The *yu*-dative Construction "V+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese: A Cognitive Typological Perspective[*]

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This paper argues against the received view that the two *yu*-dative constructions in Archaic Chinese, viz. "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" have the same semantic structure by offering several empirical observations to show that this derivation hypothesis is suspicious. Moreover, this paper also demonstrates that even though the two *yu*-dative constructions make reference to the same conceptual content, their profiles are different. Hence, in accordance with the preliminaries of Cognitive Grammar, "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" differ semantically. This paper further explores the semantic structure of "V+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese from both Cognitive Grammar and Semantic Map perspectives. It will be demonstrated that the semantic extensions exhibited by both "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" constructions occupy different contiguous areas on a single semantic map, which further justifies the idea that the semantic structure of the "V+*yu*+IO" construction, which is different from that of "V+DO+*yu*+IO", assumes an important role in determining its own extensions, which include the comitative-experiencer, instrumental, passive, and comparative constructions.

Key words: "V+*yu*+IO" construction, Archaic Chinese, Cognitive Grammar, Semantic Map

1. Introduction

There are two types of dative construction with *yu* in Archaic Chinese. One of them bears the following structural form:

V+DO+*yu* 于+IO

Peyraube (1986, 1987, 1988)

An example to illustrate this form is:

(1) 獻　　馬　　於　　季孫[1] (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.6)
　　 xiàn　mǎ　　yú　　jì sūn
　　 offer　horse　DAT　Ji Sun
　　 'Offer some horses to Ji Sun.'

Another *yu*-dative construction which has the following syntactic representation is also present in Archaic Chinese:

$$V+yu \text{ 于} +IO$$

This *yu*-dative construction is elaborated by the following example:

(2) 獲　　叔子　　與　　析朱鉏，　　獻　　於　　王 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.8)
　　 huò　shú zǐ　yǔ　xī zhū chú　xiàn　yú　　wáng
　　 catch　Shu Zi　and　Xi Zhu Chu　offer　DAT　king
　　 'After Shu Zi and Xi Zhu Chu were captured and offered to the king …'

It is generally accepted that these two *yu*-dative constructions in Archaic Chinese, viz. "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO", have a derivational relationship, in which the former is derived from the latter through a simple omission of the direct object from the surface structure:

$$V+DO+yu \text{ 于} +IO > V+\emptyset+yu \text{ 于} +IO > V+yu \text{ 于} +IO$$

(Peyraube 1987:335)

Although a derivation hypothesis need not imply that the two *yu*-dative constructions are semantically equivalent, there is no doubt a tendency to do so, especially in works that adopt the structuralist research paradigm, in which semantics is understood to correspond directly to some entities or events in the real and objective world. The

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[1] Abbreviations of grammatical terms used in the glosses:
ABL=ablative; ACC=accusative; ADR=addressee; AGT=agentive; ALL=allative; BA=direct object marker; BEN=benefactive/beneficiary; CAUS=causative; COM=comitative; CONJ= conjunctive; COP=copula; CRP=comparative; DAT=dative; DEM=demonstrative; EXP= experiencer; FUT=future tense; INSTR=instrumental; LOC=locative; MOD=modification; NOM=nominative; NEG=negation, negative; OBJ=object; PART=participle; PAST=past tense; PASS=passive; PERF=perfect; PL=plural; PRF=perfective; PROG=progressive; POSS= possessive; REAS=reason; REC=recipient; SG=singular; TOP=topic; ZHE=nominalizing particle of agent; 1=first person; 2=second person; 3=third person.

proposal that examples (1) and (2) have the same semantic structure is intuitive as they make reference to the same objective event; moreover, the semantic role of recipient is always projected onto the same structural position. If these two *yu*-dative constructions were semantically equivalent and could be used interchangeably, one serious question with regards to the different constructional polysemy exhibited by the two *yu*-dative constructions would need to be resolved.

In the cognitive tradition, it is maintained that grammatical construction is meaningful and is itself a category which exhibits prototype effect (Langacker 1987, 1991, Goldberg 1995). Thus, it is argued that the *yu*-dative construction with a surface DO has the following semantic network organization:
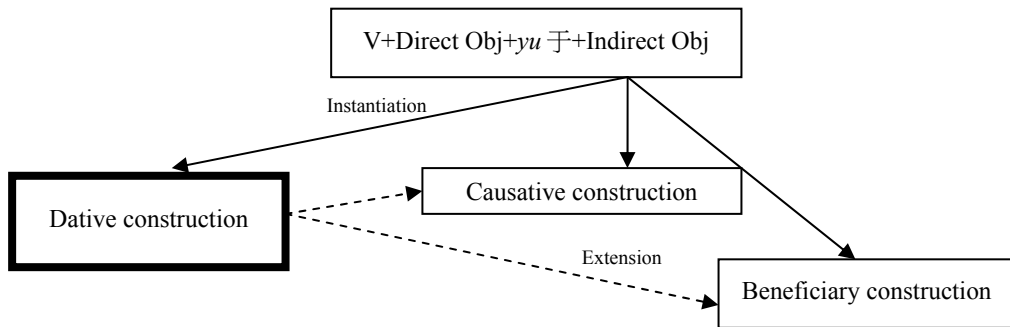

Figure 1: Semantic network of "V+DO+*yu*+IO"

Some examples are:

(3) 獻　馬　於　季孫 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.6)
xiàn　mǎ　yú　jì sūn
offer　horse　DAT　Ji Sun
'Offer some horses to Ji Sun.'

(4) 張儀　又　惡　陳軫　於　秦　王 (*Zhanguoce*: *Qin*.1)
zhāng yí　yòu　wù　chén zhěn　yú　qín　wáng
Zhang Yi　again　dislike　Chen Zhen　CAUS　Qin　king
'Zhang Yi once again made the king of Qin dislike Chen Zhen.'

(5) 齊侯　使　管夷吾　平　戎　于　王 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xi*.12)[2]
qí hóu　shǐ　guǎn yí wú　píng　róng　yú　wáng
Qi marquis　cause　Guan Yi Wu　make-peace　barbarian　BEN　king
'The marquis of Qi sent Guan Yiwu to make peace with the barbarian for the king.'

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[2]　For this example, we adopt the reading of Hong et al. (2005:145).

Chiew-Pheng Phua

This network organization is also identical to that of the double-object dative in Archaic Chinese, as shown in Fig. 2 (cf. Phua 2007):

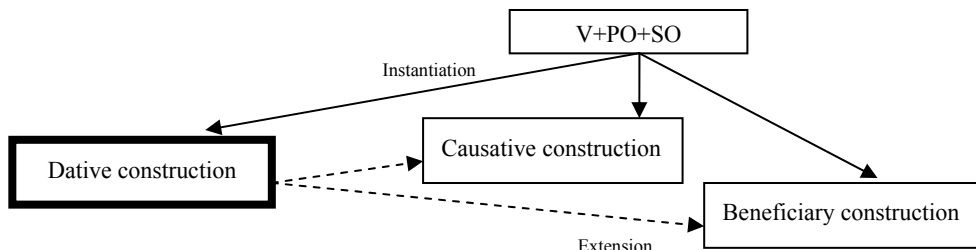**Figure 2:** Semantic network of "V+PO+SO"[3]

Some examples to illustrate the above organization are:

(6) 公　賜　之　食 (*Zuozhuan*: *Yin*.1)
gōng cì zhī shí
duke offer 3:SG food
'The duke offered him food.'

(7) 生　民　心 (*Zuozhuan*: *Yin*.1)
shēng mín xīn
born people mind
'Make people have the mind of …'

(8) 立　之　君 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xiang*.14)
lì zhī jūn
establish 3:PL monarch
'Establish the monarch for the people.'

Based on the two figures above, a close affinity can be observed between DATIVE and CAUSATIVE constructions and between DATIVE and BENEFICIARY constructions for the two dative constructions in Archaic Chinese, viz. "V+DO+*yu*+IO" and "V+PO+SO". Such affinities can be easily attested in cross-linguistic works. According to Kemmer & Verhagen (1994), which is a typological study on the grammar of causatives, analytic causative constructions can best be described as extensions of simpler kinds of expressions. Thus, causatives of intransitive predicates are viewed as modeled on simple two-participant clauses, and causatives of transitive predicates are seen as modeled on

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[3] "V+PO+SO" is equivalent to Peyraube's "V+IO+DO". PO and SO refer to primary and secondary objects respectively.

simple three-participant clauses. An example to illustrate the use of a simple three-participant clause with dative marking for causatives of transitive predicates is:

(9) Hindi
     Mai-nee raam-koo   kitaab   parh-vaa-ii
     I-AGT   Ram-DAT   book   read-CAUS-PAST
     'I had Ram read the book.' (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994:131)

A further example provided by Comrie (1989:176) also demonstrates that the causee of causativised transitives is treated formally like the indirect object of any ditransitive verb:

(10) Turkish
      a. müdür   mektub-u   imzala-dı
          director   letter-ACC   sign-PAST
          'The director signed the letter.'
      b. dişçi   mektub-u   müdür-e   imzala-t-tı
          dentist   letter-ACC   director-DAT   sign-CAUS-PAST
          'The dentist made the director sign the letter.'

Moreover, the close affinity between dative and beneficiary can also be found in Haspelmath (2003). In this paper, he discusses the use of semantic map, a method which crucially relies on cross-linguistic comparison to describe and illuminate the patterns of multifunctionality of grammatical morphemes. The semantic map for typical dative functions has been proposed and it is important to note that the configuration of functions shown by the map below is claimed to be universal (see Fig. 3).
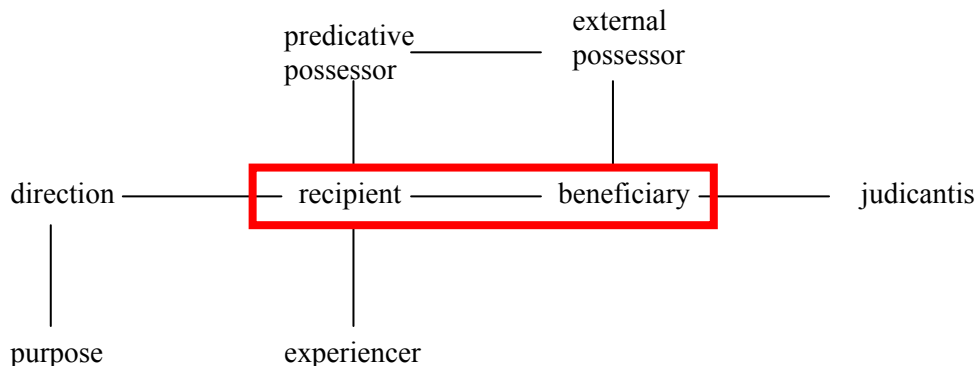

Figure 3: A semantic map of typical dative functions / the boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+DO+*yu*+IO"

Apparently, the functions of recipient and beneficiary in the map are expressed topologically by closeness of nodes and by a straight connecting line in representational space, which means that cross-linguistically, an expression for dativity is closely related to an expression of beneficiary.

Hence, coming back to the issue of "V+DO+*yu*+IO" and "V+*yu*+IO," if "V+*yu*+IO" were indeed semantically equivalent to "V+DO+*yu*+IO", the former should have the same semantic network organization as the latter, but this is obviously not true, as revealed by a simple comparison between Fig. 4 and Fig. 1:
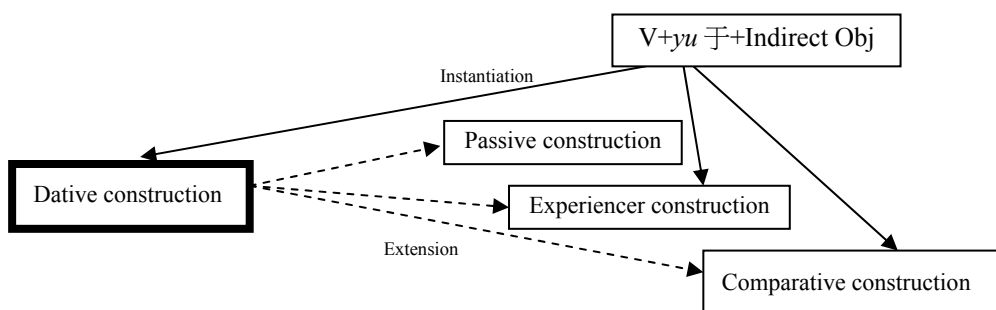

Figure 4: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"[4]

Apparently, the two *yu*-dative constructions are connected to different grammatical constructions, and their extended constructions do not overlap. This observation can simply be ignored and are left unexplained by works grounded in the structuralist research paradigm in which relatedness among constructions is not recognized, but the fact that this observation directly contradicts the general survey above that there is a close affinity between expressions of dativity and causativity as well as between expressions of dativity and beneficiary warrants an explanation.[5]

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[4] A few points have to be made for this figure:
   1. This figure will be subjected to modification later.
   2. Discussions about the experiencer construction will be conducted in §3.
   3. "Indirect object" is used here as an encompassing term for all syntactic objects which appeared after the preposition *yu* (cf. Phua 2008).

[5] The structuralist tradition adopts the componential model of grammar, while Langacker (1987: 57) describes grammar as "a structured inventory of conventional linguistic units". The basic tenets of Cognitive Grammar are:
   1. Constructions (not "rules") are the primary objects of description;
   2. Lexicon and grammar are not distinct, but a continuum of constructions (form-meaning pairings);
   3. Constructions are linked in networks of inheritance (or categorization).

This paper aims to explore the semantic structure of "V+*yu*+IO" from both a Cognitive Grammar and a Semantic Map perspectives and further claims that the semantic structure of this *yu*-dative construction, which is different from that of "V+DO+*yu*+IO", assumes an important role in determining its own extensions.

