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論台灣華語 [gei wo]、台灣閩南語 [ka gua]、及台灣客語 [lau ngai] 句式的語法化
On the Grammaticalization of Taiwan Mandarin [gei wo], Taiwan Southern Min
[ka gua], and Taiwan Hakka [lau ngai] constructions

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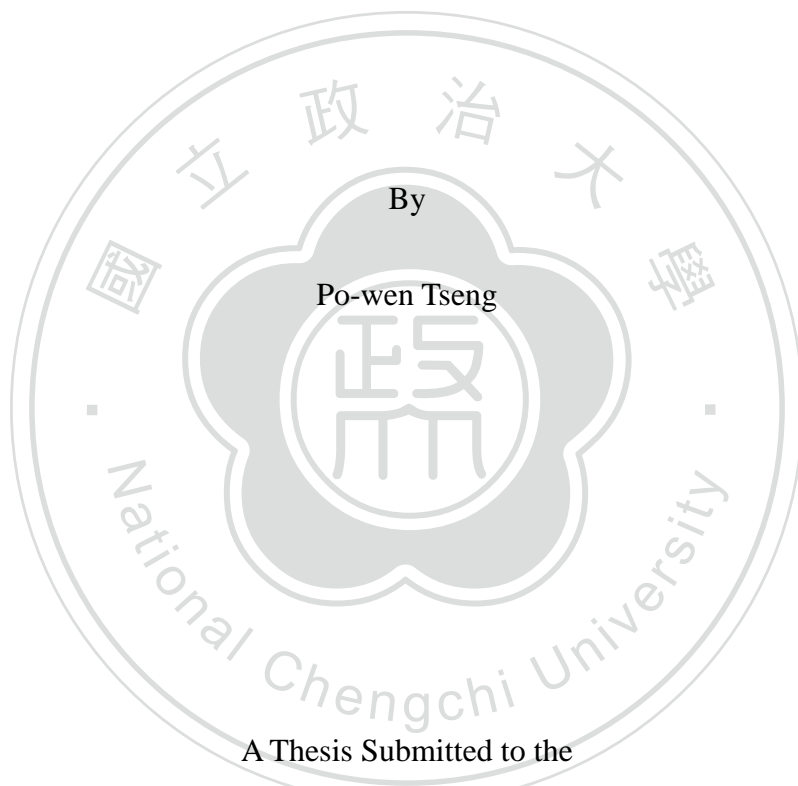
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By
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgment.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Figures and Tables.....	viii
Chinese Abstract.....	x
English Abstract.....	xi

CHAPTER

I . INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Motivation and Purpose.....	1
1.2 Organization of the Thesis.....	5
II . LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Studies on <i>Gei</i> in TM.....	8
2.1.1 Semantic Extensions of <i>Gei</i>	8
2.1.1.1 Newman (1996).....	8
2.1.1.2 Her (2006).....	9
2.1.1.3 Hu (2007).....	10

2.1.1.4 Lee (2008, 2009)	11
2.1.2 [<i>Gei Wo</i>] in TM.....	14
2.1.2.1 Generative Perspective Studies.....	14
2.1.2.2 Semantic Extension Studies	16
2.1.2.3 Grammaticalization Studies	17
2.2 Studies on Semantic Extensions of <i>Ka</i> in TSM	19
2.3 Studies on Semantic Extensions of <i>Lau</i> in TH.....	20
2.4 Remarks.....	22
III. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	25
3.1 Mechanisms for Syntactic Change	27
3.1.1 Reanalysis.....	27
3.1.2 Analogy	35
3.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change.....	38
3.2.1 Metaphorization.....	38
3.2.2 Metonymization.....	39
3.3 Motivation for Language Change	43
3.3.1 Pragmatic Strengthening	43
3.3.2 Subjectivity, Subjectification, and Counter-expectation	45
3.4 Remarks.....	50
IV. ANALYSIS	53
4.1 The Emergence of Imperative Meaning.....	53
4.1.1 Mechanisms for Syntactic Change: Reanalysis and Analogy	53
4.1.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change: Metonymy	65
4.2 The Emergence of Evaluative Meaning in TM.....	73
4.2.1 Mechanism for Syntactic Change: Analogy.....	74
4.2.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change: Metonymy	75

4.3	Motivation for Language Change	77
4.3.1	Pragmatic Strengthening	77
4.3.2	Subjectivity, Subjectification, and Counter-expectation	88
4.4	Remarks.....	98
V.	CONCLUDING REMARKS	101
5.1	Summary of the Thesis.....	101
5.2	Implications and Future Studies	104
REFERENCES.....		107



FIGURES AND TABLES

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	The topography of Mandarin outer affectives and benefactives (=Yang 2010: 83).....	15
Figure 2.2	The syntactic structure of <i>gei</i> as a verb ‘give’ and as a preposition ‘for’ (=Sun 2003: 354, figure 1).....	18
Figure 3.1	Reanalysis of Dutch <i>kei</i> . (=De Smet 2009: 1729, Figure 2.).....	28
Figure 3.2	Categorial incursion (=De Smet 2009: 1749, Figure 7.)	31
Figure 3.3	Category-internal change (=De Smet 2009: 1749, Figure 8.)	32
Figure 3.4	Automation (=De Smet 2009: 1750, Figure 9.).....	33
Figure 3.5	Schema of development of auxiliary <i>be going to</i> (=Hopper and Traugott 2003: Figure 3.2).....	37
Figure 3.6	Revised Schema of development of auxiliary <i>be going to</i> (=Hopper and Traugott 2003: Figure 4.1).....	42
Figure 4.1	Categorial incursion.....	56
Figure 4.2	Category-internal change.....	59
Figure 4.3	Automation	60

Figure 4.4 Reference-point construction (=Langacker 1999: 174, figure 6.1) 93

List of Tables

Table 2.1. The comparison between verbs in TM and M (Lee 2008: 89) 11

Table 4.1. Cause-effect formation for the imperative construction 66

Table 4.2. Data of evaluative [*gei wo* + stative predicate] construction..... 73

Table 4.3. Cause-effect formation for [*gei wo* + stative predicate] 77

Table 4.4. Six parameters for calculating FORCE EXERTION (=Takahashi 2011, Table 1) 84



國立政治大學語言學研究所碩士論文摘要

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論文名稱：論台灣華語 [gei wo]、台灣閩南語 [ka gua]、及台灣客語 [lau ngai]
句式的語法化

指導教授：賴惠玲 博士

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論文提要內容：(共一冊，二萬一千九百五十二字，分五章)

本論文採用 Traugott (2010)及 Hopper and Traugott (2003)的語法化觀點，探討台灣華語「給我」、台灣閩南語「共我」、及台灣客語「摻僵」句式在動前位置的祈使用法，主要分析產生此祈使用法的背後動因與機制，包含類推(analogy)、重新分析(reanalysis)、轉喻(metonymy)、語用強化(pragmatic strengthening)、及語言接觸(language contact)等概念。本論文的另一焦點為探討台灣華語「給我」的評價用法，此為台灣華語的新興用法，尚未見於台灣閩南語及台灣客語中。本研究將提出，語法化、主觀性(subjectivity)、及主觀化(subjectification)能闡釋新興用法產生的動因與機制。

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to investigate the preverbal [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] construction in Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwan Southern Min, and Taiwan Hakka. The original meaning of these constructions presents beneficial meaning, but they can also frequently appear in imperative constructions. While the extant literature has discussed the pragmatic functions of the imperative meaning, why and how the imperative meaning emerges is still unexplored. Aspects of grammaticalization are adopted (cf. Traugott 2010; Hopper and Traugott 2003). To elaborate how and why the imperative meaning emerges, syntactic and semantic mechanisms and their motivations are proposed. The other issue of the thesis aims to explore the newly emergent evaluative [*gei wo*] construction in Taiwan Mandarin. In addition to mechanisms and motivation for its development, the notion of subjectivity and subjectification plays a crucial role to account for the motivation for the emergence of the construction in question. Overall, this thesis illuminates the notion that the emergence of special constructions can derive from their original constructions through cognitive and functional foundation.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and Purpose

Across languages, the properties of GIVE sense are complicated, exhibiting multiple meanings and functions (Newman 1996, 1998). With no exception, in Mandarin, GIVE verb represented as *gei*, has attracted relatively rich studies due to its syntactic and semantic intricacies. Attention has mostly been emphasized on justifying its part-of-speech in different structures involved: a goal marker, a beneficiary, affectee, or patient marker, or a source marker in certain special constructions (cf. Chao 1968, Xu 1994, Shen 1999, Zhang 1999, Her 2006). One of the special [*gei wo*] construction, i.e. [*gei wo* + active predicates], stands for an imperative construction, which has already been addressed and substantially considered as an emphatic phrase, indicating the meaning ‘by the authority of...’ (Newman 1996: 201), as (1) illustrates. Such a phrase requires the first person singular pronoun to be the object of *gei*.

(1) 請你給我站好

Qing ni gei wo zhanhao.
 please you give I stand upright
 ‘Please stand upright for my sake.’

In addition to specifying the syntactic categories of *gei*, its semantic relatedness has also been explored. Several studies account for its semantic extension by metaphoric and metonymic mechanism (cf. Shen 1999, Zhang 1999, Hu 2007). Some take the view of semantic linking between the marking of beneficiary and the marking of an agent in passive to explain the semantic relatedness (Hideki 2005).

Given the fact that *gei* is syntactically and semantically complex, its further development into other constituents for communicative purposes is not surprising. In fact, the appearance of a newly emergent [*gei wo*] construction which is followed by stative predicates, i.e. [*gei wo* + stative predicate] in Taiwan Mandarin (TM), as example (2) illustrates, stands out and draws our attention. How such a construction emerges, and what its meaning is, are still unknown and uninvestigated.

(2) 天氣也給我太熱了

Tianqi ye gei wo tai re le.
 weather too give I too hot sentence-final particle (SFP)¹
 ‘It’s way too hot for me.’

¹ The abbreviations used in this thesis are: PP = preposition phrase; NP = noun phrase; VP = verb phrase; ASP = aspect marker; SFP = sentence final particle; PART = particle; CL = classifier; DO = direct object; SP/W = speaker/writer; NOM = nominal.

More interestingly, cross-linguistically, the correspondences of *gei* in the preverbal position can be *ka* in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) and *lau* in Taiwan Hakka (TH). Similar to the multiplicity of TM *gei*, both of *ka* and *lau* also reveal several functions and meanings in the preverbal position (cf. Tsao 2002, Lai 2003a, Lai 2003b). What interests us is that even though in all of these languages, the [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions have developed into an imperative construction, denoting an ordering meaning, as examples (3) and (4) illustrate, only TM has stepped further to the newly developed construction, i.e. [*gei wo* + stative predicate], as the example (2) shows.

(3) 你 *ka* 我卡小二 (=Tsao 2002 (65a))

Lí ka guá khah sè jī.
 you ka I much careful
 'I warn you to be much careful.'

(4) 這草籃仔你膠 **涯** 孩 等先行

Lia colame ni LAU ngai kai den xien hang.
 this basket you LAU I carry on ASP first leave
 'Please carry this basket for me and leave first.'

In TSM and TH, while their imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] construction are widely used, how and why they emerge have not yet been spelled out.

In response to the above observations, the following research questions are proposed:

- a. What mechanism and motivation can contribute to the appearance of the newly emergent construction?
- b. What is the meaning and function of the [*gei wo* + stative predicate] construction?
- c. Concerning the appearance of the imperative construction, can the mechanisms operated in TM be applied to those in TSM and TH?

Obviously, the newly developed usages emerge due to structural and semantic changes. Hence, grammaticalization, which has been widely deemed as the approach to investigate language change (Traugott and Heine, eds. 1991, Heine et al. 1991, Hopper and Traugott 2003, among others), will be applied as the major theoretical framework in this study. The meanings and functions of the newly emergent construction, [*gei wo* + stative predicate], will also be thoroughly dealt with. Moreover, a cross-linguistic investigation regarding their unparallel developments among TM, TSM, and TH will be preliminarily examined in the thesis.

The data of TM and TSM presented in this research are collected from not only previous studies, but also *the Google search*, setting in Taiwan Mandarin only, and the data of TH are mainly from *the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka* (國立政治大學客語口語語料庫) and Hakka informants. The data are transcribed into *Hanyu Pinyin* phonetic symbols.

1.2 Organization of the Thesis

After the presentation of motivation and purposes of this study, Chapter Two introduces previous studies on *gei*, *ka*, and *lau* in TM, TSM, and TH, respectively.

Chapter Three provides the theoretical background, including motivation and

mechanisms for grammaticalization. Chapter Four presents data analysis in each

language based on the framework of grammaticalization. Chapter Five concludes the

results and suggests for further research.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Due to their intricate meanings and functions, *gei*, *ka*, and *lau* in TM, TSM, and TH, have been extensively studied, and relevant studies will be reviewed in this chapter. To thoroughly demonstrate their semantic extensions, we will organize this section by different languages. First, in section 2.1, researches on *gei* will be presented, including the display on its multiple meanings and functions by Newman (1996), its ambiguous meanings in preverbal position by Her (2006), mechanisms of semantic extension of *gei* constructions by Hu (2007), and the language contact analysis by Lee (2008, 2009). In addition to the lexical meanings of *gei*, the fixed expression [*gei wo*] will be concerned, especially pertaining to its ordering meaning, including a generative analysis by Tsai (2009, 2010) and Yang (2010), semantic extension studies by Newman (1996) and Hu (2007), and a grammaticalization viewpoint by Sun (2003). Next, in section 2.2, studies on *ka* in TSM will be introduced with regard to its semantic development, particularly the fixed expression [*ka gua*] investigated in Tsao (2002) and Cheng and Tsao (1995) will be addressed.

Then, in section 2.3, the semantic extension of *lau* in TH discussed in Lai (2003a, 2003b) will be presented.

2.1 Studies on *Gei* in TM

2.1.1 Semantic Extensions of *Gei*

With its multiple meanings and functions,¹ this section will present several studies that account for semantic extensions of *gei* in different syntactic categories, especially the preverbal *gei* as a preposition.

2.1.1.1 Newman (1996)

Newman (1996), exerting a cognitive linguistic view, examines the GIVE morpheme in various languages. Concerning morphosyntactic and semantic extensions, he observes that the extension categories of GIVE can involve interpersonal communication, emergence/manifestation, causative/purpose, permission/enablement, schematic interaction, recipient/benefactive marking, movement, and completedness (Newman 1996: 134).

In Newman's (1996) study, *gei*, the representation of GIVE morpheme in

¹ *Gei* can be treated as a heterosemy. The term heterosemy, differing from polysemy, is defined as “two or more meanings that are historically related but are associated with reflexes which belong to different morphosyntactic categories” (cf. Lichtenberk 1991: 476). Newman (1996) maintains that the semantic extension of GIVE is closely related to the notion of heterosemy.

Mandarin, also exhibits semantic extensions into various functions such as of causative, permission/enablement, and recipient/benefactive functions. In addition, there is a special use of *gei* phrase in Mandarin, i.e. [*gei wo*] phrase, which is investigated as an emphatic use, as Newman (1996: 199) indicates: “Mandarin *gei* appears in imperative clauses lending a kind of emphasis to the command,” as the example *Ni gei wo chifan* (你給我吃飯) ‘(You) eat!’ illustrates. More details on the imperative [*gei wo*] construction will be discussed in section 2.1.2.

2.1.1.2 Her (2006)

In Her’s (2006) study, the syntactic categories of *gei* in different constructions are analyzed and determined. Among syntactic categories he argues, the one related to our study is the preverbal *gei*. Her (2006) argues that not only the postobject *gei* but also the preverbal one are able to act as a preposition. Examine the following examples in Her (2006):

- (1) a. 李四送了一個雕像給學校 (=Her 2006 (8b))

Lisi song-le yi ge diaoxiang gei xuexiao.

Lee give-ASP one CL statue to school

‘Lee gave a statue to the school.’

- b. 李四給老師寄了一份文件 (=Her 2006 (34a))

Lisi gei laoshi ji-le yi fen wenjian.

Lee to/for teacher post-ASP one CL document

‘Lee posted a document to/for the teacher.’

- c. 張三給李四還了一本書 (=Her 2006 (36c))
Zhangsan gei Lisi huan-le yi ben shu.
 John for Lee return one CL book
 ‘John returned a book for/*to Lee.’

Her (2006) holds that *gei* in the postobject position as in (1a) acts as a preposition, which encodes the goal meaning; that is, *xuexiao* (學校) ‘school’ is the destination where the *diaoxiang* (雕像) ‘statue’ goes. The intricate issue is that *gei* in the preverbal position as in (1b) exhibits ambiguous readings. One is the goal reading which indicates the destination of the document, while the other is the beneficial reading which addresses that the teacher is benefited from *Lisi*’s post, but the destination of the document is uncertain. The crucial evidence lies in (1c) which solely designates a beneficiary meaning. Therefore, according to the above semantic analyses, it is worthy of noticing that *gei* in the preverbal position can act either a beneficiary or a goal marker.

