes

'Amin washes clothes for me.'

  b. *goal:*

Amin **tung** ngai sia id-fung xin.

Amin TUNG I write one-CL letter

'Amin wrote me a letter.'

It should be noted further that the disposal usage in Sixian Hakka is marked by *jiong* instead of *tung*, as exemplified below:

(8) *disposal:*

Amin jiong bi-e da-fai e!

Amin JIONG cup break Inc

'Amin broke the cup'

This indicates that there are still some dialectal variations which may well lead to a three-way split. In fact, this is reminiscent of the disposal usage of *ba* in Mandarin, which does not fall under the causative-affective dichotomy as we have seen in Taiwan Southern Min.[5]

3. The Origin of the Two Types of Affectives

Based on the findings from etymology and historical linguistics (cf. Cheng et al. 1999; Lien 2002; Mei 2005; Feng et al. 2008; Chappell et al. 2011; among others), we propose two distinct routes of historical development for the two types of affectives, which nonetheless share a common semantic/cognitive origin centering on the notion of "coincidence" à la Hale & Keyser (2002). Firstly, it is suggested that *give*-affectives stem from causativization of a "terminal coincidence" relation (i.e. cause y to have x), where the coincidence relation (i.e., x is with y) is established at the terminal point of an event. This usage is typically embodied by dative *to* in English (cf. Pesetsky 1995; Harley 2002). Secondly, it appears that *with*-affectives derive from causativization of a "central coincidence" relation (i.e. cause x to be with

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[5] In our survey of Chinese dialects in Taiwan, Hailu Hakka shows a three-way distinction as well. The difference is that the benefactive/goal marker is replaced by *lau*, whereas the disposal marker is replaced by *ziong*.

y), where the coincidence relation holds for the entirety of an event. This usage is typically associated with comitative *with* in English.

According to Feng et al. (2008), the terminal coincidence construal can be traced back to the ancient Chinese character 舁 (later appearing in the form of 與 *yu*), an ideogram depicting two pairs of hands joining from opposite directions to lift something, as illustrated in (9a):

(9) a.

b.

On the other hand, the central coincidence construal can be traced back to the character 共 (*gong*), an ideograms for two pairs of hands joining from the same direction to lift something, as seen in (9b). Originally, both classes of ideograms may express directional possession when causativized, as exemplified by (10a) and (10b):

(10) *directional possessive (terminal coincidence) construal:*

a.
dai	qian	zhe	duo	bu	neng	**yu**	qi	xi.
borrow	money	person	most	not	can	give	its	interest
貸	錢	者	多	不	能	**與**	其	息。

'Most of those who borrowed money cannot pay its interest.'《史記·孟嘗君傳》

b.
gong	qi	yang	sheng.
supply	them	sheep	sacrificial.animal
共	其	羊	牲。 《周禮·夏官·羊人》

'Supply them with sacrificial sheep.'

In addition, *yu* and *gong* can also be associated with sameness, togetherness, and comitativity, as seen in their parallel usages illustrated in (11):

(11) *comitative (central coincidence) construal:*

luo	xia	**yu**	gu	wu	qi	fei
falling	sunset	with	lone	duck	together	fly

落	霞	**與**	孤	鶩	齊	飛，
qiu	shui	**gong**	chang	tian	yi	se.
autumn	river	with	vast	sky	one	color
秋	水	**共**	長	天	一	色。〈滕王閣序〉

'A lone duck is flying along with the falling sunset, and the autumn river mirrors the hue of the vast sky.'

Subsequent development has seen a semantic split between them, where the terminal coincidence construal (i.e., cause y to have x) is gradually divorced from its central coincidence counterpart (i.e., cause x to be with y). It is established in the literature that *yu* has acquired a plethora of benefactive/affective construals in later periods (cf. Liu & Peyraube 1994; Wu 2003, 2004), only to be replaced by *gei* towards the end of Qing dynasty except for its original comitative usage (cf. Jiang 2003; Wang 2004; among others).

