

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 An introduction to Mandarin transference

Mandarin is known to have dative alternation, where 給 *gei* the coverb may be present or not:

(1) One event: 'I gave him/her a book.'

a. S-V-IO-DO

我送他一本書。

Wo song ta yi-ben shu

I give 3sg one-CL book

b. S-V-*GEI*-IO-DO

我送給他一本書。

Wo song gei ta yi-ben shu

I give *GEI* 3sg one-CL book

c. S-V-DO-*GEI*-IO

我送一本書給他。

Wo song yi-ben shu gei ta

I give one-CL book *GEI* 3sg

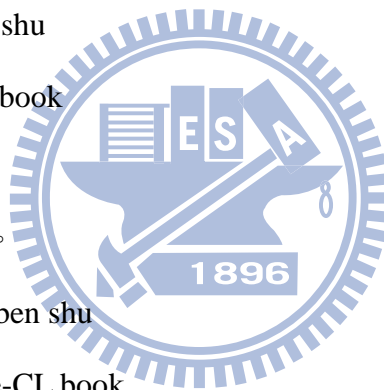
(2) Two events, with IO being the subject of V2: 'I gave him/her a book to read.'

a. S-V1-IO-DO-V2

我送他一本書看。

Wo song ta yi-ben shu kan

I give 3sg one-CL book read



b. S-V1-*GEI*-IO-DO-V2

我送給他一本書看。

Wo song gei ta yi-ben shu kan

I give *GEI* 3sg one-CL book read

Verbs which are usually considered monotransitive may also depict transference with the presence of *gei*, which leads to treating *gei* as a coverb. Besides, for certain verbs, some alternations are less acceptable or totally unacceptable:

(3) One event: 'I wrote him/her a letter.'

a. S-V-IO-DO

*我寫他一封信。

Wo xie ta yi feng xin

I write 3sg one CL letter

b. S-V-*GEI*-IO-DO

我寫給他一封信。

Wo xie gei ta yi-feng xin

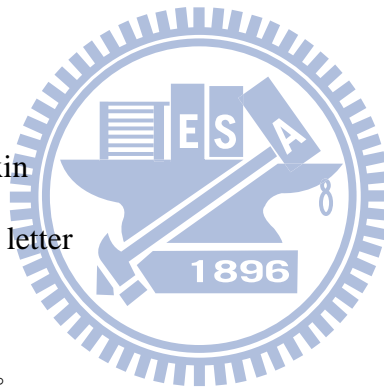
I write *GEI* 3sg one-CL letter.

c. S-V-DO-*GEI*-IO

我寫一封信給他。

Wo xie yi-feng xin gei ta

I write one-CL letter *GEI* 3sg



(4) Two events, with IO being the subject of V2: ‘I wrote him/her a letter to read.’

a. S-V1-IO-DO-V2

*我寫他一封信讀。

Wo xie ta yi-feng xin du

I give 3sg one-CL letter read

b. S-V1-GEI-IO-DO-V2

?我寫給他一封信讀。

Wo xie gei ta yi-feng xin du

I give GEI 3sg one-CL letter read

c. S-V1-DO-GEI-IO-V2

我寫一封信給他讀。

Wo xie yi-feng xin gei ta du

I give one-CL letter GEI 3sg read



1.2 Problems in previous studies

There are certain problems in previous studies, among which are the greatest weaknesses.

First of all, the predictability of acceptable sentences is not high enough. Li and Thompson (1981), classified verbs according to whether *gei* may, should or should not occur in a ditransitive construction; besides, they claimed that whether *gei* may, should or should not occur was “something that simply has to be learned for each verb.” (p. 384) Tsao (ms) proposed a categorization of verb to object their claim, but the difference in direction change was not explained:

- (5) a. 他搶了銀行兩萬塊錢。(Li and Thompson 1981:378)

Ta qiang-le yinghang liang-wan quai qian

3sg rob-PFV bank two-ten:thousand dollar money

‘S/he robbed \$20,000 **from** the bank.’

- b. 他搶給銀行兩萬塊錢。(Li and Thompson 1981:378, 389; bold is mine)¹

Ta qiang **gei** yinghang liang-wan quai qian

3sg rob **GEI** bank two-ten:thousand dollar money

‘S/he robbed \$20,000 to **give to** the bank.’

- (6) a. 德範租他一棟房子。

Defan zu ta yi-dong fangzi

Steven rent 3sg one-CL house

‘Steven rent a house **to** him/her.’ OR ‘Steven rent a house **from** him/her.’

- b. 德範租給他一棟房子。

Defan zu **gei** ta yi-dong fangzi

Steven rent **GEI** 3sg one-CL house

‘Steven rent a house **to** him/her.’ NOT ‘Steven rent a house from him/her.’

- (7) a. 他煮了老王一包麵。(F. Liu 2006:884)

Ta zhu-le Laowang yi-bao mian

3sg cook-PFV Laowang one-package noodles

‘He cooked a package of noodles that belonged to Laowang.’

(The eater of that package of noodles is not mentioned. Cf. ‘He baked John a cake.’)

¹ They considered this sentence ungrammatical on p.378, but they clarified on p.389 that this sentence ‘is acceptable if the *gei* is interpreted as the verb “to give” and became a serial verb construction.

- b. 他煮給老王一包麵。(Modified from (a))

Ta zhu-**gei** Laowang yi-bao mian

3sg cook-**GEI** Laowang one-package noodles

‘He cooked a package of noodles for Laowang.’

(The belonging of that package of noodles is not mentioned.)

Second, the relation between the sequence of events and word order could be explained in a unified way. F. Liu (2006), for example, argued that ditransitive construction followed by a verb is unrelated to that without a following verb:

- (8) a. Ditransitive construction followed by a verb:

我拿了一本書給李四看。(F. Liu 2006:875, bold is mine)

Wo na-le yi-ben shu gei Lisi **kan**

I bring-PFV one-CL book GEI Lisi **read**

‘I brought a book for Lisi to **read**.’

- b. Ditransitive construction not followed by a verb:

我拿了一本書給李四。(Modified from (8a))

Wo na-le yi-ben shu gei Lisi

I bring-PFV one-CL book GEI Lisi

‘I brought a book to Lisi.’

Lai (2001), Chen (2005) and Tsao (ms) argued otherwise: while Lai (2001) considered a consequent treatment by the receiver with the transferred object very natural, Chen (2005) and Tsao (ms) maintained that (8b) was generated from (8a) by deletion.

1.3 Organization

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 – introduction – is a brief about the motivation of this thesis, problems to be solved, the organization of the thesis, and the definition of certain terms. Previous studies and their problems will be reviewed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will be the analysis. Chapter 4 will be the conclusion and advice for further studies.

1.4 Terminology

1.4.1 Names of each construction

For the convenience of discussion, each ditransitive construction is named as the following: (Chen 2005:65-6, F. Liu 863-4)

Name	Patterns	Characteristics	Example
<i>Gei</i> -object construction (<i>Gei</i> -O)	(S)-V-NP ₁ - <i>gei</i> -NP ₂	Marker before IO, and DO precedes IO	我送了一本書給他 Wo song-le yi-ben shu gei ta I give-PFV one-CL book GEI 3sg 'I gave a book to him.'
Double object construction (2O)	(S)-V-NP ₁ -NP ₂	No marker before IO	我送了他一本書 Wo song-le ta yi-ben shu I give-PFV 3sg one-CL book 'I gave him a book.'
<i>V-gei</i> ditransitive construction (<i>V-gei</i>)	(S)-V- <i>gei</i> -NP ₁ -NP ₂	Marker before IO, and IO precedes DO	我送給他一本書 Wo song gei ta yi-ben shu I give GEI 3sg one-CL book 'I gave him a book.'