2.1.1.3 Hu (2007)

Hu (2007), applying construction framework to investigate different *gei* constructions, claims that there are eight *gei* constructions in Mandarin, and the unmarked, superordinate one would be [N(agent)+*gei*+N(recipient)+N(patient)], such as *Fumu gei ta ling yong qian* (父母給他零用錢) ‘His parents gave him pocket

money.’ In this construction, its meaning can be realized as SUBJECT CAUSE

OBJECT_{GEI+N} TO RECEIVE SOMETHING. Among constructions suggested in Hu’s study, a special imperative [*gei wo*] construction related to our study will be discussed in section 2.1.2. Hu (2007) also illustrates that the semantic extensions of *gei* constructions can be accounted for through metaphor and metonymy (Hu 2007: 43ff).

Section 2.1.2 will come back to the discussion.

2.1.1.4 Lee (2008, 2009)

Lee (2008) generalizes the categories and meanings of *gei* in Mandarin (M) and TM. And, the comparison between them is illustrated by the following table.

Table 2.1: The comparison between verbs in TM and M (=Lee 2008: 89, Table 14)

(V indicates the lexeme carries the function. X means the lexeme does not carry it)

	<i>gei</i> in TM	<i>gei</i> in M
a verb meaning: give	V	V
a verb meaning: enable/permit/allow	V	V
a verb meaning: cause	V	X
recipient/goal	V	V
beneficiary	V	V
affectee	V	X
agent marker in passive structure	X	V
source marker	V	X

patient/theme marker	V	X
resultative (verb+ <i>gei</i> + <i>ta</i> +complement)	V	X
<i>gei</i> + <i>ta</i> as a semi-infix to express subjectivity	V	X

Lee also holds that the appearance of new meanings in TM can be attributed to language contact between M and TSM in Taiwan. Among those new usages, a special construction [*gei ta*], as (2) shows, is investigated with the view of mismatch and grammaticalization.

- (2) 在開學前給他玩個痛快 (=Lee 2008 (14c))
zai kaixue qian gei ta wan ge tong kuai
 LOC school begins before give it play CLA happily
 ‘Let’s have a great time before the school begins.’

The [*gei ta*] construction, which can be followed by adjectives, is similar to our evaluative [*gei wo*] construction. Lee argues that *gei* in the construction in question has undergone grammaticalization, turning into “a function word denoting reason, perspective or affection” (cf. Lee 2008: 133), as the argument presented below:

Gei in the structure functions as a preposition introducing the topic, the reason or affectedness of an event. In some cases, it encodes the speaker’s stance, including his subjective approving or disapproving attitude. *Gei* in some cases could be interpreted as something like “because of, concerning, as far as... is concerned” (cf. Lee 2009: 50).

Then, with regard to the construction in question, Lee proposes the grammaticalization of the insertion of [*gei ta*], as (3) indicates below:

(3) transfer of object/ goal of transfer, (=Lee 2008: 133)

Gei ta i ben shu

Give him a book.

> transfer of abstract evaluative/goal of evaluated,

Gei ta zhu fu/ ping lun

Give him a bless/ a comment.

> textual, metalinguistic meaning

Na tian shang ban gei ta puo cao dao.

I went to work very early that day.

> strengthening of speaker's belief

Chuang wai de fong jing zhen shi gei ta you gou band de

The scenery outside (the window) is really great.

The study on [*gei ta*] can provide some insights to our study. We will elaborate that certain characteristics of [*gei ta*] are found in our [*gei wo*] construction in chapter 4.

To sum up, as *gei* is located in the preverbal position, it can be not only syntactically realized as a preposition, but also semantically perceived as having ambiguous readings, i.e., a beneficiary or a goal marker. Then, after grammaticalized and combined with *ta* or *wo*, [*gei ta*] and [*gei wo*] become fixed expressions in a certain context, generally serving an emphatic function. In the next section, studies on [*gei wo*] construction will be presented.

2.1.2 [*Gei Wo*] in TM

As the discussion of preverbal *gei*, which is syntactically realized as a preposition (cf. Li and Thompson 1981, Her 2006), the prepositional phrase [*gei wo*] can not only indicate the meaning as ‘for me,’ but also serve an ordering meaning. The semantic extension from a giving verb to an ordering meaning has been examined by some studies, including Tsai (2009, 2010), Yang (2010), Hu (2007), and Sun (2003). They will be reviewed below.

2.1.2.1 Generative Perspective Studies

In Tsai’s (2009, 2010) studies, an affective construction is applied to examine the syntactic position of [*gei wo*]. Tsai (2009, 2010) claims that *gei* is an applicative marker which marks *wo*, an affectee. Structurally, *wo* is in the spec of applicative and *gei* is moved to the higher evaluative structure. In addition, Tsai (2010) contends that, in Mandarin, the external argument, i.e., the subject, must appear higher than the [*gei wo*] construction. Compare the example (4a) from Yang (2010: 80) and (4b-c) from (Tsai 2010: 4).

(4) a. 他居然給我拿了錢就跑 (=Yang 2010: 80)

Ta juran gei wo na-le qian jiu pao
 He unexpectedly AFF me take-perfective money then run
 ‘Unexpectedly, he took the money and run away from me.’

b. *居然給我阿 Q 拿了錢就跑 (=Tsai 2010: 4)

Juran gei wo Akiu na-le qian jiu pao
 unexpectedly AFF me Akiu take-perfective money then run

c. *給我阿 Q 居然拿了錢就跑

gei wo Akiu Juran na-le qian jiu pao
 AFF me Akiu unexpectedly take-perfective money then run

Along with Tsai's (2009, 2010) proposal, Yang (2010) further assumes that "the subject was originally in the spec of TP, but later topicalized in the outer affective construals" (Yang 2010: 82), as the following figure indicates:

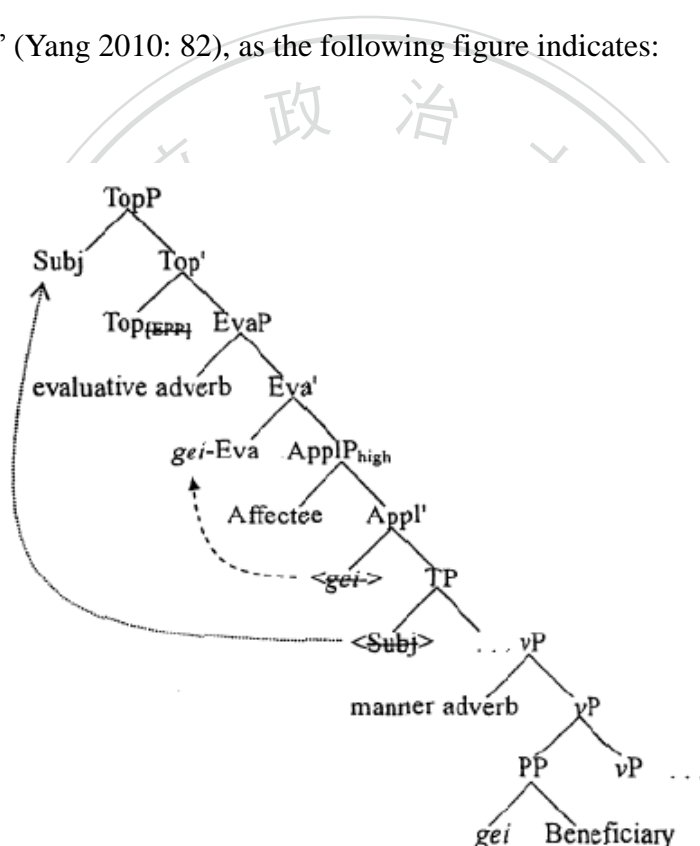


Figure 2.1 The topography of Mandarin outer affectives and benefactives

(=Yang 2010: 83 (112))

Such an affective construal analysis can not only syntactically serve as a possible explanation of [*gei wo*] in the structure, but also semantically feature *wo* as an affectee.

Moreover, Tsai (2010) argued that such as affective construal can be licensed by imperative mood, as (5) shows (Tsai 2010: 3).

- (5) 給我跪下
 gei wo gui-xia
 AFF me knwwl-down
 ‘Kneel down for my sake.’

However, neither the mechanism nor the motivation of the semantic extension can be illustrated by the affective construction. That is, how and why the semantic extension occurs from the original giving meaning to an ordering meaning is still unknown.

2.1.2.2 Semantic Extension Studies

The studies on the [*gei wo*] construction can be seen in Newman (1996), who holds that when *gei* appears in an imperative clause, the phrase [*gei wo*] can carry an emphatic reading. Consider the following example.

- (6) (你)給我吃飯 (=Newman 1996: 199 (60a))
 (Ni) gei wo chi-fan
 (you) give me eat
 ‘(You) eat’

Example (6) contains two readings. One is the “enable” meaning, indicating “You let

me eat;”the other is the emphatic meaning, referring to “by the authority of.” The major distinction is that, in the emphatic reading, *wo* is not the agent who eats, but the authority who asks for the demand to be done (cf. Newman 1996: 199-201). Such ambiguous readings play a crucial role for grammaticalization, but none of the research has delved into this issue. We will elaborate on this in the following chapters.

Hu (2007), with the view of the constructional approach, maintains that [*gei wo*] is a marked and less prototypical imperative construction, such as *Dixiongmen, gei wo qiangqizi*. (弟兄們，給我搶旗子) ‘Soldiers, grab chess pieces for my sake.’, whose meaning can be realized as ‘SUBJECT CAUSE OBJECT OF *GEI* TO RECEIVE BENEFIT BY DOING AS IS ASKED’. One of the characteristics of this imperative construction is that [*gei wo*] is deemed as a construction. More importantly, the metonymic mechanism CAUSE FOR EFFECT is activated. Specifically speaking, the first person pronoun *wo* (我) ‘I’ is affected by the activity *qiangqizi* (搶旗子) ‘grab chess pieces’ caused by *dixiongmen* (弟兄們) ‘soldiers’.

2.1.2.3 Grammaticalization Studies

As we have indicated above, the prepositional phrase [*gei wo*] is derived from the original meaning of *gei*, i.e., giving. In other words, the content meaning is weakened and turns into a preposition; afterwards, the preposition develops into an ordering

meaning. Such a process is characterized as grammaticalization, which can be defined as “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 18).

Such a grammaticalization study on [*gei wo*] can be seen in Sun (2003), who argues that [*gei wo*] has been grammaticalized and turned into a pragmatic marker. As grammaticalization occurs, its syntactic changes, operated by analogy and reanalysis, should be concerned.² Sun argues that the mechanism, reanalysis, leads to [*gei wo*] becoming a prepositional phrase, as the following syntactic structure illustrates (=Sun 2003: 354, figure 1).

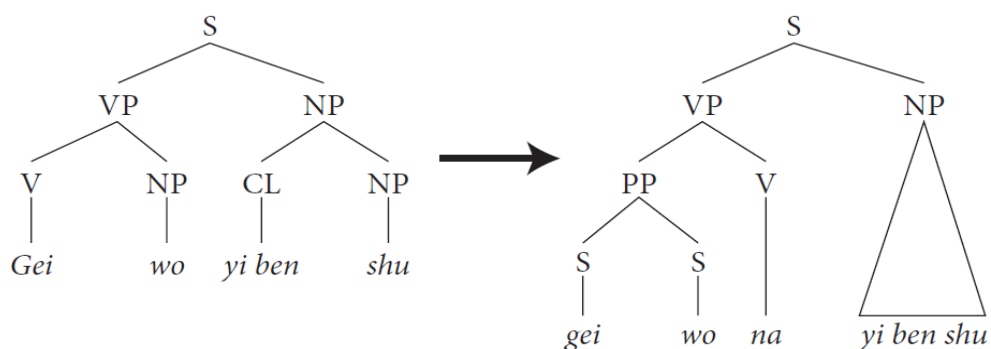


Figure 2.2 The syntactic structure of *gei* as a verb ‘give’ and as a preposition ‘for’.

In addition, the grammaticalized [*gei wo*] can be attested by characteristics of

² The discussion on analogy and reanalysis will be addressed in Chapter 3.

grammaticalization, including layering and divergence, reported in the study (Sun 2003: 355).

In sum, the emergence of the imperative [*gei wo*] construction can be accounted for by the application of metonymy as a mechanism, which is motivated by reanalysis. However, the emergence of the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction remains uninvestigated.

2.2 Studies on Semantic Extensions of *Ka* in TSM

Researches on the development of *ka* can be found in Tsao (2002) and Cheng and Tsao (1995). Based on a phonological viewpoint, Cheng and Tsao (1995) illustrate that the original meaning of *ka* is the comitative function, *háp* (合) ‘with’. Subsequently, the preposition function occurs and four senses including a source, a goal, a patient, and a benefactive marker are developed (cf. Tsao (2002)). Examine the following examples:

- (7) a. 阿三 ka 阿美借一本冊 (= Tsao 2002: (6b))
Asam ka Abí tsioh tsit-pún tsheh.
 Asam ka Abí borrow one-CL book
 ‘Asam borrowed a book from Abí.’
- b. 老師 ka 我回答一個問題 (= Tsao 2002: (9’))
Lāusu ka guá huêtap tsit-e mñgtê.
 teacher ka me answer one-CL question
 ‘The teacher answered a question for me.’

- c. 蚊子 ka 我叮 (= Tsao 2002: (19b))

Bûn-a ka guá ting.
mosquito ka me sting

‘A mosquito bit me.’

- d. 媽媽在 ka 弟弟洗身軀 (= Tsao 2002: (59a))

Má-mah tsāi ka tītī sé-sin-khu.
mother ASP ka brother take a bath

‘Mother is helping the brother to take a bath.’

The source, goal, patient, and benefactive meanings can be illustrated in (7a-d),

respectively. The semantic developments of these meanings have been investigated by means of context-induced and two-tier analyses.

Tsao (2002) argues that the appearance of the ordering meaning of *ka*, such as example (8), originates from the benefactive meaning. In addition, comparing languages between TSM and TM, Tsao demonstrates that the benefactive marker *ka* corresponds to TM *gei*, functioning alike (cf. Tsao 2002: 132). However, little attention has been paid to the mechanism and motivation of the ordering meaning.

- (8) 你 ka 我卡小二 (=Tsao 2002 (65a))

Lí ka guá khah sè jī.
you ka I much careful

‘I warn you to be much careful.’

2.3 Studies on Semantic Extensions of *Lau* in TH

Lai (2003a, 2003b) illustrates that the original meaning of *lau* is the verb denoting

to mix, to blend, or to put things together. Then, based on the metaphorical mechanism, the sense expands to a comitative preposition and a comitative conjunction. More importantly, as the comitative preposition is established, other senses will occur resulting from the mechanism of metonymic strengthening and underspecification of participant roles. The semantic senses including the comitative, the source, the goal, the benefactive, and the patient are illustrated in (9a-e), respectively; the data are taken directly from Lai (2003b: 534 (1-5)):

- (9) a. 阿英摠阿姨共下去街頂
Ayin LAU ayi kiungha hi giedang.
 Ayin LAU aunt together go downtown
 ‘Ayin, together with her aunt, went downtown.’
- b. 阿英摠佢借錢
Ayin LAU gi jia qien.
 Ayin LAU him borrow money
 ‘Ayin borrowed money from him.’
- c. 阿英摠阿明講故事
Ayin LAU Amin gong gusi.
 Ayin LAU Amin tell story
 ‘Ayin told a story to Amin.’
- d. 阿英摠厥孺仔買一坵田
Ayin LAU gia lai-e mai yit kiu tien.
 Ayin LAU her son buy one CL land
 ‘Ayin bought a piece of land for her son.’
- e. 阿英摠杯子打爛哩
Ayin LAU bi-e da-lan le.
 Ayin LAU cup hit-break PART
 ‘Ayin broke the cup.’

More refined analyses on the semantic extension of these interrelated senses can be found in Lai (2003b).

In addition, cross-linguistically, Tsao (2002) holds that *lau* in TH is syntactically similar with *ka* in TSM (Tsao 2002: 134). That is, their preverbal functions are both derived from the comitative meaning. However, the same situation, as *ka* found in TSM, also occurs. Though the multiplicity of *lau* has been examined, the ordering meaning such as (10) is missing.

- (10) 這草籃仔你膠 偈核 等先行
Lia colame ni LAU ngai kai den xien hang.
 this basket you LAU I carry on ASP first leave
 ‘Please carry this basket for me and leave first.’

