A Lower Affective gei in Mandarin Chinese

In this paper I focus on the affective gei which is located in the vP periphery. In the literature, gei has various lexical statuses, which can function as a verb, a preposition, and an affective marker. For example, Tsai (2017) has examined a kind of affective gei higher than the TP domain. An example is shown in (1) and its derivation is shown in (2). In this structure, the applicative projection is higher than TP, which is quite different from the high applicative right above VP as discussed in Pylkkänen (2002, 2008).

(1) Ta juran gei wo pao-le!
   he unexpectedly GEI me run-ASP
   ‘He ran away on me unexpectedly!’

(2) [TopP Tāi [EvalP juran gei [ApplPhigh wo tji [TP ti …… ]]]]
   Tsai proposes that this particular affective gei is applicative-related since only the first person singular pronoun is allowed to be the affectee, and an exclamatory force and evaluative mood is required by having the adverb juran in the structure. These two facts are shown in (3) and (4) respectively.

(3) *Ta juran gei women/ni/nimen/ta/tamen pao-le!
   he unexpectedly GEI us/you/you(pl.)/him/them run-ASP
   ‘This time he ran away on me unexpectedly!’

(4) Zuotian ta gei wo pao-le.
   yesterday he GEI me run-ASP
   ‘Yesterday he ran away on me.’

In addition to the very high affective gei, I propose that a lower affective gei around the vP periphery can also be observed in Mandarin Chinese. There are at least three differences between the higher gei wo phrase and the lower gei wo phrase. Firstly, unlike the gei wo phrase which imposes an unexpected mood in (1), the gei wo phrase in (5), on the other hand, exhibits an order or force mood. In addition, the appearance of the adverb juran is incompatible with this lower gei wo phrase as in (6). Finally, the sentence in (1) denotes a telic situation, while the sentence in (5) denotes an atelic one.

(5) Ni gei wo guolai!
   you GEI me come
   ‘You, come here!’

(6) Ni (*juran) gei wo guolai!
   you unexpectedly GEI I come
   ‘You, come here unexpectedly!’

Since the lower affective gei can be higher or lower than the Ba phrase as in (7), I propose
that this is a different lower affective *gei* when compared to the very high affective *gei* in Tsai (2017). In the literature, the *Ba* phrase has been proposed to be located around vP (i.e. Li 2006). The example in (7) therefore implies that we need an applicative projection lower than vP (see Pylkkänen 2008, c.f. Paul and Whitman 2010) and another applicative projection higher than vP.

(7) Ni (gei wo) ba zhe jian shi (gei wo) zuowan!
   You GEI me BA this CL matter GEI me finish
   ‘You must finish this matter!’

Note that the *gei wo* phrase in (7) higher than the *Ba* phrase has to be within the TP domain, which is structurally different from the higher *gei wo* phrase in Tsai (2017). Two pieces of evidence show that the subject in (7) is indeed in the subject position. First of all, Lin and Tang (1995) propose that the subject *ni* (‘you’) in (7) can move to the matrix subject position with the raising modal *yinggai* (‘should’) as in (8). Secondly, the whole sentence in (7) can be taken by an ECM verb *yao* (‘want’), which takes a TP as its complement (i.e. Li 1990). This is shown in (9).

(8) Ni yinggai gei wo ba zhe jian shi zuowan!
   You should GEI me BA this CL matter finish
   ‘You should finish this matter!’

(9) Wo yao ni gei wo ba zhe jian shi zuowan!
   I want you GEI me BA this CL matter finish
   ‘I want you to finish this matter!’

The lower *gei wo* phrase higher than the *Ba* phrase is lower than the raising modal *yinggai* in (8), therefore I follow Kim’s (2011, 2012) peripheral Applicative proposal and propose that it is located right above vP, as shown in (10). Similar to the *gei wo* phrase in Tsai (2017), *wo* is located in Spec, peripheral ApplP, and *gei* will undergo head movement to Deontic Modal Phrase (i.e. Tsai 2015), which conveys the command or request mood.

(10) [TP [Ta [MP DEO gei [ peripheral ApplP wo tj [vP ti …… ]]]]]

In Tsai (2017), *gei* has also been proposed to be able to locate in three different layers: as a lexical verb in the lexical layer (within vP), as a preposition in the inflectional layer (from vP to TP), and as a functional head/affective marker in the complementizer layer (above TP). The current study of lower affective *gei* not only completes the picture of locating the affective *gei* in three distinct syntactic layers, but also provides us with more understanding of lexical and syntactic diversity of *gei* in Mandarin Chinese.

**Selected References:**