On the front of dialectal variations, Chiang (2006) reports that Dongshi Hakka (a dialect of Sixian Hakka) also displays a split between *bun* and *tung*: The former corresponds to *give*-affectives, and can function as a predicate of giving, a permissive marker, or a (weak) causative marker; the latter, on the other hand, corresponds to *with*-affectives, and may serve to mark a Comitant, Source, or Beneficiary argument in this dialect. This study therefore lends further empirical support to our hypothesis that there are actually two classes of affective markers in Mandarin with distinctive morpho-syntactic functions, which appear in the same form only on the surface.

4. A Coincidence Analysis

Now the question has boiled down to why the two affective construals of considerable semantic and pragmatic distinction would either merge or diverge throughout the passage of time. Namely, is there any cognitive basis for this peculiar behavior of giving and comitative expressions across languages? Inspired by the seminal work by Hale & Keyser (2002), we would like to offer a tentative answer to this question: On the one hand, the origin of *give*-affectives is envisioned as an instance of the so-called terminal coincidence relation, where the "terminus" of the Theme's path coincides with the Place. This so-called "transported Theme" relation typically involves causativization (cf. Harley 2002; among others), as in (12a). The usage is prolific and widespread in Classical Chinese, as indicated by the original verbal meaning of giving in *yu* 與, as we have already seen in (10a):

(12) X <u>terminally coincides with</u> Y.

    $\Rightarrow$ a.   Z causes X to terminally coincide with Y.   (causativization)

    $\Rightarrow$ b.   Z allows X to terminally coincide with Y.   (permission)

    $\Rightarrow$ c.   Z passively allows an event to happen.   (weak causatives)

    $\Rightarrow$ d.   Z is affected by an event.   (passive/*give*-affectives)

The subsequent development involves a series of weakening steps, resulting in the more specialized permissive in (12b) and weak causative construals in (12c). This is best illustrated by *hoo* 與 in Taiwan Southern Min (cf. (2a) and (4a)), as well as *bun* 分 in Sixian Hakka (cf. (3a) and (6a)). The path of grammaticalization eventually leads to the emergence of *give*-affectives in (12d), as exemplified by the passive construals of (4b) and (6b).

    On the other hand, we hypothesize that the development of *with*-affectives begins with the central coincidence relation, which is essentially the comitative usage of *ka* 共 in Taiwan Southern Min and *tung* 同 in Sixian Hakka. The first step again involves causativization, where Z causes the Theme to be together with the Place, as in (13a):

(13) X <u>centrally coincides with</u> Y.

    $\Rightarrow$ a.   Z causes X to centrally coincide with Y.   (causativization)

    $\Rightarrow$ b.   Z does something for Y.   (de-causativization)

    $\Rightarrow$ c.   Z does something on Y.   (*with*-affectives)

The beneficiary reading of *ka* in (5a) and that of *tung* in (7a) thus stem from a de-causativizing process which transforms comitativity to benefactivity. This would lead to the goal construals of (5b) and (7b).