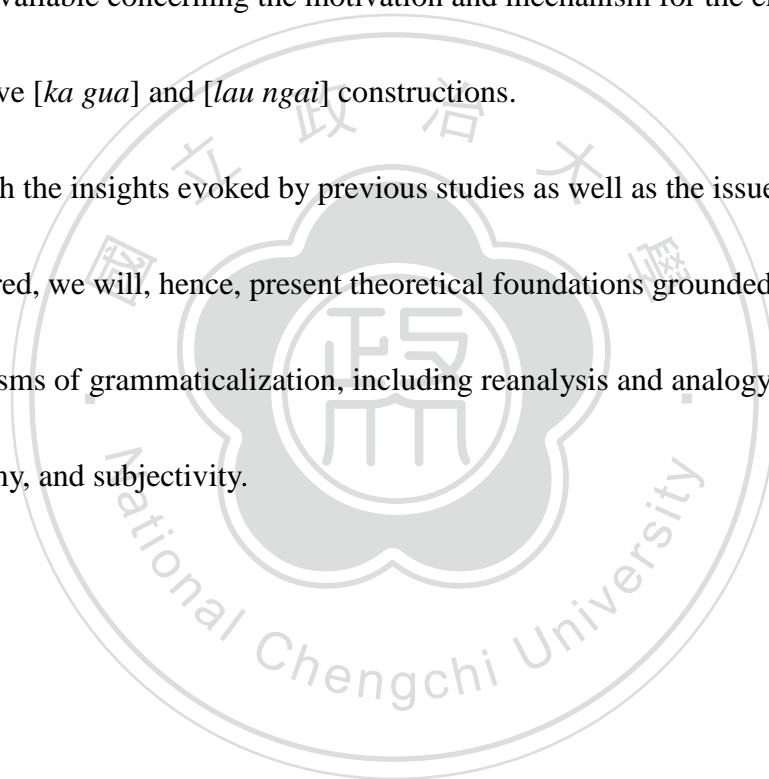
2.4 Remarks

Gei in TM exhibits multiple meanings and functions as previous researches have demonstrated. The mechanism for the semantic extension has attempted to examine the various meanings by means of metonymy, metaphor, and usage-based approach. However, although the special imperative [*gei wo*] construction has been examined, including its mechanism and motivation, a complete survey on each phase of its development should be conducted. In particular, the linguistic data that can trigger the emergence of the ordering meaning needs to be identified and elaborated. Moreover,

regarding the emergence of the evaluative meaning, neither the mechanism nor the motivation has been explored.

With a cross-linguistic comparison, while semantic relatedness of *ka* in TSM and *lau* in TH has been investigated, attention has not been paid to their ordering meanings, i.e., [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. More specifically, researches are not yet available concerning the motivation and mechanism for the emergence of imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions.

With the insights evoked by previous studies as well as the issues that remain unexplored, we will, hence, present theoretical foundations grounded upon mechanisms of grammaticalization, including reanalysis and analogy, metaphor and metonymy, and subjectivity.



CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Grammaticalization is originated in Meillet (1912), which leads to a broad investigation (Lehmann 1982 [1995, 2002], Hopper and Traugott 1993 [2003], Campbell and Janda 2001, Heine 2003, among others). A general view of grammaticalization can be seen in Heine's (2003) study, which mainly focuses on the framework of grammaticalization and the process of grammaticalization. Concerning the framework of grammaticalization, mechanisms and motivations are proposed. Heine suggests that "the main motivation underlying grammaticalization is to communicate successfully" (Heine 2003: 578). For mechanisms, desemanticization, extension, decategorialization, and erosion are held by Heine (2003: 579). More specifically, desemanticization refers to semantic bleaching; extension indicates uses in new contexts; decategorialization represents the loss in morphosyntactic properties, such as cliticization, affixation; erosion means the loss in phonetic characteristics (Heine 2003: 579).

Grammaticalization can also be taken from a synchronic view, examining the

language change at a single point of time, as can be seen from the synchronic parameters of grammaticalization put forward by Lehmann (cf. Lehmann 1985, 2002, Heine et al. 1991). Another line of grammaticalization can be seen in Traugott's (2010a) study, which compares two opposite viewpoints of grammaticalization, i.e. reduction versus expansion. Traugott (2010a) argues that while considering grammaticalization as reduction is convincing, especially in morphosyntactic change, the view of expansion is also crucial and fundamental when concerning semantic change and pragmatic inference. In addition to the stance of grammaticalization, she also examines mechanisms and motivations of grammaticalization, including analogy, reanalysis and pragmatic inference.

In this section, attention will be drawn on the mechanisms and motivations for grammaticalization. Specifically, mechanisms will be divided into syntactic mechanisms, i.e. analogy and reanalysis, and semantic ones, i.e. metonymy and metaphor (Traugott 2002, 2010b). Furthermore, motivations will be illustrated by means of pragmatic strengthening, including invited-inference and context-induced reinterpretation.

This chapter will be organized as follows. Mechanisms for syntactic change will be discussed in section 3.1. Next, in section 3.2, mechanisms for semantic change will be presented. Then, the motivation for semantic change will be concerned in section

3.3. Finally, some remarks are given in section 3.4.

3.1 Mechanisms for Syntactic Change

3.1.1 Reanalysis

Let us begin with reanalysis. Harris and Campbell (1995) propose that there are only three mechanisms for syntactic change, including reanalysis, extension, and borrowing. What we concern are reanalysis and extension, or analogy, both of which are internal mechanisms (Hopper and Traugott 2003). Traugott and Dasher (2002) also maintain that “for most of this century, reanalysis has been considered the major factor in morphosyntactic change” (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 27). More specifically, reanalysis is referred to as a mechanism “which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any modification of its surface manifestation” (Harris and Campbell 1995: 51). One of the examples in English is *try and VERB* sequence in *I’ll try and contact you*, where reanalysis occurs, combining *try and* as a single word (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 50). Based on the example, reanalysis can be characterized as the change on the underlying structure, rather than on surface manifestation.

A developed view of reanalysis can be seen in De Smet’s (2009) study. He deals with the logical flaw in ambiguity and ontological difficulties on the appearance of

innovative structural representations. The example that can exhibit the issue in question is the development of Dutch *kei* ‘boulder, peddle’, which can be used as an intensifying prefix, such as *keimooi* ‘very beautiful’ or *keilang* ‘very long’. Such a development can be attributed to the comparative *N+A* compounds, e.g. *bloedrood* ‘blood-red’ or *beenhard* ‘bone-hard.’ The crucial example, *keihard* ‘rock-hard,’ could be seen as the context for reanalysis. The following figure visualizes the development of *kei*.

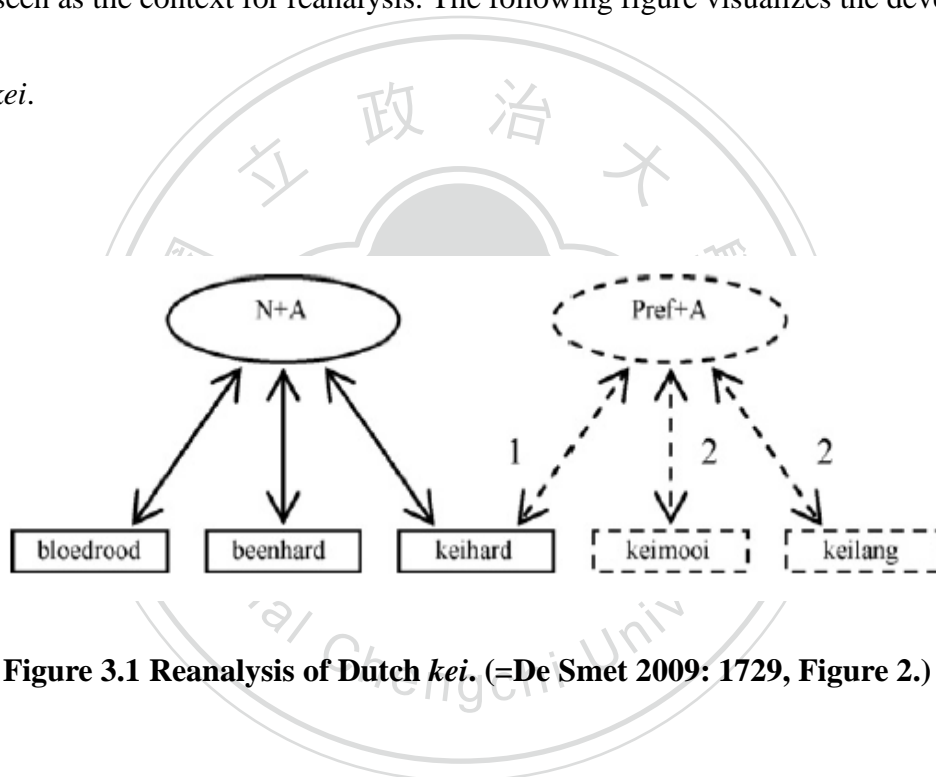


Figure 3.1 Reanalysis of Dutch *kei*. (=De Smet 2009: 1729, Figure 2.)

As Figure 3.1 illustrates, rectangles indicate surface sequences; circles mean the more abstract syntactic structures. Full lines refer to the starting point of change, and dotted lines, the innovations. Double arrows mark the relationships of instantiation, and numbering demonstrates different stages (ibid., 1729). More specifically, concerning the issue that De Smet (2009) raises, that is, the logical flaw in ambiguity

and ontological difficulties on the appearance of innovative structural representations, it seems difficult to explain how language users could apply *N+A compounds* to *Pref+A structure*. Thus, there could be more basic mechanisms prior to the application of reanalysis (De Smet 2009: 1729-1730).

To underline the notion of reanalysis, De Smet further suggests three basic mechanisms, involving categorial incursion, gradual category-internal change, and automation. One of the cases he proposes to exemplify the analysis is that *worth* is developed from a transitive to an intransitive use, and *worthwhile* is changed from an intransitive to a transitive use (De Smet 2009: 1732ff). Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. A touchdown is worth six points. (=De Smet 2009: 1732, (1))
 b. The outcome had been worth the long battle.
- (2) a. The restaurant was crook and therefore not worth visiting. (=ibid. 1732 (2))
 b. Now was not this heroic lover worth running after?
- (3) a. With anthems like that it's worth emigrating isn't it. (=ibid. 1733 (3))
 b. However, I think it is worth issuing a word of warning about unusual vegetables.

In (1a-b), they are transitive structures due to that *worth* should select a subject and an object; that is, the deletion of object can cause ungrammaticality. In (2a-b), the syntactic structure is changed in that the object of *worth* turns into a gerund clause,

which can be represented as an adjectival predicate; however, *worth* is still transitive because it requires an object. Crucial examples are in (3a-b), which can be interpreted as intransitive since syntactically *worth* behaves like other intransitive adjectives such as *easy* in *it hadn't been easy breaking the news to Nicole* (De Smet 2009: 1732), and semantically the gerund clause following *worth* acts as “a positive value” by itself, rather than “an exchange value for a given subject” (De Smet 2009: 1732). Then, consider the examples of *worthwhile*:

- (4) a. all the work has been *worthwhile*. (=De Smet 2009: 1733 (4a-b))
 b. Hardly any novel writing, or reading, seemed to him *worth while*.
- (5) a. it is certainly *worthwhile* stopping off on the way. (=ibid. 1733 (5a-b))
 b. Sir William does not think it *worth while* making another application.
- (6) a. no more than a shadow too vain and futile to be *worth while* watching as it passed. (=ibid: 1733 (6a-b))
 b. there is much that is *worthwhile* visiting.

Worthwhile is originally an intransitive adjective, as (4a-b) indicates. In addition, it can be followed by extraposed gerund clauses as (5a-b) shows. What attracts our attention are examples in (6a-b), whose subject (*a shadow; that*) “simultaneously functioning as the missing object of the gerund clause following the adjective” (De Smet 2009: 1733). Such a construction can be considered as a transitive construction.

Let us begin to introduce these three mechanisms. First, categorial incursion refers

to that one construction extends to another one which already exists. Such a mechanism can clarify the notion of ambiguity as the interpretation to an existing model, as the following figure shows. In figure 3.2, step 1 manifests the interaction between one construction and the other already existing construction, as the circle drawn by dotted lines, and then step 2 demonstrates the appearance of new meaning independent from the sources, as the rectangle drawn by dotted lines.

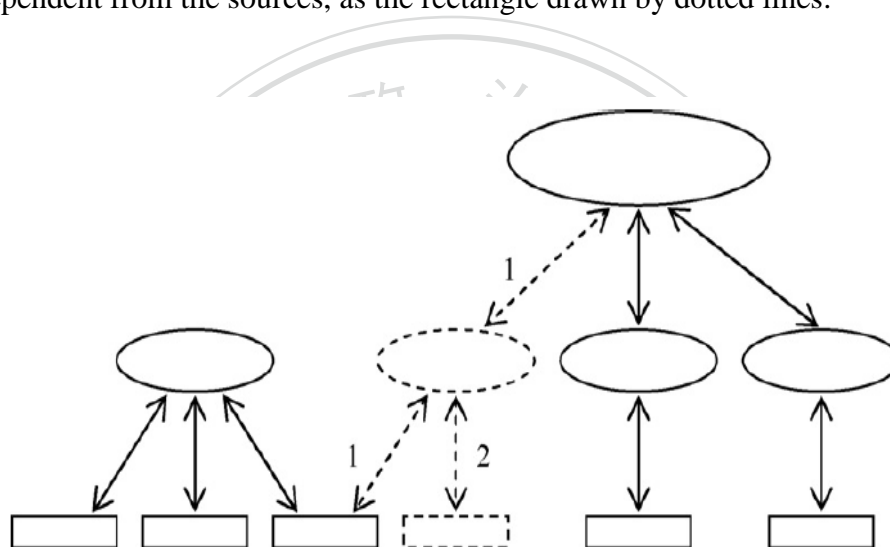


Figure 3.2 Categorical incursion. (=De Smet 2009: 1749, Figure 7.)

Categorical incursion can be well demonstrated by the change of *worth* and *worthwhile*.

The transition from transitive *worth* to intransitive one is not random but is the analogical extension to the already existing construction, i.e. *worthwhile*. This can also explain why *worth* is able to become intransitive like *worthwhile*, while other adjectives are not.

The second mechanism is called gradual category-internal change, defined as that

“a construction undergoes minor semantic change which manifest themselves in new instances, but not necessary in a new category” (ibid., 1749), as the following figure illustrates. There are two steps for the process. The first step is the expansion of the syntactic structure, denoted by the extended dotted circle, thereby the meaning extension becoming possible. The second one is the result of actualization, symbolized by the dotted rectangle, thereby the new meaning being established, free from the source construction.

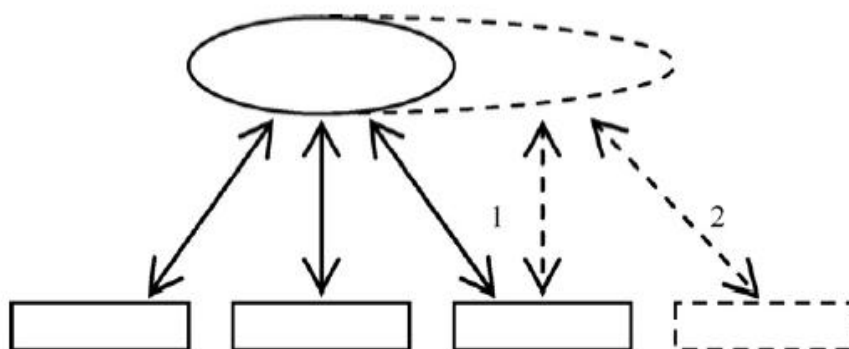


Figure 3.3 Category-internal change. (=De Smet 2009: 1749, Figure 8.)

The instance of the application of such a mechanism can be held by the rise of intransitive *worth*. The emergence of intransitive *worth* can be seen as a process, whereby the transitive meaning of *worth* is weakened, and its existing categorial boundary is extended, allowing *worth* to receive the effects of categorial incursion from *worthwhile*.

The third mechanism is automation, referring to the process whereby “a less schematic construction gradually becomes alienated from its more schematic parent construction” (ibid., 1750). Such a mechanism can support the phenomenon of language use, which results in a specific construction becoming a chunk, independent from the original construction. As the following figure shows, the instantiations can be connected by the arrowless dotted lines, which means that the link is weakened. As the construction is alienated, it can operate automatically and independently. Furthermore, such a process is likely to occur in different levels, including from a more schematic to less schematic connection or from a schematic to surface one.

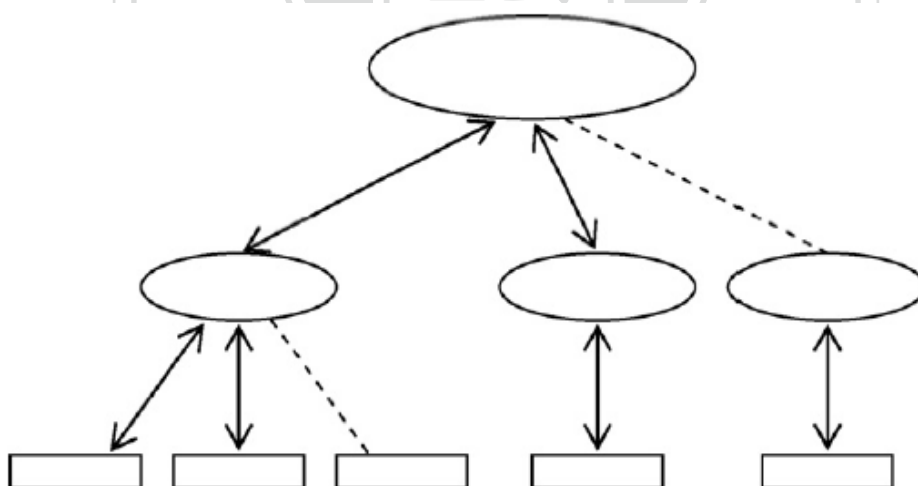


Figure 3.4 Automation. (=De Smet 2009: 1750, Figure 9.)