2. Two different *yu*-dative constructions in Archaic Chinese

In this section, it will be argued that the two dative constructions "V+DO+*yu*+IO" and "V+*yu*+IO" are semantically distinct from the Cognitive Grammar (hereafter CG) perspective. It would be advisable and appropriate to write these two constructions as "V$_{Give}$+DO+*yu*+IO" and "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO" since they are usually associated with GIVE verbs. Peyraube (1987:335) maintains that "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO" is a variant form derived from "V$_{Give}$+DO+*yu*+IO":

> Sometimes, we have the "V+*yu*+IO" structure where only the IO is present after the verb. The DO has been deleted. In this case, we can postulate a deletion of the DO. This is justified by the fact that the presence of *yu* indicates that a DO should have been present between the V and *yu* and we are still dealing with a double object construction. In ancient Chinese, the object of a verb preceding a prepositional phrase introduced by *yu* can be deleted, especially when it is a pronoun (mostly *zhi* 之).

Although it is plausible that diachronically, the two *yu*-dative constructions have a derivational relationship via an omission of the DO, it is not likely. A few observations do point in the direction that a derivation hypothesis of this kind is suspicious.

First, there is at least one lexical dative verb (cf. *jia* 嫁 'marry') which occurs in both *yu*-dative constructions. However, it projects different participant roles onto syntactic subject according to the presence or absence of DO in the surface structure, as shown in the following examples: In *jia qi wai mei yu shi xiao shu* 嫁其外妹於施孝叔 'married his half-sister to Shi Xiaoshu' (*Zuozhuan*: *Cheng*.11), the agent is projected onto the syntactic subject position. The omission of the DO from the surface structure result in the human theme being projected onto the same structural position, as evidently shown in *fan gong nü jia yu di guo* 凡公女嫁于敵國 'In all cases in which the daughters of the princes were married to a State of equal dignity and power' (*Zuozhuan*: *Huan*.3). If the derivation hypothesis stated above was true, an omission of the DO should not trigger a re-alignment of grammatical roles.

Hence, it is not possible for works that adopt the Cognitive Grammar approach to ignore the differences between Fig. 4 and Fig. 1.

Second, from the perspective of markedness, if "V+DO+*yu*+IO" was basic and "V+*yu*+IO" was derived, then the former should be unmarked while the latter should be marked since the latter is dependent on the former. Markedness, however, often implies a difference in frequency. Thus if the null hypothesis were correct, "V+DO+*yu*+IO" should have a higher token frequency than "V+*yu*+IO". This is not the case in *Shangshu*, however. In this early text of Archaic Chinese, the verb *rang* 讓 can only occur in "V+*yu*+IO", but not "V+DO+*yu*+IO".

Third, from the perspective of grammaticalization, it is not reasonable to assume "V+*yu*+IO" is derived from "V+DO+*yu*+IO" because the grammaticalization path of the former (i.e. serial verb construction > allative construction) is extremely clear (cf. Pulleyblank 1986, Mei 2004), while that of the latter is obscure.

Based on the above considerations, it is therefore not convincing to argue for a derivation hypothesis via an omission of the DO. Moreover, it could also be shown that the two *yu*-dative constructions differ semantically. Compare the following two examples which are reproduced from examples (1) and (2):

(11) 獻   馬   於   季孫 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.6)
      xiàn mǎ   yú   jì sūn
      offer horse DAT   Ji Sun
      'Offer some horses to Ji Sun.'

(12) 獲   叔子 與   析朱鉏，   獻   於   王 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.8)
      huò shú zǐ yǔ xī zhū chú xiàn yú   wáng
      catch Shu Zi and Xi Zhu Chu offer DAT king
      'After Shu Zi and Xi Zhu Chu were captured and offered to the king, …'

Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995) posit that grammatical constructions, just like lexical items, are symbolic in nature and it follows naturally that a different grammatical structure would correspond to a different underlying semantic structure. The challenge here is that while Goldberg (1995) can easily argue for the presence of constructional meaning by using a single verb which generates different reading when it occurs in different syntactic frames (e.g. *Terry sneezed* & *Terry sneezed the tissue off the table*), the case in examples (11) and (12) is much more thorny. Since the two grammatical constructions in which *sneeze* occurs point toward different conceptual content in the real and objective world, not very much persuasion is required to produce a convincing account that the two constructions differ semantically. The same luxury is not present in our case as the two *yu*-dative constructions elaborated by examples (11) and (12) obviously make reference to the same conceptual content, which therefore proves to be a great challenge for this paper to establish that they differ semantically.

Before we further explore this issue, readers are reminded to pay particular attention to the distinction between the objectivist position and the conceptual position towards the analysis of semantics which has been expounded in Langacker (2008:27-54). The entire argument in the following discussion will be built on the distinction between objective conceptual content and the subjective construal imposed on this conceptual content (i.e. conceptualization). Hence, it will be argued that examples (11) and (12), though making reference to the same conceptual structure, have different semantic structures. This is because different images are employed to encode the same conceptual content, high-lighting different facets of the same situation.

The central tenet of CG is that meaning is equated with conceptualization. It claims that the meaning of an expression is a function of both the CONCEPTUAL CONTENT and particular ways of CONSTRUING the content. In any construal, we are able to assign different PROMINENCE to the participants inherent within the conceptual base evoked by the predication. The pair of antonyms "above" and "below" is a good example to illustrate how different profiling of the same conceptual base can generate different semantic structures as sketched in Fig. 5:
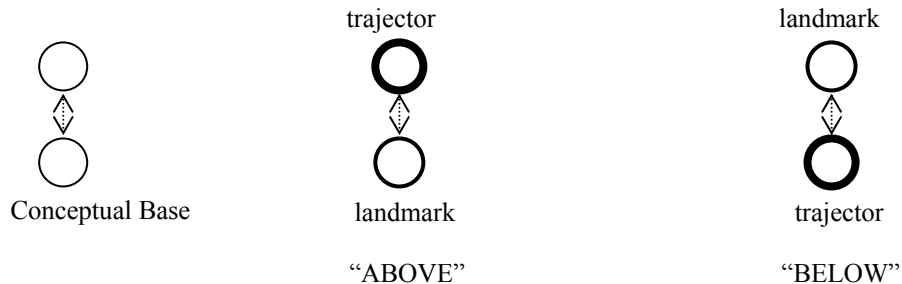

Figure 5: Semantic structure of "above" and "below"

Coming back to the two *yu*-dative constructions in question, they undoubtedly have the same conceptual base. The verb *xian* 獻 'offer' is a typical GIVE verb and its semantic characterization requires the presence of three distinct participants, i.e. GIVER, THING and RECIPIENT. The conceptual base of this verb, which is a canonical act of transfer, is sketched below in Fig. 6 depicting a transfer of possession between the GIVER and the RECIPIENT. Energy is transmitted from the GIVER to the THING, making it undergo a change in physical location and finally move into the dominion of the RECIPIENT. Do note that although RECIPIENT has gained control and possession of THING, it has not undergone a change in physical location or a change in its physical state due to the energy transmitted by the GIVER.
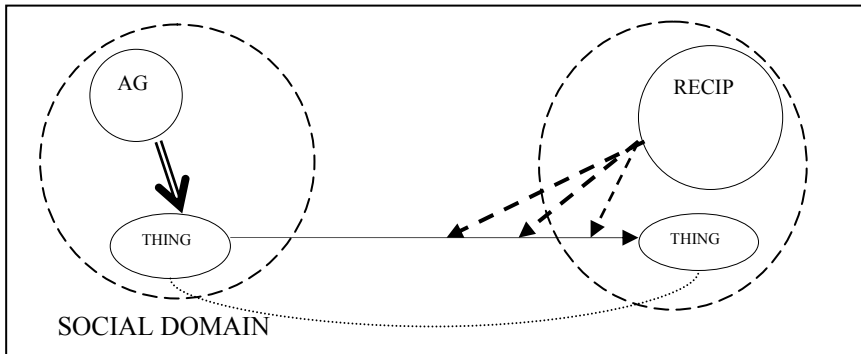
Figure 6: Conceptual base of GIVE [6]

The claim here, which is highly consistent with the basic tenets of CG, is that when the role of THING is coded explicitly in the surface structure, the grammatical construction elaborates a semantic structure as sketched in Fig. 7:
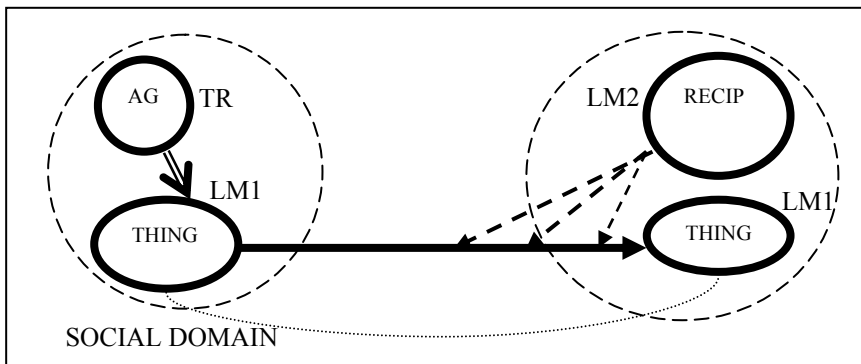

Figure 7: Semantic structure of "V$_{Give}$+DO+*yu*+IO"

But, when the role of THING is suppressed and absent from the surface structure, the grammatical construction will then correspond to a slightly different semantic structure as sketched in Fig. 8:

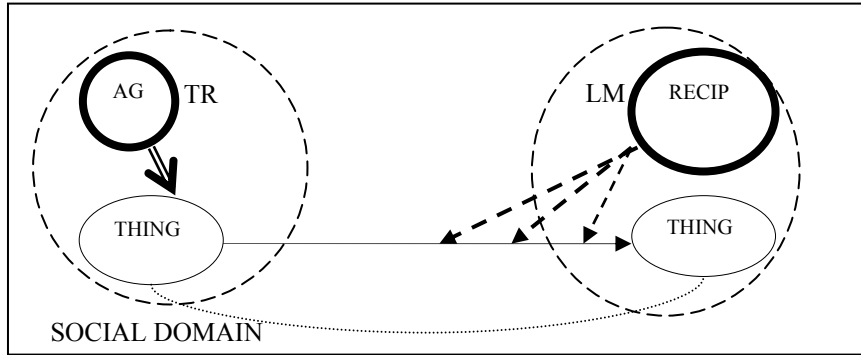[6] Fig. 6, Fig. 7 and Fig. 8 are adapted from Langacker (1991:332).

Figure 8: Semantic structure of "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO"

A comparison between Fig. 7 and Fig. 8 reveals that both *yu*-dative constructions, though share the same conceptual base, profile different substructures of this conceptual base. As a result, these two constructions differ semantically since contrasting images have been imposed on the same objective scene: Fig. 7 directs one's attention to a particular entity which is moving along a path from the volitional agent to a human goal across time, while Fig. 8 highlights an asymmetrical relationship between a volitional agent at the action-chain head and the human participant lying downstream which that agent establishes contact. There is both a mental and physical dimension about this contact, but what is important is that the physical dimension of this contact does not necessarily induce a transfer of energy between the two profiled human participants which ultimately causes a change in physical state to the human participant lying downstream from the agent source. Thus, a more appropriate sketch of the semantic structure of the dative construction "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO" would be:
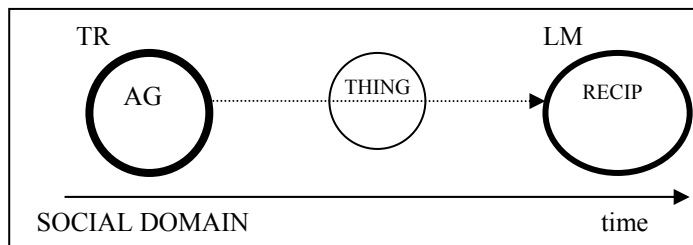

Figure 9: Semantic structure of "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO"

Fig. 9 captures the asymmetrical relationship between the GIVER and RECIPIENT. It demonstrates that the GIVER and RECIPIENT occupy the head and tail of the action-chain respectively. Since THING has now been suppressed in the semantic structure

owing to its absence from the surface syntactic structure, the interaction between THING and GIVER as well as that between THING and RECIPIENT has also been suppressed as a result. With the head and tail of the action-chain in prominence, the complex interactions involving three participants have now been reduced to a simple interaction between two human participants. Thus, although the verb in question is a three-participant verb, owing to a defocusing of THING, this three-participant event has now been construed as a two-participant event. Readers are reminded that we are not suggesting that THING is unimportant, but in this scenario, it undoubtedly has been relegated to the conceptual background and is therefore not a salient feature high on the accessibility scale when a speaker employs the grammatical construction "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" to encode an event of GIVE.[7]

3. Dative construction "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" and indirect object construction

Once it has been argued that the semantic structure of the dative construction "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" is not entirely identical to that of the other dative construction "V_{Give}+DO+*yu*+IO", the next task would be to further explore how the proposed semantic structure of the dative construction "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" presents itself in other constructions that are coded by the same constructional schema, and is consistent with the theoretical assumption maintained by CG that it is constructional schemas, and not grammatical principles, that form the primitive units of grammatical organization.

In accordance with the tenets of CG, "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" is taken to be a constructional schema, and as Taylor (2002:564) points out, constructional schemas "can themselves stand in a schema-instance relation." Moreover, "(a) set of constructional schemas may be brought under an even more schematic construction, while a schematic construction can have, as its instances, a number of more specific constructional schemas." Thus, it is hypothesized here that the dative construction "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese can be subsumed under a more schematic constructional schema, which is the indirect object construction (cf. Phua 2008).[8] This indirect object construction has other specific instances, as illustrated in Fig. 10.

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[7] The analysis offered here is highly compatible with Langacker's analysis (1987:39) of the two English expressions that participate in dative shift. He concludes that the expression *He sent a letter to Mary* emphasizes the path traversed by the letter with Mary as goal, while *He sent Mary a letter* emphasizes the resulting state in which Mary possesses the letter. As a result, the two expressions are semantically distinct.