    In sum, the split of coincidence construals mentioned above is indeed attested in the Chinese dialects we examined. Furthermore, as a productive strategy in Classical Chinese, causativization is employed not only for transitivizing a predicate, but also for forming the two distinct types of coincidence relation. De-causativization then follows to derive unaccusatives, passives, and affectives of various kinds (cf. Huang 2006). It is this process that produces a plethora of verbal/applicative usages out of one word, as we have witnessed in Chinese affective constructions. Finally, the coincidence analysis explored here is designed to account for the origin shared by *with*-affectives and *give*-affectives. Their syntactic treatments will be laid out in the next section.
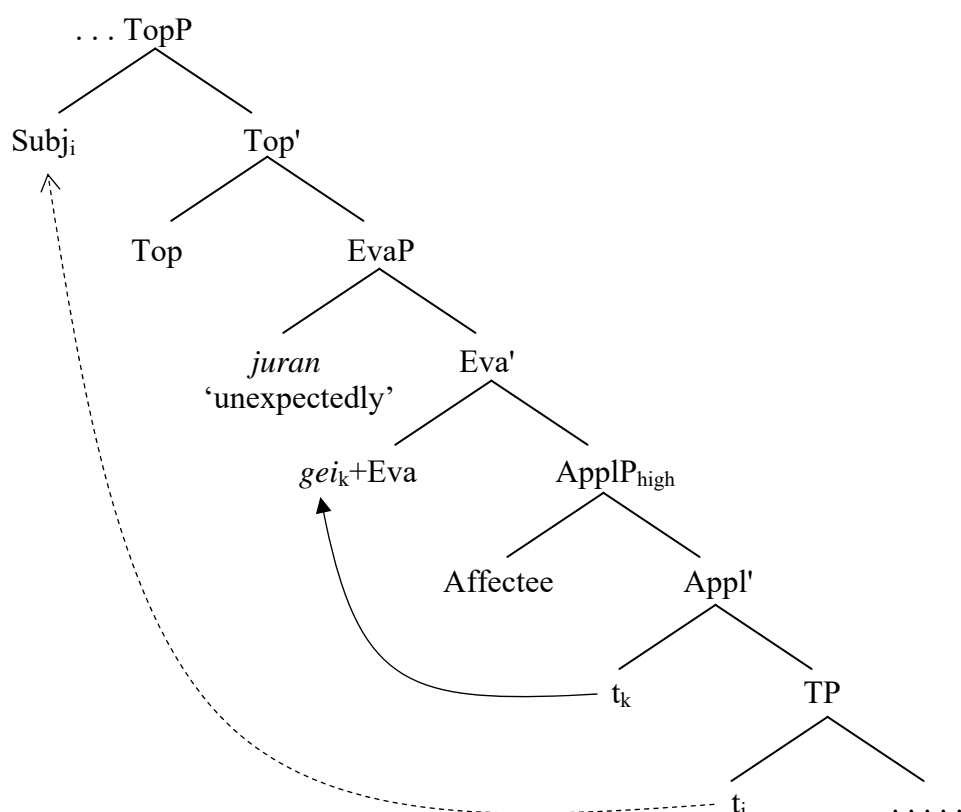
5. The Syntax of Affective Split

To articulate the morpho-syntactic composition of Chinese affectives, we propose to analyze them as functional heads of the applicative kind in the sense of McGinnis (2001) and Pylkkänen (2002). Under this view, applicatives introduce distinct types of peripheral arguments according to the "height of interpretation": Namely, a *with*-affective license a speaker-oriented Affectee in an high applicative projection in the left periphery, i.e., the peripheral area around the CP phase (cf. Rizzi 1997; Tsai 2012, 2015b). Take (14) for example ((1b) repeated here). Here we have a typical case of *with*-affectives, marked by the applicative head *gei* in question:

(14)　　zhe-ci　　ta　　juran　　　　**gei**　wo　pao-le!
　　　　this-time　he　　unexpectedly　GEI　me　run-Prf
　　　　'This time he ran away on me unexpectedly!'

On the semantic/pragmatic grounds, this affective usage is strictly speaker-oriented: As evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (15a), the Affectee can only be a first-person singular pronoun. Furthermore, it is very awkward to employ a *with*-affective in a declarative sentence such as (15b), which is a sure indication that a combination of exclamatory force and evaluative mood is responsible for the high applicative construal in question, as in (16):

(15) a. * zhe-ci　　　ta　　juran　　　　**gei**　women/ni/nimen/ta/tamen　　pao-le!
　　　　　 this-time　he　　unexpectedly　GEI　us/you/you(pl.)/him/them　　run-Prf
　　　　　 'This time he ran away on me unexpectedly!'
　　 b. ^{??} zuotian　ta　**gei**　wo　pao-le.
　　　　　 yesterday　he　GEI　me　run-Prf
　　　　　 'Yesterday he ran away on me.'

(16) *With*-affectives in Mandarin

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                . . . TopP
               /         \
           Subj_i         Top'
             ⇡            /    \
             ┊          Top     EvaP
             ┊                 /     \
             ┊              juran     Eva'
             ┊          'unexpectedly'  /    \
             ┊                    gei_k+Eva    ApplP_high
             ┊                              /        \
             ┊                          Affectee      Appl'
             ┊                                        /     \
             ┊                                      t_k      TP
             ┊                                              /    \
             └┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈┈  t_i       . . . . .
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As pointed out by Hilary Chappell (p.c.), this speaker-oriented construal is reminiscent of ethic datives in a number of European languages, where an affective relation holds between an individual and an event, as exemplified by the following German example (cf. Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010):

(17) Mir   ist die Frau weggelaufen.
      1SG:DAT is   the wife run.away
      'My wife ran away on me.'