Automation can be applied to account for the difference between intransitive *worth* and other intransitive adjectives. Even though *worth* behaves like an intransitive

adjective, some constraints, such as fronting of the gerund clause, are imposed.

Compare the following examples:

(7) a. With anthems like that it's worth emigrating isn't it. (=De Smet 2009: 1733 (3a))

b. *emigrating is worth with anthems like that, isn't it. (see *ibid.* 1733)

(8) a. It's easy imagining a scenario.

b. Imagining a scenario is easy.

From the above examples, it is represented that although *worth* can be characterized as intransitive, it can neither be originated from its original function, nor be the same as other ordinary intransitive adjectives; in other words, the construction of intransitive *worth* has developed through the mechanism of automation.

In addition to ambiguity for reanalysis, Harris (2005) maintains that causes of reanalysis can involve not only ambiguous readings but also the provision of stylistic variety or greater expressiveness. The latter cause, i.e. the provision of stylistic variety or greater expressiveness, indicates that when reanalysis appears, the innovative structure can co-exist with, rather than replace, the source structure. Take *unda* in Georgian as an example. The innovative modal usage of *unda* in *mas unda (rom) gaak'etos* 'S/he wants to do it.' exists side by side with the source 'want' usage as in *man unda gaak'etos* 'S/he should do it'.

3.1.2 Analogy

After the demonstration on reanalysis, the other significant mechanism for syntactic change, i.e. analogy, will be addressed in this section. In Meillet's (1912) study, analogy is seen as the model of proportion, applied at the morphological level, such as singular-plural alternation, as in (9).

(9) cat: cats = child: X (= Hopper and Traugott 2003: 64, (24))

X = childs¹

In addition to the morphological level, the notion of analogy extends to the structural or semantic changes by means of similarity, applying on the paradigmatic axis (cf. Fisher 2007; Hopper and Traugott 2003, Traugott 2010). The example for the application of analogy can be seen in “going construction” (Fischer 2010: 285) as (10) indicates.

- (10) a. I am going (to the market) to buy some fish. (=Fischer 2010: 285(4))
 b. I am going to marry (tomorrow).
 c. I am going to like it.
 d. It is going to rain.
 e. I am going to go there for sure.
 f. I'm gonna go there for sure.
 g. * I'm gonna Haarlem to visit my aunt.

¹ Such an analogical process whereby the result is different from adults' usage, i.e. *children*, can usually be discovered at the early stage of children's language acquisition.

As the above examples indicate, verbs that co-occur with *be going to* can be changed from concrete movement verbs, such as (10a) and (10b), to more mental ones, such as (10c). Next, the extension can contribute the subject to be inanimate, as in (10d).

Cases in (10e) and (10f) further support that *be going to* has turned into future tense since the appearance of two concessive *go* is only allowed when the first one is the auxiliary. Thus, (10g) is not acceptable.

The difference between reanalysis and analogy can be demonstrated as in Hopper and Traugott's (2003: 39) study, which states that "[i]n reanalysis, the grammatical syntactic and morphological – and semantic properties of forms are modified.... Analogy... modifies surface manifestations and... does not effect rule change."² While their difference exists, they are able to interact to deal with grammaticalization. Such an interaction can be exemplified by the development of *be going to* from directional expression to future representation, as the following figure exhibits.

² Different from Traugott's viewpoint, Fischer (2007, 2008) argues that analogy can involve reanalysis.

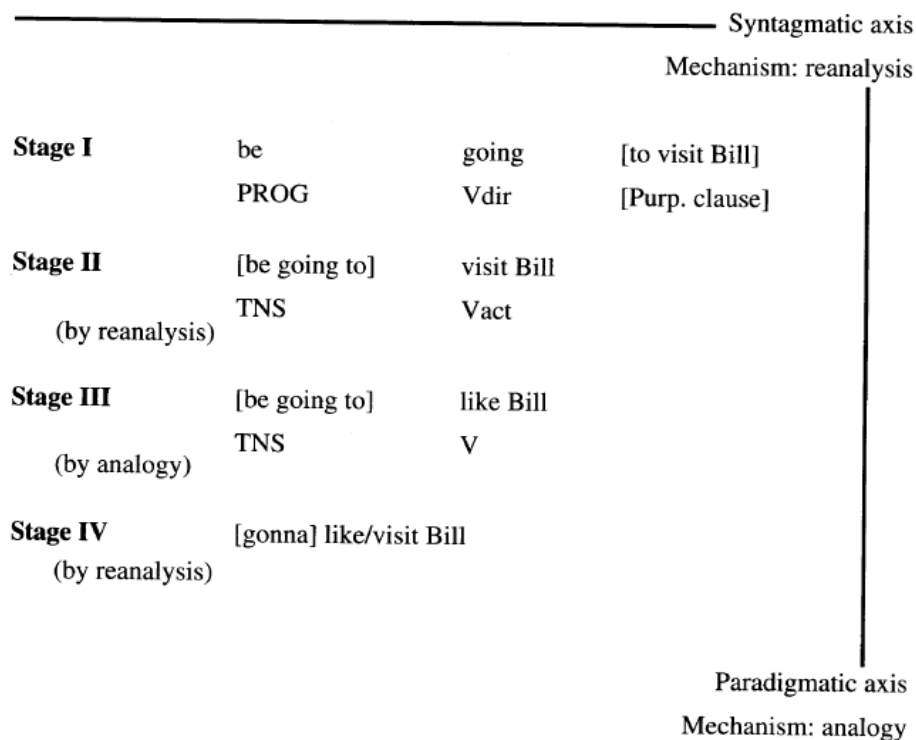


Figure 3.5 Schema of development of auxiliary *be going to* (=Hopper and Trasugott 2003: Figure 3.2)

As the figure illustrates, *be going to* at stage II is changed from a progressive directional marker to a tense marker, demonstrating a constituency change via reanalysis. Then, at stage III, analogy is applied due to the extension from an active verb, i.e. *visit*, to a stative one, i.e. *like*. Finally, at stage IV, reanalysis is exerted again, turning *be going to* into *gonna* whereby phonological contraction occurs. Thus, from the observation of the development of *be going to*, reanalysis is applied on the underlying structure, while analogy is manifested on the surface structure.

In this section, we have already presented mechanisms for syntactic change, i.e. reanalysis and analogy. Specifically, we have sketched how reanalysis applies to

grammaticalization, and more importantly, examined three basic mechanisms that underlie the notion of reanalysis. These three more basic mechanisms will be undertaken for our research.

3.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change

Metaphor and metonymy are generally regarded as mutually related concepts and mechanisms to account for not only human conceptualization, but also meaning change (Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991). In this section, a general idea of metaphor and metonymy will be laid out, and further elaboration on how they interact with grammaticalization will be presented.

3.2.1 Metaphorization

Metaphor is generally defined as the understanding of one thing by means of another, or the transfer from one concrete meaning to more abstract one. The understanding or the transfer can refer to the mappings between conceptual domains, i.e. from concrete sources to abstract concepts (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Heine, et al. 1991; Croft and Cruse 2004). For example, our sensorimotor domains can be mapped to the subjective experience domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 45ff), such as *up* in *I'm feeling up today*, which represents “feeling happy and energetic and having an

upright posture,” applying the primary metaphor, HAPPY IS UP (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 50).

With the view of dynamic dimension, metaphor can be viewed as a dynamic process in meaning change, i.e., metaphORIZATION, which is claimed as a mechanism for semantic change (Traugott and Dasher 2002). Moreover, metaphoric processes are argued to be the motivation for early grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 85). As Hopper and Traugott (2003) state, the development of spatial into temporals can be accounted for by the metaphor, TIME IS SPACE, illustrated by *be going to, in the years ahead*, both of which denote future tense.

3.2.2 Metonymization

From a traditional view, metonymy is merely a way that we apply the name of something to signify the other, as the following definition indicates: “metonymy is a figure of speech in which the name of one thing is used in place of that of another associated with or suggested by it” (*Webster’s New World Dictionary* Third College Edition, S.V. “metonymy” p.854). However, from the cognitive viewpoint, metonymy not only reveals language use, but also fundamentally reflects human cognitive processes. Kövecses and Radden (1998: 39) indicate that “metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another

conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or [idealized cognitive model] ICM.” In addition, Kövecses and Radden propose several ICMs³, among which we adopt Causation ICM to account for semantic extensions in our study. Causation ICM is defined as “[w]hen one thing or event causes another, we have a cause-and-effect type of relationship” (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 56). Two possible relationships can be produced; that is, CAUSE FOR EFFECT or EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymies.

The following examples illustrate these two kinds of metonymies, respectively:

(11) healthy complexion

(12) sad book

The realization of (11), *healthy complexion*, relies on the fact that a better health condition can bring out a healthier complexion. On the other hand, in (12), it is the book that can make the reader feel sad; in other words, the book is the cause that leads to the effect of sadness.

More importantly, compared with metaphor, as some researchers have argued, metonymy is a more basic and fundamental phenomenon to language and cognition (cf. Barcelena 2000). In this regard, semantic changes can occur by metonymization

³ Two categories of ICMs are proposed. One is Whole ICM and its parts, including Thing-and-part ICM, Scale ICM, Constitution ICM, Complex event ICM, Category-and-member ICM, Category-and-property ICM, and the other is Parts of an ICM, including Action ICM, Perception ICM, Causation ICM, Production ICM, Control ICM, Possession ICM, Containment ICM, Assorted ICMs involving indeterminate relationships, Sign and reference ICMs.

as the following example illustrates (cf. Stern 1968:376):

(13) *concern* (n.): interest (in some matter) > (the) matter that *concerns*

The example illustrates a metonymic process from a mental state to its object or cause.

Or, for other examples, consider the following semantic change:

(14) *England* for *Great Britain* (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 50)

The metonymic principle of a part-whole relationship can contribute to such a kind of semantic change whereby the notion of PART entails the notion of WHOLE. In addition, R-heuristic can be seen as the mechanism that accounts for the part-whole metonymy; that is, “Say no more than you must, and mean more thereby” (Levinson 1983: 146).⁴ Likewise, compared to metaphor, metonymy is argued to play a more important role in the change of syntactic constituents (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 88ff).

More importantly, semantic mechanisms, i.e. metaphor and metonymy, and syntactic mechanisms, i.e. analogy and reanalysis, are mutually related, as Hopper and Traugott put.

⁴ The R(elevance)-heuristic is also called the Principle of Informativeness (Levinson 1983: 146), which is inspired by Grice’s Quantity Maxim. Not only in writing but also in speech can we find the application of R-heuristic.

[M]etonymic and metaphorical inferencing are complementary, not mutually exclusive, processes at the pragmatic level that result from the dual mechanisms of reanalysis linked with the cognitive process of metonymy, and analogy linked with the cognitive process of metaphor (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 93).

The following figure represents the relation between semantic and syntactic mechanisms.

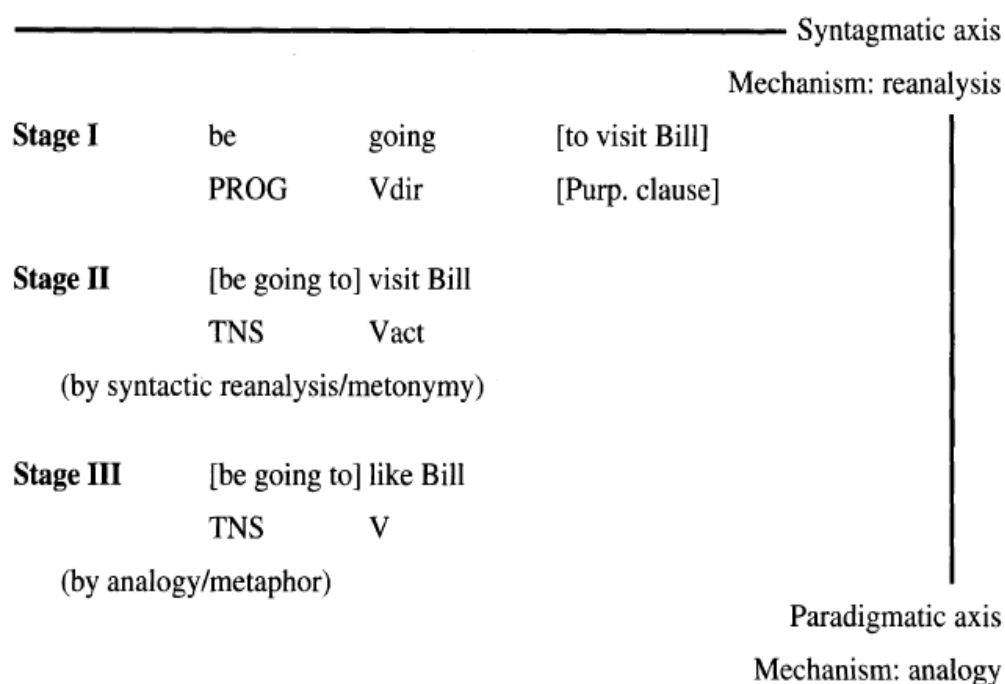


Figure 3.6 Revised Schema of development of auxiliary *be going to* (=Hopper and Traugott 2003: Figure 4.1)

In figure 3.6, the syntactic reanalysis occurs on the syntagmatic axis, followed by the metonymic process, while analogy occurs in the paradigmatic axis, accompanied by the metaphorical process.

In this section, we have presented mechanisms for semantic change including

metaphorization and metonymization, both of which are complementary processes for semantic change. More importantly, as the illustration of the example *be going to*, these two mechanisms can cooperate with mechanisms of syntactic change to account for the development of grammaticalization. After the discussion of these mechanisms, one of the important questions is why they are able to be applied in grammaticalization. Thus, in next section, we will proceed to investigate why language change happens.

3.3 Motivation for Language Change

In order to understand metonymic and metaphorical processes, pragmatic meaning or pragmatic invited inference, should be taken into consideration (Traugott and König 1991, Traugott and Dasher 2002, Traugott 2010). Specifically, pragmatic factors happen in the initial stage of meaning change, followed by the metaphoric and metonymic processes. In other words, it is the interactions between speakers that motivate metaphorization and metonymization. Thus, we will begin with pragmatic factors.

3.3.1 Pragmatic Strengthening

Pragmatic strengthening has been considered the motivation for

grammaticalization (Tragott 1989, Tragott and König 1991, Bybee 1990, Hopper and Traugott 2003). Such a proposal can be seen to demonstrate maximization of economy, i.e., maximization of efficiency through minimal differentiation and maximization of informativeness (Traugott 2003). It is proposed that grammaticalization can be described through three semantic-pragmatic tendencies (Tragott and König 1991: 208-209), as (15-17) indicates (= Tragott and König 1991, (36)-(38)).

(15) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I :

Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation

(16) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II :

Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual situation

(17) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III:

Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation.

One of the examples illustrating these three tendencies can be found in OE *hræpor*, which originally means 'sooner, earlier.' In some context, it can be inferred as 'more,' becoming evaluative meaning, pertaining to Tendency I. Then, the textual connective *hræpor þanne* 'rather than' arises, expressing either a temporal or a newly

developed preference meaning via Tendency II. As the meaning ‘rather than’ can appear in clauses whose subjects are not necessary to be the speaker, the subjective attitude emerges by Tendency III (Traugott and König 1991: 209). A follow-up research, mainly focusing on pragmatics and language change, can be seen in Traugott’s (2011) study, which attributes language change to pragmatic factors, focusing on implicatures, inference, subjectification, and context. More specifically, regarding the appearance of new meanings, the concepts of invited inference, referring to the inference on meanings beyond what is said, and context-induced reinterpretation, referring to the process whereby new meanings appear through the reinterpretation on ambiguous contexts, are elaborated (cf. Heine et al. 1991, Traugott 2011).

In short, grammaticalization can be motivated by pragmatic strengthening, i.e. the increase of speaker’s involvement in communication (Traugott 1995). Thus, the notion of subjectivity will be dealt with in the following section.

3.3.2 Subjectivity, Subjectification, and Counter-expectation

Subjectivity has been widely discussed in literature, whose definition can be illustrated in Finegan (1995:1), “subjectivity... concerns expression of self and the representation of a speaker’s...perspective or point of view in discourse - what has

been called a speaker's imprint." He also argues that, as subjectivity is concerned, there are three correlated aspects, including a speaker's perspective, affect, and epistemic modality being focused on.

The appearance of subjectivity is often expressed by linguistic markers, such as adverbs in Powell (1992) and Athanasiadou (2007), and modality in Nuts (2001), De Smet and Verstraete (2006), Traugott (1989, 1999, 2010) and Traugott and Dasher (2002). Consider the modal verb in the following examples (=De Smet and Verstraete 2006: 367 (3)-(4)):

- (18) Mum won't let us go out tonight. I asked her but she said we had partied more than enough this week.
- (19) Judith won't be late. She never is.

In example (18), the modal verb refers to the unwillingness of the subject, i.e. Mum, who does not allow her children to go out, while in (19), the modal verb illustrates the speaker's judgment on the understanding of Judith. In other words, the modal verb in (19) endows the description of subjectivity.