Beneficiary construction	(S)- <i>gei</i> -NP ₁ -V-NP ₂ ²	<i>Gei</i> -IO precedes VP	我給他送一本書 Wo gei ta song yi-ben shu I GEI 3sg give one-CL book 'I gave him a book.' Or 'I gave a book (to someone) for him.'
Ditransitive-verb construction (DV)	DC-V ₂ , where DC denotes any other ditransitive construction	Ditransitive construction followed by an event the IO could do with DO after reception	我送了一本書給他看 Wo song-le yi-ben shu gei ta kan I give-PFV one-CL book GEI 3sg read 'I gave him/her a book to read.'

Table 1: A list of Mandarin ditransitive constructions

1.4.2. Ditransitive, double object and dative

'Ditransitive,' instead of 'double object' and 'dative,' is taken the general term including all patterns in Table 1 in this study because of their implication as well as disambiguation. A sentence belongs to double object construction if and only if the two objects of the verb has the semantic roles of RECIPIENT and THEME(Chin2009, all capital is mine³), but the semantic roles of the two objects in each pattern in Table 1 is not limited RECIPIENT and THEME.⁴ 'Dative' is not used because it 'refers to a type of syntactic cases usually assigned

² The permission and passive readings of this pattern are outside the interest of this thesis. For the emergence of these readings, see Chang (2006).

³ All capital for the name of semantic roles in a sentence; minuscule letters for the identities a real-world entity could get when involved in the event in issue.

⁴ 'The sentence *I put the books on the table* has a *three-place* predicate *put* and is a *ditransitive* sentence but not a *double-object* construction because...there is no RECIPIENT role.' (Chin 2009:7, italics original) See also (9).

to the recipient in a double-object construction' (Chin 2009:8, see also Blake 1994:144); in other words, it would be inappropriate to refer to a type of sentences in an isolate language with a term of declension. 'Double object' is not included because it indicates the sentence pattern (S)-V-NP₁-NP₂ in the thesis.



Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Construction Grammar

The conception of Construction Grammar could date back to Fillmore (1985), Fillmore and Kay (1987) and Fillmore et al. (1988) and followed by Goldberg (1995) and Jackendoff (1997), among others.

Fillmore and his cooperator Kay worked out basic concepts of Construction Grammar. In Fillmore (1985), he proposed initial ideas about Frame Semantics. Fillmore and Kay (1987) stated that ‘a member of the *unification* family of grammars’ was in the spirit of their Constructional Grammar (p.1, italics original), and feature sets were meant to be the method for unification. They used boxes to represent the syntax of a sentence (Figure 1, p.2) with an example of ‘some pencils’ (Figure 2, p.4)



Figure 1: the boxes-in-boxes representation of a sentence

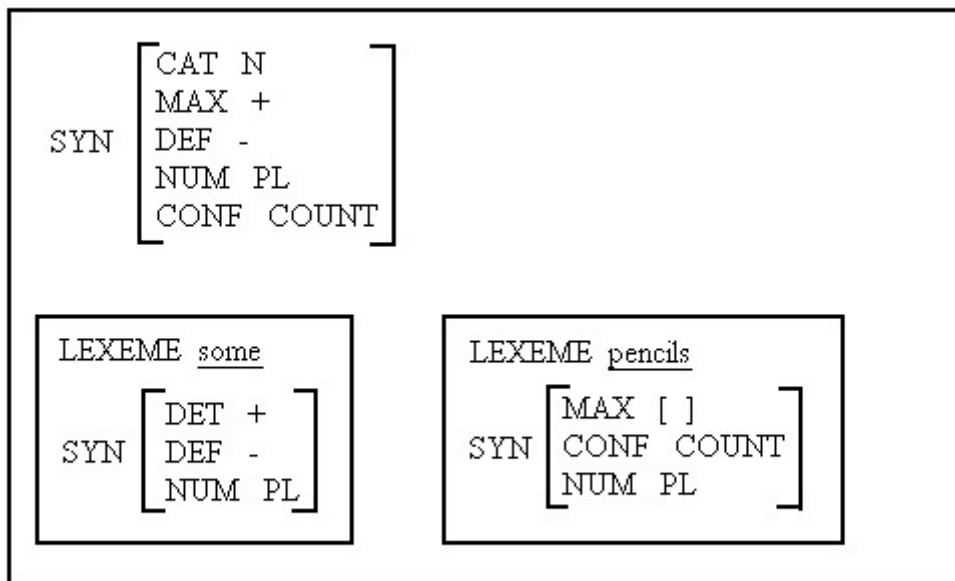


Figure 2: the representation of 'some pencils'⁵

In the same paper, they also wanted to 'make up most of what gets said' (p.29) in the same formal system when dealing with exceptional structures.

Goldberg (1995:3) defined a distinct construction as follows:

C is a CONSTRUCTION iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $\langle F_i, S_i \rangle$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predicable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions.

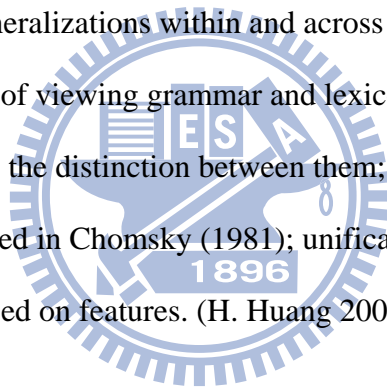
In other words, the rule of compositionality is not observed by a construction because part of its meaning cannot be predicted from its components.

She further presented four advantages of Construction Grammar. Firstly, implausible verb senses will be avoided: while we have the sentence *She baked him a cake*, 'we do not

⁵ SYN: syntactic feature; CAT: lexical category; MAX: maximal noun phrase; DEF: definiteness; NUM: number (singular v. plural); CONF: configuationality (count v. mass).

need to stipulate a specific sense of *bake* unique to this construction.’ (p. 10) Secondly, circularity will be avoided: ‘A constructional approach...allows us to avoid the circularity of arguing that a verb is an *n*-ary predicate and “therefore” has *n* complements when and only when it has *n* complements.’ (p. 11) Thirdly, semantic parsimony is observed. Fourthly, although principle of compositionality is not observed on the level of construction, it is still observed on the level of sentence or discourse. She provided evidence from sentence processing and child language acquisition.

Kay (1995:171) summarized Construction Grammar as the follows: ‘Construction grammar (CG) is a non-modular, generative, non-derivational, monostratal, unification-based grammatical approach, which aims at full coverage of the facts of any language under study without loss of linguistic generalizations within and across languages.’ It is non-modular because, unlike the tradition of viewing grammar and lexicon as having a clear-cut boundary, Construction Grammar blurs the distinction between them; not derivational because it does not have the T-model proposed in Chomsky (1981); unification-based because the grammatical operation is based on features. (H. Huang 2006:51-8)



2.2 Transference and beneficiary reading in ditransitive construction

2.2.1 Semantic roles of ditransitive constructions in English

Goldberg (1995:3) provided an argument structure of English ditransitive construction with an illustrative picture:

Ditransitive: X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z				
Example: Pat faxed Bill the letter.				
Structure	Subj (X)	V	Obj (Y)	Obj ₂ (Z)
Theta roles	Agent	n/a	Recipient	Theme
Word	Pat	faxed	Bill	the letter

Table 2: Argument structure of English ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1995:3)

She represented the ditransitive construction with this diagram (p.50, 142) and explanation:

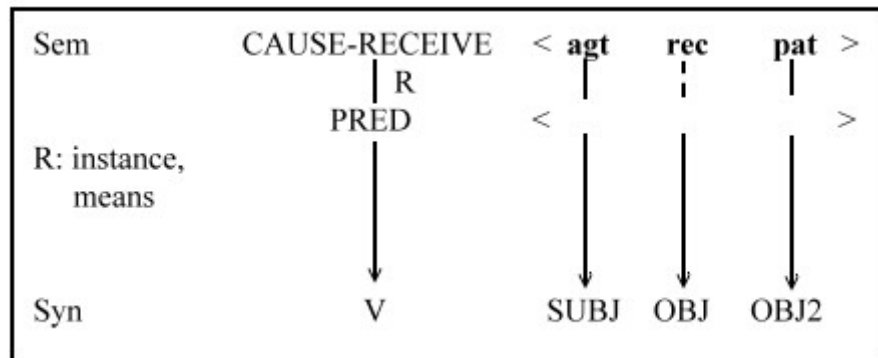


Figure 3: Ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1995:50)⁶

The semantics associated directly with the construction is ‘CAUSE-RECEIVE <agt pat rec>’. PRED is a variable that is filled by the verb when a particular verb is integrated into the construction. The construction specifies which roles of the construction are obligatorily fused with roles of the verb; these are indicated by a solid line between the argument roles and the verb’s participant role array. (p.51)

Take the verb ‘hand’ for example. Three participants were profiled in its frame semantics: hander, handee and handed. (Goldberg 1995:51)

⁶ Goldberg used ‘patient’ to denote what is transferred in the event – which is assigned ‘theme’ as in Table 2.