The similarity is also noted by Tsai (2012), which compares *with*-affectives to ethic dates in Modern Greek, since they are not only addresser/addressee-oriented, as seen in (18), but also require licensing from imperative, optative, subjunctive or negative moods, as shown by the contrast between (16a,b): (cf. Perlmutter 1971; Jaeggli 1982; Cuervo 2003; Michelioudakis & Sitaridou 2008; among others):[6]
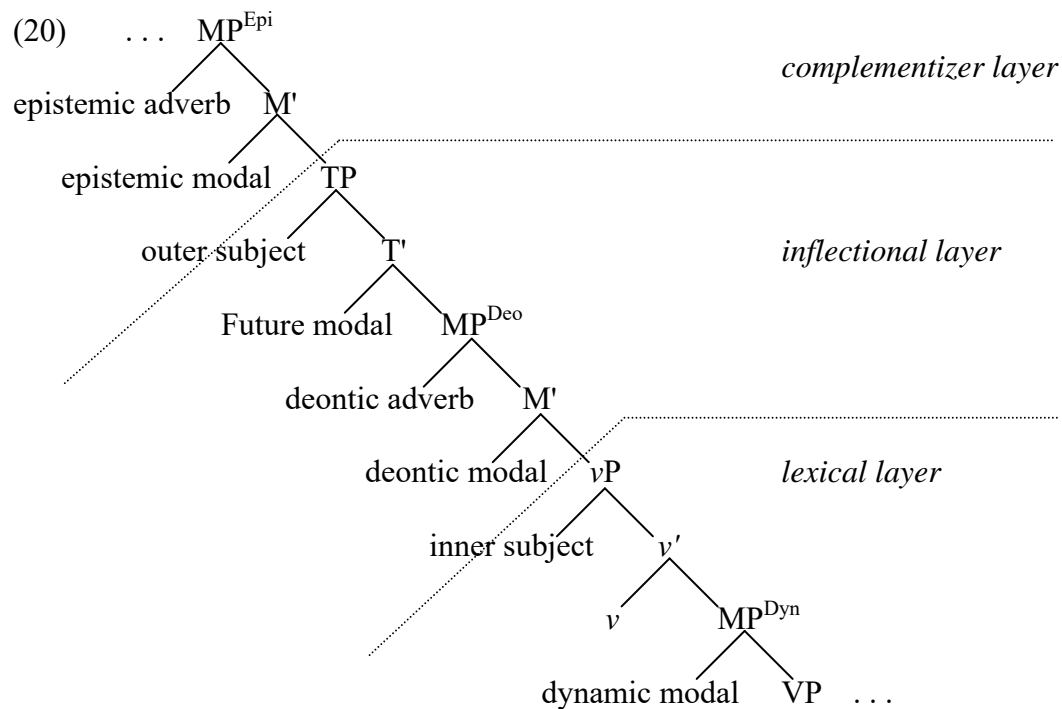
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[6] As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the licensing condition of Chinese outer affectives and that of Greek ethic datives do vary to some extent. Here the generalization seems to be that they both involve illocutionary forces encoded in the upper layer of the left periphery (see Tsai 2012 for detailed discussion).

(18) mu/su/[?]tu   arostise   i   Maria.

      me/you/him fell.ill   on   Mary

      'Mary fell ill on me/you/him.'

(19) a.   na   mu   prosechis!   [imperative]

        Subj   eth.dat.1S   take.care

        'Take care, for my sake!'

      b.^{??} mu   prosechis.   [declarative]

        eth.dat.1S   take.care

        'You take care, for my sake.'

In the generative literature, these datives either function as CP-adjuncts (cf. Catsimali 1989), or encode the φ-features of a high applicative head which takes the whole event as its argument, merging well beyond *v*P (cf. Cuervo 2003).