In sum, Traugott and Dasher (2002: 23) propose the generalization on the characteristics of the most subjective expressions, including:

- (20) a. overt spatial, and temporal deixis,
 b. explicit markers of SP/W attitude to what is said, including epistemic attitude to the proposition,
 c. explicit markers of SP/W attitude to the relationship between what precedes and what follows, i.e. to the discourse structure; many aspects of discourse deixis are included here,
 d. the R-heuristic predominates.

Following the view of subjectivity, Traugott addresses the diachronic analyses on semantic change, i.e. subjectification, as the following indicates:

[S]ubjectification refers to a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition (Traugott 1995: 31).⁵

Moreover, it is hypothesized that “online production in the flow of speech” can motivate subjectification (Traugott 2010: 55). Subjectification is also considered the mechanism by which “meanings are recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs” (Traugott 2010: 35). The construction *be going to* can be exemplified to illustrate the emergence of subjectification through diachronic change, as the following example shows (adapted from Traugott 2010: 36, (5)).

⁵ Another viewpoint about subjectivity can refer to Langacker (1985, 1995) who indicates that the expression of subjectivity largely with zero subject, or at least “off-stage”; that is, the communicative dyad between Speaker-Hearer is implicit.

- (21) a. I *am going to* visit the prisoner. Fare you well.
 b. I ha' forgot what I *was going to* say to you.
 c. I am afraid there *is going to* be such a calm among us, that we must be forced to invent some mock Quarrels.

(21a), dated in the sixteenth century, expresses the motion that the speaker intend to do, while (21b), dated in seventeenth century, demonstrates non-motion expression.

The subjective meaning emerges in (21c), whose subject becomes inanimate, denoting the speaker's judgment.

For a better understanding of subjectivity, the notion of counter-expectation can be concerned, as Traugott (1999) states that “[c]ounter-expectation is a matter of point of view and is therefore an example of the subjectivity of language.” The notion of counter-expectation can be addressed, as Heine et al. (1991: 192) indicate:

In all languages known to us, there is some means for expressing a distinction between situations that correspond to shared norms on the one hand and situations that deviate from these norms on the other. This distinction is encoded typically by using some marker for the latter, while the former remain unmarked.

With regard to this explication, it is considered that counter-expectation is a ubiquitous linguistic characteristic by means of the marked linguistic forms. Consider the following example:

(22) Your house is *too* small, even if you are *only* two (Heine et al. 1991: 192(42)).

The italic forms, i.e. *too* and *only*, express that the norms or standards that exist in a speaker's mind are deviated with the context. They further indicate that particles and sentence adverbs are considered "counter-expectation (CE) markers," whose properties can be listed below in (23) (Heine et al. 1991: 192):

- (23) a. Their use implies a comparison between what is asserted on the one hand and what is either presupposed, expected, or assumed to be the norm on the other.
- b. The former is at variance with the latter, and the main function of the CE marker is to relate the assertion to the world of presuppositions, expectations, and norms.

Similar to Heine et al.'s study (1991), Traugott (1999: 178) mentions that "[w]hen a speaker expresses counter-expectation, he or she expresses beliefs or points of view contrary to his or her own interlocutor's expectations regarding the states of affairs under discussion." A provisional summarization is presented below:

(24)

U2 is not expected given U1 (Traugott 1999:179 (3))

Note: U= utterance

In line of this argument, Traugott (1999: 179) further maintains that:

“[c]ounter-expectation is a matter of point of view and is therefore an example of the subjectivity of language.” Therefore, it is plausible to claim that the appearance of counter-expectation is closely related to subjectivity since counter-expectation indicates a speaker’s point of view in discourse, which corresponds to the concept of subjectivity.

In this section, we have discussed motivation for language change. First, pragmatic strengthening is mentioned as the motivation for grammaticalization, especially for metaphoric and metonymic processes. Then, since pragmatic strengthening is related to meaning expansion, i.e. speaker’s attitudes or judgment are added, the notion of subjectivity is introduced. Some related notions, such as subjectification, that is, a dynamic view of subjectivity, and counter-expectation, that is, a considerable example for subjectivity, are also demonstrated.

3.4 Remarks

The notion of grammaticalization is contended, including how and why language change occurs. More specifically, on mechanism for language change, we deal with reanalysis and analogy with a syntactic aspect, and metaphor and metonymy with a semantic facet. In addition, on motivation for language change, we undertake

approaches, including pragmatic strengthening, counter-expectation, subjectivity, and subjectification, to our theoretical basis. In the next chapter, the development of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions will be analyzed, step by step, including their internal mechanisms for their development, and more importantly, the pragmatic effect as motivation for their change.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

The theoretical background presented in chapter three including mechanisms and motivation for language change will be applied to analyze the emergence of the ordering meaning of *gei* in TM, *ka* in TSM, and *lau* in TH, and evaluative meaning of *gei* in TM. In 4.1, the emergence of ordering meaning among TM, TSM, and TH will be thoroughly probed including mechanisms for syntactic and semantic change. In 4.2, the investigation will be conducted on the evaluative usage of [*gei wo*] in TM, focusing on mechanisms for its emergence. In 4.3, motivation for the emergence of ordering and evaluative meanings will be examined. Finally, in 4.4, some remarks will be raised to conclude this chapter.

4.1 The Emergence of Ordering Meaning

4.1.1 Mechanisms for Syntactic Change: Reanalysis and Analogy

As outlined in the previous chapters, the appearance of ordering *gei* is derived from reanalysis (Sun 2003). Although the reanalysis in Sun's study is plausible, three

more underlying mechanisms for reanalysis will be applied to deal with the appearance of the imperative [*gei wo*] construction. In addition to reanalysis, analogy should be concerned as well.

First, consider the following example, [*gei wo*] in TM can exhibit ambiguity. One is an enablement reading and the other is an ordering meaning.

(1) (你)給我吃飯 (=Newman 1996: 199 (60b))

(*Ni*) *gei wo chi-fan*

(you) give me eat

‘(You) eat!/Let me eat.’

Syntactically, in the enablement reading, the subject of *chi-fan* (吃飯) ‘eat’ is *wo* (我) ‘I,’ while in the ordering meaning, the subject of *chi-fan* (吃飯) ‘eat’ should be *ni* (你) ‘you’. For a detailed analysis, examples (2a) and (2b) demonstrate the comparison of internal structures between the enablement and the ordering reading.

(2) a. enablement reading

(你)[給我]_{vp} 吃飯

(*Ni*) *gei wo chi-fan*

(you) give I eat rice

‘Let me eat.’

b. ordering reading

(你)[給我]_{pp} 吃飯

(*Ni*) *gei wo chi-fan*

(you) prep. I eat rice

‘(You) eat.’

In (2a), [*gei wo*] can be realized as a VP, while in (2b), it is viewed as a PP, i.e. *gei* becomes a preposition, bringing out the ordering meaning. Such a process is undergone by reanalysis of the underlying structure. However, as presented by De Smet (2009), there are two major issues that are unresolved; one is the logical flaw which indicates that the syntactic innovation does not result from ambiguity since we tend to see the syntactic innovation first, and then refer back to ambiguity, and the other is the ontological issue in that the appearance of the new construction is still a myth. Thus, the underlying mechanism for reanalysis, including categorial incursion, category-internal change, and automation, proposed by De Smet (2009), will be applied to deal with these difficulties.

Let us begin with categorial incursion. The notion of categorial incursion refers to meaning extension which is based on the influence of a certain already existing structures. Following such a notion, we can propose that the transition from a verb to a preposition of *gei* results from the influence of an already existing preposition structure. In other words, the v-to-p reanalysis occurs through the incursion from an already existing preposition structure, as the following figure shows.

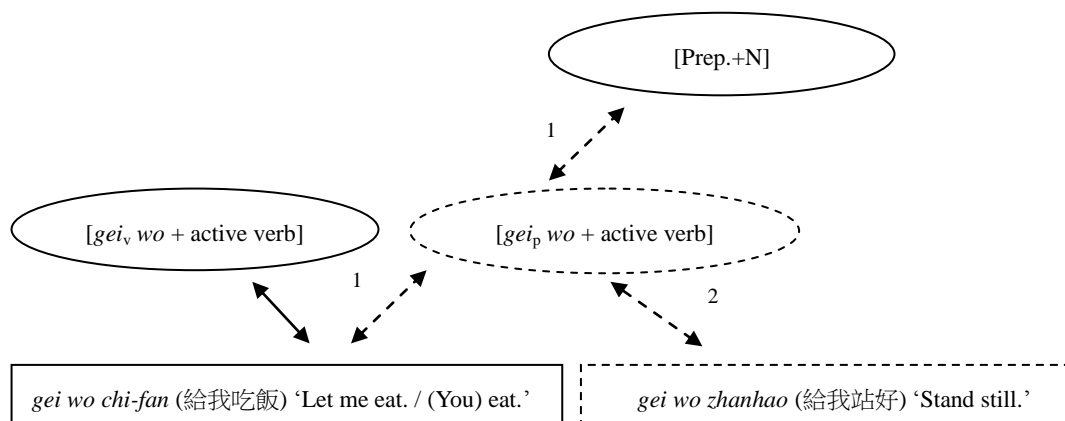


Figure 4.1. Categorical incursion.

The [*gei*_v *wo* + active verb] construction is at the abstract level bringing enablement meaning to the example, *gei wo chi-fan* (給我吃飯) ‘Let me eat’. In addition, we assume that there is an abstract construction, [Prep.+N], forming a less abstract construction symbolized by the dotted circle. Such a [*gei*_p *wo* + active verb] construction can license the example, *gei wo chi-fan* (給我吃飯) ‘(You) eat’, bearing an ordering meaning. Then, the next step, the [*gei*_p *wo* + active verb] construction can further create a surface structure of the ordering meaning where ambiguity is wiped out, such as the example *gei wo zhanhao* (給我站好) ‘Stand still’. At this step, the meaning is independently actualized, forming a different meaning from the source construction. Indeed, the case of *gei* changing from a verb to a preposition has been investigated in Her’s (2006) study. Her (2006) argues that *gei* can act as a preposition in the preverbal position, such as *Lisi gei laoshi ji-le yi fen wenjian*. (李四給老師寄

了一份文件) ‘Lee posted a document to/for the teacher.’. In a preverbal position, *gei* implies ambiguous readings; one is the benefactive reading, i.e. Lee posted a document to someone for the teacher, and the other is the goal reading, i.e. Lee posted a document to the teacher. In addition, the preverbal *gei* can be deleted without making sentences ungrammatical further supporting that preverbal *gei* can be a preposition, as example (3) shows.

(3) 她終於給我乖乖的借了李四一百萬 (=Her 2006: 1287, (32b))

Ta zhongyu (gei wo) guaiguai-de jie-le Lisi yi-bai-wan
 She finally for I obediently loan-ASP Lee \$ 1 million
 ‘She finally loaned Lee \$ 1 million (as I wished her to do).’

More importantly, in addition to the category change of *gei*, the extension of predicates, such as from *chi-fan* (吃飯) ‘eat’ to *zhanhao* (站好) ‘stand still’, also reveals that the one who does the activity is no longer the speaker, but the hearer instead. Such a change makes the appearance of the ordering meaning sensible.

Furthermore, the case of *gei* illustrates a v-to-p reanalysis widely seen in Chinese.

Dijamouri and Paul (2009) maintain that v-to-p reanalysis persists in Chinese.

Compare the following example.

- (4) a. 你跟著他
Ni gen zhe ta
 you follow ASP him
 ‘Follow him.’
- b. 我跟他說話
Wo gen ta shuohua
 I to him talk
 ‘I talked to him.’

In (4a), *gen* is originally a verb referring to ‘follow’, but it can serve as a preposition referring to ‘with’. Therefore, it is plausible to elucidate that the extension from verb to preposition of *gei* is not an exceptional case. In this way, the categorial incursion mechanism can be taken as a fundamental model to demonstrate the v-to-p process in Chinese. The advantage of such a model is that the emergence of the new category is explicitly shown to be systematic, rather than abrupt or random.

The second mechanism, category-internal change, can also be applied to account for the development of [*gei wo*]. Through this mechanism, the verb meaning of *gei* is weakened, and its existing categorial boundary is extended, being able to encompass preposition *gei*, as the following figure shows.

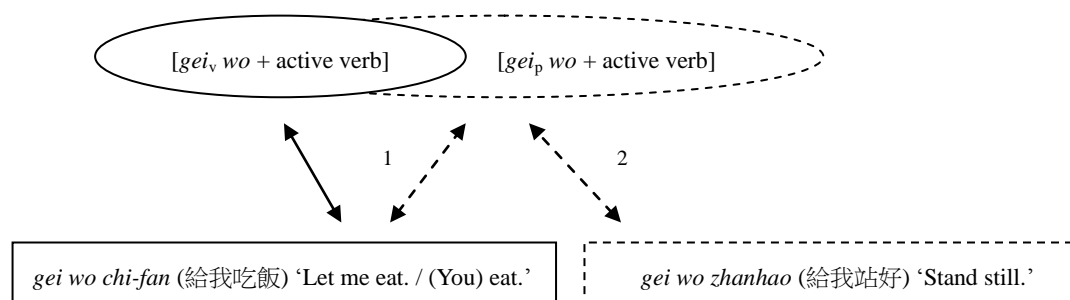


Figure 4.2. Category-internal change.

There are two steps for such a category-internal change: the first step is the extension of the categorial boundary, making the reanalysis possible, such as in the example, *gei wo chi-fan* (給我吃飯) ‘Let me eat/ (You) eat,’ where the boundary of [*gei_v wo + active verb*] extends to [*gei_p wo+ active verb*]. The second step is the actualization stage in which the ordering reading is strengthened and established independently, as in the example, *gei wo zhanhao* (給我站好) ‘Stand still’. Such a mechanism enhances our understanding of the mechanism of categorial incursion. More specifically, category-internal change allows *gei* to receive the effect of categorial incursion from the preposition domain. In other words, the appearance of v-to-p process is sanctioned by both the extension of the category boundary of *gei* and the influence of an already existing preposition domain. Hence, category-internal change helps clarify the understanding of reanalysis.

The third mechanism, automation, can also be supported by the appearance of the

imperative [*gei wo*] construction, as the following figure shows.

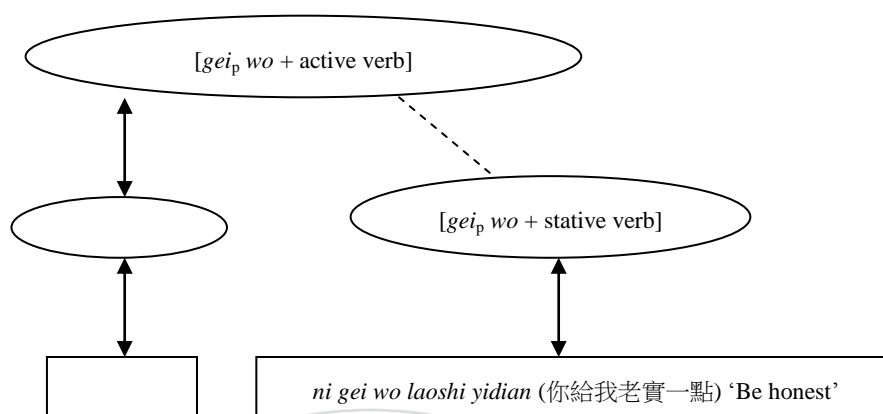


Figure 4.3. Automation.

Automation refers to a process whereby the newly emerging construction becomes independent from its more schematic structure. In our case, the [*gei_p wo + active verb*] can further operate autonomously, creating the [*gei_p wo + stative verb*] construction, such as *ni gei wo laoshi yidian* (你給我老實一點) 'Be honest'. In other words, its development is apart from the source construction, allowing other predicates to be involved.

In addition to reanalysis, the imperative [*gei wo*] construction can also be accounted for through analogy, especially the extension of predicates, as the following example shows.

- (5) 你給我老實/安靜一點
Ni gei wo laoshi/anjing yidian
 you give I honest/quiet a little
 ‘Be honest/ quiet.’

In (5), stative predicates, such as *laoshi* (老實) ‘honest’ and *anjing* (安靜) ‘quiet,’ can denote a speaker’s attitude of warning, threat, or discontent. What is worthy noticing is that, although the construction involves stative predicates, it semantically denotes the inchoative meaning or the change of states. More details will be elaborated in section 4.1.2.

Let us turn to the analysis of *ka* in TSM and *lau* in TH. The [*ka gua*] construction in TSM and [*lau ngai*] in TH can also exhibit ambiguous readings, as the following examples show.

- (6) 你共我寫批
Li ka gua sia phue
 you ka I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

- (7) 你嚟 佢 寫信仔
Ngi lau ngai xia xin-e
 you lau I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

One of the readings in (6) and (7) manifests a beneficial meaning indicating a polite request. That is, the speaker wonders whether the hearer can help out for writing a

letter. In contrast, the other reading exhibits the ordering meaning. In other words, the speaker asks the listener to write the letter. Similar to the analysis on [*gei wo*] in TM, such an ambiguity can trigger the emergence of the ordering meaning of both [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. More specifically, when a certain predicates are involved, the hearer, rather than the speaker, has to perform the activity, and thus the ordering meaning is likely to appear.