[8] In the literature, indirect object has always been used interchangeably with the semantic role of RECIPIENT (Peyraube 1987, Pulleyblank 1995). This paper does not agree with the afore-mentioned analysis as typological evidence shows that the marker for indirect object could be
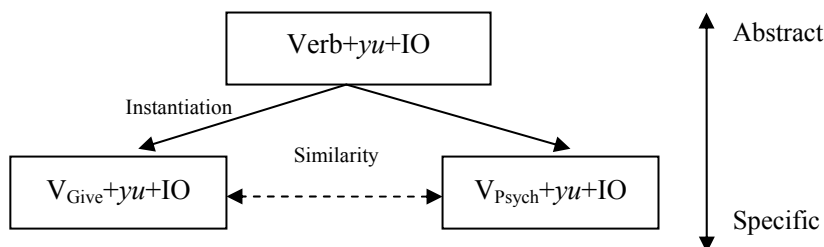
Figure 10: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"

In the above figure, "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" and "V_{Psych}+*yu*+IO" are subsumed under the same category of indirect object construction. According to this proposal, the semantic roles of EXPERIENCER and RECIPIENT share enough commonality to be construed in the same way. This hypothesis is supported by the following example in Archaic Chinese, which clearly demonstrates that the semantic role of EXPERIENCER can be mapped onto the same structural position as the semantic role of RECIPIENT:

(13) 王姚　　嬖　于　莊　　王，生　　子頹 (*Zuozhuan*: *Zhuang*.19)
　　　wáng yáo bì　yú　zhuāng wáng shēng zǐ tuí
　　　Wang Yao like EXP　Zhuang king　bear　Zi Tui
　　　'Before this, a lady Yao had been a favourite with King Zhuang, and bore
　　　him a son.'

Bi 嬖 'like' is a psych verb, and since it is the King, and not the lady, who engages in this

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used for many functions. Næss (2007:92) has the following observation:
　　　The indirect-object applicative *n-* is used for many of the functions typically associated
　　with datives: goals, recipients, addressees, and beneficiaries, as well as the experiencer
　　arguments of some verbs of emotion.
　　(5.5)　YURAKARÉ (unclassified; van Gijn 2006:154-155, 163)
　　　　　a.　A-mummy　　　　pa-n-kaya-shiti
　　　　　　　3SG.POSS-all　　　2PL-IO-give-FUT:1SG.S
　　　　　　　'I will give it all to you(pl.)'
　　　　　b.　Ti-n-ewe-Ø　　　　ti-sibë=y
　　　　　　　1SG-IO-sweep-3　1SG-house=LOC
　　　　　　　'He swept my house for me.'
　　　　　c.　Ti-n-kukku
　　　　　　　1SG-IO-nice
　　　　　　　'I like it.'
Do also note that the marker for recipient and experiencer is identical in this language.

mental activity, the EXPERIENCER is unambiguously projected onto the prepositional object position, just like the RECIPIENT in a giving event in example (12).[9] A further example is:

(14) 時　　　　則　　　有　若　伊尹，
　　　shí　　　zé　　　yǒu　ruò　yī yǐn
　　　at-that-time because have like Yi Yin
　　　格　于　皇　　天 (*Shangshu*: *Junshi*)
　　　gé　yú　huáng　tiān
　　　touch EXP mighty heaven
　　　'It is because at that time, [the king] had a minister like Yi Yin who touched the Mighty Heaven [with his virtue].'

In line with the reading proposed by Qu Wanli (1997), *huangtian* 皇天 'mighty heaven' here is interpreted as the experiencer, and the EXPERIENCER of the psych verb *ge* 格 'move, touch' is clearly projected onto the prepositional object in example (14). This parallel between examples (13), (14) and example (12) has escaped the attention of researchers working in Chinese historical syntax; very few, if any, have offered a formal explanation to account for the syncretism of the marker for RECIPIENT and EXPERIENCER. Moreover, this syncretism of marker can also be supported by cross-linguistic evidence. A very good example is the particle *ni* which is incidentally the dative marker in Modern Japanese. It marks not only the RECIPIENT in a giving event, but also the EXPERIENCER in a mental activity. Kabata (2002:91-92), in her PhD thesis which is an exclusive study of the dative marker *ni*, makes the following observation:

Participant types associated with the dative case include the RECIPIENT of a physical transfer as in (46a), the ADDRESSEE in a communicative transfer as in (46b), and the EXPERIENCER of a conceptual event as in (46c):

(46) a. *Kare wa   zen-zaisan o   tsuma ni   yuzuru-*
　　　　 he   TOP all property ACC   wife   REC   give away-
　　　　 tsumori-da
　　　　 plan-COP
　　　　 'He is planning to give away all the property to his wife.'

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9 Many previous studies, such as Yang & He (1992:671), treated this example as an instance of passive construction. A critical review in regard to this issue is beyond the scope of this investigation, but what should be highlighted is that the close association in linguistic coding between EXPERIENCER and RECIPIENT is not accounted for in their analyses.

    b. *Kanojo wa   sono kodomo ni   yasashiku hanashikake-ta*
       she   TOP the   child   <u>ADR</u> kindly   talk-PAST
       'She talked to the child kindly.'
    c. *Wasashi wa   kinoo   gakkoo de   Masako ni   at-ta*
       l.SG   TOP yesterday school LOC Masako <u>EXP</u> meet-PAST
       'I met Masako at school yesterday.'
In these sentences, the *ni*-marked NPs represent participants in events involving human interaction.

In the literature, examples (13) and (14) have always been analyzed as instances of the passive construction, but taking cross-linguistic evidence into consideration, the two examples should be better analyzed as dative-experiencer construction.[10] According to Haspelmath (2001), in the dative-experiencer construction, the experiencer appears in the dative or a similar case (or marked by a dative preposition), while the stimulus behaves like an S (i.e. subject of an intransitive clause). Some examples provided in Haspelmath (2001) are:

(15) a. German   *Mir   gefällt   dieses   Buch*
                       me.DAT pleases this   book
                       'I like this book.'
      b. French   *Ce   livre   lui   plait*
                       this   book   him.DAT pleases
                       'He likes this book.'
      c. M.Greek *Tu   arési   aftó   to   vivlío*
                       Him.DAT likes   this   the   book
                       'He likes this book.'

Bearing in mind that examples (13) and (14) have always been treated as passive in the literature, it is evident that the stimulus in the two examples behaves like an S, and not A. Apart from the above empirical evidence, the semantic map proposed for dative functions in Haspelmath (2003) also demonstrates that the concepts of RECIPIENT and EXPERIENCER share enough similarity to be coded similarly cross-linguistically.

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[10] According to Haspelmath (2001), there are three important types of experiencer constructions cross-linguistically, viz. the agent-like experiencer construction, the dative-experiencer construction, and the patient-like experiencer construction.
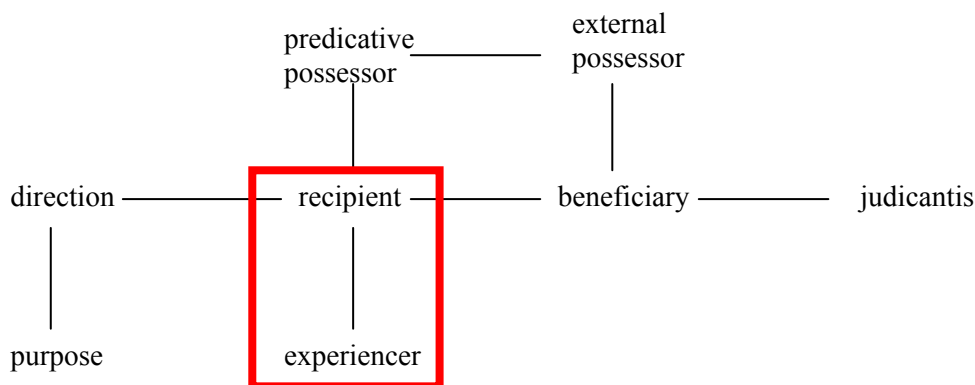
Figure 11: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO"

A pair of English examples in Haspelmath (2003) elaborates the use of the same morpheme for the coding of recipient and experiencer:

(16) a. Eve gave the apple to Adam.   (recipient)
     b. This seems outrageous to me.   (experiencer)

Finally, this proposal is also highly consistent with the understanding of indirect object (IO) in CG. As pointed out by Langacker (1991:324), indirect object "is standardly used for verbal complements that are object-like in some respects yet grammatically distinct from direct objects." It must be emphasized once again that indirect objects are syntactic objects or verb complements, definitely not syntactic adjuncts, and they code participant lying downstream from the agent source in an event, just like what direct objects do (cf. Phua 2008). As for the conceptual import for the characterization of an indirect object, Langacker (1991:327-328) has the following comment:

> It is usefully characterized as an **active experiencer in the target domain**. Properly understood, this schematic definition handles most central cases and provides a reasonable basis for extension to other senses. Supporting the proto-typicality of the *experiencer* role is the frequent occurrence of indirect objects with verbs of perception, judgment, sensation, emotion, or mental experience generally (e.g. 'tell', 'show', 'seem', 'please', 'be hungry', 'be cold', 'frighten', 'bother', 'satisfy'). Another serious candidate for prototype status is the role of *recipient* (or more broadly, *possessor*), which indirect objects assume with 'give' and many other verbs of transfer. There is little point in arguing that either role is more basic than the other, for in any case they are closely

associated and often hard to distinguish. With a verb like 'say' or 'tell', for example, the indirect object is an experiencer by virtue of perceiving the utterance and understanding its meaning, but can also be regarded as the recipient and subsequent possessor of the information conveyed. Even in cases of physical transfer ('give', 'hand', 'deliver', etc.), the recipient typically perceives the transferred entity coming into his dominion, has knowledge of the resulting possessive relationship, and enjoys its benefits.

Thus, empirically and conceptually, there are strong reasons to conclude that EXPERIENCER is coded in the same way linguistically as the RECIPIENT in Archaic Chinese.

4. Allative construction and the *yu*-dative construction

It is widely accepted that the dative marker *yu* is grammaticalized from an allative marker *yu*. Scholars, such as Pulleyblank (1986), Wei (1993), Guo (1998), Yan (2003), and Mei (2004) have studied the grammaticalization process of *yu*, and generally all have agreed that *yu* is initially a verb of motion meaning 'go'. By far, the strongest piece of evidence about the etymology of the morpheme *yu* is provided by Gong (2002:25):

(17) a. 于   OC *gwjag   'go to'
      b. 往   OC *gwjang   'go to'

A cursory examination of the reconstructed phonetic values of *yu* 于 and *wang* 往 reveals an alternation between voiced velar ending and nasal velar ending for the two morphemes. The etymological relation between them is irrefutable since they fit in a strict pattern known as *yin yang dui zhuan* 陰陽對轉 'alternation between *yin* and *yang*,' in which morphemes that are etymologically related display alternation between voiced and nasal endings of the same place of articulation in Proto Sino-Tibetan (PST). Some examples illustrating this alternation are presented below:

	OC	PTB	PST
(18)	馬 *mragx	*mrang "horse"	< *mrag ~ *mrang
(19)	汝 *njagx	*nang "thou"	< *njag ~ *njang
		*na "thou"	< *njag
(20)	吾 *ngag	*nga "I"	< *ngag ~
	卬 *ngang		< *ngang

(Gong 2002:221)

Chiew-Pheng Phua

From a verb of motion with the same meaning as *wang* 往, the morpheme *yu* 于 under-goes grammaticalization and becomes an allative marker in a serial verb construction,[11] before making its way from the SPATIAL domain into the SOCIAL domain. Since the allative construction provides the structural template for the dative construction "V+*yu*+IO", Fig. 12 is proposed to incorporate this empirical finding:
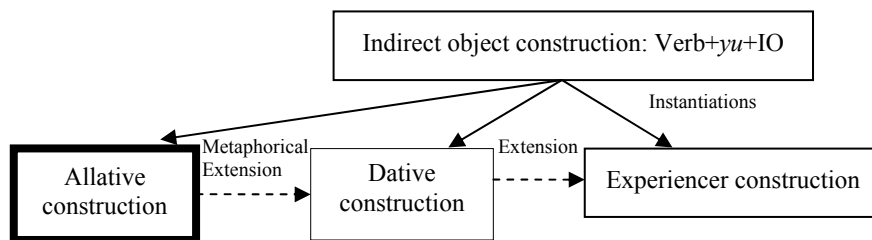

Figure 12: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"

The proposal in Fig. 12 is also highly compatible with the notion of "semantic domain" or "conceptual domain" in Anderson (1971). This localist hypothesis claims that spatial expressions are generally more basic, grammatically and semantically, than various kinds of non-spatial expressions and therefore they generally serve as structural templates for the latter. In an original analysis of the highly polysemous particle *ni* in Modern Japanese which highlights the role of conceptual domain-to-domain mappings, Kabata (2000) proposes the following organization for the various semantic domains as sketched in Fig. 13:
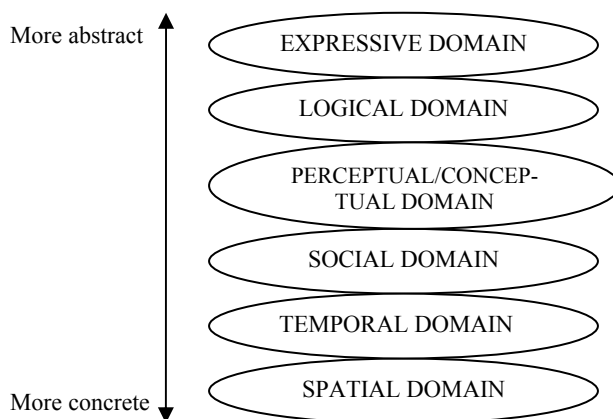

Figure 13: Different conceptual domains

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[11] Shi (2003) has offered an alternative proposal which has been reviewed by Mei (2004). His hypothesis is not adopted here as it is too speculative and controversial in nature.