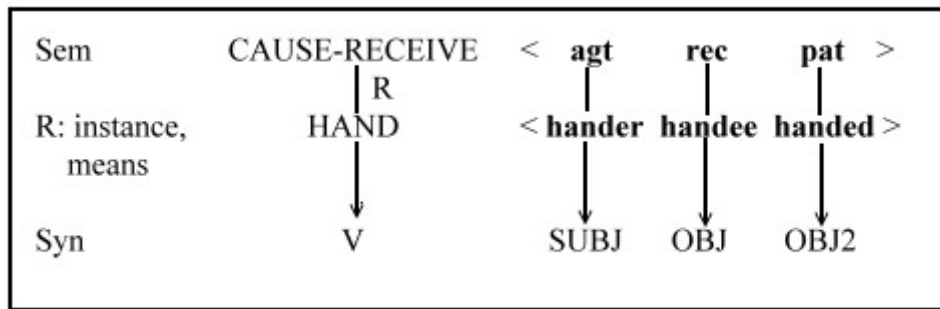


Figure 4: Ditransitive construction + *hand* (Goldberg 1995:51)

That is, a ditransitive verb should be able to assign three theta roles. If a third role should be assigned by something other than the verb itself, then the verb would not be ditransitive.

Chin (2009), after looking into previous studies, proposed his definition of ‘ditransitive construction:’ (Re-edited from Chin 2009:7)

- a. There are two extra arguments in addition to the subject, namely the direct object and indirect object, in the sentence.
- b. The direct object should have the role of THEME.
- c. The indirect object should have the role of RECIPIENT.

2.2.2 Beneficiary reading

Gei is said to have several functions. Shen (2007) listed four proposed functions by grammarians: the preposition to introduce the recipient of something, the benefactor, the entity concerned with a verb, or the victim. She reported (p.15) that it is sometime hard to set a clear-cut boundary among recipient, beneficiary and the entity concerned with a verb because they might be understood to occur simultaneously on the same noun in a sentence.

For example:

- (9) 農奴主給他女兒做了非常漂亮的衣服，給她戴上金色的假髮，但是仍然改不了她那難看的樣子。(Y. Liu et al 1996:134, from Shen 2007:15-6)

Nongnuzhu gei ta nüer zuo-le feichang piaoliang de yifu, gei ta dai-shang jinse de jiafa,
danshi rengran gai-buliao ta na nankan de yangzi

Feudal:lord GEI 3sg daughter make-PFV very beautiful ASSOC clothes GEI 3sg
put:on-up golden ASSOC wig but still change-cannot 3sg ugly ASSOC look

‘The feudal lord made very beautiful clothes for his daughter and put a golden wig on her,
but her ugly look still could not be changed.’

Newman (2005) looked into the cognitive conception of three-place predicate. He found that previous discussion “is fraught with considerable variation, even confusion, about the basis for identifying a class of three-place predicates.” (p. 145) Neither inspecting what has to be present overtly nor selectional constraint could be adequate discriminants, nor proform, nor semantic association with caused motion. Under the support of psycholinguistic experiments and cross-linguistic evidence, he proposed four domains for discussing three-place predicates: (p. 160)

- a. The spatio-temporal domain: the dimension of meaning in which the relevant facts about the shape of the participating entities are expressed, together with changes affecting the spatial relationships amongst these entities through time.
- b. The control domain: the dimension of meaning which focuses on the change in control over a thing.
- c. The force-dynamics domain: the dimension of meaning which expresses the force-dynamics of the events, including some indication of an energy source and an energy sink in the flow of action.
- d. The domain of human interest: the dimension of meaning which has to do with the

ways in which the participants are advantaged or disadvantaged by the event.

He also used this diagram to illustrate the relevance of each domain: (p. 160)

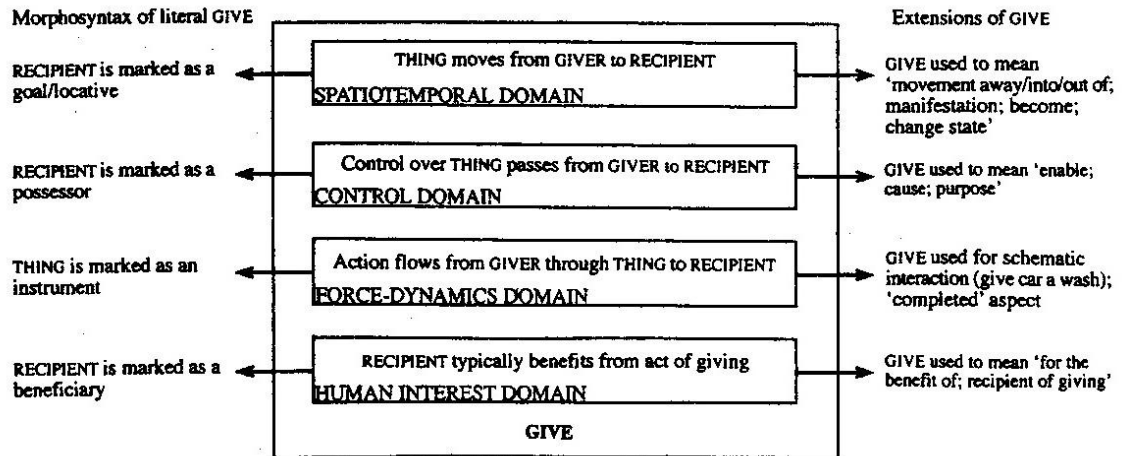


Figure 5: Domains of ditransitive construction (Newman 2005:160)

Although these domains will not be used in my analysis, this clearly shows that the beneficiary reading of *give* or other verb of transference is an extension of concrete transference event with three substantives: two animate⁷ beings – one recipient and one giver – and one theme. The ambiguous situation Shen (2007) reported is a bridging context of pure transference and pure beneficiary. Thus the following example:

(10) 神父跟修女們老了，誰來給他們傳福音？(Heard from a Catholic nun)

Shengfu geng xiunü-men lao-le, shei lai gei tamen chuan fuyin

Catholic:priest and Catholic:nun-PL old-PFV who come GEI they pass Gospel

‘When Fathers and Sisters get old, who can spread the Good News for them?’

F. Liu (2006) argued that they the beneficiary and recipient readings did not always go

⁷ ‘Animate’ here denotes human and animal. (Crystal 2006:25).

together.

(11) 聽說有一個學生寄了一封恐嚇信給校長。(F. Liu 2006:869)

Tingshuo you yi-ge xuesheng ji-le yi-feng konghe xin gei xiaozhang

Hearsay there:is one-CL student send-PFV one-CL threat letter GEI president

‘I heard that a student sent a threatening letter to the president of the school.’

(12) a. 我在找地方給貓睡。(F. Liu 2006:877)

Wo zai zhao difang gei mao shui

I PROG look:for place GEI cat sleep

‘I’m looking for a place for the cat to sleep.’

b. *我在找地方給貓。(F. Liu 2006:877)

Wo zai zhao difang gei mao

I PROG look:for place GEI cat

Intended meaning: ‘I’m looking for a place for the cat.’