However, as we plan to apply De Smet's reanalysis as a framework, one critical problem happens. Unlike *gei* in TM, which acts as a verb in the beneficial reading and a preposition in ordering reading, *ka* and *lau* in (6) and (7) behave as a preposition either in a benefactive or in an ordering reading. Such a difference would disallow the application of De Semt's models for reanalysis. More specifically, mechanisms of categorial incursion and category-internal change would not be appropriate since there is no category difference between benefactive and imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. Thus, an alternative approach should be proposed.

What we intend to adopt is Harris's (2005) study, who maintains that causes of reanalysis can involve ambiguous readings and the provision of stylistic variety or greater expressiveness. The latter cause, i.e. the provision of stylistic variety or greater expressiveness, indicates that when reanalysis appears, the innovative structure can exist with, rather than replace, the source structure. Such an analysis can account for

our [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. The expression of [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] encoding an ordering meaning not only increases the speaker's expressiveness, but also designates emotional and subjective effects. In the same manner, the insertion of [*lau ngai*] in imperative constructions also implies the shift from a polite request to a strong ordering. Through such a process, the ordering meaning can be independently established as (8) and (9) exemplified.

(8) 你共我過來
Lí ka guá kuèlái
 you ka I come here
 'Come here!'

(9) 你嚟過來
ni LAU ngai goloí
 you lau I come here
 'Come here!'

Thus, although [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] still function as preposition phrases, they are employed by the speaker to designate the mood from a polite request to a stronger order, thereby the ordering meaning emerging.

In addition to the process of reanalysis proposed above, analogy is also involved in the development of imperative constructions. Examine the examples below.

(10) a. 你共我過來

Lí ka guá kuèlâi
 you ka I come here
 ‘Come here!’

b. 你共我卡小二

Lí ka guá khah sèjī.
 you ka I much careful
 ‘I warn you to be much careful.’

(11) a. 你膠 𠵼 過來

ni LAU ngai goloi
 you lau I come here
 ‘Come here!’

b. 你膠 𠵼 記得

ni LAU ngai gided
 you lau I remember still
 ‘I warn you to keep this in mind.’

In (10a), the predicate denotes an action, i.e. an active predicate; however, in (10b), the predicate, *khah sèjī* (卡小二) ‘be more careful’ exhibits a person’s state of mind, i.e. a stative predicate. In other words, the extension from an active to a stative predicate can be accounted for through analogy. Likewise, in examples (11a-b) demonstrated in TH, the extensions of predicates from *goloi* (過來) ‘come here’ to *gided* (記得) ‘keep in mind’ also display the transition from an active predicate to a stative one. Hence, analogy can be seen as a mechanism for the development of predicates from a concrete to a more abstract one.

4.1.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change: Metonymy

As mentioned in the preceding section, reanalysis and analogy are viewed as mechanisms for syntactic change, but the above analysis is not complete without tackling the semantic issues. In this section, metonymy will be taken as mechanisms to account for the meaning change.

Semantically, [*gei wo*] exhibits a benefactive meaning: *gei* can be interpreted as a beneficial marker, and *wo* (我) ‘I’ a benefactive role. This benefactive relation implies the notion of causation. According to Hu (2007), the unmarked *gei* construction is [Na+*GEI*+Nr+Np]. In the construction, the core meaning can be realized as CAUSE, which can produce several related meanings and functions in different constructions. For instance, in the sentence *Xiongdimen, gei wo qiangqizi*. (兄弟們，給我搶旗子) ‘Grab chess pieces for me.’, what the object *wo* (我) ‘I’ receives is not the activity *qiangqizi* (搶旗子) ‘grab chess pieces’, but the EFFECT caused by the activity, i.e. *qiangqizi* (搶旗子) ‘grab chess pieces’. In other words, *wo* (我) ‘I’ in the imperative construction receives the benefit which results from the activity. Hence, the application of CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy can contribute to the understanding of the imperative phrases among TM, TSM, and TH. Table 4.1 demonstrates the cause-effect formation.

Table 4.1. Cause-effect formation for the imperative construction

句式 (sentence pattern)	CAUSE	EFFECT
TM: 弟兄們，給我搶旗子 <i>Dixiongmen, gei wo qiangqizi.</i> soldiers give I grab chess pieces ‘Soldiers, grab chess pieces for my sake.’	soldiers doing the activity, grab chess pieces	<i>wo</i> (我) ‘I,’ the receiver of the benefit of grabbing chess pieces
TSM: 你共我過來 <i>Li ka gua kuèlái</i> you ka I come here ‘Come here!’	you doing the activity, i.e. come here	<i>gua</i> (我) ‘I,’ the receiver of the benefit of your coming over
TH: 你摻 儗 過來 <i>ni LAU ngai goloji</i> you lau I come here ‘Come here!’	you doing the activity, i.e. come here	<i>ngai</i> (儗) ‘I,’ the receiver of the benefit of your coming over

As table 4.1 shows, in TM, the metonymy CAUSE FOR EFFECT, i.e. soldiers doing the activity for the speaker to receive the benefit, can be applied to interpret the ordering meaning. That is, the speaker orders the addressee to do something for certain benefit, physically or mentally, so that the speaker can receive. For another instance, in *gei wo zhanhao* (給我站好) ‘stand still,’ as CAUSE FOR EFFECT is applied, it can be interpreted as ‘That you stand still can cause me to receive the benefit (such as a better feeling).’ Likewise, in TSM, in saying, *Li ka gua kuèlái* (你共我過來) ‘Come here!’, the CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy, i.e. the hearer

coming to the speaker for the speaker to receive the benefit, is applied to operate the appearance of the ordering meaning. In the same manner, we hold that the emergence of the imperative [*lau ngai*] construction plausibly relies on its benefactive meaning whereby the metonymic process, CAUSE FOR EFFECT, operates. Through the metonymic process, the activity in which the addressee comes close brings benefit to the speaker. In other words, the CAUSE FOR EFFECT mechanism can be comprehended as ‘That you come close to me can cause me to receive a certain benefit (such as a better feeling).’

As we have discussed, certain stative predicates can follow [*gei wo*]. Consider the following examples.

- (12) a. 你給我吃飯
Ni gei wo chifan
 you give I eat-rice
 ‘Let me have a meal / Eat your dinner.’
- b. 你給我滾出去
Ni gei wo gun chuqu
 you give I roll out
 ‘Get out!’
- c. 你少給我裝蒜
Ni shao gei wo zhuang suan
 you less give I pretend garlic
 ‘Don’t lie to me.’
- d. 你給我老實/安靜一點
Ni gei wo laoshi/anjing yidian
 you give I honest/quiet a little
 ‘I warn you to be honest/ quiet.’

- e. *你給我想念/喜歡
Ni gei wo xiangnian/xihuan
 you give I miss/ like
 ‘Miss/ like me.’

In (12a), the features of the predicate include [+human], [+volitionality], and [+action]. In (12b), the feature [+direction] is added. In (12c), [+negative] is expressed by the predicate. More importantly, as in (12d), some stative predicates such as *laoshi* (老實) ‘honest’ and *anjing* (安靜) ‘quiet’ are able to be a predicate, which manifests the state or property that can be controlled, often expressed by the scalar adverb, i.e. *yidian* (一點) ‘a little’. Example (12e) manifests that [+volitionality] is required to fit in an imperative construction. One issue that deserves further elaboration is the relation between the stative predicate and imperative [*gei wo*] constructions. Although stative predicates in (12d) lexically indicate a certain state of affairs, the overall imperative construction brings out the change-of-state, that is, the hearer is likely to act what the speaker requires. More specifically, the constructional meaning coerces the lexical one, as the Override Principle (Michaelis 2003) maintains.

Override principle. If lexical and structural meanings conflict, the semantic specifications of the lexical element conform to those of the grammatical structure with which that lexical item is combined.

In the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, the stative predicates bring out a change-of-state or inchoative meaning, triggered by the structural meaning of the imperative construction. For example, in the case of *Ni gei wo laoshi* (你給我老實一點) ‘I warn you to be honest,’ the hearer is likely to stop the dishonest behavior and begin to behave honestly. In other words, although *laoshi* (老實) ‘be honest’ is inherently a stative predicate, its appearance in the imperative construction exhibits an active, inchoative meaning.

To sum up, metonymy gives rise to the ordering meaning. Specifically, CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy causes [*gei wo*] to acquire the ordering meaning. In addition, when stative predicate occur in the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, they carry inchoative meanings denoting the change of states.

So far, we have argued that reanalysis and analogy are responsible for the syntactic change, and metonymy can account for the semantic change. All of these mechanisms can be merged to cope with the development of [*gei wo*] construction, as the following stages illustrate.

Stage 1: 你給我吃飯

Ni gei wo chifan
 you give I eat-rice
 ‘Let me eat / (You) eat.’

Stage 2: 你給我站好

Ni gei wo zhanhao
 you give I stand still
 ‘Stand still!’

Stage 3: 你給我小心一點 (= Sun 2003: 356, (4))

Ni gei wo xiao xin yidian
 you give I little heart a little
 ‘You watch out your back (because I will seek revenge.)’

Stage 1 expresses an ambiguous context, which triggers the meaning change. At stage 2, the ordering meaning is established through reanalysis, i.e. v-to-p process, and metonymy, i.e. CAUSE FOR EFFECT. At stage 3, the predicate of [*gei wo*] extends to stative verbs through analogy, i.e. from an active verb category to a stative verb category, and the ordering meaning still maintains with an inchoative meaning.¹

Concerning the imperative [*ka gua*] construction, similar to the analysis on the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, override principle is also wielded. This is due to the observation that the predicates following [*ka gua*] can extend to stative ones, but the whole construction exhibits an imperative mood. Consider the following examples.

(13) 你共我卡小二 (=Tsao 2002 (65a))

Lí kā guá khah sèjī.
 you ka I much careful
 ‘I warn you to be much careful.’

¹ Stage 3 also involves ambiguous readings, which is deemed as the motivation for the emergence of the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction. We will elaborate this issue in section 4.3.

In (13), the stative predicate, *khah sèjī* (卡小二) ‘much careful,’ portrays the scenario that the addressee should be more cautious. Although the stative predicate, *khah sèjī* (卡小二) ‘much careful, inherently delineates a state, the whole imperative sentence delivers the change of states, implying that the hearer is likely to do something the speaker requires.

Thus far, the path of the development of the imperative [*ka gua*] construction can be generalized as the following stages illustrate.

Stage 1: 你共我寫批

Li ka gua sia phue
 you ka I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

Stage 2: 你共我過來

Lí ka guá kuèlâi
 you ka I come here
 ‘Come here!’

Stage 3: 你共我卡小二

Lí ka guá khah sèjī.
 you ka I much careful
 ‘I warn you to be much careful.’

At stage 1, the ambiguous contexts provide the initial shift between a polite request and a strong order. At stage 2, the ordering meaning stands out through metonymy, i.e. CAUSE FOR EFFECT. At stage 3, the predicate of [*ka gua*] extends to stative verbs through analogy, i.e. from an active verb category to a stative verb category, and the imperative flavor persists.

Let us turn to [*lau ngai*] construction in TH. In addition to the application of the metonymic process, override principle is also involved for the extension of the imperative [*lau ngai*] construction. Examine the following examples.

- (14) 你 嚟 𠵼 細意
ni LAU ngai sei
 you LAU I careful
 ‘I warn you to be careful.’

In (14), *sei* (細意) ‘careful’ is deemed as a stative predicate. However, even though stative predicates are allowed, the ordering meaning stands out. That is, the addressee is likely to execute what the speaker states. Once again, the structural meaning overrides the lexical one. Thus, the development of [*lau ngai*] construction in TH can be summarized as following stages show.

- Stage 1: 你 嚟 𠵼 寫信仔
Ngi LAU ngai xia xin-e
 you lau I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’
- Stage 2: 你 嚟 𠵼 過來
ni LAU ngai golo
 you lau I come here
 ‘Come here!’
- Stage 3: 你 嚟 𠵼 細意
ni LAU ngai sei
 you LAU I careful
 ‘I warn you to be careful.’

4.2 The Emergence of Evaluative Meaning in TM

In this section, the structure, [*gei wo* + stative predicate], will be analyzed. First, some examples² are listed in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2. Data of Evaluative [*gei wo* + stative predicate] Construction

[<i>gei wo</i> + stative predicate]	
a.	<p>墾丁也給我太熱了吧 <i>Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba.</i> Kenting also give I too hot SFP SFP ‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’</p>
b.	<p>宿舍這邊給我太歡樂了吧。 <i>Sushe zhebian gei wo tai huanle le ba.</i> Dorm here give I too merry SFP SFP ‘The dorm is way too noisy for me.’</p>
c.	<p>修理費也給我太貴了點吧。 <i>Xiulifei ye gei wo tai gui le dian ba.</i> Fix cost also give I too expensive SFP a little SFP ‘The cost of fixation is way too expensive for me.’</p>
d.	<p>給我難吃到不行 <i>Gei wo nan chi dao buxing.</i> give I bad taste to intolerable ‘It is way too bad to taste for me.’</p>
e.	<p>也給我太便宜了吧 <i>Ye gei wo tai bianyi le ba.</i> also give I too cheap SFP SFP ‘It is way too cheap for me.’</p>
f.	<p>臉色有夠給我無辜 <i>Lianse yougou gei wo wugu.</i> facial expression enough give I innocent ‘The facial expression is way too innocent for me.’</p>

² All of our data are collected from the Google search and set on Taiwan homepages only.

Compare to the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, which also allows stative predicates to be involved showing the change of states, evaluative [*gei wo*] construction exhibits the state of affairs. In the following sections, we will examine how the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction emerges and what its meaning and function are.

4.2.1 Mechanism for Syntactic Change: Analogy

As we have mentioned in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, several stative predicates can enter into an imperative construction. For the newly emerged construction, one thing intriguing is that the category of stative predicates is extended, and the whole construction further turns into a new meaning. Such a process can be accounted for through analogy as a mechanism, as the following example illustrates.

- (15) 你也給我太誇張了吧
Ni ye gei wo tai kuazhang le ba
 you also give I too overacting SFP SFP
 ‘You are way too overreacting, as far as I’m concerned.’
 (by analogy)

In example (15), the stative predicate, *kuazhang* (誇張) ‘overacting,’ is inserted, becoming an evaluative meaning, rather than an ordering meaning, since the hearer needs not to do any activity. Moreover, different from the imperative construction, the subject in [*gei wo* + stative predicate] construction can also extend to other categories

of nouns, such as *tianchi* (天氣) ‘weather’ in the following example.

(16) 天氣也給我太熱了吧

Tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba.

weather also give I too hot SFP SFP

‘The weather is way too hot, as far as I’m concerned.’

From these observations, analogy plays an essential role for the syntactic change since the categories of the predicate and the subject are extended.

4.2.2 Mechanisms for Semantic Change: Metonymy

Hu’s (2007) study gives us the insight that the metonymic mechanism, CAUSE FOR EFFECT, can contribute to the realization not only for the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, but also for the evaluative one.

First of all, let us review sentences with the ordering meaning:

(17) a. 我叫你站好

Wo jiao ni zhan hao.

I ask you stand upright

‘I ask you to stand upright.’

b. 你站好

Ni zhan hao.

you stand upright

‘Stand upright.’

c. 你給我站好

Ni gei wo zhan hao.

you give I stand upright

‘I ask you to stand upright for my sake.’

In (17a), the pronoun *wo* (我) ‘I’ acts as the start point of the order and *ni* (你) ‘you’ is the receiver of the order. Iconically, the direction of the order can be realized as ‘from the subject to the object’; that is, the order is delivered from the subject *wo* (我) ‘I’ to the object *ni* (你) ‘you’.³ In (17b), it is a neutral situation, which does not imply the direction of an imperative mood, since the speaker subject is implicit. However, in (17c), *wo* (我) ‘I’ is the person who delivers the order to *ni* (你) ‘you’ and the direction of the order could be from the object of *gei* to the subject, which is opposite from that of (17a).

Then, regarding the sentence, *Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba.* (垦丁也給我太熱了吧) ‘Kenting is too hot for me.’, the pronoun *wo* (我) ‘me’ brings up an evaluation to the state-of-affairs of the weather in Kenting. More importantly, the direction of the source is tuned with the imperative construction; that is, from the object of *gei* to the subject, i.e. Kenting.

Thus, it is reasonable to argue that the CAUSE FOR EFFECT mechanism works well to explain how the evaluation meaning occurs in the construction, [*gei wo* + stative predicate], as the following table indicates.

³ The concept of iconicity demonstrates the correspondence between the linguistic forms and conceptual structure. Refer to Haiman (1985) and Tai (1985, 1993) for some related studies.

Table 4.3. Cause-effect formation for [gei wo + stative predicate]

句式(sentence pattern)	CAUSE	EFFECT
墾丁也給我太熱了吧 <i>Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba.</i> Kenting also give I too hot SFP SFP ‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’	the hot weather in Kenting	<i>wo</i> (我) ‘I’, affected by the hot weather in Kenting.