It is not difficult to recognize the close relationship between the localist hypothesis and the theory of conceptual metaphor. As pointed out in Lakoff & Johnson (1980), when a linguistic expression is used of both an abstract and a concrete domain, it entails that one is construed metaphorically in terms of the other. Based on the works on the grammaticalization of *yu* and in accordance with this theory, the *yu*-dative construction "V+*yu*+IO" can therefore be analyzed as an extended construction of the allative construction. The close affinity between an allative marker (or allative construction) and a dative marker (or dative construction) is a well-known fact in typological works, as evidently summarized by Kabata (2000:142):

> The dative case markers in the Ik and Kanuri languages documented by Heine (1990) exhibit surprising similar semantic distributions to that of *ni*. Like *ni*, the dative marker -*k'* in Ik and -*ro* in Kanuri are associated with various so-called *indirect objects*, such as RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE, and BENEFACTIVE, and they both entertain an array of usage types across domains, ranging from the Spatial and Social Domains to Logical Domain.
>
> Based on the notion of unidirectionality of grammaticalization, namely that grammaticalization proceeds from more concrete case functions to the expression of more abstract functions. Heine assumed that the most basic function of both the dative suffix -*k'* and -*ro* is that of a directional locative (i.e. ALLATIVE) ….

Do note that the proposal in Fig. 12 is also supported by the contiguity of the various functions, viz. direction, recipient, and experiencer, in the semantic map proposed for typical dative functions in Haspelmath (2003).
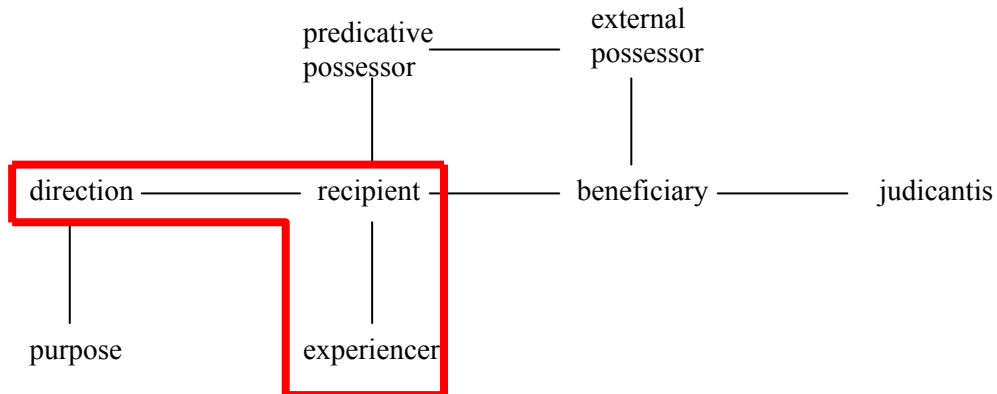

Figure 14: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO"

One important similarity between our proposal in Fig. 12 and the semantic map proposed by Haspelmath in Fig. 14 should be highlighted, i.e. the arrangement of the three functions. According to the semantic map in Haspelmath (2003), it is not possible to find a language that expresses both experiencer and direction, but not recipient, with the same gram. Modern English 'to' and French 'à' offer examples to illustrate this point. Below are examples from Modern English:

(21) a. Goethe went to Leipzig as a student.   (direction)
      b. Eve gave the apple to Adam.   (recipient)
      c. This seems outrageous to me.   (experiencer)

Not only the proposal in Fig. 12 did not contradict this cross-linguistic pattern, it also shows that the function of recipient (or dative construction) is crucial in the use of the same gram or in our case, the same construction, for expressions of direction (or allative construction) and experiencer (or experiencer construction).

In accordance with the theoretical assumption that grammatical constructions are related, it will be shown that the semantic structure of allative construction is similar to that of the *yu*-dative construction "V+*yu*+IO". To begin with, let us look at some examples taken from the early texts of Archaic Chinese:

(22) 古   我   先   王， 將   多   于   前   功，
      gǔ   wǒ   xiān   wáng jiāng duō yú   qián   gōng
      ancient 1:SG ancestral king PART more CRP previous accomplishment
      適   于   山 (*Shangshu*: *Pan'geng*)
      shì   yú   shān
      move ALL hill
      'Of old, my royal predecessor, that his merit might exceed that of those who had gone before him, proceeded to the hill-site.'

(23) 冬， 狄   圍   衛，衛 遷   于   帝丘 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xi*.31)
      dōng dí   wéi   wèi wèi qiān yú   dì qiū
      winter barbarian surround Wei Wei move ALL Di Qiu
      'In winter, barbarians besieged Wei, Wei moved to Di Qiu.'

Allative construction emerges through a grammaticalization process as follows:

$$\text{Verb} + YU_{\text{verb}} + \text{IO}_{\text{LOC}} > \text{Verb} + YU_{\text{preposition}} + \text{IO}_{\text{LOC}}$$

One frequently cited example is:

$$wang往+yu于_{verb}+O_{LOC} > wang往+yu于_{preposition}+O_{LOC}$$
serial verb construction > allative construction

The semantic structure of the allative construction "V$_{Motion}$+*yu*+IO" can be illustrated through its contrast with the caused motion construction:

(24) a. 克   商，   遷   九   鼎   于   雒邑 (*Zuozhuan*: *Huan*.2)
　　　　kè   shāng qiān jiǔ dǐng   yú   luò yì
　　　　subdue Shang move nine tetrapod ALL Luo city
　　　　'When the king Wu had subdued Shang, he moved the nine tetrapods to the city of Luo.'
　　b. 出   自   幽   谷，   遷   于   喬   木 (*Shijing*: *Famu*)
　　　　chū zì   yōu gǔ   qiān yú qiáo mù
　　　　exit ABL dark valley move ALL lofty tree
　　　　'One exits from the dark valley, and moves to the lofty trees.'

In example (24a) three participants are necessary for the semantic characterization of the clause, while in example (24b), only two participants are required. In the latter example, *qian* 遷 'move' is a verb of motion and *qiaomu* 喬木 'arbor tree' denotes the locative goal of the motion. The grammatical morpheme *yu*, which is a marker for directional complement in this example, designates a PATH of a trajector (TR) oriented towards a landmark (LM). The image schema is sketched in Fig. 15:
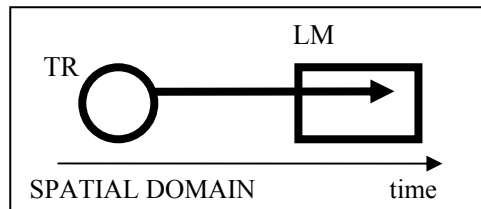

Figure 15: Semantic structure of "V$_{Motion}$+*yu*+IO"

Compare the semantic structure of this allative construction "V$_{Motion}$+*yu*+IO" in Fig. 15 and that of the dative construction "V$_{Give}$+*yu*+IO" in Fig. 9 which is reproduced here as Fig. 16, we shall find them similar: both involve a volitional agent as trajector and a landmark that is not affected by the action of the agent. The essential difference between them is in their conceptual domains: one is grounded in the SPATIAL domain, while the other in the SOCIAL domain.
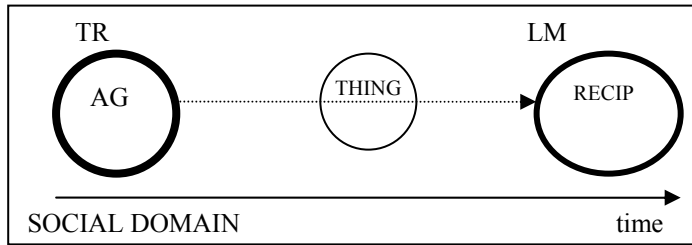
Figure 16: Semantic structure of "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO"

Since SPATIAL domain is more basic than SOCIAL domain, it is therefore clear that a giving event that involves two human participants is understood via the motion event which involves a human participant moving along a path towards a locative goal. The locative goal and the human goal share an important characteristic and that is that both goals occupy the end of the action chain and are not affected by the action of the agent source. Diachronically, it is possible to suggest that the constructional schema "V+*yu*+IO" has been first instantiated by verbs of motion. When faced with an event of giving, this constructional schema has been metaphorically extended to serve as a constructional template for the expression of this event.

The image schema in Fig. 15 can undergo extension which focuses on the end-point of the path. This is an extension that is quite common in many English prepositions. A very enlightening pair of examples is:

(25)   a.   The plane flew over the church.
       b.   Sam lives over the hill.

Lakoff (1987) has made the following analysis about the preposition *over*. He argues that the central sense of *over* merges elements of both *above* and *across*. As suggested by Lakoff (1987), in the figure below, the plane is understood as a trajector (TR) oriented relative to a landmark (LM). In this case, the landmark is the church, and the arrow in the figure represents the PATH that the TR is moving along. The LM is what the plane is flying over. The PATH is *above* the LM. The dotted lines indicate the extreme boundaries of the landmark. The PATH goes all the way *across* the landmark from the boundary on one side to the boundary on the other.
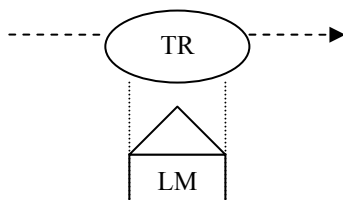
Figure 17: Schema for *The plane flew over the church*

But what really deserves our attention is that there is a focus on the end point of the path. Lakoff (1987:423) comments that:

> In the figure below, there is an understood path that goes over the bridge, and Sam lives at the end of that path. The end-point focus is not added by anything in the sentence, not *hill*, not *lives*, and not *Sam*. Here *over* has an additional sense which is one step away from the original image schema. As we shall see, such end-point focus senses are the result of a general process that applies in many English prepositions.
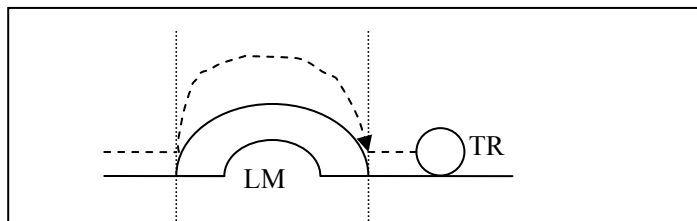

Figure 18: Schema for *Sam lives over the hill*

Taking a cue from Lakoff's analysis of *over*, it is argued that the image schema of the morpheme *yu* can undergo further extension with the focus being shifted from the PATH to the end point of the path. With this shift in focus, *yu* acquires a stative sense between the trajector and landmark. This is not a theoretical construct, but a claim that can be verified by evidence from Archaic Chinese.

(26) 盤庚　　遷　于　殷，民　　不　適　　有　　居 (*Shangshu: Pan'geng*)
　　　 pán gēng qiān yú yīn mín bú shì yǒu jū
　　　 Pan Geng move ALL Yin people NEG happy PART environment
　　　 'After Pan Geng moved to Yin, his people were not happy with the environment.'

The *yu* in this example definitely cannot receive a PATH reading, as the second clause clearly indicates that the people did not adjust well to the new environment, which is a result caused after moving to a place called *yin* 殷, and not a consequence owing to the process of moving. Thus, *yu* designates the end point of the path. This analysis is sketched in Fig. 19:
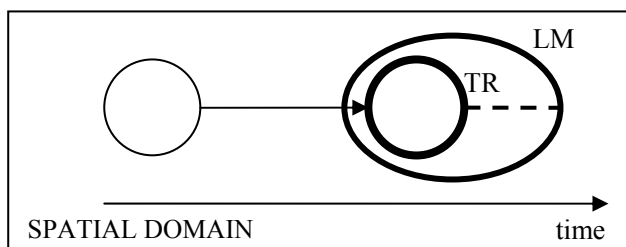

Figure 19: Semantic structure of "V_{Motion}+*yu*+IO" with an end-point focus

Once it has been established that the original image schema could be extended to denote the end point of the PATH, it is easy to recognize the connection between the allative and locative senses of *yu*. The locative sense of *yu* is illustrated by the following example:

(27) 公 居 於 長 府 (*Zuozhuan*: *Zhao*.25)
gōng jū yú cháng fǔ
duke reside LOC long treasury
'The duke was residing in the Long treasury.'
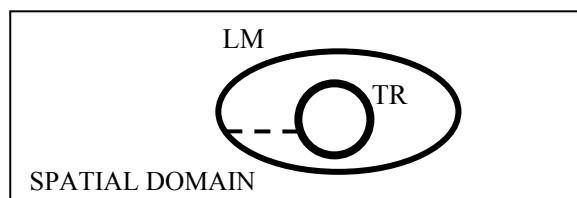
The image schema can be represented here as:

Figure 20: Semantic structure of "V_{Location}+*yu*+IO"

Apart from being used as an allative and a locative marker, *yu* could also be used as an ablative marker to introduce the locative source in the spatial domain:[12]

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[12] I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewers for bringing my attention to this point.

(28) 豕 人 立 而 啼，公 懼， 隊 于 車 (*Zuozhuan*: *Zhuang*.8)
　　shǐ rén lì ér tí gōng jù zhuì yú chē
　　pig man stand and howl duke afraid fall ABL carriage
　　'The pig stood up like a man and howled. The duke was afraid, and fell down from his carriage.'

According to Xie & Hong (1988:120-123), the ablative function of *yu* is an extension of the locative function, as shown by the following 2 examples:

(29) 逆 吳 子 于 淮 上 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xiang*.3)
　　nì wú zǐ yú huái shàng
　　receive Wu viscount LOC Huai above
　　'(The duke of Jin sent Xun Hui) to receive the viscount of Wu on the Huai.'