In (11), the president of the school is by no means a benefactor because the letter a student gave him or her is a threatening letter. In the structure illustrated by (12) – *gei* object construction – transfer is generally not expressed, and the *gei* object is marked a benefactor. (F. Liu 2006)

In light of the discussion above, we may claim that BENEFACTOR and RECIPIENT do not always co-occur on the same sentence argument; it is the main verb, context, discourse or pragmatic factors that assign BENEFACTOR or RECIPIENT semantic roles.

It is worth noting that, since BENEFACTOR and RECIPIENT often co-occur on the same argument, *gei* is understood as the benefactor marker and thus the beneficiary construction is generated. (F. Liu 2006)

2.2.3 Influence of metaphor

Although canonical English ditransitive verbs require volitional subject argument and entities to be transferred, there are examples of non-volitional subjects or ‘transferred’ effects:

(13) a. The medicine brought him relief. (Goldberg 1995:144)

b. She gave me the flu. (Goldberg 1995:144)

(14) The document supplied us with some entertainment. (Goldberg 1995:144)

To solve this problem, Goldberg (1995) modified Figure 3 above:

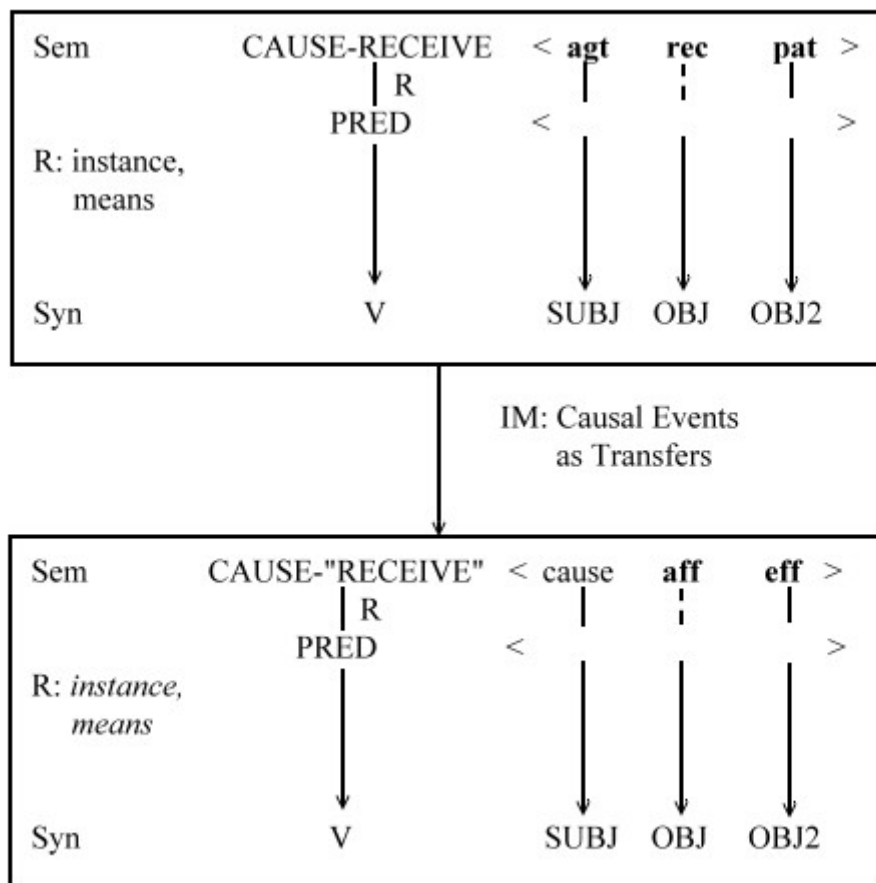


Figure 6: A ditransitive construction with metaphorical extension (Goldberg 1995:145)

This can still be accounted for with Figure 5 above.

2.3 Dative alternation

The dative alternation is presented in chapter 1, especially (1-8). F. Liu (2006) gave semantic structures of *gei* object, double object and *Vgei* constructions:

Construction	Syntax	Semantic construction	Example
<i>Gei</i> object (p. 867)	NP ₁ V NP ₂ <i>gei</i> NP ₃	X ₁ (ACT AND) TRANSFER Y ₂ TO Z ₃	我送了一本書給他 Wo song-le yi-ben shu <i>gei</i> ta 'I gave a book to him.' (=1c)
<i>V-gei</i> (p. 879)	NP ₁ V <i>gei</i> NP ₂ NP ₃	X ₁ TRANSFER Y ₃ TO Z ₂	我送給他一本書 Wo song <i>gei</i> ta yi-ben shu 'I gave him a book.' (=1b)
Double object (p. 887)	NP ₁ V NP ₂ NP ₃	X ₁ TRANSFER Y ₃ TO Z ₂	我送了他一本書 Wo song-le ta yi-ben shu 'I gave him a book.' (=1a)

Table 3: Mandarin dative alternation (F. Liu 2006: 867, 879, 887)

2.4 *V-gei* compound: which is the head?

Since the preposition-like *gei* developed from the lexical verb, one would be curious which one in *Vgei* is the head or whether V and *gei* have fused into a single verb. Newman

(1993) stated that the V is the main verb and that the *gei* is a verbal suffix⁸; C. Huang and Mo (1992) proposed the same idea because of the existence of selectional constraints, lexical integrity, semantic shift and an additional GOAL role. Conversely, Her (1997) argued that *gei* in *Vgei* is the main verb and the V denoted manner because:

*Gei*₃ is a free morpheme, a word...To treat it as a verbal root in compounds is thus straightforward, while to pose it as a suffix, a bound morpheme, would be a complication to the grammar. In addition, the thematic structure of verb *gei*₃...is identical with that of a *Vgei*₃ compound. (p.86)

We will discuss this in 3.2.

2.5 Classification of verbs

Li and Thompson (1981), F. Liu (2007) and Tsao (ms) classified verbs according to whether they may immediately precede *gei* to get a ditransitive meaning or apply in dative alternation.

Li and Thompson (1981) made lists about whether a verb may, should or should not co-occur with *gei* and claimed that it is ‘something that simply has to be learned for each verb.’ (p. 384)

⁸ Newman took this idea from Wang (1967 [2002]), where Wang hinted so without justification.

Category	Verbs	
Obligatory (p. 374)	遞 <i>di</i> 'bring to'	分 <i>feng</i> 'allocate'
	拿 <i>na</i> 'bring to'	帶 <i>dai</i> 'bring to'
	寄 <i>ji</i> 'mail'	交 <i>jiao</i> 'deliver, hand in'
	賣 <i>mai</i> 'sell'	丟 <i>diu</i> 'toss, throw'
	扔 <i>reng</i> 'toss, throw'	輸 <i>shu</i> 'lose'
	寫 <i>xie</i> 'write'	租 <i>zhu</i> 'rent to'
	留 <i>liu</i> 'keep, save'	踢 <i>ti</i> 'kick'
	打(電話) <i>da (dianhua)</i> 'telephone'	
	搬 <i>ban</i> 'move'	推 <i>tui</i> 'push'
Optional (p.375)	送 <i>song</i> 'give'	贈 <i>zeng</i> 'give'
	教 <i>jiao</i> 'teach'	賞 <i>shang</i> 'bestow'
	賜 <i>ci</i> 'bestow'	加 <i>jia</i> 'add'
	傳 <i>chuan</i> 'pass'	還 <i>huan</i> 'return'
	賠 <i>pei</i> 'compensate, pay back'	
	付 <i>fu</i> 'pay'	許 <i>xu</i> 'promise to give'
	借 <i>jie</i> 'lend'	
Forbidden (p. 378)	給 <i>gei</i> 'give'	告訴 <i>gaosu</i> 'tell'
	答應 <i>daying</i> 'promise'	回答 <i>huida</i> 'answer'
	問 <i>wen</i> 'ask'	偷 <i>tou</i> 'steal'
	請教 <i>qingjiao</i> 'ask for enlightenment'	
	贏 <i>ying</i> 'win'	搶 <i>qiang</i> 'rob'
	奪 <i>duo</i> 'snatch'	

Table 4: A classification of verbs (Li and Thompson 1981:374-9)

Tsao (ms) argued that whether *gei* could occur was decided by *gei* and the verb together: verbs of deprivation, like 搶 *qiang* ‘to rob,’ might not co-occur with *gei*; verbs of transference except for *gei* itself might optionally occur with *gei*; other verbs should co-occur with *gei*. He further proposed that three kinds of monotransitive verbs could be immediately followed by *gei* to become ditransitive: verbs of movement, acquisition and creation.