Take the above sentence as an example; the source lies in the feeling of the speaker, i.e. the heat, and the target refers to how the speaker judges the degree of heat, i.e. *tai re* (太熱) ‘too hot’. In other words, the CAUSE refers to the heat and the EFFECT refers to the speaker who is affected by the heat and who subsequently judges the degree of such heat.

Until now, syntactic and semantic mechanisms for imperative and evaluative constructions are discussed. However, what motivates the operation of these mechanisms is still missing. In other words, we have shown that reanalysis, analogy, and metonymy can explain how the ordering and evaluative meaning is interpreted, but why they emerge remains unknown. Thus, the motivation for the appearance of the ordering and evaluative meaning will be spelled out in the following section.

4.3 Motivation for Language Change

4.3.1 Pragmatic Strengthening

After the discussion of syntactic and semantic mechanisms for the emergence of

the ordering meaning and the evaluative meaning, what motivates their development should be investigated. We shall argue that the mechanisms we have discussed are motivated by pragmatic strengthening, including invited inference and context-induced reinterpretation. Moreover, the notion of subjectivity and counter-expectation will also be demonstrated as the motivation for language change.

Invited inference refers to the conversational implicature whereby the new meaning emerges, especially focusing on the onset of grammaticalization. As we have mentioned, the chunk [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] can be deleted without changing the semantics of the sentence. However, their appearance can be realized as linguistic markers that the speaker invites the addressee to infer why the chunk in question is added. Essentially, in imperative constructions, these chunks mainly add pragmatic flavors, such as orders, warnings, or displeasure given by speakers (cf. Sun 2003). Consider the examples (18)-(20) below.

- (18) a. 你小心一點
Ni xiaoxin yidian
 you careful a little
 ‘Be careful.’
- b. 你給我小心一點
Ni gei wo xiaoxin yidian
 you give I careful a little
 ‘I warn you to keep in mind.’

- (19) a. 你記咧
Lí kìleh
 you remember firmly
 ‘You keep in mind.’
- b. 你共我記咧
Lí kā guá kìleh
 you ka I remember firmly
 ‘I warn you to keep in mind.’

- (20) a. 你記得
Lí gided
 you remember firmly
 ‘You keep in mind.’
- b. 你膠 佢 記得
ni LAU ngai gided
 you LAU I remember firmly
 ‘I warn you to keep in mind.’

In (18a-20a), the absence of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] denotes a request in a modest rather than strong mood. In contrast, the voice of warning or threat can be exemplified in (18b-20b), where imperative constructions signify the strong and negative mood. Hence, the appearance of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] gives rise to the pragmatic strengthening usage, inducing the hearer to infer the meaning beyond what is said. In other words, these linguistic markers are responsible for being linguistic cues encompassing pragmatic overtones, and more importantly, activating mechanisms for language change.

Then, concerning the evaluative construction, although [*gei wo*] can be omitted without changing the semantics of the sentence, its appearance exhibits the addition of

pragmatic flavor. Compare the following examples.

(21) a. 墾丁也太熱了吧

Kending ye tai re le ba

Kenting also too hot SFP SFP

‘Kenting is too hot.’

b. 墾丁也給我太熱了吧

Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba

Kenting also give I too hot SFP SFP

‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’

The insertion of [*gei wo*] in (21b) sketches a scenario where the speaker judges the hot weather in Kenting mainly by a personal evaluation, i.e. epistemic judgement; in other words, the addition of [*gei wo*] emphasizes and signifies that the judgment is raised by the speaker’s personal feelings, especially the feeling that is out of the expectation. Hence, the chunk [*gei wo*] can be considered a signal to invite the addressee to draw the inference on what is said based on the speaker’s judgement.

The other motivation, context-induced reinterpretation, concentrates on the outcomes of change. Context-induced reinterpretation can be referred to as the pragmatic process whereby “concepts are subjected to contextual factors in utterance interpretation” (Heine et al. 1991: 71). Consider the following examples.

- (22) a. 你給我寫信
Ni gei wo xie xin
 you gei I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’
- b. 你共我寫批
Li ka gua sia phue
 you ka I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’
- c. 你嚟寫信仔
Ngai LAU ngai xia xin-e
 you lau I write letter
 ‘Can you write a letter for me? / Write a letter!’

In (22a-c), when [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] are followed by some kind of active verbs, ambiguous readings can arise. The enablement reading can be sketched by a scenario where the speaker is asking for the addressee’s help to write a letter, i.e. a polite request. In such a scenario, the speaker can be considered as a powerless one, while the listener is a powerful one. In contrast, there can be another scenario where the speaker asks the addressee to write a letter, i.e. an ordering meaning. Such a reinterpretation process, i.e. from a moderate wish to a strong order, is compatible with the pathway of the development of imperatives in Aikhenvald’s (2010) study. She maintains that volition can carry out the emergence of imperatives by “developing dedicated command forms out of desiderative and optative forms, whereby the semantics of ‘wish’ gets reinterpreted as ‘command’” (Aikhenvald 2010: 363).

More importantly, the scenario where [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] are added

can be inferred as that the speaker is more powerful and the listener, powerless. In other words, the appearance of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] refers to the speaker's involvement, denoting the social gap between the speaker and the addressee, such as the relationship between employers and employees, or teachers and students.

More specifically, the ambiguous readings can be reinterpreted through different scenarios. When the speaker and the addressee are in a scenario where social distance exists, the ordering meaning will stand out. Therefore, social distance can serve as the cognitive foundation for the addition of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] in imperative constructions, as Aikhenvald (2010) puts “imperatives can be deployed as a tool for defining relationships” (Aikhenvald 2010: 331).

By certain data collected from the Internet, we find more evidence showing that an imperative [*gei wo*] construction can only occur under the context of expressing the power gap and social difference. Examine the following examples.

- (23) a. 她出面一吼：「馬上給我站好！」孩子們就會乖乖聽訓
ta chumian yihou : 「mashang gei wo zhanhao !」
 she stands out shout right now GEI I stand upright
haizimen jiu hui guaiguai tingxun
 children then will well-behaved listen-lecture
 ‘Once she shouts: stand upright for my sake! Children will become well-behaved, listening to her lecture.’ (Note: ‘She’ refers to ‘a teacher’ here.)
- b. 小妹你給我站好!
xiaomei ni gei wo zhanhao!
 young sister you GEI I stand upright
 ‘Younger sister, stand upright for my sake!’

Example (23a) describes a scenario where the teacher gives an order to students, expressing scolding and anger. The appearance of [*gei wo*] is allowed since the ranking distance exists between the teacher and the students. In the same vein, example (23b) presents a scenario where the older sister asks the younger sister to stand still; that is, the one at a higher position in the family orders the lower one to do something. In contrast, a scenario where the powerless person adds [*gei wo*] to give an order to the more powerful one will be considered pragmatically inappropriate, as the following example shows.

- (24) ?老闆你給我滾出去
Laoban ni gei wo gunchuqu
 boss you give I get out
 ‘Get out, boss.’

In (24), it is syntactically grammatical but semantically and pragmatically unacceptable, since the order is given by a powerless one.

Furthermore, the power gap or social distance implies the exertion of force between the speaker and the hearer. Force exertion, or speaker commitment, has been characterized as a feature of imperatives as in Takahashi (2004: 39).

Force exertion: the degree of (directive) *force* that the speaker is applying (at the utterance time of an imperative) toward the addressee's carrying out the action.

Takahashi (2004, 2011) also holds that the strength of force exertion can vary among different contexts. He proposes six parameters, including DESIRE, POWER, CAPABILITY, COST, BENEFIT, and OBLIGATION, to measure the strength of imperatives (Takahashi 2011).⁴

Consider the following examples adopted from Takahashi's (2011) study.

⁴ The overall value of a certain imperative utterance is calculated by the numeral ranging between [+10] and [-7], as the following table demonstrates.

Table 4.4. Six parameters for calculating FORCE EXERTION (=Takahashi 2011, Table 1)

FORCE EXERTION:	HIGH	LOW	ZERO	MINUS LOW	M. HIGH
i. DESIRE	[+2]	[+1]	[0]	[-1]	[-2]
ii. CAPABILITY	/	[+1]	[0]	/	/
iii. POWER	/	[+1]	[0]	[-1]	/
iv. COST	[+2]	[+1]	[0]	/	/
v. BENEFIT	[+2]	[+1]	[0]	[-1]	[-2]
vi. OBLIGATION	[+2]	[+1]	[0]	[-1]	[-2]
Total Score:	[+10]				[-7]

- (25) a. [Context: two coworkers (A and B) conversing in a workplace]
 A: Hi, what's up? (=Takahashi (2011: 9 (1))
 B: I'm having a bad day.
 A: *Tell me about it.*
- b. [Context: speaker A (teacher) and Speaker B (pupil) conversing in a classroom] (=Takahashi (2011: 10 (2))
 A: What's up?
 B: I'm having a bad day.
 A: *Tell me about it.*

Example (25b) demonstrates a higher degree of strength than (25a) since the context in (25a) manifests equal social status, while that in (25b) expresses the social distance, thus receiving a stronger force exertion.

In our case, owing to the requirement that the context should bear power gap or social distance, the imperative utterances with [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] thus exhibit a higher degree of force exertion.

In addition to the imperative construction, context-induced reinterpretation can also be applied to the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction, whereby ambiguous contexts exist. Consider the example (18b), repeated here for ease of reference.

- (18b) 你給我小心一點 (= Sun 2003: 356, (4))
Ni gei wo xiao xin yidian
 you give I little heart a little
 ‘You watch out your back (because I will seek revenge.) / Be careful (from my own judgment on the situation).’

Example (18) demonstrates the ambiguity on the different degree of ordering meanings. One is the strong order implying a warning to the hearer, and the other is a mild request advising the hearer to be attentive to the danger. The former manifests the speaker's warning and threat, while the latter presents the speaker's reminder for the addressee, coming out from the speaker's evaluation on a certain situation. As the context of the evaluative meaning is widely used, the predicate hence can be extended to other stative predicates through analogy, making the evaluative meaning firmly established as (26) indicates. Likewise, the subject can be triggered to extend to other nouns than second person pronouns, as (27) shows.

(26) 你也給我太誇張了吧
Ni ye gei wo tai kuazhang le ba
 you also give I too overacting SFP SFP
 'You are way too overreacting, as far as I'm concerned.'

(27) 天氣也給我太熱了吧
Tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba.
 weather also give I too hot SFP SFP
 'The weather is way too hot, as far as I'm concerned.'

Thus, through such a context-induced reinterpretation, the development of the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction can be successfully induced in a specific context through ambiguity.

So far, as the mechanisms and motivation for the emergence of the evaluative [*gei*

wo] construction have been discussed, the development stages, together with the two previous stages, can be represented below.

- Stage 1: 你給我吃飯
Ni gei wo chifan
 you give I eat-rice
 ‘Let me have a meal / Eat your dinner.’
- Stage 2: 你給我站好
Ni gei wo zhanhao
 you give I stand still
 ‘Stand still!’
- Stage 3: 你給我小心一點 (= Sun 2003: 356, (4))
Ni gei wo xiao xin yidian
 you give I little heart a little
 ‘You watch out your back (because I will seek revenge.) / Be careful!’
- Stage 4: 你也給我太誇張了吧
Ni ye gei wo tai kuazhang le ba
 you also give I too overacting SFP SFP
 ‘You are way too overreacting, as far as I’m concerned.’
- Stage 5: 天氣也給我太熱了吧
Tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba
 weather also give I too hot SFP SFP
 ‘The weather is way too hot, as far as I’m concerned.’

Although such a development seems quite convincing, there is one issue we should investigate further. We have claimed that the appearance of [*gei wo*] is regarded as the inference that the speaker invites the addressee to do, and in turn the speaker’s evaluation can be obtained. However, what are the factors that motivate the speaker to invite the addressee to perform? To put the question another way, why do speakers render [*gei wo* + stative predicate] as a way to express their evaluation? In

the next section, we shall shed light on these questions by means of subjectivity, subjectification, and counter-expectation.

4.3.2 Subjectivity, Subjectification, and Counter-expectation

The aforementioned analyses indicate that the [*gei wo* + stative predicate] construction can be comprehended as a way to express a speaker's evaluation on behaviors or situations. We have also argued that such a meaning extension is associated with grammaticalization. What we shall further propose is that subjectivity and subjectification interact with grammaticalization, as Traugott (2010: 61) maintains "since grammaticalization involves the development of markers of speaker attitude...there is inevitably a close interaction between grammaticalization and subjectification." Such a claim can be well demonstrated by the development of [*gei wo*], which has extended from a benefactive marker to an imperative marker, and further toward an evaluative one, as (28) indicates.

(28) Benefactive, e.g. *gei wo chifan* (給我吃飯) 'Let me eat.'>

Imperative, e.g. *gei wo zhan haou* (給我站好) 'Stand still.'>

Evaluative, e.g. *tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba* (天氣也給我太熱了吧) 'It's way too hot for me.'

More specifically, [*gei wo*] has grammaticalized, turning into an optional

prepositional phrase; it also has undergone subjectification, obtaining the evaluative meaning. Furthermore, in addition to subjectification, the flavor of subjectivity is also involved. Consider the instance *tianchi ye gei wo tai re le ba* (天氣也給我太熱了吧) ‘it’s way too hot for me’ again. The speaker not only delivers the evaluation toward the weather condition, but also emphasizes that the evaluation is of his or her own. In other words, the subjective meaning is strengthened. Such an analysis can be applied to the data we have collected. For example, the expression *Xiulifei ye gei wo tai gui le dian ba*. (修理費也給我太貴了點吧) ‘The cost of fixation is way too expensive for me.’ is uttered by the speaker to express his or her subjective judgment of the high price. In the same vein, *Lianse yougou gei wo wugu* (臉色有夠給我無辜) ‘The facial expression is way too innocent for me.’ tends to signify the speaker’s subjective evaluation on someone’s facial expression, which shows too much innocence in the face. Generally speaking, accompanied by grammaticalization, subjectification is a process that can be exhibited by the development of the [*gei wo*] construction. In line with subjectification, subjectivity is increasingly and eventually semanticized due to the emergence of speaker-based or speaker-involvement expressions.

Further supporting evidence for the subjectivity function can be shown by some subjectivity characteristics presented by Trangott and Dasher (2002: 23) as (29)

illustrates below.

- (29) a. overt spatial, and temporal deixis,
 b. explicit markers of SP/W attitude to what is said, including epistemic attitude to the proposition,
 c. explicit markers of SP/W attitude to the relationship between what precedes and what follows, i.e. to the discourse structure; many aspects of discourse deixis are included here,
 d. the R-heuristic predominates.

Among the four characteristics, the second and the last one are the most relevant for our study. The evaluative [*gei wo*] construction matches to characteristic (29b) since the addition of [*gei wo*] serves to explicitly express the speaker's subjective judgment of the state of affairs. Then, regarding characteristic (29d), the strategy of R-heuristic, "Say/write no more than you must, and mean more thereby," (Traugott and Dasher 2002: 19) is adopted by the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction, which unravels the pragmatic functions. Compare the example (30a) and (30b), repeated below.

- (30) a. 墾丁也太熱了吧

Kending ye tai re le ba
 Kenting also too hoe SFP SFP
 'Kenting is too hot.'

- b. 墾丁也給我太熱了吧

Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba
 Kenting also give I too hoe SFP SFP
 'Kenting is way too hot for me.'

The case of (30b) not only represents the speaker's subjective judgment on the state of affairs, but also delivers his or her emotion incurred by the state of affairs. More specifically, the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction carries subjective emotion, such as displeasure, impatience, and so on. Such subjective emotions are not explicitly expressed, but can be decoded due to the addition of the linguistic marker [*gei wo*].

Thus far, we have argued that subjectification and subjectivity are indispensable to account for the motivation for the emergence of the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction. Then, the notion of counter-expectation, which is an essential example to signal subjectivity, shall be spelled out.

Let us begin with the appearance of scalar predicates first. The appearance of scalar predicates is not optional but is obligatory in the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction. Consider the following examples.

(31) a. *墾丁給我熱了吧

Kending gei wo re le be

Kenting give I hot SFP SFP

b. *買回來的蝦餅給我貴

Maihuilai de xiabing gei wo gui.

buy back Poss shrimp crackers give I expensive

c. *臉色給我無辜

Lianse gei wo wugu

facial expression give I innocent

(32) a. 墾丁也給我太熱了吧

Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba.

Kenting also give I too hot SFP SFP

‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’

b. 買回來的蝦餅給我有點貴

Maihuilai de xiabing gei wo youdian gui.

buy back Poss shrimp crackers give I a little expensive

‘Shrimp crackers you bought are way too expensive for me.’

c. 臉色有夠給我無辜

Lianse yougou gei wo wugu.

facial expression enough give I innocent

‘The facial expression is way too innocent for me.’

In (31a-c), although stative predicates follow [*gei wo*], the sentences are still unacceptable due to the absence of scalar adverbs like *tai* (太) ‘too’, *yougou* (有夠) ‘very’, *youdian* (有點) ‘a little’ as in (32a-c).

Based on selectional restrictions, we assume that these elements are essential in the construction in question since they provide scalar, counter-expectation, and subjectivity viewpoints. Such an assumption can be supported in Shang’s (2010, 2011) studies. For example, as Shang (2010, 2011) argues, *tai* (太) ‘too’ is used not only to specify the degree but also to express a speaker’s subjectivity and intense emotion.