(30) 逆 鄭 子 于 陳 (*Zuozhuan*: *Huan*.18)
　　nì zhèng zǐ yú chén
　　receive Zheng viscount LOC/ABL Chen
　　'(Ji Zhong) received the viscount of Zheng at/from Chen.'

Although the *yu* in examples (29) and (30) introduces a spatial location, there is a difference: in the first example, the location is the place where the welcoming ceremony took place; while the second example, the location where the welcome ceremony took place, actually coincides with the locative source of the person to be received. As such, the *yu* in example (30) could be analyzed as either a locative marker or an ablative marker. This example highlights an intermediate phase where the meaning of locative source is only contextually implicated but not yet lexicalized as a distinct sense, demonstrating the possibility of the ablative function of *yu* being extended from its locative function. Moreover, it could also be demonstrated that conceptually, the two concepts of locative source and location are indeed very similar. As pointed out by Yan (2003:137) in his discussion about the grammaticalization of *yu* within the SPATIAL domain, to say in Chinese "to go out at location A" and "to take something at location A" is similar to "to go out from location A" and "to take something from location A", thus it is easy for *yu* with a meaning of "at, in" to switch to "from" in different linguistic contexts. This similarity of conceptual meanings could also be further demonstrated by adopting a semantic map approach to the study of polysemy. According to Haspelmath (2003:215-217), two different functions expressed by the same gram are similar and such similarity is expressed topologically by closeness of nodes in the semantic map. As shown by the two examples below, the same gram *zi* 自 is used to encode ablative and locative functions, but not allative function, which further proves the above point:

(31)　其　　　劍　自　舟　中　墜　於　水 (*Lüshichunqiu*: *Chajin*)
　　　qí　　　jiàn　zì　zhōu zhōng zhuì yú　shuǐ
　　　3:SG:POSS sword ABL boat inside fall ALL water
　　　'His sword fell into the water from the boat.'

(32)　帝　　　顓頊　　生　自　若　水 (*Lüshichunqiu*: *Guyue*)
　　　dì　　　zhuān xù shēng zì　ruò　shuǐ
　　　Emperor Zhuan Xu born LOC Ruo waters
　　　'Emperor Zhuan Xu was born at Ruo waters.'

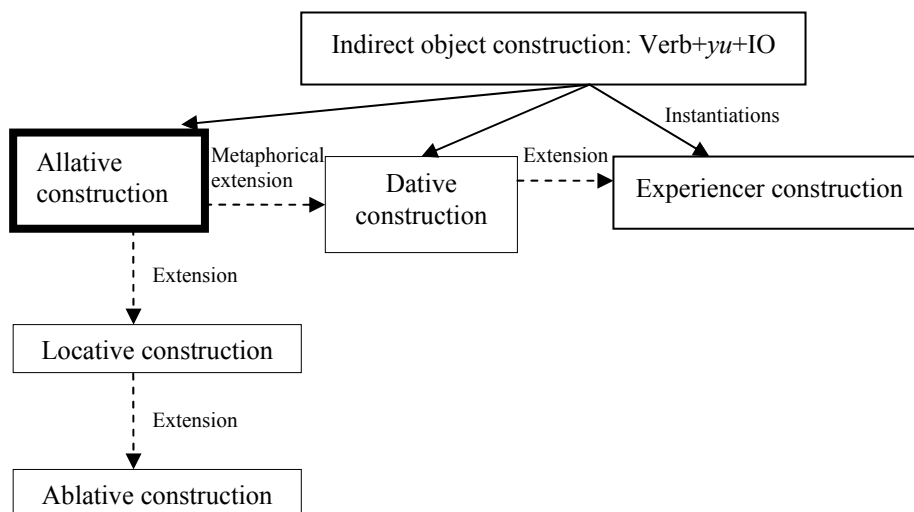Based on the above discussion, the following revised network model for the indirect object construction is proposed:

Figure 21: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"

5. The *yu*-dative construction "V+*yu*+IO" and its extensions

In the previous section, the notion of "semantic domain" has been introduced and it is clear that extension of an image schema can be carried out within the same conceptual domain (for instance, ALL > LOC > ABL) or across different conceptual domains (for instance, ALL > DAT). In this section, the various semantic extensions from the dative construction "V_Give+*yu*+IO" within the same conceptual domain (for instance, DAT > COMITATIVE) as well as across different conceptual domains (for instance, DAT > COMITATIVE > COMPARATIVE) will be explored. This is represented in the following figure:
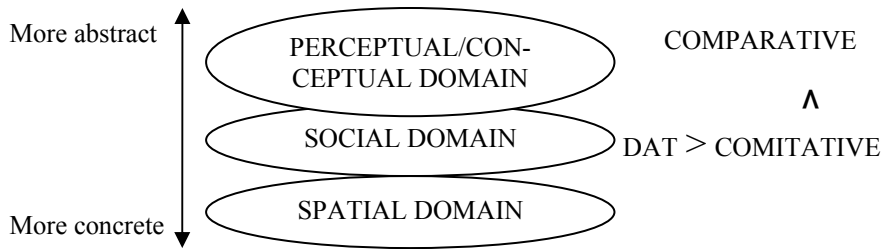
Figure 22: Different conceptual domains [13]

A very brief methodological discussion is required before proceeding on. There are two ways in the cognitive tradition to handle a linguistic expression that is used in both a concrete and an abstract domain. According to Anderson (1971), all semantic roles, no matter how concrete or abstract, can be characterized in spatial terms. Hence, all relations between event participants at the propositional level can be understood in terms of five basic spatial relations: SOURCE, GOAL, THEME, PATH, and LOCATION. These five spatial roles are considered archetypal, so some part of their basic spatial senses is preserved when they are used to denote a non-spatial relation. This view has certainly oversimplified matters which we shall show by tracing the evolutionary path of the experiencer construction, which has been attested to have a close association with the dative construction. Another way to analyze the same phenomenon is proposed by CG. As summarized by Taylor (2002:519-520),

> The fact that a linguistic expression can be used of both an abstract and a concrete domain does not entail that one is construed metaphorically in terms of the other. It is conceivable that both are structured in terms of a schematic conceptualization that abstracts what is common to the two domains… A considerable amount of work in the Cognitive Linguistics tradition is quite compatible with the view that cross-domain similarities are due, not to metaphorical mapping from a concrete to an abstract domain, but to the instantiation of abstract structures.

From a synchronic point of view, a highly schematic conceptualization that instantiates

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[13] Since the morpheme *yu* in Archaic Chinese is quite comparable to the particle *ni* in Modern Japanese, semantically and grammatically, Kabata's model of semantic domains is therefore adopted as our foundation for further discussion of the metaphorical extensions of the *yu*-dative construction "V+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese. To achieve clarity and simplicity, semantic domains in Fig. 13 that are not relevant to this further discussion will be removed. Nevertheless, as shown in Fig. 22, the relative order of the remaining domains has been retained.

itself in various conceptual domains will ultimately provide a unified account for a linguistic expression that is used across different domains. But, we must also be aware that from a diachronic point of view, the relationship between a schema and its instances may be dynamic. As Langacker has cautioned, "the outward growth of a category from its prototype thus tends to be accompanied by upward growth in the form of higher-order schemas," but since such a line of approach has not been taken up in the literature of CG, we hope to contribute to the understanding of the cognitive aspect of language organization by looking into the outward growth of the category of indirect object construction from the dative construction.

5.1 Social domain: comitative construction, experiencer construction and passive construction

At this juncture, we would like to make reference to the categorization triangle as shown in Fig. 23. There are three salient facets of this triangle: (i) the schema [A] abstracts what is common to its instances; (ii) the instances [B] and [C] elaborate the schema in contrasting ways; (iii) the instances are similar to each other, but some instances are better examples than others.
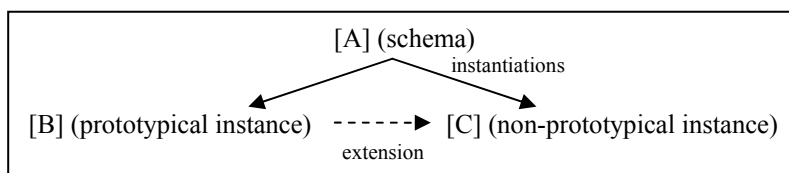

Figure 23: Categorization by schema and prototype

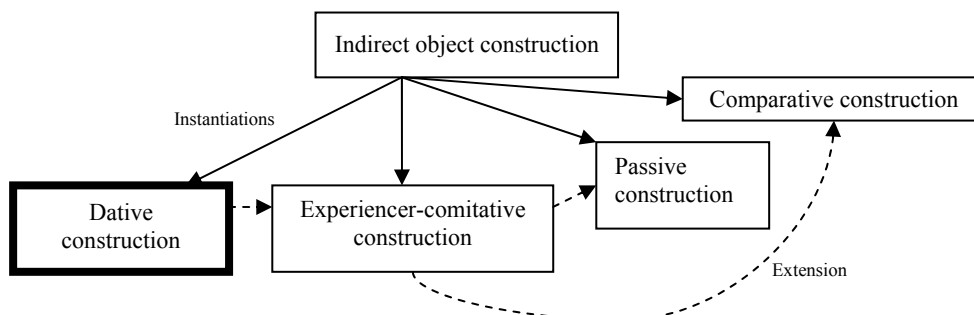The grammatical construction "V+*yu*+IO" can also be characterized in similar way:

Figure 24: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"[14]

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14 The figure will also be subjected to modification later.

To simplify the discussion, the dative construction will be taken as the prototypical instance that elaborates the constructional schema "Verb+*yu*+IO" since an event of giving is basic to human experience. Readers are reminded that this dative construction is symbolic in nature and it invokes an event structure involving two human participants with the downstream participants not affected by the transmission of energy from the source agent. By affectedness, it refers to a change in physical state or a change in physical location. This symbolic relation is represented in Fig. 25:
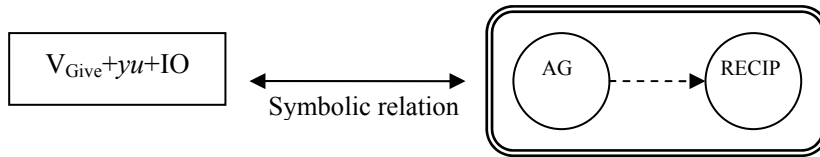

Figure 25: Symbolic relation between "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" (form) and its meaning

In an event of giving, the recipient's role is not in actuality a passive one. As suggested by Langacker (1987, 1991), besides being engaged in an unspecified physical activity to take possession of the thing, the recipient typically perceives the transfer, establishes mental contact with the object, exercises subsequent control over it, and is cognizant of the full occurrence and its consequence. Hence the recipient is active and initiative in much the same way as the subject of verbs like *have*, *see*, and *know*. This facet of the recipient is not salient and remains in the background when the movement of THING from GIVER to RECIPIENT is being profiled in the construction "V+DO+*yu*+IO" as in Fig. 7. But when THING and the path it has moved through are relegated to the background as in Fig. 8, the profile is now on the two human participants. Accompanying this gain in prominence in the semantic structure, the above facet of the RECIPIENT has therefore become a salient feature of the construction "V+*yu*+IO" as sketched in Fig. 26:
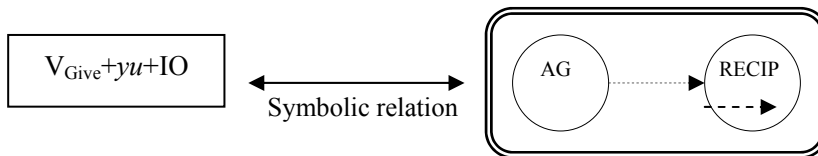

Figure 26: Symbolic relation between "V_{Give}+*yu*+IO" (form) and its meaning

A dotted arrow is now drawn within the farthest right circle to denote the mental process experience by the recipient. We can now easily account for the extension of this construction to encode two-participant events which require the similar level of volitional participation from both participants, as illustrated in examples (33) and (34):

(33) 衛　人　　殺　吳　行人　　　且姚　　而　　懼，
    wèi rén　shā wú xíng rén　qiě yáo　ér　jù
    Wei people kill Wu messenger Qie Yao and afraid
    謀　　　於　　　　　行人　　　子羽 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.12)
    móu　　yú　　　　　xíng rén　zǐ yǔ
    discuss COM/EXP messenger Zi Yu
    'The people of Wei had put death Qie Yao, a messenger of Wu, and they are now afraid. Consulting about the matter with Zi Yu, a messenger of their own…'

(34) 晉　趙嬰　　通　　于　　　　　趙莊姬 (*Zuozhuan*: *Cheng*.4)
    jìn zhào yīng　tōng　yú　　　　zhào zhuāng jī
    Jin Zhao Ying intimate COM/EXP Zhao Zhuang lady
    'Zhao Ying of Jin had an intrigue with Zhao Zhuang lady.'

The semantic characterization of the two verbs in the two above examples requires the postulation of two volitional participants with a similar degree of participation, as sketched in Fig. 27:
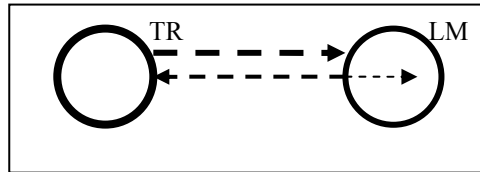

Figure 27: Semantic structure of examples (33)-(34)

It is clear from the two examples above that an event which requires the joint effort of two participants for its semantic realization, such as *mou* 謀 'discuss', will usually have one of the participants being marked by *yu*. This participant could also be seen as a comitative participant since the activity denoted by the verb could only be realized by the joint participation of the two participants. The similarity in concept between comitative and recipient could also be seen in the semantic map proposed for instrumental and related functions in Haspelmath (2003):
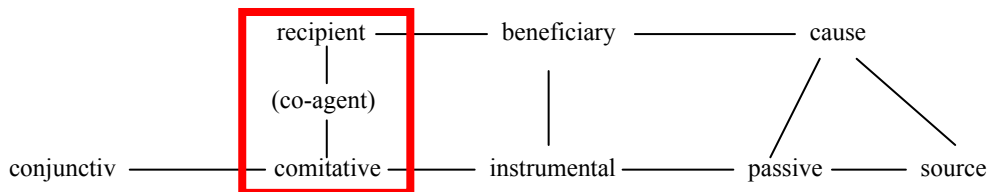

Figure 28: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO"

But since this particular participant has to be sentient and be actively engaged in the activity mentally, thus it could also be construed as an experiencer. As such, we could name such participant comitative-experiencer in order to make a distinction from pure experiencer. A survey of *Zuozhuan* also reveals that for events which require the joint effort of two participants but the mental aspect of involvement from both participants is not a salient feature, *yu* is usually not used to mark any of the participants. A good example is:

(35) 師　　及　齊 師　　戰　　于　　郊 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.11)
　　　shī　jí　qí　shī　zhàn　yú　　jiāo
　　　army　and　Qi　army　fight　LOC　suburbs
　　　'The armies fought with the army of Qi in the suburbs.'