(15) Monotransitive verbs that can occur in *Vgei* construction to become ditransitive (Tsao ms:15)

Movement: 拿 *na* ‘to hand,’ 倒 *dao* ‘to pour,’ 傳 *chuan* ‘to pass,’ 帶 *dai* ‘to bring,’ 丟 *diu* ‘to throw,’ 借 *jie* ‘to lend’

Acquisition: 捐 *juan* ‘to donate’⁹, 買 *mai* ‘to buy’

Creation: 烤 *kao* ‘to bake,’ 承諾 *chengnuo* ‘to promise,’ 做 *zuo* ‘to make’

Tsao’s claims are not without weaknesses. Just as previously shown, several verbs in the ‘forbidden’ category can still occur:

(5) a. 他搶了銀行兩萬塊錢。(Li and Thompson 1981:378)

Ta qiang-le yinghang liang-wan quai qian

3sg rob-PFV bank two-ten:thousand dollar money

‘S/he robbed \$20,000 **from** the bank.’

⁹ A new meaning of *juan* emerging in Mainland China may cause confusion:

(i) 交大校長很厲害，他捐了五百萬。

Jiaoda xiaozhang hen lihai, ta **juan**-le wu-baiwan
 NCTU president very excellent 3sg JUAN-PFV five-million
 ‘The president of NCTU is excellent because he...
donated \$5,000,000 (to NCTU).’ (Taiwan)
collected \$5,000,000 (from the alumni).’ (Mainland China)

The meaning and use of all language data are based on Taiwan Mandarin unless specified otherwise. Thanks to Prof. Chingfa Lian for this example.

b. 他搶給銀行兩萬塊錢。(Li and Thompson 1981:378, 389; bold is mine)

Ta qiang **gei** yinghang liang-wan quai qian

3sg rob **GEI** bank two-ten:thousand dollar money

‘S/he robbed \$20,000 to **give to** the bank.’

(16) 喜歡嗎？姊姊搶給你。(Internet)

Xihuan ma? Jiejie qiang **gei** ni.

Like Q elder:sister rob **GEI** you

‘You like it? Let Sister snatch one for you.’

F. Liu (2006) analyzed the semantics and argument roles of each member constructions of dative alternation and classified verbs according to whether they could occur in each construction:

Classification	Typical example	<i>Gei</i> object	<i>Vgei</i>	Double object
Syntax		NP ₁ V NP ₂ <i>gei</i> NP ₃	NP ₁ V <i>gei</i> NP ₂ NP ₃	NP ₁ V NP ₂ NP ₃
Semantics		X1 (ACT AND) TRANSFER Y2 TO Z3	X1 TRANSFER Y2 TO Z3	X1 TRANSFER Y2 TO Z3
Argument role		<i>Gei</i> object: Recipient	Dative object: Recipient	Dative object: Recipient, Source, Patient ¹⁰

¹⁰ This ‘Patient’ equals to my ‘THEME.’

Transfer of possession	送 <i>song</i> 'to give as present'	Yes	Yes	Yes
Transfer of Knowledge	傳授 <i>chuanshou</i> 'to pass on'	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provision	提供 <i>tigong</i> 'to provide'	Yes	Yes	Yes
Giving up possession	輸 <i>shu</i> 'to lose'	Yes	Yes	Yes
Referral	介紹 <i>jieshao</i> 'to introduce'	Yes	Yes	Yes
Contribution	捐 <i>juan</i> 'to donate'	Yes	Yes	No
Promise	許 <i>shu</i> 'to promise'	Yes	Yes	No
Manner of motion	丟 <i>diu</i> 'to throw'	Yes	Yes	No

Instrument of communication	寄 <i>ji</i> 'to send'	Yes	Yes	No
Teaching	教 <i>jiao</i> 'to teach'	No	Yes	Yes
Creation	做 <i>zuo</i> 'to make'	Yes	No	No
Obtaining	買 <i>mai</i> 'to buy'	Yes	No	No
Communicated message	告訴 <i>gaosu</i> 'to tell'	No	No	Yes
Future having	准 <i>jun</i> 'to allow'	No	No	Yes
Feeding	餵 <i>wei</i> 'to feed'	No	No	Yes

Table 5: A classification of verbs (F. Liu 2006:891)

Teng (2009) used the same method – but a simpler version – to prove that each construction has its selectional constraint and, echoing Li and Thompson (1981), whether a verb can be used in each construction is to be learnt by each verb.

F. Liu's method is powerful but still imperfect. The following sentences are considered ungrammatical according to the table above, but at least not completely unacceptable to native speakers:

- (17) 我教給他一個方法。¹¹
 Wo jiao-gei ta yi-ge fangfa
 I teach-GEI 3sg one-CL method
 ‘I taught him a method.’
- (18) 我曾想把疼告訴給一塊石頭。(Internet)
 Wo ceng xiang ba teng gaosu gei yi-kuai shitou
 I ever think BA pain tell GEI one-CL stone
 ‘I once wanted to tell a stone about my pain.’
- (19) a. %¹²我餵一瓶牛奶給他。
 Wo wei yi-ping niunai gei ta
 I feed one-CL milk GEI 3sg
 b. %我餵給他一瓶牛奶。
 Wo wei-gei ta yi-ping niunai
 I feed-GEI 3sg one-CL milk
 ‘I fed him with a bottle of milk.’



Hence, while selectional constraint does exist, it seems that it is the construction – especially *gei* – that coerces the verb into taking an indirect object.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have briefly introduced the basic concepts and features of Construction Grammar, summarized previous studies about the relations between transference event,

¹¹ There are constraints on the IO of the sentence. See Chapter 3 for further specification.

¹² A % in front of a sentence means that the sentence is acceptable to some speakers but not to others.

metaphor and beneficiary reading in ditransitive constructions, explained what ‘dative alternation’ is, and commented on various proposals about the structure of *V-gei* compound and verb classification.

Since there are always exceptions in previous classifications, a solution from a new perspective will be proposed in the following chapter.



Chapter 3

Analysis

Instead of looking at the verbs only, I propose to deal with the problem from a constructional perspective.

A. The unmarked construction of transference (UCT)

The structure of unmarked construction of transference (UCT) is Subj-V- Obj₁-Obj₂, in which the V is not followed by *gei*. UCT provides a sense that the Obj₂ is transferred between the Subj and the Obj₁, but the exact direction is underspecified; in other words, while UCT assigns THEME, SOURCE and GOAL are to be assigned by the verb:



Transference: X causes Y to move to Z or from Z				
Unmarked construction of transference (UCT): Subj (X) – V – Obj ₁ (Z) – Obj ₂ (Y)				
Pattern A (UCT-A): X causes Y to move to Z 我送他一本書 wo song ta yi-ben shu ‘I gave him a book.’ (=1a)				
Structure	Subj (X)	V	Obj ₁ (Z)	Obj ₂ (Y)
Semantic roles	SOURCE-GIVER	n/a	GOAL-RECIPIENT	THEME
Word	我 wo ‘I’	送 song ‘to give’	他 ta ‘s/he’	一本書 Yi-ben shu ‘a book’
Pattern B (UCT-B): X causes Y to move from Z 他搶了銀行兩萬塊錢 Ta qiang-le yinhang liang-wan quai qian ‘S/he robbed \$20,000 from the bank.’ (=5a)				
Structure	Subj (X)	V	Obj ₁ (Z)	Obj ₂ (Y)
Semantic roles	GOAL-GAINER	n/a	SOURCE-DEPRIVED	THEME
Word	他 ta ‘s/he’	搶 qiang ‘to rob’	銀行 yinhang ‘bank’	兩萬塊錢 liang-wan quai qian ‘\$20,000’

Table 6: Unmarked construction of transference (UCT)

B. *Gei*-marked construction of transference (GCT)

The structure of *gei*-marked construction of transference (GCT) is Subj-V-*gei*-Obj₁-Obj₂, where the V must be followed by *gei*. As UCT does, GCT provides a sense of transference and assigns THEME to Obj₂, but SOURCE and GOAL are assigned by *gei* and not the verb. In other words, *gei* specifies the direction of transference – from Subj to Obj₁.