More importantly, the underlying cognitive process for counter-expectation is explored in Shang’s (2010, 2011) studies. He renders the theoretical framework, the Reference Point Construction (Langacker 1999) for his analysis. Reference Point Construction refers to that “the abilities to invoke the conception of one entity for

purposes of establishing *mental contact* with another” (Langacker 1999: 173), as the following figure illustrates.

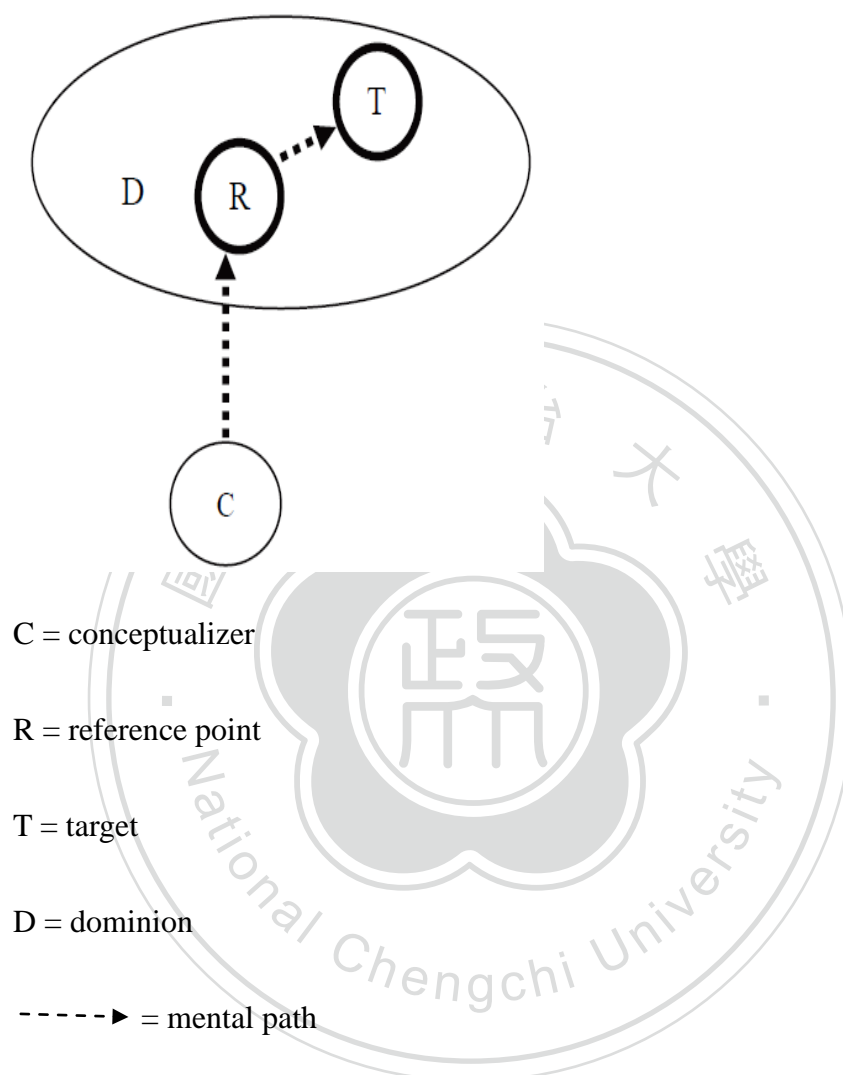


Figure 4.4. Reference-point construction (=Langacker 1999: 174, figure 6.1)

The reference-point construction is a process whereby the conceptualizer (C), often referring to the speaker, conceptualizes the target (T) through the profiled reference point (R) in a certain dominion (D). For instance, in the possessive *the cat's fleas*, humans tend to conceptualize the cat as a reference point, since it is more prominent

than fleas, and then apply such a reference point to realize the target, i.e. fleas, in the dominion where the features including the cat's size, food, or behavior are activated (see Langacker 1999: 174ff, Shang 2011: 130-131).

Based on these notions, Shang (2010, 2011) argues that the adjective evaluative constructions can be realized as reference-point constructions, as he puts it: “in adjective studies, it is generally acknowledged that the meaning of gradable adjectives often implies a comparison with some norm or scale” (Shang 2011: 131). For instance, adopted from Shang's (2011) study, when a speaker utters *Nai fanzi hen da* 那房子很大 ‘The house is big.’, he or she expresses the evaluation on the size of the house after comparing to other houses. Essentially, a speaker's evaluation on certain entities or events can depend on the normal value or expectative value. The latter, i.e. expectative value, referring to the evaluation derived from a speaker's subjective expectation, is most relevant to our study. A speaker's expectation is likely to be deviated, which is also called counter-expectation. For example, in *Wo yiwei ni cong xiao xihuan kan dianying*. (我以為你喜歡從小看電影) ‘I thought you liked movies since you were young.’ (=Shang 2011: 140, (10)), the linguistic expression *yiwei* (以為) ‘thought’ is a counter-expectation marker. Moreover, Shang (2011) further investigates the adjective evaluative construction involving intensifiers such as *hen* (很) ‘very,’ *tai* (太) ‘too,’ and *youdian* (有點) ‘a little’. He illustrates that the

appearance of degree adverbs not only serves to amplify or downgrade the evaluation but also adds the speaker's emotion such as tolerance limit or discontent. Consider the following example.

(33) 今年冬天太冷了 (=Shang 2011: 236 (31))

Jinnian dongtian tai leng le

this-year winter too cold LE

'This winter is too cold.'

The addition of the intensifier *tai* (太) 'too' not only means the coldness is deviated from the speaker's expectation, but also manifests that the deviation is beyond the speaker's tolerance limit (Shang 2011: 236). Again, reference-point construction is applied since the speaker's expectation is considered as a reference point to evaluate on the target entities or events.

Furthermore, *ye* (也) 'too' in the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction is also an essential element. In Chen's (2010) study, the adverb *ye* can be categorized into conjunctive adverb and mood adverb. Chen further claims that the mood adverb *ye* (也) 'too' is derived from the conjunctive adverb *ye* (也) 'also' through grammaticalization, expressing personal evaluation and subjectivity. Moreover, mood adverb *ye* (也) 'too' can serve to convey counter-expectation, denoting the degree of a speaker's subjective quantity on events or states of affairs. Consider the following

example.

- (34) a. 這本書也就五塊錢 (= Chen 2010: 53)

Zhe ben shu ye jiu wukuaiqian

this-book too adv five dollar

‘This book just costs five dollars.’

- b. 你也太不像話了

Ni ye tai bu xian hua le

you too too not like utterance LE

‘You are out of the discipline.’

Elaborated by Chen, as *ye* (也) ‘too’ is deleted in above examples, the semantic meanings are the same, while the degree of the mood is changed. Although *ye* (也) ‘too’ expresses counter-expectation, it is still controversial whether the addition of *ye* (也) ‘too’ can express emphasis or euphemism; however, it is safe to claim that *ye* (也) ‘too’ functions as a trigger to raise a listener’s attention on the proposition that exceeds or lowers the speaker’s subjective quality.

In addition to scalar predicates and mood adverbs, the sentence-final particle *-le* frequently appears in [*gei wo* + stative predicate] constructions as in (37a).

- (35) a. 墾丁也給我太熱了吧⁵

Kending ye gei wo tai re le ba.

Kenting also give I too hot SFP SFP

‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’

⁵ We have noticed that sentence-final particle *-ba* also frequently appear in this construction; *-ba* can be used to the expression of intersubjectivity (cf. Wu and Wang 2011). Though the issue of intersubjectivity is not touched upon in this study, it is worthwhile for further studies.

- b. ?墾丁也給我太熱
Kending ye gei wo tai re.
 Kenting also give I too hot
 ‘Kenting is way too hot for me.’

Notice that even though both of (35a) and (35b) are acceptable, (35a) sounds more natural since the sentence-final particle *-le* denotes not only the event related to the current state but also the speaker’s counter-expectation and subjective interpretation (cf. Soh 2009; Chang 2008). Thus, (35a) implies higher degree of subjectivity.

Moreover, following the notion of force, the way to measure the force can be seen in Martin and White’s (2005) study. In their study, they propose appraisal theory, which is similar to attitude and evaluation, referring to the certainty, emotion, intensity, and social evaluation placed in the interpersonal model of language. Appraisal involves three sub-categories: attitude, engagement, and graduation. Among them, the notion of graduation is most relevant to our study. Graduation can refer to the gradability for the degree of evaluation, scaling either high or low intensity. Such a graduation is also called force. Furthermore, the force of graduation can be assessed by intensification, including modes of isolating, maximisation, lexicalization, infusion, and repetition. Our attention will be paid to the mode of repetition, pertaining not only to the same lexical items, but also to assemble terms which are semantically related. For example, the expression “In fact it was probably the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address ever given by a British Prime Minister” (Martin

and White's 2005: 144) scales on the high intensity of force due to the repetition of those underlined semantically related words. Concerning the [*gei wo*] evaluative construction, we indicate that the construction in question delivers high intensity of force in that linguistic markers, including degree modifiers, mood adverbs, and most importantly [*gei wo*], are assembled to strengthen the force of subjectivity.

4.3 Remarks

The emergence of imperative [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions has been investigated in this section, including their mechanism and motivation. The syntactic change can be generalized through reanalysis and analogy. We maintain that the models of reanalysis proposed by De smet (2009) can plausibly apply to the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, while the provision of stylistic variety or greater expressiveness for reanalysis held by Harris (2005) is well-attested on imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. Then, CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy, is exploited among TM, TSM, and TH, as the semantic mechanism for the appearance of the ordering meaning. Also, the constructional meaning in the imperative construction coerces the lexical meaning when the stative predicates occur in the imperative construction. Concerning the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction in TM, the mechanism, CAUSE FOR EFFECT, continues to operate for semantic change, and analogy

performs for syntactic change. These mechanisms are argued to be motivated by pragmatic strengthening, including invited inference and context-induced reinterpretation.

Along with grammaticalization, subjectification also appeals to our attention where the subjectivity flavor occurs. More specifically, it is the appearance of degree adverbs, mood adverbs, and the sentence-final particle that gives rise to the subjectivity flavor into the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction. What's more, counter-expectation can be understood to bear subjectivity. We also hold that the reference-point construction underpins the cognitive process for counter-expectation and subjectivity. Finally, we maintain that the exertion of force persists on the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction, delivering the intense out of expectation mood for the situation.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis aims to examine the development of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions in TM, TSM, and TH, respectively. Although the imperative [*gei wo*] construction has been investigated, mechanisms and motivation for its emergence are still opaque. Meanwhile, the imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions have never been touched and are under scrutiny in this study. More importantly, the newly emergent [*gei wo*] construction has been elucidated. The summary of this thesis will be provided in 5.1, and some issues for further study will be laid out in 5.2.

5.1 Summary of the Thesis

Based on the grammaticalization approach (Heine 2003, Traugott 2002, 2010a, 2010b), the emergence of imperative [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions in TM, TSM, and TH, and the newly emerging [*gei wo*] construction in TM have been investigated.

Firstly, regarding the emergence of the imperative construction, mechanisms and

motivation for language change are introduced. First, concerning mechanisms for syntactic change, a refined reanalysis model proposed by De Smet (2009) is employed as the syntactic mechanism for the imperative [*gei wo*] construction in TM. However, the emergence of imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions can hardly fit into De Smet's (2009) model in that the grammatical category of *ka* and *lau* behave as a preposition in both the benefactive reading and the imperative one, while *gei* has changed from a verb to a preposition instead. An alternative explanation, the provision of stylistic variety, is thus adopted from Harris's (2005) approach. The provision of stylistic variety indicates that reanalysis can occur even though grammatical category remains the same. In addition to reanalysis, analogy is also employed in syntactic change. More specifically, active predicates in imperative constructions can be replaced by stative ones. Second, with regard to mechanisms for semantic change, CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy is exploited. Furthermore, as we have mentioned, stative predicates are allowed to enter into imperative constructions, but intriguingly, the whole construction contributes to an imperative meaning, depicting a change-of-state or inchoative meaning. In this way, the Override Principle, proposed by Michaelis (2003), is raised to account for the observation. Third, the motivation for the emergence of imperative constructions can be elucidated by pragmatic strengthening, including invited inference and context-induced reinterpretation. With

invited inference, the appearance of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] is employed to invite speakers to infer pragmatic flavors, such as orders, warnings, or displeasure.

With context-induced reinterpretation, the ambiguous readings bring out scenarios where imperative meaning stands out.

Secondly, the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction in TM is thoroughly investigated on its mechanisms and motivation for language change. Concerning the mechanisms, analogy is responsible for its syntactic change, whereby more stative predicates are allowed to occur in the [*gei wo*] construction. In terms of the semantic change, CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy is employed, plausibly accounting for the evaluative meaning. With regard to motivation for language change, pragmatic strengthening, including invited inference and context-induced reinterpretation, elicits the emergence of the evaluative usage.

Another line of the development of the evaluative [*gei wo*] construction is subjectification. The original meaning of [*gei wo*] is a benefactive marker, then turning into an imperative meaning, and afterwards behaving as an evaluative marker. Such a development process demonstrates subjectification. Furthermore, the evaluative [*gei wo* + stative predicate] construction can be supported by the co-occurrence with some linguistic markers, including scalar adverbs and sentence final particles, both of which manifest counter-expectation and subjectivity. Moreover,

Reference-Point Construction, proposed by Langacker (1999), can underlie the cognitive operation for counter-expectation and subjectivity.

Finally, the notion of force is operated not only for the imperative [*gei wo*] construction, but also the evaluative one. In other words, the appearance of [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] is employed to emphasize a speaker's emotion and perspective in that the force is exerted.

5.2 Directions for Future Studies

This thesis has explored imperative [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*] constructions and the newly emergent evaluative [*gei wo*] construction with the view of grammaticalization. However, several issues remain to be resolved. First, given that contact-induced grammaticalization can serve to demonstrate the external factor for language change, this thesis has preliminarily speculated that TM acts as the model language, while TSM and TH behave as replica ones. Nevertheless, such a speculation requires more historical linguistic evidence. Until now, we have focused on mechanism for syntactic change through the perspectives of the language internal change. However, the language external factor, i.e. the contact between languages, also plays a decisive role for the appearance of imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions in TSM and TH. The dominant language in Taiwan is TM, which tends

to influence the substrate languages such as TSM and TH. More specifically, the interrelationship among them can be referred to as language transfer, as the explication demonstrates below (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 33).

If there is a language property x shares by two languages M and R, and these languages are immediate neighbours and/or are known to have been in contact with each other for an extended period of time, and x is also found in languages genetically related to M but not in language genetically related to R, then we hypothesize that this is an instance of contact-induced transfer, more specifically, that x has been transferred from M to R.¹

Such an elaboration can help clarify the appearance of imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions. The imperative meaning can be deemed as the property x since it is commonly shared among the languages in question. Also, we speculate that TM, a dominant language in Taiwan, can be seen as language M, while TSM and TH as language R.² Such a claim can lead to a possible conclusion: the appearance of imperative [*ka gua*] and [*lau ngai*] constructions can be regarded as the effect of contact-induced grammaticalization, whereby the imperative meaning is transferred

¹ M refers to model languages, and R refers to replica languages.

² Among TM, TSM, and TH, to determine which one is the model language and which one is the replica language is an issue that requires further historical evidence. Examining available literature, we observe that the imperative [*gei wo*] can date back to Qing Dynasty, firstly appearing in Hong Lou Meng *Dream of Red Chamber* (紅樓夢), a notable novel published in Qing Dynasty (Zhou 2009), whereas the imperative [*ka gua*] construction can be seen in Li Jing Ji (荔鏡記), an earliest extant text of Southern Min firstly published in Ming Dynasty (Su 2011). However, due to the imperative constructions in question occur mainly in oral situations, their debuts would require a broader investigation. In addition, the literature we present can hardly demonstrate the relation or the influence among languages in question. Thus, we simply speculate that TM, the dominant language in Taiwan, acts as the model language.

from the model language, i.e. TM, to the replica language, i.e. TSM and TH.³

More specifically, hardly can we firmly determine the model language, unless pieces of historical evidence are found to prove which language firstly develops the imperative construction in question. Second, lexicalization is worth probing since the markers, [*gei wo*], [*ka gua*], and [*lau ngai*], feature certain identities of lexicalization, such as being pragmatic markers expressing a speaker's voice (cf. Sun 2003). Last, with regard to the theoretical framework, although a brief discussion has been done in terms of the constructional meaning and coercion, the issue in terms of the constructional approach needs to be further elaborated.

³ Some may challenge why the result of contact-induced change is not manifested by *hoo* in TSM and *bun* in TH. It is speculated that although *hoo* and *bun* also exhibit benefactive meanings, the constructions of [*hoo gua* + active predicate] and [*bun ngai* + active predicate] actually indicate passive meanings rather than imperatives (cf. Lien 2002, Tsao 2002, Lai 2001). Further examination will be left for another context.

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