No instance like example (36) can be found in pre-Qin texts:

(36) *師　　戰　　于　　齊 師
　　　shī　zhàn　yú　　qí　shī
　　　army　fight　DAT　Qi　army

Thus, it is concluded that example (36) is ungrammatical in the grammar of Archaic Chinese, which is consistent with the prediction.

At this juncture, the idea of family resemblance which is associated with Wittgenstein (1953) ought to be introduced. This notion stipulates that members of a category may be related to one another without all members having any properties in common that define the category, as what is represented below:
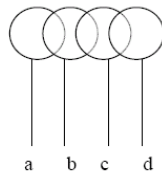

Figure 29: Members of a category exhibiting family resemblance

The four members *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* all belong to a category but they do not share a common property. Taking the cue from this idea, it is plausible that extension from a category does not necessarily operate on the prototypical member of the category, but also on the peripheral member of the category. Hence, Fig. 27 can undergo further extension to encode an event of mental experience with the landmark being the experiencer:
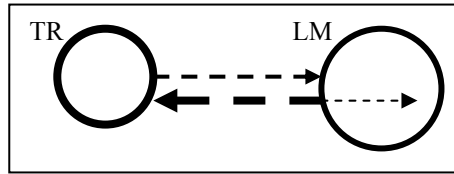
Chiew-Pheng Phua

Figure 30: Semantic structure of examples (37)-(38)

The level of volition is greater for the landmark than the trajector in this scenario as represented by the much darkened dotted line from the landmark to the trajector. Some examples in Archaic Chinese which are instantiations of this semantic structure are:

(37) 時　　　　則　　　有　若　伊尹，
　　　shí　　　zé　　　yǒu　ruò　yī yǐn
　　　at-that-time　because　have　like　Yi Yin
　　　格　　于　皇　　天 (*Shangshu*: *Junshi*)
　　　gé　　yú　huáng　tiān
　　　touch　EXP　mighty　heaven
　　　'It is because at that time, [the king] had a minister like Yi Yin who touched the Mighty Heaven [with his virtue].'

(38) (胥童)　　　嬖　於　厲　公 (*Zuozhuan*: *Cheng*.17)
　　　 xù tóng　　bì　yú　lì　gōng
　　　(Xu Tong)　like　EXP　Li　duke
　　　'[Xu Tong] is one the favorite of Li duke.'

With the asymmetrical relation between the trajector and landmark reversed, Fig. 30 can now undergo further extension to encode event involving a physical contact between the trajector and landmark with the landmark being the head of action-chain as sketched in the figure below:
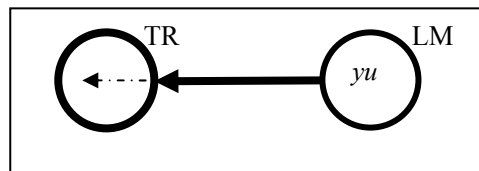

Figure 31: Semantic structure of examples (39)-(41)

Examples which elaborate this semantic structure are:

(39) 郤 克 傷　　於　　矢 (*Zuozhuan*: *Cheng*.2)
xì kè shāng yú　　shǐ
Xi Ke hurt　PASS　arrow
'Xi Ke was wounded by an arrow.'

(40) 困　　　于　　石 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xiang*.25)
kùn　　yú　　shí
surround　PASS　rock
'[Someone was] surrounded by rocks.'

(41) 困　　　于　　酒　　食 (*Zhouyi*)
kùn　　yú　　jiǔ　shí
surround　PASS　wine　food
'[Someone was] distressed by wine and food.'

This seems contradictory as the head of an action-chain is usually projected onto the subject, as illustrated by the following example:

(42) 盜　　殺 蔡 侯　　申 (*Chunqiu*: *Ai*.4)
dào　shā cài hóu　shēn
robber kill Cai duke Shen
'Robbers killed Shen, the duke of Cai.'

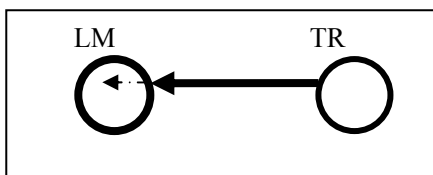The semantic structure of this example is sketched in Fig. 32:

Figure 32: Semantic structure of example (42)

There is not much difference between the conceptual structures as shown in Fig. 31 and Fig. 32, thus it is indeed a mystery as to why examples (39) to (41) are coded in the indirect object construction. A close examination would help us realize that the events as denoted by the transitive clause-IO in these examples have deviated from the canonical event structure. As Comrie (1989:128) suggests, there is a relation between markedness reversal and markedness of structure ("A" and "P" refer to subject and object of transitive verb, respectively):

> … [T]he most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness; and any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction.

For examples (39) to (41), the animacy of the agent is low in comparison with that of the patient. Thus, based on the linking rule which states that the most topical participant will be selected as syntactic subject, human patient therefore advances to the subject position. The fact that instrumental agent is projected onto indirect object, and not onto direct object, can also be explained conceptually. As pointed by Phua (2008), direct object codes a participant affected by the transmission of energy while indirect object codes a participant that remains relatively unaffected by the transmission of energy. In these examples, since the instrumental-participant is the source from which energy is transmitted, thus it is basically unaffected by any transmission of energy upon itself. Many have analyzed examples (39) to (41) as passive construction, but according to our analysis, they do not fit the definition of the passive voice in CG. As pointed out by Langacker (1987:234),

> Moreover, since a primary function of the passive construction is to permit a marked choice of subject (for discourse purposes), we can expect this construction to be most deeply entrenched with prototypical action verbs where natural figure/ground alignment has the strongest effect in dictating a particular selection.

Revisiting examples (39) to (41), it is therefore obvious that they resemble the passive in the important respect of demoting the agent, but they are not instances of genuine passive as this construction is used when the pragmatic status of the patient (i.e. human patient) outranks that of the agent (i.e. inanimate instrument-agent). Adopting a semantic map perspective, it is evident from Fig. 33, which is a semantic map of instrumental and related functions proposed by Haspelmath (2003) based on cross-linguistic comparison, that the *yu* in examples (39) to (41) could be better analyzed as an instrumental marker, instead of a passive marker, since the instrumental function and comitative function are contiguous in the proposed semantic map:
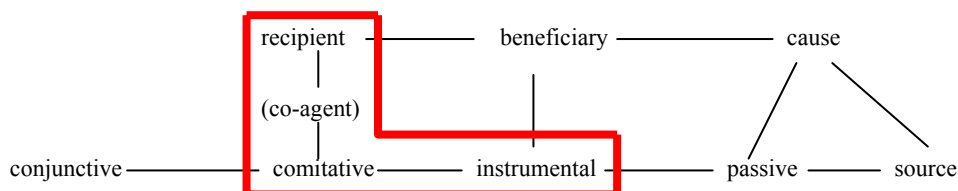

Figure 33: A semantic map for instrumental and related functions (Haspelmath 2003) / the boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO"

Another example taken from Xie & Hong (1988:134) also demonstrates that *yu* in Archaic Chinese could indeed be a marker for instrumental function:

(43) 民　　保　　於　　城，　城　　保　　於　　德 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.7)
　　　mín　bǎo　yú　　chéng chéng bǎo　　yú　　dé
　　　people protect INSTR wall　wall　preserve INSTR virtue
　　　'The people are protected by the walls of the cities, and the walls of the city are preserved by virtue.'

It is important to highlight that even though Xie & Hong (1988) have recognized the instrumental function of *yu*, they still analyze the *yu* in example (39) as a passive marker. Our analysis differs from them in this aspect. We propose to analyze the *yu* in examples (39) to (41) as an instrumental marker, and it is only when the pragmatic status of the patient does not outrank that of the agent do we consider the *yu* as a passive marker. The example below illustrates this function:

(44) 治　　於　　人　　者　　食　　人，
　　　zhì　yú　　rén　zhě　sì　　rén
　　　rule PASS　people ZHE　feed　people
　　　治　人　　者　　食　　於　　人 (*Mengzi*: *Teng*.Shang)
　　　zhì rén　zhě　sì　　yú　　rén
　　　rule people ZHE　　feed PASS　people
　　　'Those who are ruled by others feed others; those who rule are fed by others.'

Once this distinction has been made, it is evident that the *yu* in Archaic Chinese occupies a contiguous region in the semantic map proposed by Haspelmath (2003):
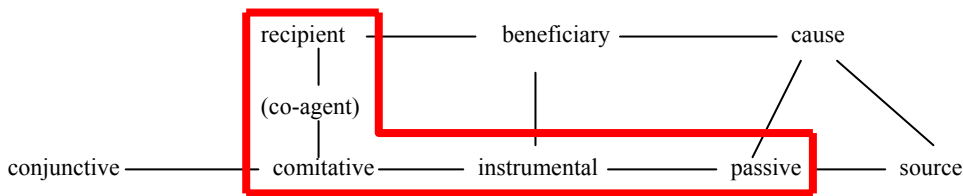

Figure 34: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO"

Based on the discussion above, the organization of the grammatical construction "V+*yu*+IO" proposed previously (i.e. Fig. 24) could be further revised to capture the instrumental function of *yu* in Archaic Chinese:
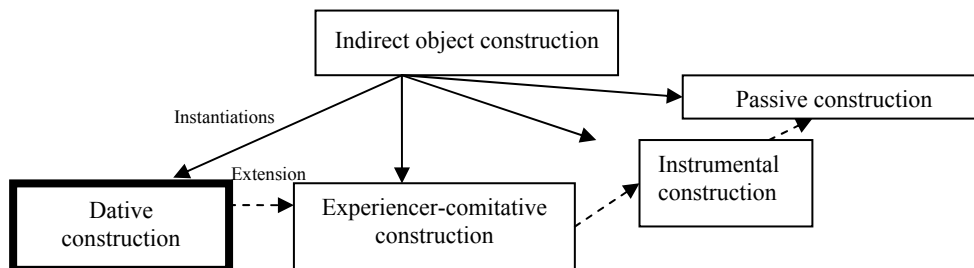
Figure 35: Semantic network of "V+*yu*+IO"

As pointed out by Xie & Hong (1988:136-138), there are multiple origins for the passive function of *yu*. Their observation could be further substantiated by the use of semantic map. In the same semantic map for instrumental and related functions (i.e. Fig. 36), the passive function is linked not only to the instrumental function, but also to the locative source function and the cause function:
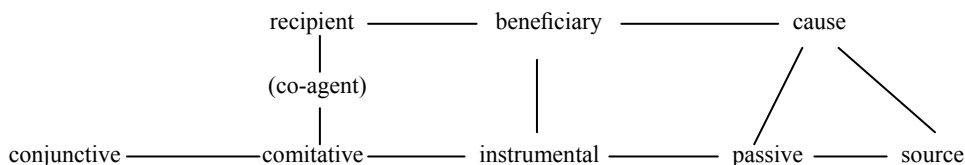

Figure 36: A semantic map for instrumental and related functions (Haspelmath 2003)

Since it has been proven in the preceding discussion that the *yu* in Archaic Chinese has an ablative function, the contiguous region in Fig. 34 could therefore be further extended to include the source function:
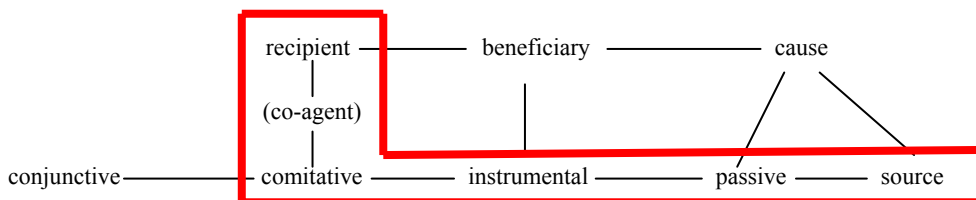

Figure 37: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu*

It is also important to take note that the *yu* in Archaic Chinese could also be used to introduce the cause or reason,[15] as shown in the following example:

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[15] I am very grateful to the anonymous reviewers for bringing my attention to this point.

(45) 喜　　生　　於　　好，怒　　生　　於　　惡 (*Zuozhuan*: *Zhao*.25)
　　　xǐ　shēng yú　hào nù　shēng yú　wù
　　　pleasure born　REAS love anger born　REAS hatred
　　　'Pleasure is born because of love, and anger because of hatred.'