Transference: X causes Y to move to Z or from Z				
<i>Gei</i> -marked construction of transference (GCT):				
Subj (X) – V – <i>gei</i> – Obj ₁ (Z) – Obj ₂ (Y)				
Pattern: X causes Y to move to Z				
我送給他一本書 wo song gei ta yi-ben shu ‘I gave him a book.’ (=1b)				
Structure	Subj (X)	V- <i>gei</i>	Obj ₁ (Z)	Obj ₂ (Y)
Semantic roles	SOURCE-GIVER	n/a	GOAL - BENEFACTOR	THEME
Word	我 wo ‘I’	送給 Song gei ‘to give’	他 ta ‘s/he’	一本書 Yi-ben shu ‘a book’

Table 7: *Gei*-marked construction of transference (GCT)

- C. The degree of acceptance of a sentence where the verb, *gei* and THEME co-occur relies on the scenario built by these elements.
- D. The concept of transference may be extended so that UCT can be used to express ‘the number of times of an action’ (Chao 2968:302).

3.1 Unmarked construction of transference (UCT)

The event structure of transference should contain a SOURCE, a GOAL and a THEME.

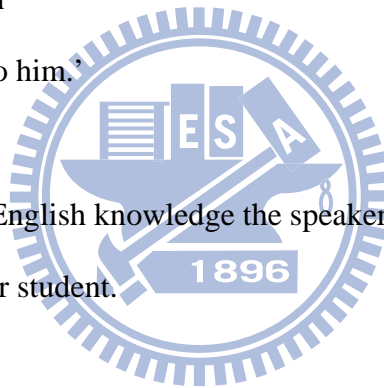
The Subj (X) and Obj₁ (Z) are assigned SOURCE or GOAL not because of their positions in a sentence, but because of the verb itself. In pattern UCT-A, the event structure of 送 *song* ‘to give’ is ‘X causes Y to move to Z,’ so the Subj 我 *wo* ‘I’ is assigned SOURCE and the Obj₁ (Z) 他 *ta* ‘s/he’ is assigned GOAL. Conversely, In UCT-B, the event structure of 搶 *qiang* ‘to rob’ is ‘X causes Y to move from Z,’ so the Subj 他 *ta* ‘s/he’ is assigned SOURCE and the Obj₁ (Z) is assigned GOAL.

As shown in the event structure, transference – concrete or conceptualized – is necessary.

In UCT-A, the book is transferred from me to him; in UCT-B, the cash is transferred from the bank to the robber. The transference is ‘conceptualized’ because the THEME may be abstract, such as a method or a language:

- (20) a. 我教他一個方法。
Wo jiao ta yi-ge fangfa
I teach 3sg one-CL method
‘I taught a method to him.’
- b. 我教他英文。
Wo jiao ta Yingwen
I teach 3sg English
‘I taught English to him.’

In (20), the method and the English knowledge the speaker has is understood as transferred from the speaker to his or her student.



3.2 The functional of *gei*

Comparing UCT-A, UCT-B and GCT, we see the *gei* is the key to the beneficiary reading.

Return to (5b):

- (5) b. 他搶給銀行兩萬塊錢。(Li and Thompson 1981:378, 389; bold is mine)
Ta qiang **gei** yinghang liang-wan quai qian
3sg rob **GEI** bank two-ten:thousand dollar money
‘S/he robbed \$20,000 to **give to** the bank.’

The assignment of semantic roles of X and Z in UCT-B is reversed. In other words, direction

of transference is reversed. As for 租 *zu* ‘to rent,’ no ambiguity would occur when the direction is settled down:

- (6) a. 德範租他一棟房子。

Defan zu ta yi-dong fangzi

Steven rent 3sg one-CL house

‘Steven rent a house **to** him/her.’ OR ‘Steven rent a house **from** him/her.’

- b. 德範租給他一棟房子。

Defan zu **gei** ta yi-dong fangzi

Steven rent **GEI** 3sg one-CL house

‘Steven rent a house **to** him/her.’ NOT ‘Steven rent a house from him/her.’

Furthermore, some canonical monotransitive verbs can take an IO:

- (3) a. *我寫他一封信。

Wo xie ta yi feng xin

I write 3sg one CL letter

- b. 我寫給他一封信。

Wo xie **gei** ta yi-feng xin

I write **GEI** 3sg one-CL letter

‘I wrote him/her a letter.’

The occurrence of *gei* also implies that the abstract THEME should be finite. Each method has finite tips and procedures, so (21a) is acceptable to some Mandarin native speakers. English knowledge, like the knowledge of any single language, is infinite because of its creativity, so (21b) is ungrammatical.

(21) a. %我教給他一個方法。

Wo jiao gei ta **yi-ge fangfa**

I teach GEI 3sg **one-CL method**

‘I taught **a method** to him.’

b. *我教給他英文。

Wo jiao gei ta **Yingwen**

I teach-GEI 3sg **English**

Intended meaning: ‘I taught **English** to him.’

In (21), the method and the English knowledge the speaker has is understood as transferred from the speaker to his or her student.

Further examples from Internet support the idea that the head of V-*gei* is *gei* while V is a manner modifier:



(22) a. 訂單由我公司下給工廠，可貨款不是我公司付可以嗎？

Dingdan you wo gongsi **xia gei** gongchang, ke huokuan bushi wo gongsi fu keyi ma

Order from I company **put GEI** factory but payment not I company pay fine Q

‘Is it OK if my company makes an order but has someone else to pay for the goods?’

b. 以後記得帶個水果削給男友媽媽吃，多少會加一點分回來。

Yihou jide dai ge shuiguo **xiao gei** nanyou mama chi, duoshao hui jia yidian fen huilai

Afterwards remember bring CL fruit **peel GEI** boyfriend mother eat more:or:less can add some score back

‘Remember to bring some fruit next time and peel it for your boyfriend’s mother; she might somehow give you better credits.’

- c. 賣飯糰也能賺錢，賺給他們吃、賺給他們穿。

Mai fantuan ye neng zhuanqian, **zhuan gei** tamen chi, **zhuan gei** tamen chuan

Sell rice-bun also can make:money **earn GEI** 3pl eat **earn GEI** 3pl wear

‘(I) can make money selling rice-buns, so they can have something to eat and to wear.’

- d. 你是說金紙五萬還是要我拿台幣五萬去買金紙燒給你？

Ni shi shuo jinzhi wu-wan haishi yao wo na taibi wu-wan qu mai jinzhi **shao gei** ni

You be say joss:paper five ten:thousand or want I take New:Taiwan:Dollar five ten:thousand go buy joss:paper **burn GEI** you

‘You mean joss paper with the denomination of \$50,000, or you want me to burn you joss paper that costs NT\$50,000?’ (An answer to someone who tried to cheat \$50,000 from the speaker over telephone)¹³

- e. 心都挖給你啦，還要什麼？

Xin dou **wa gei** ni la, hai yao shenme?

Heart already **dig GEI** you M still want what

‘I have dug out my heart to give you. (i.e. I’ve given up all my love to you.) Now what do you want?’

From the analysis above, we may also conclude that: a) agreeing with Her (1997), *gei* is the head of V-*gei*, and b) against F. Liu (2006), *gei* object, DV and beneficiary constructions are related.