On the conceptual front, the development of Chinese applicatives can be compared to that of modal auxiliaries with respect to grammaticalization. Namely, when comitatives develop into benefactives, it resembles the process where dynamic modals develop into deontic modals. Along the same line, when benefactives develop into *with*-affectives in question, it undergoes something similar to the shift from deontic modals to epistemic modals.[7] This idea is best illustrated by the following topography of Chinese modals as envisioned by Tsai (2015a) under the so-called cartographic approach (cf. Rizzi 1997; Cinque 1999; among others):

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[7] Here we are exploring the conceptual connection between the cartography of modals and that of affectives, which lends substantial weight to Rizzi's three-layer analysis of the sentential structure. As for the question how the "goal" usage of gei fit into this new picture, we will need more evidence from its historical development in a postverbal position (as well as a serial verb construction).

(20) . . . MP^Epi

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            MP^Epi                              complementizer layer
           /     \
epistemic adverb  M'
                 /  \
      epistemic modal  TP
                      /  \
              outer subject  T'                inflectional layer
                            /  \
                   Future modal  MP^Deo
                                /    \
                      deontic adverb  M'
                                     /  \
                           deontic modal  vP         lexical layer
                                         /  \
                               inner subject  v'
                                             /  \
                                            v    MP^Dyn
                                                /    \
                                     dynamic modal  VP  . . .
```

That is, while modals introduce compatible possible worlds or circumstances, applicatives introduce extra peripheral arguments. Furthermore, just like distinct types of modality are associated with distinct types of modal projection, applicatives introduce distinct types of peripheral arguments conforming to the "height of interpretation", i.e., high applicatives vs. middle applicatives (cf. Tsai 2012), each corresponding to a phase head, i.e., C and *v* (cf. Chomsky 1999, 2000).

In fact, as pointed out by Roberts (1993), the notion of functional category is very much in line with that of grammaticalized item, in that they both constitute closed classes, lacking descriptive content while expressing grammatical meaning (cf. Abney 1987). Clark & Roberts (1993) argue further that the language learner has a built-in preference for relatively simple representations. This simplification can be achieved by replacing a movement operation by a merge operation. This essentially triggers the shift from a lexical category to a functional category, hence a process of grammaticalization. Take the development of English modals for instance (cf. Lightfoot 1979; Roberts 1985; Roberts & Roussou 1999): As illustrated in the following derivation, the matrix verb raised to T was taken to be an instance of Merge by later generations, and becomes a full-fledged modal through structural simplification mentioned above:

(21)   [TP The kynge [T mote$_k$] [VP t$_k$ [TP [VP speken]]]]
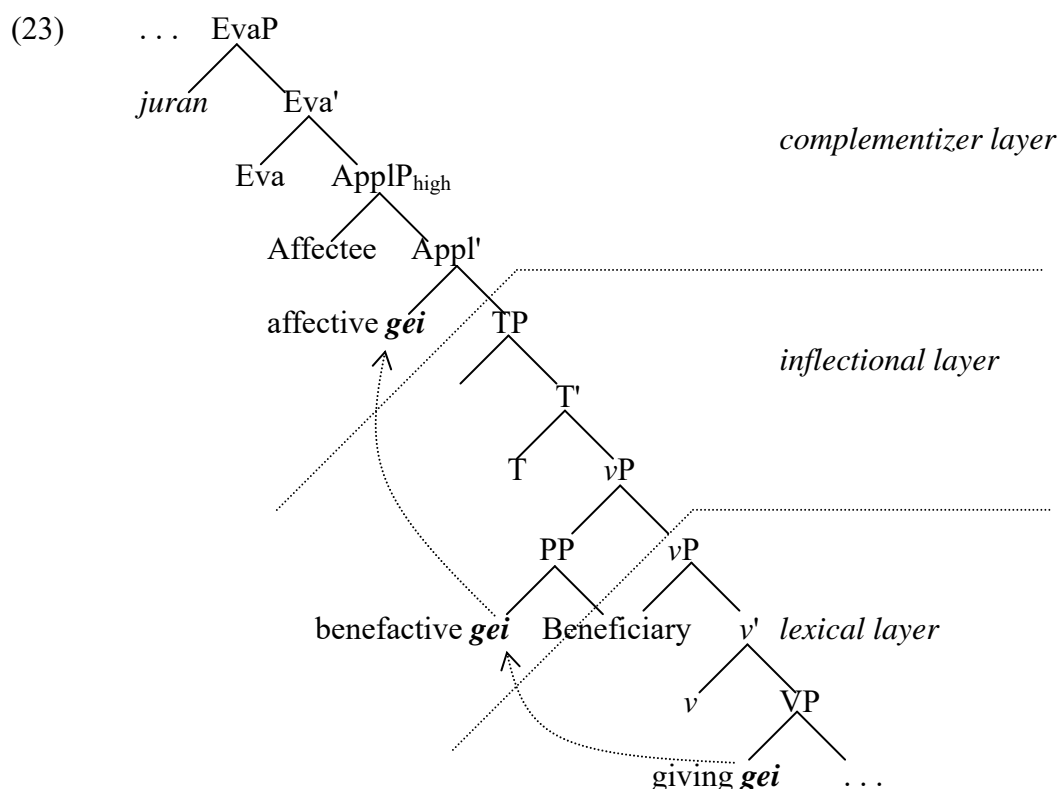   ⇒ [TP The king [T must] [VP speak]]

We therefore have a fairly explicit theory about how grammaticalization works to

distribute functional elements along syntactic projections. Furthermore, this demonstrates further that Chinese is indeed an analytic language in every respect, where the Transparency Principle in Lightfoot's (1979) sense does not apply.

Now we are in a position to address the issue how a verb of giving in (22a) develops into a benefactive preposition on the edge of *v*P in (22b), followed by a dramatic "promotion" to a high applicative head, as in (22c):

(22) a.   ta   **gei** wo yi-ben   shu.   [giving verb]
         he   GEI me one-Cl   book
         'He gave me a book.'

     b.   ta   **gei** wo xi   yifu.   [benefactive P]
         he   GEI me wash   clothes
         'He washes clothes for me.'

     c.   ta   juran   **gei** wo pao-le!   [high applicative]
         he   unexpectedly GEI me run-Prf
         'He ran away on me unexpectedly!'

Interestingly enough, the process involved in deriving this "spectrum effect" of central coincidence construals is best represented in cartographic terms: Namely, this is essentially a diachronic process where a lexical category evolves into a functional category by "climbing" step by step to the left periphery of a syntactic projection, as illustrated in the following diagram:

(23) . . . EvaP

juran   Eva'

Eva   ApplP$_{high}$

Affectee   Appl'

affective ***gei***   TP

T'

T   *v*P

PP   *v*P

benefactive ***gei***   Beneficiary   *v*'   *lexical layer*

v   VP

giving ***gei***   . . .

complementizer layer

inflectional layer

More specifically, what we see in the development throughout (22a-c) is a predicate of central coincidence on the lexical layer (i.e., giving *gei*) developing into a preposition on the inflectional layer (i.e., benefactive *gei*), then further onto the complementizer layer as a high applicative head (i.e., affective ***gei***).

Finally, we propose to extend the applicative analysis to *give*-affectives across Chinese dialects by assimilating them to long passives along the line of Huang (1999). Take (24) for instance ((1a) repeated here):

(24) zhe-ci   juran   **gei** ta   pao-le!
this-time unexpectedly GEI he   run-Prf
'This time (we have to) endure his running away unexpectedly!'

There is no doubt that here *gei* involves a terminal coincidence relation, evolving into a *give*-affective (or a passive to the same effect, cf. Jiang 2003), taking a TP as its complement. As a result, Huang's (1999) analysis of long passives stands out as a promising solution with only minor adjustments. Namely, we treat *gei* as an outer light verb instead of a full-fledged verb (cf. Tsai 2015b, 2016),[8] as sketched below:

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[8] The notion of "lightness" can be graded according to the degree of grammaticalization of a given verbal element, which in turn hinges on its height of interpretation in cartographic terms.

(25) *Give*-affectives in Mandarin
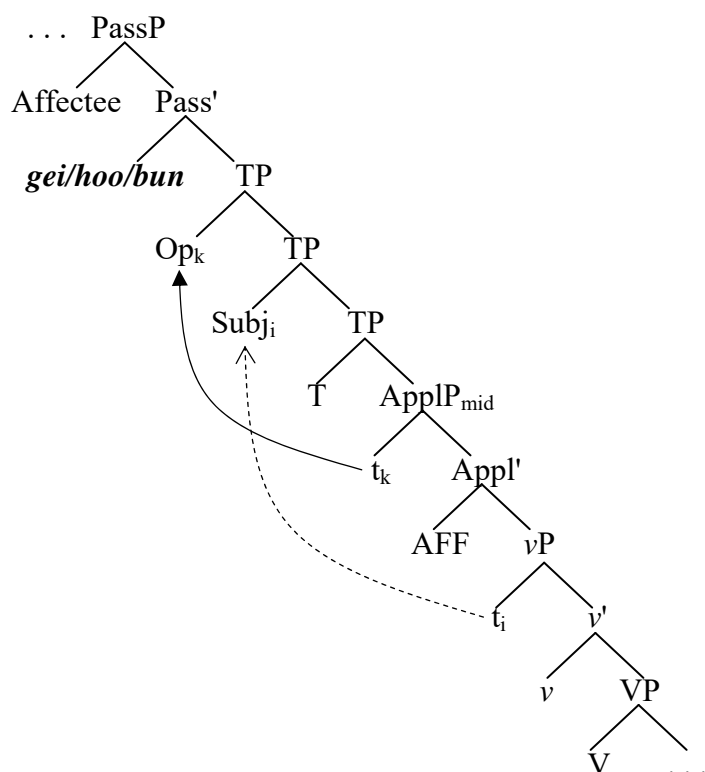
The outermost object in Huang's sense then translates into an Affectee argument, which appears in the form of a null operator situated in a middle applicative projection on the edge of the *v*P periphery. The null operator then adjoins to TP, triggering predication/identification on yet another Affectee (or Experiencer in Huang's terms) introduced by the passive light verb *gei*.[9] The same analysis carries over to *hoo* in Taiwan Southern Min and *bun* in Sixian Hakka with no difficulty.

Further support to our line of inquiry can be found in the so-called double unaccusative construction in Mandarin (cf. Chappell 1999), which we take to be an case of *with*-affectives in disguise. As exemplified by (26a), the affectedness in question holds between *Akiu* and the main event, which can be paraphrased as something like '(his) three sheep ran away on Akiu'. There are numerous examples of this kind in the literature, which may well fall under the category of affective construals: That is, (26b) literally means '(his) father died on Wangmian when he was seven years old', and (26c) '(his) hair became white on Wuzixyu overnight.':

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[9] An anonymous reviewer questions the necessity of postulating both an outer light verb *gei* and a lower applicative projection hosting the implicit Affectee argument. Since we take this construction to be parallel to the long passive in Huang's (1999) sense, it is actually a right structure for a right reason: The Affectee subject is selected by *gei* as an external argument, which is in turn identified with the implicit applicative object (an outermost object in Huang's terms) through null operator raising. Consequently, there is really no redundancy here.

(26) a.　Akiu　　　pao-le　　san-tou　yang.
　　　　　Akiu　　　run-Inc　three-Cl　sheep
　　　　　'Akiu suffered from an event in which three sheep ran away.'
　　b.　Wangmian　　qi-sui-shang　si-le　　fuqin.
　　　　　Wangmian　　seven-year-up die-Inc　father
　　　　　'Wangmian suffered from an event in which his father died when Wangmian
　　　　　was seven years old.'
　　c.　Wuzixyu yiyezhijian　　bai-le　　toufa.
　　　　　Wuzixyu overnight　　white-Inc hair
　　　　　'Wuzixyu suffered from an event in which his hair became white
　　　　　overnight.'

In terms of semantics, the possessive relation between the Affectee *Akiu* and the Theme *san-tou yang* 'three sheep' is static rather than directional, which is a sure indication of central coincidence. Moreover, this implied possession can be cancelled in certain contexts. For instance, given that Akiu is only a shepherd rather than the owner of the three sheep, it would be appropriate to articulate the following sentence:

(27)　? Akiu　　zhe-ci　　pao-le　　[san-tou　Zhao-jia　　　de　yang],
　　　　　Akiu　　this-time run-Inc　three-Cl　Zhao-family　Poss sheep
　　　　　[yi-tou　　Li-jia　　de　niu]. Zhenshi tai　bu　xiaoxin　le!
