ARGUMENT-FUNCTION MISMATCHES IN MANDARIN CHINESE:
A LEXICAL MAPPING ACCOUNT
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This paper accounts for the argument-function mismatches observed in two types of verbs in Mandarin Chinese: resultative compound verbs and verbs of consumption. After a review of Li’s (1995, 1999) causative hierarchy account, I present an alternative formulated in a simplified Lexical Mapping Theory (LMT) with a unified mapping principle, in LFG. Under the strictest and also the simplest interpretation of this mapping principle (similarly the \( \theta \)-criterion in the derivational framework), only one composing role of a composite role (formed by two composing roles) is allowed syntactic assignment; the other must be suppressed. The argument-function mismatches are thus due to the competition between composing roles for syntactic function assignment.

The core data covered are in (1) and (2); expanded data will be discussed in the actual paper. The sentence in (1) illustrates the three-way argument-function mapping allowed by resultative compounds. Of particular interest is (1d), where an apparent subject-object inversion is observed, and (2b) shows a similar inversion with verbs of consumption.

(1) Zhangsan zhui-lei-le     Lisi.
   John    chase-tired-ASP Lee
   a. ‘John chased Lee and made Lee tired.’ (Causative)
   b.*Lee chased John and John got tired.’
   c. ‘John chased Lee and got tired.’ (Non-Causative)
   d. ‘Lee chased John and John made him tired.’ (Causative)
   d . ‘chase-tired <ag-th   pt>’
   S     O
   John[caus]  Lee[af]

(2) a. Liang ge  ren   chi yi  bang  rou.   (Non-Causative)
    two   CL person eat one pound meat.
    ‘Two people eat one pound of meat.’
   b. Yi  bang  rou  chi liang ge  ren.   (Non-Causative)
    ‘One pound of meat feeds two people.’

LMT is the module in LFG linking the lexical semantic structure and the syntactic structure (e.g., Bresnan and Zaenen 1990, Her 1997, Bresnan 2001). A summary of the simplified LMT I propose is given in (3-6).

(3) Thematic Hierarchy:
   \( ag > ben > go/exp > inst > pt/th > loc/dom \)

(4) Markedness Hierarchy of Functions (\( r = \) thematically restricted, \( o = \) objective):
   \( \text{SUBJ}(r - o) > \text{OBJ}(r + o) / \text{OBL}(+r - o) > \text{OBJ}(+r + o)* \)

(5) Intrinsic Classification of Argument Roles for Functions (IC):
   a. primary \( \text{patient} \rightarrow [-r] \)
   b. secondary \( \text{patient} \rightarrow [+o] \)

(6) The Unified Mapping Principle (UMP):
   Each argument role in a-structure with no higher role available is mapped onto the highest compatible function available.
Crucial to my analysis is the notion of suppression (or absorption), where a theta role is deprived of syntactic assignment, as in passive, middle, and tough. Given a composite role formed by two merged roles, the strict interpretation of the UMP (or similarly the $\theta$-criterion) forces the suppression of one of the composing role. Two morpholexical processes are proposed: Resultative Compounding (7) and Domain-binding (8). The linking of the inverted (1d) is given as an example for mapping.

(7) Resultative Compounding (final formulation):
\[ V_{\text{caus}}<x\ y> + V_{\text{res}}<z> \rightarrow V_{\text{caus}}V_{\text{res}}<\alpha\ \beta>, \text{ where } <\alpha\ \beta>* = (i) <x\ y\ z>
(ii) <x[\text{caus}] \ y\ z[\text{af}]>
(iii) <x\ z\ y>
(iv) <x\ z[\text{af}] \ y[\text{caus}]>
\]
*Assign [af] to $\theta_z$ and [caus] to the opposing role iff $\theta_z$ is not suppressed

(8) Domain-binding morpholexical operation:
\[ V<\ x\ y>, \ x = \text{ag} \ & \ y = \text{th} \rightarrow i. <\star z\ y> 
ii. <x\ z\ y>, \ z = \text{dom}_{[-o]} 
\]

(1d') Zhangsan zhui-lei-le Lisi.
‘Lee chased John and was made tired.’
\[ <\ x\ z[\text{af}] \ y[\text{caus}]>, (\theta[\text{af}] \text{ is secondary to } \theta[\text{caus}]; \text{ thus, } x \text{ is suppressed,} \\
SC \begin{array}{cc} [+o] & [-r] \\
O/\text{OBJ}_\theta & S/O \\
\text{Lee} & \text{John} \end{array} \\
\]

(1b') Yi bang rou chi liang ge ren.
‘One pound of meat feeds two people.’
\[ <\star z\ y>, (x = (suppressed) \text{ag}, \ y = \text{th}, \ z = \text{dom}; \\
IC \begin{array}{cc} [+o] & [-r] \\
O/\text{OBJ}_\theta & S/O \\
\text{Lee} & \text{John} \end{array} \\
\]

The mapping between the prominence scales of theta roles and grammatical functions also facilitates a natural explanation of markedness among the competing syntactic structures.

REFERENCES