3.3 Selectional constraint: the need for a reasonable scenario

The degree of acceptance of a sentence where the verb, *gei*, THEME and Obj₁ co-occur

¹³ In Chinese folklore religion, it is usual to burn joss paper and papier-mâché wares (e.g. houses, motor vehicles, servants, etc.) as offerings to supernatural beings. See examples (24-25) for further specification on the recipient.

relies on the scenario built by these elements. If the scenario built by these elements is reasonable – i.e. they are compatible with each other – then the sentence is acceptable; otherwise it will become odd or ungrammatical. Starting from one event:

(23) a. 2O: 我吃了他一碗飯。

Wo **chi**-le ta yi wan fan

I **eat**-PFV 3sg one bowl rice

‘I **ate** one bowl of rice **on him/her**.’

b. V-*gei*: *我**吃**給他一碗飯。

Wo **chi gei** ta yi wan fan

I **eat GEI** 3sg one bowl rice

c. *gei*-O: *我**吃**一碗飯**給**他。

Wo **chi** yi wan fan **gei** ta

I **eat** one bowl rice **GEI** 3sg



(23) is a typical example for why *chi* ‘to eat’ cannot precede *gei* in ditransitive construction. Generally speaking, no one can do anything with the food we have already swallowed, which goes against the basic assumption of transference that the recipient can do something with the THEME.

When polysemy comes into play, the verb and THEME may presuppose further information about the GOAL. 燒 *shao* has two polysemous meanings: ‘to burn something’ and ‘to fire something in a furnace.’ The THEME in this construction, or the Obj₂ of *shao*, specifies some features of the recipient and determines how the verb should be understood.

(24) a. 2O: 我妹妹燒了佳蘭一個花瓶。

Wo meimei **shao**-le Jialan yi-ge huaping

I younger:sister **SHAO**-PFV Clare one-CL vase

‘My younger sister **burnt** a vase of Clare’s.’ NOT

‘My younger sister **fired** an unfired porcelain vase **to give to** Clare.’ NOT

‘My younger sister **set fire on** a vase **to give to** Clare.’

b. V-*gei*: 我妹妹燒給佳蘭一個花瓶。

Wo meimei **shao gei** Jialan yi-ge huaping

I younger:sister **SHAO GEI** Clare one-CL vase

‘My younger sister **fired** an unfired porcelain vase **to give to** Clare.’ OR

‘My younger sister **burnt** a vase **to give to** Clare.’

c. *gei*-O: 我妹妹燒了一個花瓶給佳蘭。

Wo meimei **shao**-le yi-ge huaping gei Jialan

I younger:sister **SHAO**-PFV one-CL vase GEI Clare

‘My younger sister **fired** an unfired porcelain vase **to give to** Clare.’ OR

‘My younger sister **burnt** a vase **to give to** Clare.’

Firing in a furnace is necessary in producing porcelain wares, so when *shao* is understood as ‘to fire unfired porcelain,’ the recipient may be alive or dead: the vase can be a present to Clare or part of Clare’s tomb, or burnt as an offering to Clare. When *shao* is understood as ‘to burn something,’ Clare must be dead – if she had been alive, she could not have received the vase by having it burnt.

(25) a. 2O: 劉媽媽燒了他兒子一臺電腦。

Liu mama **shao**-le ta erzi yi-tai diannao

Liu mother **burn**-PFV 3sg son one-CL computer

‘Mrs. Liu **burnt** a computer of her son’s.’

b. V-*gei*: 劉媽媽燒給他兒子一臺電腦。

Liu mama **shao gei** ta erzi yi-tai diannao

Liu mother **burn GEI** 3sg son one-CL computer

‘Mrs. Liu **burnt** a computer **to give** to her son.’

c. *gei*-O: 劉媽媽燒了一臺電腦給他兒子。

Liu mama shao-le yi-tai diannao gei ta erzi

Liu mother **burn**-PFV one-CL computer **GEI** 3sg son

‘Mrs. Liu **burnt** a computer **to give** to her son.’

Firing in a furnace is not part of the production of a computer, so *shao* can only be understood as ‘burn.’ As explained above, no living animals (including human being) can receive something by having it burnt, so the son of Mrs. Liu in (25bc) is presupposed dead – and the computer is probably papier-mâché. In the same vein, the speaker of (22d) insulted the criminal by presupposing that the listener had been dead.

From (23-25), we see that 2O and *gei*-O are distinct constructions, yet related.

As for DV construction (where a verb follows the recipient), in addition to the condition argued above, the second verb should be an action on the THEME, which the recipient can take to deal with the THEME after reception (? and ! represents increasing pragmatic anomaly):

(26) a. 我吹了一個燒瓶給保祿用。

Wo chui-le **yi-ge shaoping** gei Baolu **yong**

I blow-PFV **one-CL flask** GEI Paul **use**

‘I blew **a glass flask** so that Paul can **use** it.’

b. ?!我吹了一個燒瓶給保祿吃。

Wo chui-le **yi-ge shaoping** gei Baolu **chi**

I blow-PFV **one-CL flask** GEI Paul **eat**

‘?! I blew **a glass flask** so that Paul can **eat** it.’

(27) a. 劉媽媽燒了一臺電腦給他兒子用。

Liu mama shao-le **yi-tai diannaο** gei ta erzi **yong**

Liu mother burn-PFV **one-CL computer** GEI 3sg son **use**

‘Mrs. Liu burnt **a computer** so that her son could **use** it.’

b. !劉媽媽燒了一臺電腦給他兒子穿。

Liu mama shao-le **yi-tai diannaο** gei ta erzi **chuan**

Liu mother burn-PFV **one-CL computer** GEI 3sg son **wear**

‘! Mrs. Liu burnt **a computer** so that her son could **wear** it.’

In (26), it is natural for Paul to use my handmade flask upon reception, but it is not if he tries to eat it. Similarly, in (27), it is natural when the dead son used the computer, but not if he tries to wear it. In one word, the second verb generally subcategorizes the first verb.¹⁴

¹⁴ Visual verb 看 *kan* ‘to look, to watch’ seems not to have this nature. For example:

(i) a. *伯鐸吃了一隻螃蟹給曼德。(cf. 23c)

Boduo chi-le yi-zhi pangxie gei Mande
Peter eat-PFV one-CL crab GEI Martha

b. 伯鐸吃了一隻螃蟹給曼德看。

Boduo chi-le yi-zhi pangxie gei Mande kan
Peter eat-PFV one-CL crab GEI Martha see
‘Peter ate a crab as a demonstration to Martha.’ NOT

Classification of verbs, which is discussed in 2.5, might therefore be unnecessary. Furthermore, the son in (27) is definitely dead as argued above (cf. (24-25)). Again, supporting Lai (2001) and objecting F. Liu (2006), DV and *gei*-O are related constructions.

With one step further, the evidence provided in this section confirms Chen (2005)'s proposal of 'family of ditransitive constructions.'

3.4 Verbal complement that expresses 'the number of times of an action'

Several verbs may occur in 2O and DV only:

- (28) a. 2O: 我踢他一腳。(Chin 2009:8)

Wo ti ta yi jiao

I kick 3sg one foot

'I gave him a kick.'

- b. V-*gei*: *我踢給他一腳。

Wo ti *gei* ta yi jiao

I kick GEI 3sg one foot

- c. *gei*-O: *我踢一腳給他。

Wo ti yi jiao *gei* ta

I kick one foot GEI 3sg



'Peter gave a crab to Martha by eating so that she can take a look at the crab.'

Kan might have an influence on the parsing so that what is taken a look at is the procedure of eating instead of the crab itself. This is beyond the interest of this thesis.

- (29) a. 2O: 我吃了他一隻龍蝦。
 Wo chi-le ta yi-zhi longxia
 I eat-PFV 3sg one-CL lobster
 ‘I had a lobster on him.’
- b. V-*gei*: *我吃給他一隻龍蝦。
 Wo chi gei ta yi-zhi longxia
 I eat GEI 3sg one-CL lobster
- c. *gei*-O: *我吃一隻龍蝦給他。
 Wo chi yi-zhi longxia gei ta
 I eat one-CL lobster GEI 3sg

As opposed to (22), where the concrete movement and THEMES are absent, there is another kind of conceptualized transference where the THEME is usually coded as verbal complement – more specific, ‘the number of times of an action’ (Chao 2968:302):¹⁵

- (28) a. 我踢他一腳。(Chin 2009:8)
 Wo ti ta **yi jiao**
 I kick 3sg **one foot**
 ‘I gave him **a kick.**’
- (30) 我打了它三拳。
 Wo da-le ta **san quan**
 I hit-PFV 3sg **three fist**
 ‘I punched it **three times.**’

¹⁵ Chao (1968:302) called the THEME/verbal complement *yi jiao* in (30a) ‘cognate object.’ The presumed reason is that ‘to kick’ is an action of legs, not of hands. The situation is the same in (32).