Our reading of this example is also supported by Xie & Hong (1988:136), and according to their analysis, this function of *yu* is extended from its locative source function, which is consistent with the prediction made by the semantic map proposed by Haspelmath (2003), as a contiguous region could be extended from the source function to the cause function:

Figure 38: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO" construction

Zhang (2008) has examined Haspelmath's semantic map for instrumental and other related functions with data from Modern Chinese dialects, and concluded that this proposed semantic map has not been falsified by the introduction of additional empirical data. Apart from that, to better accommodate data from Modern Chinese dialects, he proposed that Haspelmath's semantic map be modified through the addition of a pretransitive function which serves as a link between the instrumental and beneficiary functions and a causative function which serves as a link between the pretransitive and passive functions, as shown in the following figure:

Figure 39: A revised semantic map for instrumental and related functions (Zhang 2008:7)
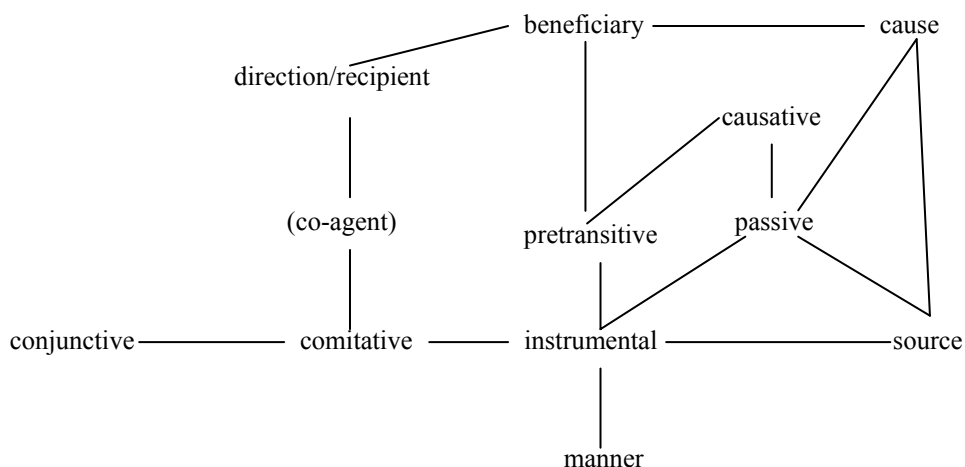
With this revised semantic map, it could be further demonstrated that from a constructional perspective, "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese both occupy different contiguous regions in the space, which justifies our initial stand that the semantic structure of different *yu*-dative constructions assumes an important role in determining their own extensions. First, let us look at the following example which is an instance of the "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction:

(46) 楚   王   逐   張儀   於   魏 (*Zhanguoce*: *Chu*.3)
      chǔ wáng zhú   zhāng yí yú   wèi
      Chu king   expel Zhang Yi CAUS Wei
      'The King of Chu made Wei expel Zhang Yi.'

Very few works have paid attention to example (46) in Archaic Chinese, and special tribute must go to Qi (1993) and Reynolds (1996) for bringing our attention to examples of this nature in their respective works, although they have proposed rather different interpretations for this example. Qi (1993) analyzes the grammatical morpheme *yu* as a passive marker. According to this reading, example (46) is an instance of a causativized passive construction. This view is convincingly refuted by Reynolds in his PhD dissertation on Chinese passive construction. Instead, he has established that the grammatical morpheme *yu* should be better analyzed as an experiencer marker in a causative/ experiencer construction. Before we explore further, it must be emphasized that the prepositional object in example (46) cannot be treated as a locative adjunct. For instance, the meaning of this example is not 'to chase away someone at a place known as Wei'; a

more appropriate interpretation would be 'to make the country of Wei chase someone away.' It is true that the indirect object in the example is a place name, but any attempt to assign a locative reading to the indirect object in this construction will become fruitless since there are other examples which clearly show the presence of a personal prepositional object, such as:

(47) 張儀　　又　惡　　陳軫　　於　　秦　王 (*Zhanguoce*: *Qin*.1)
　　　zhāng yí　yòu　wù　　chén zhěn　yú　　qín　wáng
　　　Zhang Yi　again　dislike　Chen Zhen　CAUS　Qin　king
　　　'Zhang Yi once again made the king of Qin dislike Chen Zhen.'

Hence, without going into finer details here, we shall base our interpretation on what the two scholars have generally agreed on, and that is that example (46) unambiguously conveys a causative meaning. With this as a foundation, the next step is to look at which participant in the causative event is marked by the morpheme *yu*. Based on the translation, it is clearly the causee. Hence, it is evident that *yu* has the function of a causative marker.

Apart from its use as a causative marker, *yu* is also undoubtedly a marker for recipient as shown in example (1), reproduced below as example (48):

(48)　獻　　馬　　於　　季孫 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.6)
　　　xiàn　mǎ　　yú　　jì sūn
　　　offer　horse　DAT　Ji Sun
　　　'Offer some horses to Ji Sun.'

According to Xie & Hong (1988), *yu* could also be used to introduce the beneficiary in the "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction:

(49)　齊侯　　使　　管夷吾　　平　　　　戎　　　于　王 (*Zuozhuan*: *Xi*.12)
　　　qí hóu　shǐ　　guǎn yí wú　píng　　　róng　　yú　wáng
　　　Qi marquis　cause　Guan Yi Wu　make-peace　barbarian　BEN　king
　　　'The marquis of Qi sent Guan Yiwu to make peace with the barbarian for the king.'

By putting these three functions of *yu* onto the revised semantic map for instrumental and related functions (i.e. Fig. 39), it could be seen that this multifunctional gram does not occupy a contiguous area on the semantic map:
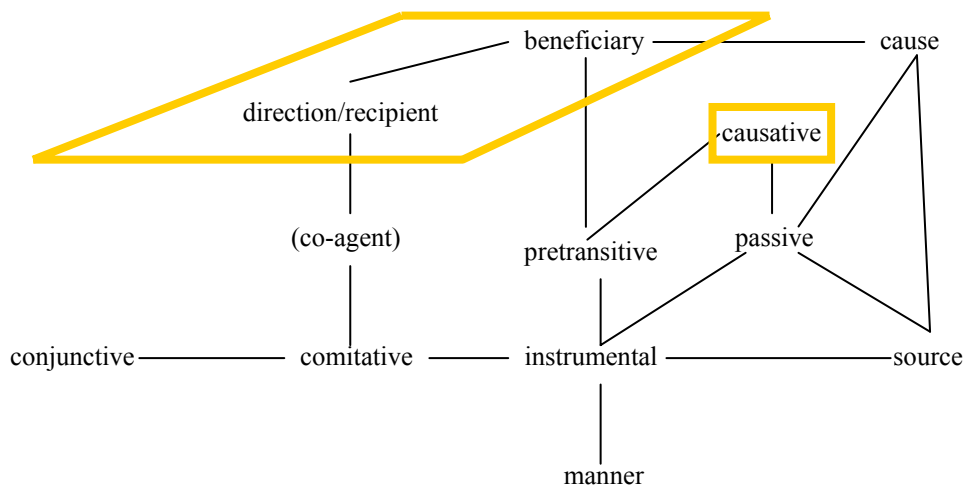
Figure 40: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction

The broken link between the two regions in Fig. 40 is clearly in direct conflict with the Semantic Map Connectivity Hypothesis (Croft 2001:96, 2003:134). There are two ways to resolve this conflict: either the semantic map has been falsified by Archaic Chinese or there exist actual instances of *yu* being used as a pretransitive marker, but such instances have largely been neglected in the literature. As pointed out by Haspelmath (2003:232), semantic maps is a powerful tool for discovering universal semantic structures that characterize the human language capacity based on cross-linguistic comparison; and moreover, the semantic map in Fig. 39 has been tested on a sufficiently large number of languages from different parts of the world, hence the second alternative seems more likely.

According to Zhang (2008), an example of pretransitive would be that of a disposal construction in Modern Chinese:

(50)　他　　把　蘋果　　吃　了
　　　tā　　bǎ　píngguǒ chī le
　　　3:SG BA　apple　　eat　PRF
　　　'He ate the apple.'

Example (50) is an instance of the narrow disposal construction, but it must be pointed out that disposal construction in Modern Chinese too includes the broad disposal construction, which includes the giving disposal (Peyraube 1996). Since the pretransitive function in Zhang's (2008) proposed semantic map corresponds roughly to an object marker for either the semantic role of patient or theme (cf. Peyraube 1996), hence if we do not

insist that this object marker must occur before the verb since the main purpose of semantic maps is to explore semantic structures, it could therefore be easily shown that the *yu* in Archaic Chinese does have the grammatical function of marking the theme in both a GIVE and a COMMUNICATION events:

(51) 故　　　封　　子國　　於　析 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.18)
　　　 gù　　　fēng　zǐ guó　yú　xī
　　　 therefore　confer　Zi Guo　OBJ　Xi
　　　 'In consequence of which Zi Guo was invested with Xi.'

(52) 歷　　告　　爾　百　姓　　于　朕　　　　志 (*Shangshu*: *Pan'geng*.Xia)
　　　 lì　　gào　ěr　bǎi xìng　yú　zhèn　　　zhì
　　　 fully　tell　you　people　OBJ　1:SG:POSS　mind
　　　 'Fully declared to you, my people, about all my mind.'

The function of *yu* in examples (51) and (52) is clearly comparable to that of *yi* in Archaic Chinese, which is treated as a pretransitive marker in the literature (Sun 1996):[16]

(53) 以　其　　　　　帑　　賜　　彭封彌子 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.25)
　　　 yǐ　qí　　　　　tǎng　cì　　péng fēng mí zǐ
　　　 OBJ　3:SG:POSS　property　bestow　Peng Feng Mi Zi
　　　 'Bestow Peng Feng Mi Zi with his property.'

(54) 伯楚　以　呂　郤　之　　謀　告　公 (*Guoyu*: *Jinyu*.4)
　　　 bó chǔ　yǐ　lǚ　xì　zhī　móu　gào　gōng
　　　 Bo Chu　OBJ　Lü　Xi　MOD　plot　tell　duke
　　　 'Bo Chu told the duke about the plot of Lü and Xi.'

By acknowledging the presence of *yu* as a grammatical marker for certain semantic roles which is comparable to that of a pretransitive marker in Modern Chinese, the broken link in Fig. 40 could be connected, and a contiguous area delimiting the boundaries of *yu* in Archaic Chinese for "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction could therefore be drawn:

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[16] It is interesting to note that the *yi* in Archaic Chinese, apart from having the pretransitive function, also has the instrumental and causative functions. Coincidentally, these functions occupy a contiguous area in the semantic map for instrumental and related functions.
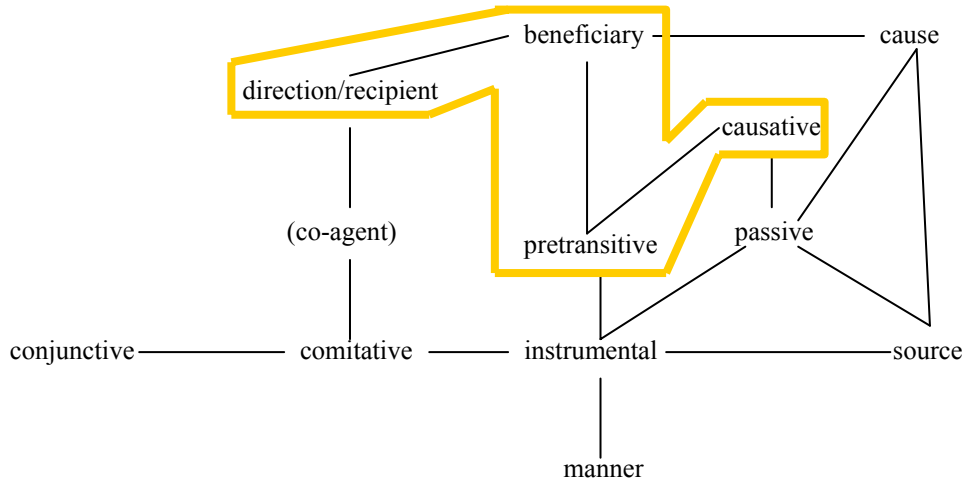
Figure 41: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction

It is interesting to note that by putting Fig. 38 and Fig. 41 together onto a single semantic map, it could be readily seen that the multifunctional gram *yu* occupies different contiguous areas for the two different constructions, viz. "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" constructions:
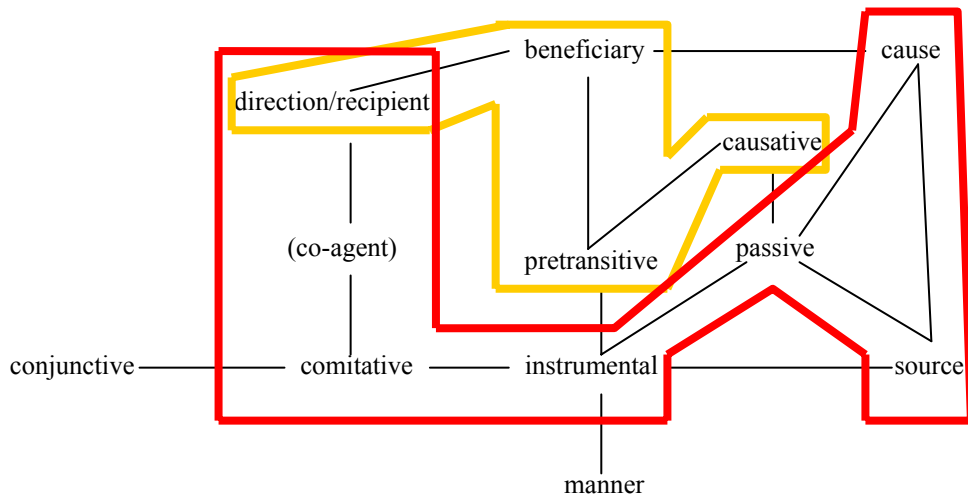

Figure 42: The boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+DO+*yu*+IO" construction (in yellow) and the boundaries of Archaic Chinese *yu* in "V+*yu*+IO" construction (in red)

This justifies our position that the semantic structure of different *yu*-dative constructions assumes an important role in determining their own extensions.