　　　　　one-Cl　　Li-family Poss cow　really　too　not　careful　Inc
　　　　　'This time around three of Zhao family's sheep and one of Li family's
　　　　　cows ran away on Akiu. He is really too careless!'

This indicates that the construction cannot result from the so-called possessor raising, where *Akiu* is merged originally as a specifier of the Theme argument, and then raised to its surface position as the subject. Instead, we elect to spell out the underlying thematic structure of double unaccusatives, i.e., an Affectee suffering from an adversative event. To build this insight into our structural account, an abstract applicative head AFF is postulated to encode the affectedness in question, as illustrated in the following diagram:

(28) . . . TP

Affectee$_k$ T'

T ApplP$_{mid}$

t$_k$ Appl'

V$_i$-AFF VP

Theme V'

t$_i$ . . .
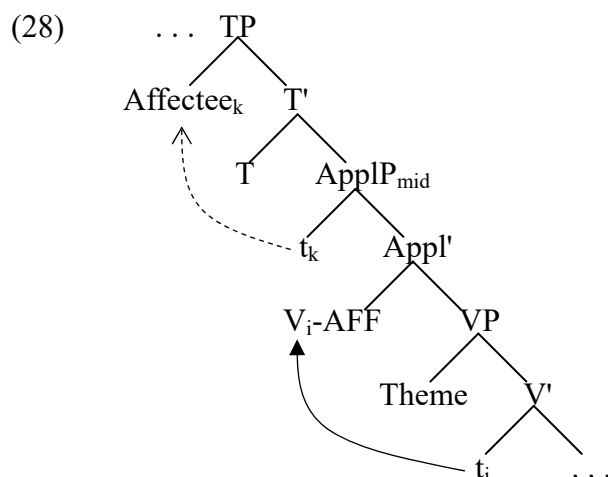
What happens next is that the middle applicative head AFF attracts the main predicate *pao-le* 'ran away', while the Affectee *Akiu* raises to its surface subject position.

6. Concluding Remarks

In the context of the affectivity split, our studies shows that the basic thematic makeup remains the same for *give*-affectives and *with*-affectives, in that both involve an affective relation between an individual and an event. The difference lies in their distinct routes of grammaticalization owing to the central-terminal dichotomy of coincidence à la Hale & Keyser (2002). The coincidence hypothesis also has far-reaching consequences concerning the "unmarked" affective construals such as double unaccusatives, as well as the so-called pseudo double object constructions widely discussed in the literature. These constructions seem to pattern with *with*-affectives in not expressing directional possession (cf. Huang 2006; among others), hence falling into the category of central coincidence construals.

On the historical front, The central coincidence relation can be traced back to the ancient Chinese character 與, and its terminal counterpart to 共. Both are ideograms for hands joining together, and can express directional possession when causativized (see also Feng et al. 2008).

In terms of syntax, we propose to analyze Chinese affectives as applicative projections in the vein of McGinnis (2001) and Pylkkänen (2002). Under this view, applicative heads introduce distinct types of peripheral arguments according to the "height of interpretation": A *give*-affective is built upon a weak causative construction, which can be treated on a par with long passives with some minor adaptations (cf. Huang 1999). By contrast, *with*-affectives originates from comitative and benefactive construals, and ends up with introducing a speaker-oriented Affectee in the left periphery.

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談漢語蒙受結構的分流現象

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摘　　要

　　本文從生成語法和製圖理論的角度來考察漢語方言中蒙受結構的分流現象：以「與」、「分」為代表的蒙受標記往往也有允讓、被動及與格等用法；以「共」、「同」為代表的蒙受標記則含括了受益、目的和處置等一系列從伴同關係發展出來的用法。我們認為前者跟 Hale & Keyser (2002) 所提出「終端遇合」的概念相契合，而後者則應歸類為「中央遇合」的衍生關係。本文的研究顯示這兩類蒙受用法雖然在北方官話中合流，在南方方言中卻是涇渭分明；這個現象可以用兩者既同源又分流的語法化路徑來解釋，其動因不單和前述「終端遇合」、「中央遇合」的對立有關，更植基於施用結構的層系句法特質及其詮釋機制。