In (28a), the kicked person did not receive any leg because of the event, and neither of the kicker and the kicked lost one leg because of the kicking event; there is nothing transferred through the punching in (30). It is conceptualized as transference because of the movement of the body parts and the transference of force – these events can thus be conceptualized as ‘giving,’ as illustrated below:

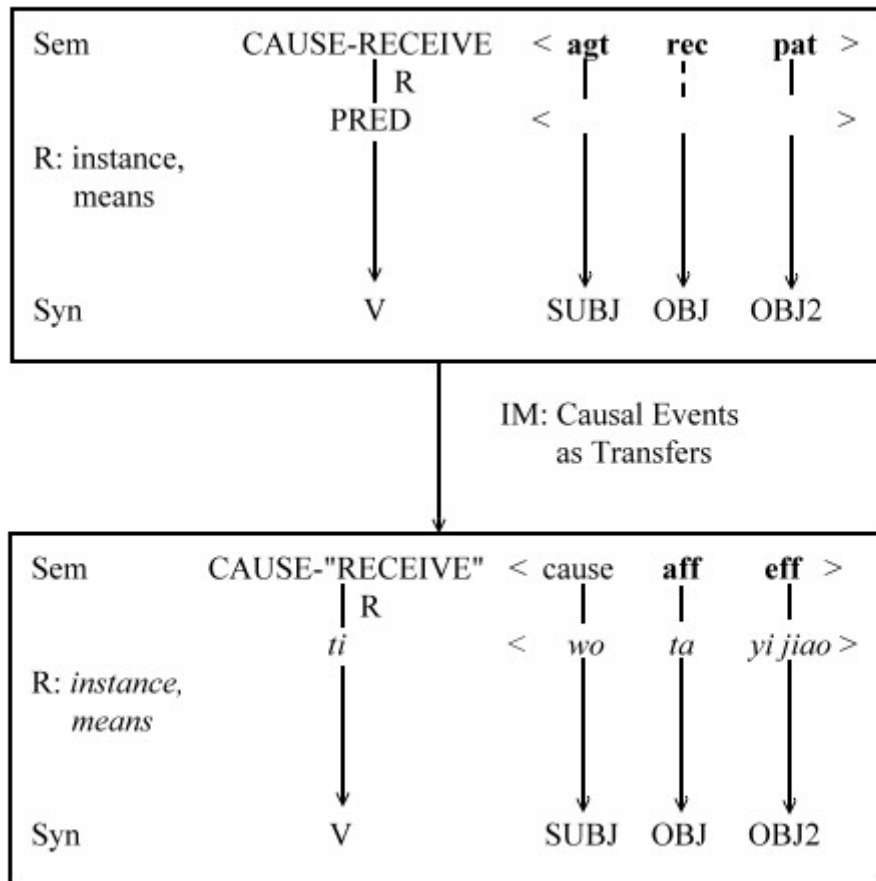


Figure 7: Extended transference in ‘I gave him/her a kick’ (cf. Fig. 6)

Verbs of deprivation may apply and undergo further grammaticalization:

(29) a. 我吃了他一隻龍蝦。
Wo chi-le ta yi-zhi longxia
I eat-PFV 3sg one-CL lobster
'I had a lobster on him.'

(31) 咱們去喝他兩杯。
Zanmen qu he ta liang-bei
We go drink 3sg two-CL
'Let's go have a drink on him/her.' Or
'Let's go have a drink.'

The reading of (29a) is deprivation because *ta* 's/he' underwent loss when I ate his/her lobster. As for (31), there is a reading that the speaker invites his/her friends to have someone give them a treat – the same reason as in (29a). However, the *ta* 's/he' in (31) may be understood as a 'dummy direct object' (Chao 1968:320): we may simply mean 'to have a drink together' without the implication of 'having someone give us a treat' or 'drink nowhere but the bar.' On later stages of grammaticalization, the complement which expresses 'the number of times of an action' could be extended to 'duration of an event.'¹⁶

(32) 我想歇他兩個晚上。
Wo xiang xie ta liang-ge wanshang
I think rest 3sg two-CL night
'I want to take two days' break.'

¹⁶ Thanks to Prof. Chinfa Lien for reminding me of the dummy object. Another account for (32), provided by Prof. Ying Cheng, is: someone will lose two days when I take a two-day break.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I proposed to deal with the problem and explain related phenomena from a constructional perspective. The event structure of transference is ‘X causes Y to move to Z or from Z,’ and its canonical structure is Subj (X) – V – Obj₁ (Z) – Obj₂ (Y). In unmarked construction of transference (UCT) – where *gei* must be absent – the direction of Obj₂ is determined by the verb; in *gei*-marked construction of transference (GCT) – where *gei* must be present – the direction of Obj₂ is determined by *gei*. When a verb immediately precedes *gei* in GCT, it loses the status as the main verb and becomes the manner specifier of *gei*. Whether a sentence in GCT is grammatical is jointly decided by the verb, the two objects and the second verb: if the scenario they form is reasonable, then the sentence is grammatical, or else it is not.



Chapter 4

Conclusion

4.1 Summary of the thesis

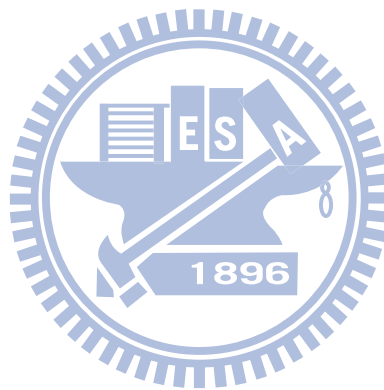
The meaning of giving or beneficiary is expressed in Mandarin with ditransitive constructions with or without the coverb *gei* ‘give.’ Li and Thompson (1981), F. Liu (2006) and Tsao (2008, ms), inter alia, classified verbs according to whether they must or must not be followed by *gei* to express giving of beneficiary within the sentence and sought common features in each category. This method had small coverage and low predictability, and certain ditransitive verbs in *gei*-forbidden category, like *qiang* ‘to rob,’ will yield grammatical sentences understood by native speakers when followed by *gei*: *ta qiang gei yinhang liang-wan quai qian* ‘S/he robbed \$20,000 to give to the bank.’

In the spirit of Construction Grammar, I analyzed the sentence patterns and the semantic roles of each argument when Mandarin verbs express transference or beneficiary with a ditransitive construction and proposed a prototypical Mandarin construction of transference. The event structure is ‘X causes Y to move to Z or from Z;’ the defining pattern is X-V-Z-Y, where *gei* must be absent; the direction of Y is determined by the verb. The meanings of the subject, two objects, *gei* jointly affects the grammaticality and the reading of the sentence: the subject of *zu* ‘to rent’ can be the landlord or the tenant, but that of *zu-gei* ‘to rent to’ can only be the landlord. The head of compound verb V-*gei* is *gei* while V is the manner. The structure ‘V-O-quantifier,’ such as *da ta san quan* ‘gave him/her three punches,’ emerged from this construction. This thesis provided support to the proposal to treat ditransitive constructions as a family (Chen 2005).

4.2 Topics for further study

Some topics are available for further study, especially corpus-based ones. Synchronic

quantitative study on the frequency of each verb in each alternation and why certain verbs cannot participate in UCT are first recommended. Diachronic study about when *V-gei* became common in Mandarin and when certain *V-gei* became frequent may be carried out. The four domains Newman (2005) may be utilized for the different degree of acceptance.



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