5.2 Conceptual domain: comparative construction

In the previous section, semantic extensions of the dative construction "V+*yu*+IO" within the SOCIAL domain are explored. In this section, the metaphorical extension of this construction across domains will be discussed. The comparative construction grounded in the CONCEPTUAL domain is argued to be structured or modeled on the dative construction grounded in a more concrete SOCIAL domain.[17] In semantic or cognitive terms, comparison can be defined as a mental act by which two objects are assigned a position on a predicative scale. Should this position be the same for both objects, then we have a case of the comparison of equality. If the positions on the scale are different, then we speak of the comparison of inequality.

Peyraube (1989b:592) has conducted study into the evolution of Chinese comparative construction and he comments that:

> The syntactic structure is as follows: "X+Adjective+Comparative Morpheme+Y".
> X and Y are the two terms of the comparison and the comparative morpheme
> is a preposition. What we have is thus a totally normal syntactic structure since
> the prepositional phrases (PP) are usually post-verbal in Archaic Chinese.

One important observation which Peyraube has yet to point out is that there is a syncretism of marker for recipient and the standard of comparison in Archaic Chinese. The significance of this observation can only be appreciated when we look at cross-linguistic data, which show an identical syncretism:

The Latin dative (Van Hoecke 1996)

Caesar	*regnum*	*Cleopatrae*	*dedit*
Caesar-NOM	kingdom-ACC	Cleopatra-DAT	give-3SG PERF

'Caesar gave the kingdom to Cleopatra.'

Canis	*nonne est*	*similis*	*lupo*
dog-NOM	not be-3SG	similar-NOM	wolf-DAT

'Isn't the dog similar to the wolf?'

Modern Japanese (Kabata 2000)
Ni also marks the standard of comparison or point of reference in sentences in which two entities are being compared or contrasted. Some examples of this

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[17] The anonymous reviewers have correctly pointed out that the comparative marker could also arise from its use as a locative marker in the SPATIAL domain. A brief discussion will be conducted in the later part of this section.

usage are shown below:

Kare wa   gakuryoku de   wa ani   ni   masat-te-iru
he   TOP intelligence LOC TOP elder brother DAT superior-CONJ-PROG
'He is superior to his elder brother in intelligence.'

Kono   ko   wa   oroosan   ni   sokkuri-da
this   child TOP   father   DAT   identical-COP
'This child looks identical to his father.'

The *ni*-marked NP denotes the standard of comparison in the first example
and the point of reference for a judgment about similarity in the second.

The Archaic Chinese examples offered by Peyraube are:

(55) 季 氏 富 於 周 公 (*Lunyu*: *Xianjin*)
    jì shì fù   yú   zhōu gōng
    Ji clan rich CRP Zhou duke
    'The clan of Ji was richer than the duke of Zhou.'

(56) 冰 水 爲 之 而 寒 於 水 (*Xunzi*: *Quanxue*)
    bīng shuǐ wèi zhī ér   hán yú   shuǐ
    ice water do it   and cold CRP water
    'Ice is made of water and colder than water.'

Not only do we have examples showing the expression of comparison of inequality via
the same dative construction, we also have expression of comparison of equality:

(57) 郢 異   於 他 子 (*Zuozhuan*: *Ai*.2)
    yǐng yì   yú   tā   zǐ
    Ying different CRP other son
    'Ying was different from the marquis's other sons.'

(58) 人   同 於 己 則 可, 不   同 於 己,
    rén   tóng yú   jǐ   zé   kě   bù   tóng yú   jǐ
    people same CRP self then agree NEG same CRP self
    雖   善 不 善 (*Zhuangzi*: *Yufu*)
    suī   shàn bú   shàn
    although good NEG be-kind
    'One will agree with people who are similar to oneself, but will not be kind
    to people who are not similar to oneself.'

Thus, it is concluded that the comparative construction "Adj+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese can be used to express comparison of equality and inequality.

According to Heine & Kuteva (2002), the comparative marker could have emerged via grammaticalization from a variety of sources, including locative and dative markers. As pointed out by Heine (1997:111), "like other grammatical expressions, comparative markers tend to be derived from other, more concrete, entities"; hence conceptually, it is viable for either the locative marker or the dative marker to be further developed into a comparative marker. Kabata's (2000) study on the grammaticalization process of the Japanese *ni* suggests that the usage of *ni* to mark a conceptual reference point can be understood as a metaphorical application of the very spatial directional marker to the domain of conceptual assessment. Peyraube (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002:201) shares Kabata's view in his discussion about the grammaticalization of *yu* as a comparative marker, but the footnote in Heine & Kuteva (2002:201) also reveals that there is a more extended chain in this case:

DATIVE > LOCATIVE > COMPARATIVE

In the case of *yu*, even though it is conceptually and typologically viable for its comparative function to be developed from its locative function, it is also equally possible for the same function to be extended from its dative function (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 103). We would like to draw the readers' attention to the following pair of examples:

(59) 人　　同　　於　　己　　則　　可，　不　　同　　於　　己，
     rén　tóng　yú　jǐ　zé　kě　bù　tóng　yú　jǐ
     people same CRP self then agree NEG same CRP self
     雖　　善　　不　　善 (*Zhuangzi*: *Yufu*)
     suī　shàn　bú　shàn
     although good NEG be-kind
     'One will agree with people who are similar to oneself, but will not be kind to people who are not similar to oneself.'

(60) 叔孫　　氏　　懼　　禍　　之　　濫，
     shú sūn　shì　jù　huò　zhī　làn
     Shu Sun clan afraid calamity MOD overflow
     而　自　同　　於　　季　氏 (*Zuozhuan*: *Zhao*.27)
     ér　zì　tóng　yú　jì　shì
     and self join CRP Ji clan
     'The adherents of Shu Sun, afraid of the overflow of calamity, join themselves to those of Ji Sun.'

The two examples are taken from Xie & Hong (1988). According to their analysis, the first example is an instance of the *yu*-comparative construction, while the second one instantiates a comitative construction. As the same form has been employed to encode the comitative and comparative constructions, hence it would be reasonable to hypothesize that the comparative function of *yu* is being extended from the dative function within the SOCIAL domain, and not the locative function within the spatial domain. Once this has been made clear, the path in which the concept of comparison is effectively structured on the concept of dativity can be demonstrated. But first, we have to understand how adjective is defined in CG.

Counter to conventional wisdom, Langacker (1987) claims that basic grammatical categories such as noun, verb, and adjective are semantically definable. The main reason why their meanings have not been traditionally recognized is precisely that past works have subscribed to the objectivist semantics thesis. As a result, the following fact has not been seriously appreciated: an expression's grammatical category is determined by its profile, not by its overall objective content; the same content allows alternate profiling options, hence alternate classifications.[18] According to Langacker, the entities referred to as nouns, verbs, etc. are symbolic units, each with a semantic and phonological pole, but it is the former that determines the categorization.

1. A noun is a symbolic structure whose semantic pole instantiates the schema [THING]; or to phrase it more simply, a noun profiles a **thing**;
2. A verb profiles a **process**, defined as a relationship viewed with respect to its evolution through time;
3. An adjective designates an atemporal relation.

Let us consider one specific example. Fig. 43 shows the semantic value of the adjective *tall*, where it designates a relation that does not evolve through time:
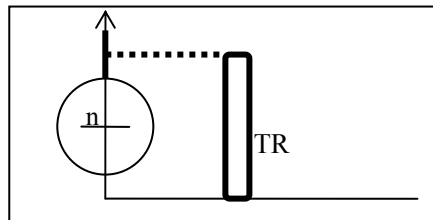

Figure 43: *tall*

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[18] A well-known example in Modern Chinese is *zhandou* 戰鬥 'fight' and *zhanzheng* 戰爭 'war'. Refer to Zhu (1992).

The adjective 'tall' invokes the conception of a comparison scale pertaining to the degree of height and specifies that the length of some entity falls within that portion of the scale located beyond the neighborhood of the norm (*n*). The norm here is unspecified and thus when we say *the giraffe is tall*, we must make reference to some standard. Since the standard in this clause is left unspecified, it can therefore mean that the giraffe is tall by man's standard or giraffe's standard. But when the standard is specified, we would have an atemporal relation between the trajector and landmark as sketched in Fig. 44, which therefore enables it to make use of the constructional schema of "V+*yu*+IO" to express the concept of comparison.
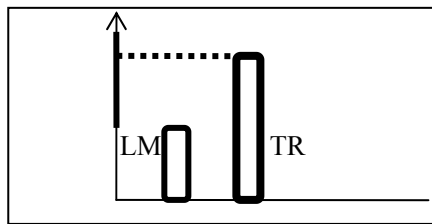
Figure 44: *taller*

It is therefore clear that an adjective which designates an atemporal relation has within its conceptual structure an inherent asymmetry between the profiled participants. One of them, called trajector, is characterized as the figure or the most prominent participant within a relational profile. It must always be projected onto the surface structure; in contrast, the other participant, called landmark, can be left unspecified in the surface structure. But, when specified, it provides the reference point with respect to which the trajector is evaluated. It is precisely due to this inherent asymmetry between the profiled participants that a conceptual event of comparison is enabled to be coded by the same constructional schema as the dative construction. The image schema for this comparative construction with the morpheme *yu* marking a reference point is illustrated in Fig. 45, which is adapted from Kabata (2000):
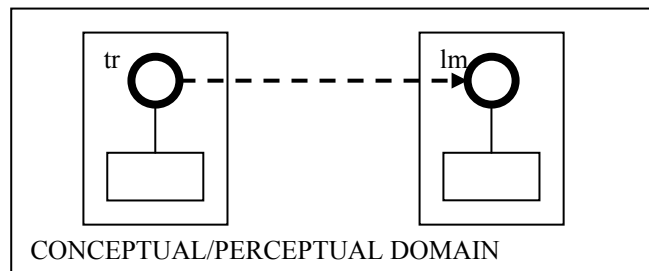
Figure 45: Image schema for comparative construction

6. Conclusion

This paper argues against the received view that the two *yu*-dative constructions in Archaic Chinese, viz. "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" have the same semantic structure. In the literature, the two *yu*-dative constructions are treated as synonymous since it is hypothesized that the former is derived from the latter through a simple omission of the direct object from the surface structure. This paper has offered several empirical observations to show that this derivation hypothesis is suspicious. Moreover, this paper has also demonstrated that even though the two *yu*-dative constructions make reference to the same conceptual content, their profiles are different. Hence, in accordance with the preliminaries of CG, "V+*yu*+IO" and "V+DO+*yu*+IO" differ semantically. This paper further explores the semantic structure of "V+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese from both CG and Semantic Map perspectives and further shows that the semantic structure of the "V+*yu*+IO" construction, which is different from that of "V+DO+*yu*+IO", assumes an important role in determining its own extensions.

Bringing what we have discussed so far together, the following network model for the *yu*-dative construction "V+*yu*+IO" in Archaic Chinese is proposed as a conclusion for this paper:
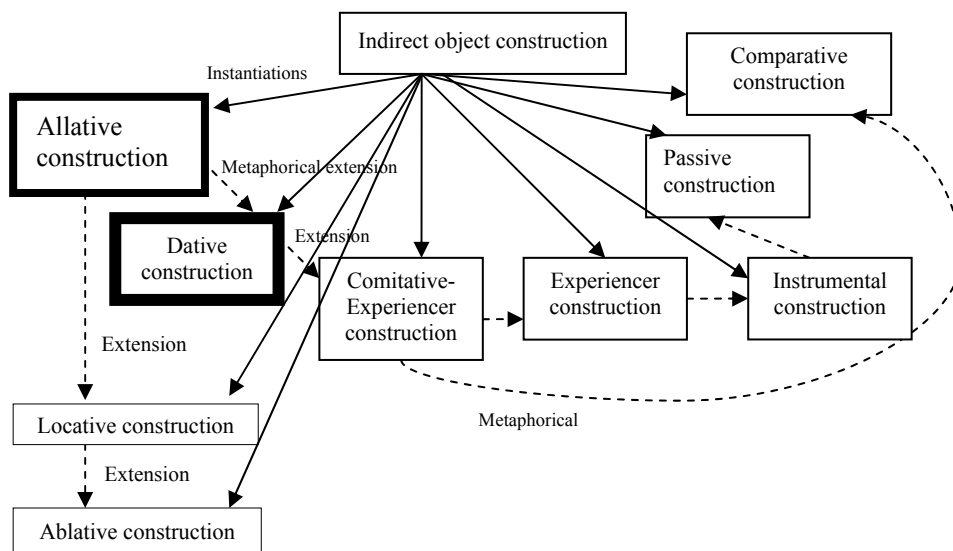

Figure 46[19]

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[19] Some finer details are not captured in Fig. 46.

Do note that although this proposal is advanced mainly from the perspective of CG, it is also constrained by empirical evidence from studies conducted on the grammaticalization process of *yu* as well as cross-linguistic patterns of the dative case/marker through the use of semantic maps.

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從認知語法和類型學的角度看上古漢語中"V＋于＋IO"的與格結構

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　　本文首先從事實的層面質疑過去把上古漢語中兩種和"于"有關的與格結構，即"V＋于＋IO"和"V＋DO＋于＋IO"，分析爲具有相同語義結構的做法。接著，本文也進一步從認知語法的理論角度說明這兩個句式雖然具有相同的認知基底，但是由於它們都勾勒了同一個認知基底的不同側面，因此兩者的語義結構是不同的。本文接著嘗試從認知語法和語義地圖的角度對上古漢語中的"V＋于＋IO"句式所呈現出的語義結構做出討論。通過這個討論，我們發現"V＋于＋IO"與"V＋DO＋于＋IO"在同一張語義地圖上佔據了不同的連續區域，這除了進一步說明了"V＋于＋IO"與"V＋DO＋于＋IO"的語義結構不同外，也說明了這種語義結構的不同對"V＋于＋IO"的語義擴展具有決定性的影響。

關鍵詞："V＋于＋IO"句式，上古漢語，認知語法，語義地圖